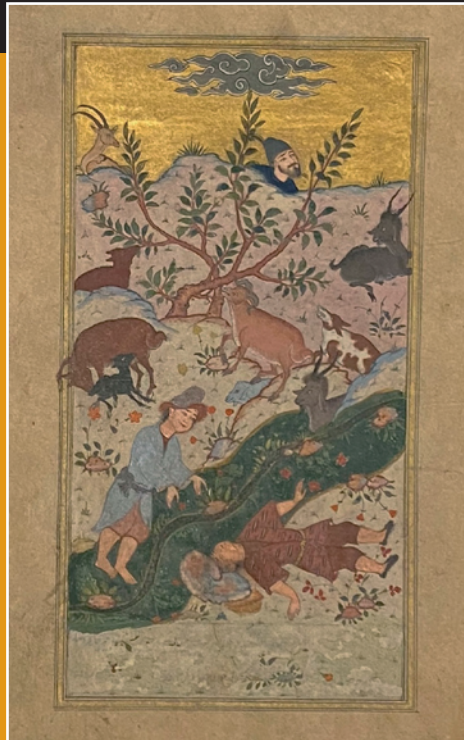


STUDIES IN PERSIAN CULTURAL HISTORY

# THE PERSIAN MINIATURES COLLECTION OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM

A Hidden Treasure Trove

Forough Sajadi



BRILL

## The Persian Miniatures Collection of the Rijksmuseum

# Studies in Persian Cultural History

*Editors*

Charles Melville (*Cambridge University*)  
Gabrielle van den Berg (*Leiden University*)  
Viola Allegranzi (*Austrian Academy of Sciences*)

VOLUME 20

The titles published in this series are listed at [brill.com/spch](http://brill.com/spch)

# The Persian Miniatures Collection of the Rijksmuseum

*A Hidden Treasure Trove*

*By*

Forough Sajadi



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Pastoral scene, a page from *Rawzat al-Shuhada*, dated 16th century, Safavid dynasty.  
Inv. no. RP-T-1993-459.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov>  
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2024054928>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](https://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 2210-3554

ISBN 978-90-04-71627-8 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-71628-5 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004716285

Copyright 2025 by Koninklijke Brill BV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill BV via [brill.com](https://brill.com) or [copyright.com](https://copyright.com).

[info@brill.com](mailto:info@brill.com) for more information.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

# Contents

Acknowledgements IX

List of Figures X

Abbreviated Names of Manuscript Collections XVI

About the Author XVIII

## Introduction 1

- 1 An Overview of the Collection 1
- 2 History of the Collection 2

## Historical Overview 7

- 1 The Early Islamic Era: Pre-Mongol Period 7
- 2 The Mongol Period 9
- 3 The Injuid and Muzaffarid Dynasties 11
- 4 Jalayirid Period 12
- 5 Timurid and Turkmen Periods (the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu) 13
- 6 Safavid Period 16
- 7 Post-Safavid Era 20

## Guide to the Catalogue Entries 23

## *Catalogue*

### The Early Period: The Pre-Mongol Period 27

- 1 One Page of *Khawass al-ashjar* (The Characteristics of Trees) 27

### The Mongol Period 30

- 1 'Harish', One Page of *Manafi' al-hayawan* (The Benefits of Animals) 30
- 2 Two Pages of *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp* (The Book of Jamasp the Sage) 33
- 3 'Isfandiyar's Fifth Labour: He Kills the Simurgh', One Page of *Shahnama* 36
- 4 'Mihir Hurmuzd Murders Khusrau Parviz', One Page of *Shahnama* 38

**The Timurid and Turkmen Period 40**

- 1 'The Second Combat: Giv Stuns Guruy Zirih', One Page of *Shahnama* 40
- 2 'Minuchihr Defeats the Army of Salm and Tur', One Page of *Shahnama* 42
- 3 'Khusrau Receives Gul's Letter', One Page of *Khusraunama* 44
- 4 'Rustam Kills Shaghad before Dying', One Page of *Shahnama* 47
- 5 'Shiruya Sends a Message to Khusrau Parviz', One Page of *Shahnama* 49
- 6 'Rustam's Seventh Labour: He Kills the White Div', One Page from *Shahnama* 51
- 7 'A Convivial Gathering in the Garden', One Page of *Divan* of Shahi 53
- 8 'Meeting the Intimate in the Garden', One Page of *Fatihah al-shabab* 55
- 9 Two Pages of *Khamsa* of Nizami 57
- 10 Two Detached Pages, Depictions of Majnun 60

**The Safavid Period 62**

- 1 'Muhammad Converses with God in Heaven', One Page of *Mirajnama* 62
- 2 Three Pages of *Mihr u Mushtari* (The Sun and Jupiter) 64
- 3 'Mahan and the Old Gardener', One Page of *Khamsa* of Nizami 68
- 4 'Khusrau and Shirin in Hunting Ground', One Page of *Khamsa* of Nizami 70
- 5 'Rustam's First Labour: Rakhsh Kills a Lion', One Page of *Shahnama* 72
- 6 'Kay Khusrau Grants an Audience to Rustam and Zal', One Page of *Shahnama* 74
- 7 'Solomon and *Ajenna*', One Page of '*Aja'ib al-makhlukat* (Wonders of Creation) 76
- 8 Four Pages of *Divan* of Hafiz 78
- 9 'Seduction of Yusuf by Zulaikha', One Page of *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones) 83
- 10 Three Pages of *Rawzat al-shuhada* (Garden of the Martyrs) 85
- 11 'A Man in a Robe', One Page of *Divan* of Hafiz 90
- 12 'Isfandiyar's Fifth Labour: He Kills the Simurgh', One Page of *Shahnama* 93
- 13 'A Youth and Two Dervishes' 95

14	'A Sitting Man'	97
15	'A Lion Attacking a Man'	99
16	'A Youth and a Dervish'	101
17	'A Youth Holding a Cup'	106
<b>Post-Safavid: The Zand, Afsharid and Qajar Periods</b>		109
1	'Standing Woman with Flowers and a Bowl'	109
2	Two Architectural Scenes	111
3	'A Dervish Holding a Vase'	118
4	'Two Young Men in an Erotic Embrace'	120
5	Five Pages of the <i>Khamsa</i> of Nizami	123
6	'Hunting Scene'	130
7	Two Pages of Gulzar Calligraphy	132
<b>Appendix: Selected Miniatures Attributed to India</b>		135
<b>Bibliography</b>		144
<b>Index</b>		156



## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my profound gratitude to Mondriaan Fonds for financially sponsoring my research which produced the present publication. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Professor Gabrielle van den Berg, who throughout this research supported me through and through with her comments and provided valuable input. I thank Leiden University, Leiden Institute for Area Studies, for offering me access to their library and academic facilities during this research.

I am grateful to the Rijksmuseum for providing me access to their collection of Persian miniatures and archives, and in particular, for granting me the copyright permission for publishing the images in the present book. Finally, I greatly appreciate my husband Erik, my brother Amir, and my friend Bijan Minoofar, for their assistance and continuous support.

# Figures

All the images are from the Rijksmuseum's collection, Amsterdam, Netherlands. The photos were taken by the author in 2021 and they are published under copyright permission of the Rijksmuseum.

- 0.1 Peter Formijne and his wife. From the archive of Ms. Doortje Haan-Wiegman 3
- 0.2 A folio from the notebook of Peter Formijne on his collection, preserved in the RM (RP-D-1993-26) 5
- 0.3 A folio from the notebook of Peter Formijne on his collection, preserved in the RM (RP-D-1993-26) 6
- 1A *Cacalia*, one page of *Khawass al-ashjar*, dated to the 13th century, 'Abbasid period, Baghdad School, attributed to Iraq. Opaque watercolour, and ink on paper, 29.5 × 20.2 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-434 27
- 1B *Viola Odorata*, one page of *Khawass al-ashjar*, dated to the 13th century, attributed to Iraq. Opaque watercolour, and ink on paper, 29.5 × 20.2 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-135 28
- 2 *Harish*, one page of *Manafi' al-hayawan*, dated to the early 14th century, Ilkhanid dynasty, made in Persia. Ink, watercolour and gold pigment on paper, 17.5 × 17.5 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-435 30
- 3A *Horoscope of Shah Ardeshir*, one page of *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp*, dated the early 14th century, Injuid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, watercolour, and gold pigment on paper, 12 × 15.5 cm (sheet), 5 × 4.4 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-436 33
- 3B *Horoscope of Hud*, one page of *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp*, dated the early 14th century, Injuid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, watercolour, and gold pigment on paper, 12 × 15.3 cm (sheet), 4.49 × 4.5 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-437 33
- 4 *Isfandiyar's fifth labour: he kills the Simurgh*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated 1341, Injuid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 10.3 × 22.7 cm (sheet/painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-439 36
- 5 *Mihr Hurmuzd murders Khusrau Parviz*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated the early 14th century, Ilkhanid dynasty, made in Persia. Ink, opaque watercolour, gold on paper, 30.5 × 21.7 cm (sheet), 11.6 × 9.1 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-438 38
- 6 *The second combat: Giv stuns Guruy Zirih*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated 1430s–1440s, Timurid dynasty, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 31.6 × 22.6 cm (sheet), 14 × 16 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-442 40

- 7 *Minuchihr defeats the army of Salm and Tur*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated the first half of 15th century, Turkmen period, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 31.7 × 23.2 cm (sheet), 15.7 × 8 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-441 42
- 8 *Khusrau receives Gul's letter*, one page of *Khusraunama*, dated 1430s–1440s, Timurid dynasty, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 27.9 × 18 cm (sheet), 12 × 13.7 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-205 44
- 9 *Rustam kills Shaghad before dying*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated 15th century, Timurid dynasty, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 33.5 × 22.5 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1956-274 47
- 10 *Shiruya sends a message to Khusrau*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated 1430s–1450s, Timurid dynasty, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 30.9 × 20.7 cm (sheet), 8.4 × 13.9 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-440 49
- 11 *Rustam's seventh labour: he kills the White Div*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated 1440s–1460s, Timurid dynasty, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 29 × 18.5 cm (sheet), 11.5 × 11 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-451 51
- 12 *A convivial gathering in the garden*, one page of *Divan* of Shahi, dated 1470s–1490s, Timurid dynasty, probably made in Khurasan. Ink, 21.2 × 15.2 cm (sheet), 5.6 × 7 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-456 53
- 13 *Meeting the intimate in the garden*, one page of *Fatihah al-shabab*, *Divan* of Jami, dated c.1480, Turkmen period, made in Shiraz. Opaque watercolour, ink and gold on paper, 25.6 × 16.4 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-444 55
- 14A *Khusrau at the castle of Shirin*, one page of *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated to the late 15th century, Turkmen period, made in Shiraz. Ink, colour, and gold on paper, 25.9 × 15.8 (sheet), 10.9 × 9.7 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-445 57
- 14B *Layla and Majnun swoon on meeting each other*, one page of *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated to the late 15th century, Turkmen period, made in Shiraz. Ink, colour, and gold on paper, 27.2 × 16.3 cm (sheet), 12.1 × 9.9 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-446 57
- 15A *Manjun in desert*, a detached folio, dated c.1490s, Timurid dynasty, attributed to Persia. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 15.8 × 8.5 (sheet/painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1250 60
- 15B *Manjun in Layla's tent*, a detached folio, dated c.1490s, Timurid dynasty, attributed to Persia. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 15.8 × 8.5 cm (sheet/painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1251 60
- 16 *Muhammad converses with God in Heaven*, one page of *Mirajnama*, Safavid period. Ink and colors on paper, 35.5 × 23.4 cm (sheet), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1545 62

- 17A *Execution of Mushtari and Badr*, one page of *Mihr u Mushtari*, dated 1530s–1540s, Safavid dynasty. Ink, watercolour and gold pigment on paper, 14 × 10.2 cm, Inv. no. RP-T-1993-449 64
- 17B *The battle of Mushtari with cannibals*, one page of *Mihr u Mushtari*, dated 1530s–1540s, Safavid dynasty. Ink, watercolour and gold pigment on paper, 20 × 16 (sheet/big panel), 12.9 × 10.2 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-450 64
- 17C *The feast of Shah Kayvan and Mihr*, one page of *Mihr u Mushtari*, dated 1530s–1540s, Safavid dynasty. Ink, watercolour and gold pigment on paper, 14 × 10.3 cm (sheet), (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-448 65
- 18 *Mahan and the old gardener*, one page of *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated the first half of the 16th century, Safavid dynasty. Ink, watercolour and gold pigment on paper, 26.4 × 15.5 cm (sheet), 13.5 × 9.4 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-447 68
- 19 *Khusrau and Shirin in hunting ground*, one page of *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated to the first half of the 16th century, Safavid dynasty, made probably in Tabriz. Ink, 35.2 × 23 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-457 70
- 20A *Rustam's first labour: Rakhsh kills a lion*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated 1590s–1600s, Safavid dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 34.5 × 23.5 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-454 72
- 20B Detail, stamp 72
- 21 *Kay Khusrau grants an audience to Rustam and Zal*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated 1560s–1570s, Safavid dynasty, probably made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 43.7 × 28.9 (sheet), 33.6 × 22.7 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1956-275 74
- 22 *Solomon and Ajenna*, one page of *'Aja'ib al-makhlūqat*, dated second half of the 16th century, Safavid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, colours and gold on paper, 21.1 × 13.1 cm (sheet), 17.6 × 10.2 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-455 76
- 23A *A princess and her maid, a tumbled man and a seated woman*, one page of *Divan* of Hafiz, dated second half of the 16th century, Safavid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 12.5 × 21.6 (sheet), 8.4 × 15 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-403 78
- 23B *A convivial company*, one page of *Divan* of Hafiz, dated second half of the 16th century, Safavid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 21.4 × 12.6 (sheet), 8.1 × 11.3 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-404 78
- 23C *Triumph of Shah Mansur*, one page of *Divan* of Hafiz, dated second half of the 16th century, Safavid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 21.2 × 12.5 cm (sheet), 9.5 × 7.3 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-405 79

- 23D *The King and the beggar*, one page of *Divan* of Hafiz, dated second half of the 16th century, Safavid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 21.5 × 12.5 (sheet), 8.1 × 7.6 (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-406 79
- 24 *Seduction of Yusuf by Zulaikha*, one page of *Haft Awrang*, dated 16th and 17th century, Safavid dynasty, made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 25.3 × 17.6 cm (sheet), 19 × 8.8 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-461 83
- 25A *Pastoral scene*, one page of *Rawzat al-shuhada*, dated 16th century, Safavid dynasty. Opaque watercolour, ink and gold on paper, 25.2 × 14 cm (sheet), 16.5 × 9 (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-459 85
- 25B *Abraham sacrifices his son*, one page of *Rawzat al-shuhada*, dated 16th century, Safavid dynasty. Opaque watercolour, ink and gold on paper, 25.3 × 15 cm (sheet), (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-460 85
- 25C *Yusuf and his brothers*, one page of *Rawzat al-shuhada*, dated 16th century, Safavid dynasty. Opaque watercolour, ink and gold on paper, 25.2 × 15 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-458 86
- 26 *A Man in a Red Robe*, one page of *Divan* of Hafiz, dated 1540s–1570s, Safavid dynasty, made in Qazvin or Mashhad. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 16 × 9.5 cm (sheet), 8 × 14.6 cm (painting), 14.5 × 8.1 cm (panel of two calligraphy frames), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-462-(R),(V) 90
- 27 *Isfandiyar's fifth labour: he kills the Simurgh*, one page of *Shahnama*, attributable to Mu'in Musavvir, dated 1640s–1660s, Safavid dynasty, Isfahan school. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 29.78 × 18.5 cm (sheet), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-393 93
- 28 *A youth and two dervishes*, a detached folio, dated to the first half of the 17th century, Safavid dynasty, Isfahan school. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 16 × 8.5 cm (sheet/painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1252 95
- 29 *A sitting man*, detached folio, dated to the second half of the 16th century, Shaybanid dynasty, Bukhara School. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 31 × 19.3 cm (sheet), 16.3 × 8.6 cm (painting), 19.3 × 11.7 cm (text panel), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-463 (R), (V) 97
- 30 *A lion attacking a man*, a detached folio, dated the 16th century, Safavid dynasty. Ink and pencil on paper, 16 × 10cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1963-383 99
- 31A *A youth and a dervish*, a detached folio, dated c.1590–1620/21, Safavid dynasty, probably made in Isfahan. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 35.7 × 21.9 cm (sheet), 11.7 × 17.6 cm (painting), Inv. no. NG-2021-85 101
- 31B Detail, Persian note and two stamps in the verso 102
- 32 *A Youth holding a cup*, a folio of a Dutch album, dated to the first half of the 17th century, retouched during 1660–1680, Safavid dynasty, retouched

- by Gesina ter Borch (1631–1690), c.1660–1680. Opaque watercolour, gold and silver on paper, 32 × 21.5 cm (sheet), 19.6 × 12.2 cm (painting), Inv. no. BI-1887-1463-40 106
- 33 *Standing woman, with flowers and a bowl*, a detached folio, by Aqa Muhammad Baqir, dated second half of the 18th century, Zand dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 21.5 × 32 cm (sheet), 17 × 10 cm (painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1259 109
- 34A *The view of Hizar Jarib garden in Isfahan*, a detached folio, dated the 19th century, Qajar dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 33.2 × 22 cm (sheet/painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1895-A-3069 111
- 34B Detail, inscription in the verso 111
- 34C *Khalwat Khana of Shah Safi in Qazvin*, a detached folio, dated the 19th century, Qajar dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 34 × 22 cm (sheet/painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1895-A-3070 112
- 34D, E Detail, inscription in the verso 112
- 35 *A dervish holding a vase*, a detached folio, dated the second half of the 19th century, Qajar dynasty. Ink, watercolour, gold on paper, 31.4 × 21.3 cm (sheet), 10.4 × 16.9 (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-402 118
- 36 *Two Young Men in an Erotic Embrace*, a detached folio, dated the last third of the 19th century, Qajar dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 18 × 11.5 cm (sheet), 15.4 × 10.2 cm (painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1544 120
- 37A *Shapur shows the portrait of Khusrau to Shirin*, a folio of *Khamisa* of Nizami, probably the early 20th century, made in Persia. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 18.7 × 11.7 cm (sheet), 13.1 × 8 cm (painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1254 124
- 37B *Khusrau watches Shirin bathing*, a folio of *Khamisa* of Nizami, probably the early 20th century, made in Persia, Qajar dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 18.7 × 13.4 cm (sheet), 13 × 8.6 cm (painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1253 125
- 37C *The story telling of ten maids*, a folio of *Khamisa* of Nizami, probably the early 20th century, Qajar dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 12.98 × 18.6 cm (sheet), 13 × 8.5 cm (painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1257 126
- 37D *The feast of Shirin and Khusrau*, a folio of *Khamisa* of Nizami, probably the early 20th century, Qajar dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 18.6 × 13.1 cm (sheet), 12.99 × 8.5 cm (painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1255 127
- 37E *Farhad carries Shirin on her horse*, a folio of *Khamisa* of Nizami, probably the early 20th century, Qajar dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 18.4 × 13.5 cm (sheet), 12.8 × 8.4 cm (painting), Inv. no. AK-MAK-1256 129

- 38 *Hunting scene*, a detached folio, dated late 19th or early 20th century, Qajar dynasty. Ink, gouache on paper, 23 × 14.98 (painting with frames), uncatalogued miniature 130
- 39A *Gulzar calligraphy piece with the waq motifs*, a detached folio, dated the late 18th and 19th centuries, Qajar dynasty. Ink on paper, 18.5 × 12.2 (sheet), uncatalogued work 132
- 39B *Gulzar calligraphy piece*, a detached folio, dated probably Qajar period. Opaque watercolour on paper, 30 × 21.6 cm (text panel), uncatalogued work 133
- 40 *Majnun watches the battle between clans*, a detached folio, dated 16th century, attributed to India. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 20.2 × 12.9 cm (sheet), 10.1 × 10.8 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-443 135
- 41A *Rustam catches Rakhsh*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated late 15th or the early 16th century, attributed to India. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 21.1 × 12.3 cm (sheet), 11 × 11.1 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-452 137
- 41B *Rustam saved by Rakhsh*, one page of *Shahnama*, dated late 15th or the early 16th century, attributed to India. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 21.1 × 12.3 cm (sheet), 8.2 × 11.1 (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-453 137
- 42 *Sixth feat of Isfandiyar; escaping from snow storm*, one page of *Tarikh-i Dilgusha-yi Shamshirkhani*, dated 18th century, attributed to India, Deccan. Ink and opaque watercolour on paper, 20 × 9.8 cm (sheet), 16.6 × 9.6 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-219 140
- 43 *Portrait of Shah 'Abbas I*, a detached folio, dated c.1613–1630, attributed to India, Mughal dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper, 25.4 × 13.3 cm (sheet), 17.1 × 6.5 cm (painting), Inv. no. RP-T-1993-181 142

# Abbreviated Names of Manuscript Collections

Ashmolean	The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford
Aga Khan	Aga Khan Museum, Toronto
Berlin	Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), Berlin
BnF	The Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum, New York
Cairo	The Egyptian National Library and Archives (Dar al-Kutub), Cairo
CAM	Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati
CB	The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
Cleveland	The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland
Congress	Library of Congress (African, Middle East and Asian Prayer Materials), Washington, D.C.
Cushing-Whitney	Harvey Cushing and John Hay Whitney Medical Library, Yale University New Haven
David	The David Collection, Copenhagen
Edinburgh	Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, Edinburgh
Freer	The Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.
Gulbenkian	Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon
Gulistan	Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran
Harvard	Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge
Hermitage	State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
Houghton	Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge
Istanbul	Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul
Iran	National Museum of Iran, Tehran
JHU	The Johns Hopkins University Library in Baltimore, Maryland
John Rylands	John Rylands Research Institute and Library, The University of Manchester Library, Manchester
Jerusalem	The Israel Museum, Jerusalem
Khalili	The Khalili Collections, UK
Kuwait	The al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait
KVVAK	The Royal Asian Art Society in the Netherlands, Amsterdam
Louvre	Louvre Museum, Paris
MAH	The Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva

Majlis	Majlis Library, Museum and Documentation Center, Tehran
Malek	Malek National Library & Museum, Tehran
MET	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MIA	Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minnesota
Moscow	Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow
Morgan	Morgan Library & Museum, New York
NYPL	The New York Public Library, New York
NLR	National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg
Portland	Portland Art Museum, Portland
Princeton	Princeton University Library, Princeton
Reza Abbasi	Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran
RM	The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
SDMA	The San Diego Museum of Art, San Diego
Süleymaniye	Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul
TSMK	Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul
UMMA	The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor
Uppsala	Uppsala University Library, Uppsala
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Vienna	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, The Austrian National Library, Vienna
Volkenkunde	Museum Volkenkunde (The Wereldmuseum Leiden), Leiden
Walters	The Walters Museum of Art, Baltimore
WCMA	Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown
Wereldmuseum	The Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, Rotterdam

## About the Author

Forough Sajadi is an independent scholar with a specialty in Islamic Art, in particular in Persian miniatures. She earned her doctoral degree in Art History from the University of Warsaw in 2021. Since June 2021, she has been conducting a research project titled 'Persian miniatures in Dutch museums, public and private collections'. Forough is currently working as a visiting scholar at Leiden University. During 2018–2020, she worked as a research fellow at the Rijksmuseum. There, besides her PhD project, she organized several pop-up shows using the collection of Persian-Indian miniatures of the Rijksmuseum collection.

# Introduction

The Rijksmuseum's collection of Persian miniatures, comprising fifty-five detached folios, is the most significant of any Dutch museum. The artworks range in date from the 13th century until the early 20th century, and cover diverse subject matters. And yet, the collection has never been studied thoroughly; in the only known catalogue, made by Hermann Goetz in 1958, many of the Persian miniatures are absent.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the present record of the museum is imperfect: the subject matter of several miniatures is unidentified or misidentified, and the dates in several cases are inaccurate.<sup>2</sup> Importantly, of fifty-five detached folios, thirty-five have miniatures and texts on both sides, of which so far only four folios have been fully photographed and published. The present book, which relies on thorough art-historical research to fill in these lacunae, for the first time studies the texts of the miniatures, and identifies the folios' subject matter. Accordingly, both sides of each work have been photographed by the author and are published here. Moreover, this research has endeavoured to record the provenance of the artworks based on the available data and to connect the Rijksmuseum's folios to detached sheets belonging to the same manuscript preserved in other collections.

## 1 An Overview of the Collection

The collection comprises fifty-five detached folios. Of these, a folio of *Khawass al-ashjar* (RP-T-1993-434, RP-T-1993-135) from the pre-Mongol period, is the oldest miniature in the collection, dated to the 13th century. There are five artworks from the Mongol period, dated to the early 14th century, among which two detached folios from *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp* (RP-T-1993-436, RP-T-1993-437) stand out, as they are part of the only known illustrated copy of this book. Furthermore, there are twelve pages from the Timurid period and Turkmen period of the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu confederations. The greatest

---

1 Goetz, H., *The Indian and Persian miniature paintings in the Rijksprentenkabinet (Rijksmuseum) Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: 1958).

2 Examples include Scheurleer, P.L., "Collectie: de Heer en Mevrouw Hülsmann-Stork. Geschenk", *Bulletin van de Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische kunst* 24 (1980), 8–13. Slaczka, A., "Tentoonstelling: Handelswaar en Souvenirs-islamitische kunst uit het Rijksmuseum Amsterdam", *Aziatische Kunst* 41–2 (2011), 30–35. Also, while De Hond, J., Reynaerts, J. & Schapelhouman, M. (eds.), *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 59. 1 (2011), is about the museum's Islamic art collection, it leaves out the Persian miniatures.

share of artworks, however, belongs to the Safavid period, with twenty-four detached folios. The finest of the Safavid artworks a folio of 'Isfandiyar's fifth labour: he kills the Simurgh' (RP-T-1993-393), dated to the 1640s–1660s, is attributable to Mu'in Musavvir. Likewise, the most intriguing Safavid miniature in the collection is 'A youth and a dervish' (NG-2021-85), with two stamps in Persian, two notes in Persian, and a note in Dutch. This information provides us with invaluable insight into the ownership of the piece, and the meaning of this exquisite artwork.

There are thirteen folios from the post-Safavid period, including a stunning painting, dated 18th century, by the eminent painter Muhammad Baqir (AK-MAK-1259). Also, there are two fine depictions of Safavid palaces (RP-T-1895-A-3069, RP-T-1895-A-3070). These miniatures carry Persian and Dutch notes on the verso that spotlight the interest of Dutch art collectors in Persian art.

The artworks are extracted from diverse works, belonging to the fields of literature, religion and science. In literature, the pieces belong to outstanding literary works such as Firdausi's *Shahnama*, the *Khamsa* of Nizami, the *Divan* of Hafiz and Jami's *Haft Awrang*, as well as *Mihr u Mushtari* and *Khusraunama*. Two scientific books are represented, *Khawass al-ashjar* and *Manafi' al-hayawan*, and two noteworthy religious books, with one folio from *'Aja'ib al-makhlukat*, and three fine detached folios from *Rawzat al-shuhada*. In addition to offering new perspectives on the miniatures already recorded in the museum's catalogue, the present book also includes three uncatalogued and unpublished artworks, including two specimens of Gulzar calligraphy from the Qajar period.

In addition to the Persian miniatures proper – i.e., produced for the most part within the territory of Persia at the time – the Rijksmuseum holds a considerable number of detached Indian miniatures. The miniatures are in various styles (Mughal, Pahari, and Deccani), which deserve independent research in their own right. Of them, the author selected five miniatures attributed to India, pertaining to Persian culture and literature, and presented here in the appendix. Significant among them is a detached folio of *Tarikh-i Dilgusha-yi Shamshirkhani* (RP-T-1993-219), which is an abridgment in prose of the *Shahnama* of Firdausi.

## 2 History of the Collection

Of the present detached Persian folios in this book, the museum purchased seven miniatures, and the rest were donated by Dutch collectors, namely:



FIGURE 0.1 Peter Formijne and his wife. From the archive of Ms. Doortje Haan-Wiegman

Herman Julius Hülsmann (1884–1945) and Anna Josina Hülsmann-Stork (1896–1977), Amalia Maartje Elisabeth Draak (1907–1995), Peter Formijne (1899–1995), and Maria Hofker-Rueter (1902–1999). Anna Hülsmann-Stork<sup>3</sup> and Amalia Maartje Elisabeth Draak donated their collections to The Royal Asian Art Society in the Netherlands (KVVAK), in 1976 and 1996 respectively, and they are currently on indefinite loan to the Rijksmuseum.

Peter Formijne (Fig. 0.1), who was a physician, owned a great collection of Persian and Indian miniatures, and donated his collection to the museum in 1993. Of this collection, thirty-eighty Persian miniatures are to be found in this book. His Persian art collection includes the valuable pieces from the *Shahnama* of Firdausi (cat no. 27), *Khamsa* of Nizami (cat no. 19) and *Divan* of Jami (cat no. 13), as well as stunning works such as *Manafi' al-hayawan* (cat no. 2), *Khusraunama* (cat no. 8), *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp* (cat no. 3), *Mihr u Mushtari* (cat no. 17), *Divan-i Shahi* (cat no. 12), and *Rawzat al-shuhada* (cat no. 25).

3 About her collection, see: Draak, A.M.E., “De schenking van de heer en mevrouw Hülsmann-Stork”, *Bulletin van de Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische kunst* 24 (1980), 3. Scheurleer, “Collectie”, 8–13.

Along with the collection, Formijne gave the museum his personal notes about the pieces, which are preserved with inventory number RP-D-1993-24, RP-D-1993-25, RP-D-1993-26 in the museum's archive (Fig. 0.2). These notes carry important information about the provenance of some of his artworks. Thus, we know that Formijne mainly bought them in the UK, at Maggs Bros. Ltd and Sotheby's, but we do not know where the other collectors bought their Persian artworks. Based on Amalia Draak's notes, I conjecture that she bought her two miniatures from the Dutch art dealers Henk Kouw and his wife Greet Kouw.<sup>4</sup> The last donation of Persian miniatures to the museum was made by the Dutch collector Maria Hofker-Rueter. She donated her collection of twenty detached Islamic works on paper to the museum in 1999, but it has yet to be catalogued; three relevant pieces are included in this book.

What is common to all these Dutch collectors, and to the Rijksmuseum's own acquisitions, is that they were solely interested in the visual aspect of the pieces, and not in the text, which is the reason why they only purchased the detached folios containing the images. This poses an obstacle for an in-depth study of these artworks. In several cases there is no straightforward clue to pinpoint the precise date, place of production, or the name of the painter and copyist, much less the miniature's chain of ownership.

Before going through the catalogue, a brief review of the history of Persian miniature painting is in order, in particular from the 'Abbasid period (750–1258) through to the Qajar period (1789–1925).<sup>5</sup> This collection does not include examples from each dynastic period or cultural centre evenly. There is, of course, a rich and extensive body of literature on this subject by eminent art historians, and my aim with the following section is simply to provide the general public with a broad overview.

---

4 Draak has an exquisite collection of manuscripts and artworks, which is discussed in several publications. Of these, see: Gerritsen, W.P., *Verhalen van de drakendochter: leven en werk van Maartje Draak (1907–1995)* (Hilversum: 2019); for the art dealers she was in touch with, see *ibidem*, 196–197.

5 This book specifically focuses on miniatures (works on paper). For a study of Persian wall paintings and paintings on lacquer, see Floor, W., *Wall Paintings and Other Figurative Mural Art in Qajar Iran* (Costa Mesa: 2005). Diba, L., "Invested with Life: Wall Painting and Imagery before the Qajars", *Iranian Studies* 34 (2001), 5–16. Gray, B., "The Tradition of Wall Painting in Iran", in Ettinghausen, R. & Yarshater, E., (eds.), *Highlights of Persian Art* (Boulder: 1979), 313–330. Diba, L., *Lacquerwork of Safavid Persia and its Relationship to Persian Painting* (PhD dissertation, New York University: 1994). Khalili, N.D., Robinson, B.W. & Stanley, T., *Lacquer of the Islamic Lands*, 2 vols. (London: 1993–1997).

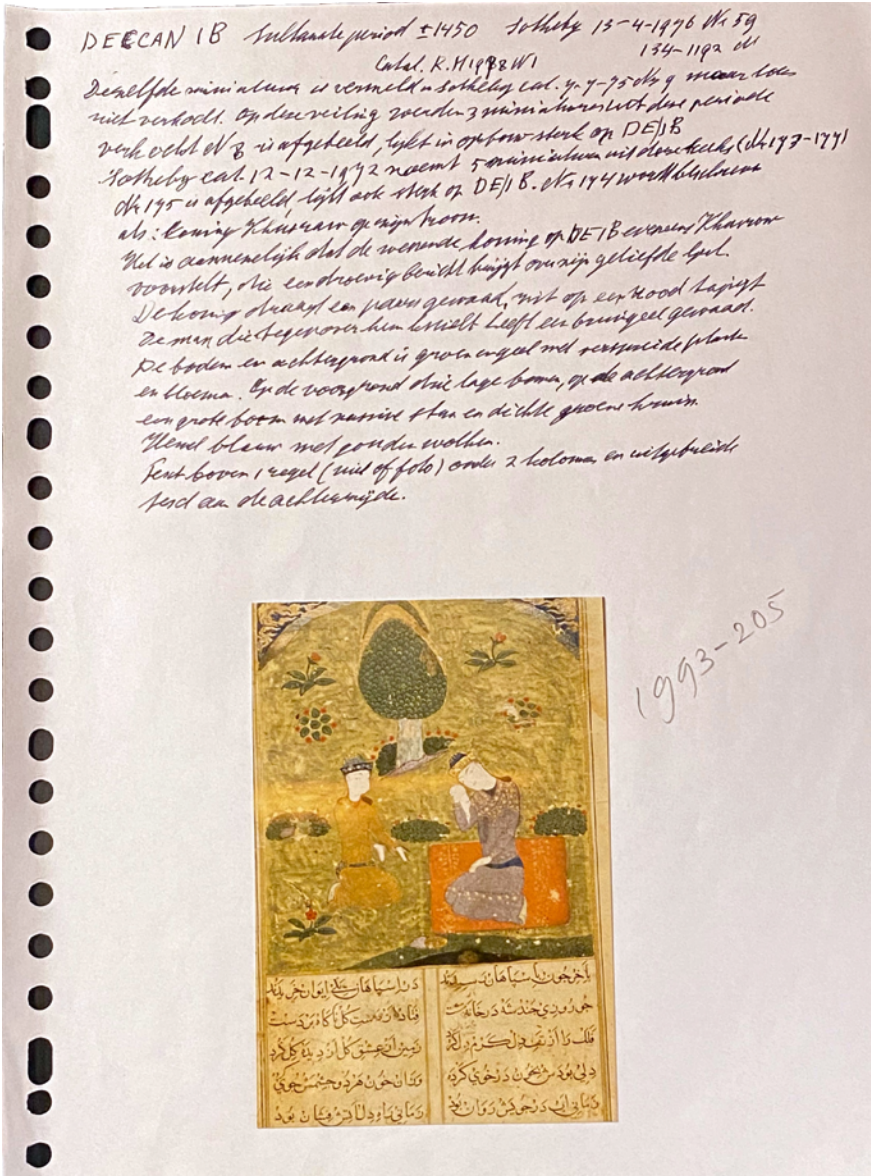


FIGURE 0.2 A folio from the notebook of Peter Formijne on his collection, preserved in the RM (RP-D-1993-26), see the artwork in cat. no. 8

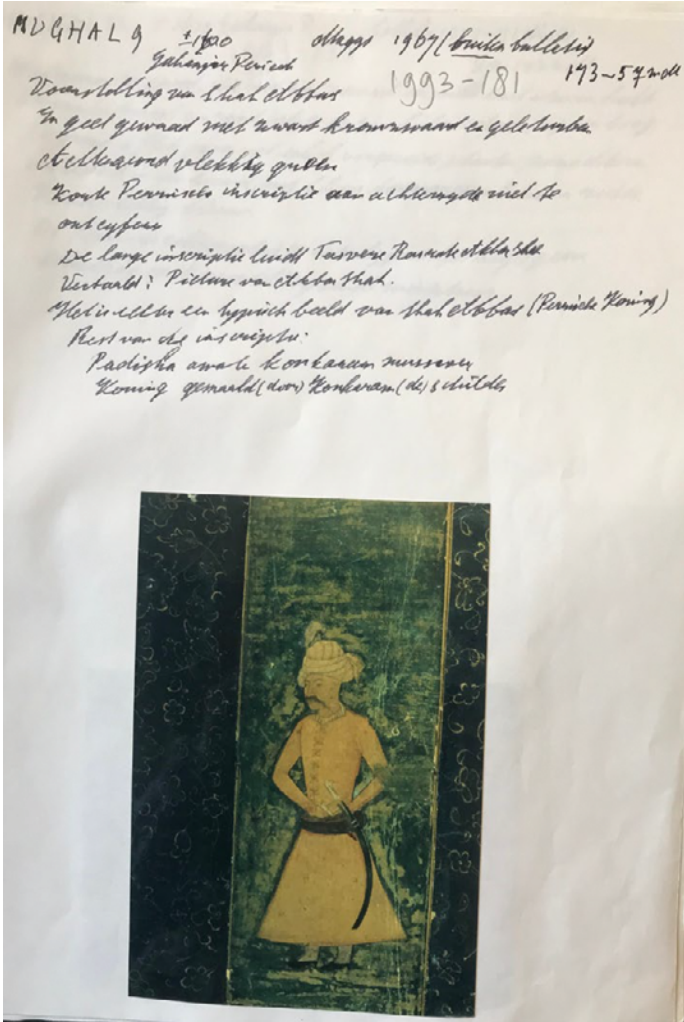


FIGURE 0.3 A folio from the notebook of Peter Formijne on his collection, preserved in the RM (RP-D-1993-26), see the artwork in cat. no. 43

# Historical Overview

## 1 The Early Islamic Era: Pre-Mongol Period

The ‘Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258) marked a watershed in the art of the Islamic lands. In this period, the second caliph, al-Mansur (r. 754–775), founded the capital city of Baghdad, calling upon ‘architects, engineers and workers from everywhere.’<sup>1</sup> This capital became a magnet for scientists, intellectuals, elites and artists from throughout the Islamic lands, ushering in the so-called Golden Age of Islam.<sup>2</sup> In Baghdad, Persian elites rose to form the administrative core of the Caliphate,<sup>3</sup> sparking a revival of Sasanian culture. The historic documents show that al-Muntasir (r. 861–862), the eleventh caliph, had a carpet whose margin was decorated with the figure of the Sasanian king Kavad II (r. 628–628).<sup>4</sup> Likewise, the eminent Arab poet al-Buhturi, (821–897) composed a *qasida* (ode) describing Taq-i Kisra, the main architectural remains of the Sasanian capital, Ctesiphon.<sup>5</sup>

Striking in this period is emergence of local governors in the Persian regions: the Tahirid (821–873), Samanid (819–999), Ghaznavid (977–1186) and Buyid (934–1062) dynasties. These governors paved the way for Persian art to develop and flourish. Under the Tahirids and Samanids, the eastern Persian city of Nishapur became an intellectual and artistic hub. Among the artworks discovered in this city are fragments of domestic wall paintings,<sup>6</sup> and abundant examples of fine decorated pottery.<sup>7</sup> The wall paintings indicate the existence of secular subject matters and narrative depiction. Among the very few surviving illuminated books from this period, we have *Kitab Suwar al-kawakib*

---

1 Ya‘qubi, *Tarikh Ya‘qubi*, ed. M.E. Ayati, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1382/2003), 364–365.

2 Lyons, J., *The House of Wisdom: How the Arabs Transformed Western Civilization* (London: 2009). Contadini A., *Arab Painting Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts* (Leiden & Boston: 2007).

3 Examples are the father and sons of the Barmakid family: Khalid b. Barmak (d. 781/82) and Yahya b. Khalid (d. c.806), Fazl b. Sahl Sarakhsi (d. 818), al-Fazl b. al-Rabi‘ (d. 823/4), and Tahir b. Husayn (d. 822).

4 al-Mas‘udi, *Muruj al-dhahab*, trans. and ed. A. Payandeh, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1382/2003), 539.

5 al-Buhturi, *Divan al-Buhturi*, ed. H.K. al-Sirafi, vol. 2 (Cairo: 1963).

6 These paintings belonged to houses at three sites: Tepe Takestan, Tepe Madrasa, and Sabz Pushan, which were discovered in 1935–1940. Wilkinson, C.K., *Nishapur: Some Early Islamic Buildings and Their Decoration* (New York: 1987).

7 Two samples are the bowls “A company on the boat”, 9th century, made in Nishapur, Reza Abbasi Museum (231), “A cuddling couple”, 10th century, made in Nishapur, Reza Abbasi Museum (1359). Also, see several samples in Grube, E., *Cobalt and Lustre: The First Centuries of Islamic Pottery, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art* (London: 1995).

(Book of the Fixed Stars), dated 1009, made in Persia or Iraq, in the Bodleian library (MS. Marsh 144).<sup>8</sup> The historical evidence indicates that the nobility owned grand libraries,<sup>9</sup> and inevitably some of their books would have been embellished with illuminations.<sup>10</sup> In 915, the Arab historian and geographer al-Mas‘udi (d. 956) reported having visited the house of a Persian nobleman in Istakhr, in Fars province, where he saw an illuminated copy of the book *Suwar Muluk Bani Sasan* (The Book of Portraits of the Sasanian Monarchs). The book elaborately depicted twenty-five male and two female Sasanian monarchs.<sup>11</sup>

The art of painting steadily flourished during the Seljuk period (1037–1194) in Persia.<sup>12</sup> The copious extant decorated ceramics reflect the painting of the time. Seljuk ceramics are embellished with figurative paintings depicting secular scenes. Some paintings are narrative, and in particular depict scenes from works of literature such as *Shahnama* or the *Khamsa* of Nizami.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, a few samples of illuminated books that were produced in eastern Persia have survived; for instance three folios from an unidentified astrological text with a horoscope chart, probably made in Khurasan, c.12th century.<sup>14</sup> There is also a ‘preparatory drawing’, probably made in Khurasan, late 12th or early 13th century.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, there is an illuminated manuscript of an ‘Almanac’ (*ruznama*), 1219, made in Samangan (central Afghanistan). The manuscript contains astronomical information for the solar year between 13 March 1219 and 12 March 1220.<sup>16</sup> The style of the painting, the physiognomy of the figures,

8 Brend, B., “A Reconsideration of the Book of Constellations of 400/1009–10, in the Bodleian Library”, in Hillenbrand, R. (ed.), *The Art of the Saljūqs in Iran and Anatolia: proceedings of a symposium held in Edinburgh in 1982* (Costa Mesa:1994), 89–93.

9 One example is the library of the Buyid ruler ‘Azud al-Daula (r. 949–983) in Shiraz, who owned a magnificent and massive library. Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqasim fi ma‘rifat al-aqalim*, trans. A.N. Monzavi, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1361/1983), 668–669.

10 The paintings are described by Hamza Isfahani (died after 961). al-Mas‘udi, Abu’l-Hasan ‘Ali, *al-Tanbih wa’l-ashraf* (Leiden: 1893), 106. Hamza Isfahani, *Tarikh-i Payambaran wa Shahan (Sani al-Muluk al-Ard wa’l-anbiya’)*, ed. J. Shu‘ar (Tehran: 1346/1967), 46–48.

11 al-Mas‘udi, *al-Tanbih wa’l-ashraf*, 106.

12 Canby, Sh.R., Beyazit, D. & Rugiadi, M. (eds.), *The Seljuqs and their Successors, Art, Culture and History* (Edinburgh: 2020). Canby, Sh.R., Beyazit, D., Rugiadi, M. & Peacock, A.C.S., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (New York: 2016).

13 Some examples are the “Fritware dish”, made in Kashan, late 12th century, David Collection (50/1966), “Fragment of a Bowl with Scenes from the Shahnamah”, 12th or 13th century, made in Persia, Khalili Collections (POT 875), “Beaker”, made in Kashan, late 12th century, Freer Gallery of Art (F1928.2).

14 al-Sabah Collection (LN 275 MS a), f. 1r, see Adamova, A. & Bayani, M., *Persian Painting: The Arts of the Book and Portraiture* (London: 2015), 28–40.

15 The work is in al-Sabah Collection (LNS 349 MS), recto, ibidem, 40–43.

16 Ibidem, 46–59.

and the illumination match the conventions of Persian Seljuk art, in ceramics and in the paintings preserved in the decorated manuscript of *Varqa wa Gulshah* held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 841). The manuscript of *Varqa wa Gulshah* is a romance poem with seventy-one illustrations, probably dated to the 1240s–1250s. The paintings represent haloed figures, rendered in brilliant colours, with symmetrical constructions and a well-developed illustrative style.<sup>17</sup>

## 2 The Mongol Period

In the early 13th century, Genghis Khan (c.1167–1227), the founder of the Mongol empire, conquered the territory that spanned much of the Asian continent, including Persia. After Genghis's death, his successors consolidated these conquests and established the Ilkhanid dynasty (1256–1353), within the Mongol Empire. The Mongol rulers embraced Perso-Islamic culture, a process that reached its apex in 1295 with Ghazan Khan's (r. 1295–1304) conversion to Islam.

In 1258, the Mongols seized the 'Abbasid capital, Baghdad, which ended the Caliphate's five-century rule. A year later, Persian nobleman 'Ata Malik Juvaini (1226–1283) became the governor of Baghdad, a position he would hold for more than two decades.<sup>18</sup> Under his governorship, Baghdad was a continuous hub of illuminated manuscript production. Along with Baghdad, other cities such as Tabriz, Maragha, Shiraz and Isfahan also operated as centres for illuminated manuscript production. The created manuscripts exhibit a wide range of subject matters, with scientific, historical, religious and literary books,<sup>19</sup> and a

17 The work was written in the 11th century by the poet Ayyuqi. Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., *Le Roman de Varqe et Golšâh: Essai sur les rapports de l'esthétique littéraire et de l'esthétique plastique dans l'Iran pré-mongol, suivi de la traduction du roman* (Paris: 1970). Gray, B., *Persian painting* (London:1930), 17.

18 He was from a distinguished family, and was the author of *Tarikh-i Jahan-gusha* (*The History of the World-Conqueror*). About him, see Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, trans. J.A. Boyle (Manchester: 1958), xv–xxx.

19 Of the many artworks, some examples are: *Tarikh-i Jahan-Gusha*, made probably in Baghdad, dated December 1290, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Suppl. Persan 205), *Marzubannama*, made in Baghdad, 1299, Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul (ms. 216), *Bestiary*, made in Maragha, dated 1297–1298 or 1299–1300 and 19th century, Morgan Library & Museum (MS M.500), *Kalila wa Dimna*, 1307–1308, in the British Library (Or. 13506), *Samak-i Ayyar*, c.1330, in the Bodleian Library (MS. Ouseley 379), *Jami' al-tawarikh* (Compendium of Chronicles), c.1306 or c.1314–1315, made in Tabriz, Edinburgh University Library (Or.Ms.20). The miniatures of the Mongol period are extensively described in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 2002.

variety of painting styles. For example, the paintings produced in the cultural heartland of the Ilkhanate, Tabriz and Maragha, were significantly influenced by Chinese art in their depiction of human figures (physiognomy and customs), landscapes (scroll clouds, rocks) and birds (the phoenix).<sup>20</sup>

Importantly, the Ilkhanid period witnessed the production of a wealth of illuminated *Shahnamas*, the Persian national epic.<sup>21</sup> There are several copies of *Shahnama*, dated 1300–1350, labelled as ‘Small *Shahnamas*’, because of their relatively small sizes, produced in north-western Persia or Baghdad.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, there is a splendid copy of *Shahnama*, known as the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, made in Tabriz, c.1320–1336. The manuscript, associated with court patronage, originally contained some 216 paintings, of which 38 miniatures are known to have survived.<sup>23</sup> The paintings, characterized by the large size of their folios, are expressive images with vivid Chinese art influences.

Based on 16th-century documentation, we know the names of two Ilkhanid royal painters: Master Ahmad Musa and his pupil Amir Daulat Yar. They served the last Mongol ruler, Abu Sa’id Bahadur Khan (r. 1316–1335). The quality of Ahmad Musa’s style and artworks, in particular, was acknowledged into the 16th century among the Safavid courtly workshops.<sup>24</sup>

20 Kadoi, Y., *Islamic chinoiserie the art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: 2009).

21 To read the *Shahnama*’s stories, see Ferdowsi, Abu’l-Qasim, *Shahnameh: the Persian book of kings*, trans. D. Davis (New York: 2016).

22 Simpson, M.Sh., *The Illustration of an Epic: the Earliest Shahnama* (New York: 1979).

23 Hillenbrand (2023). This *Shahnama* has been described extensively by scholars, e.g. Hillenbrand, R., *The Great Mongol Shahnama* (London, Washington, D.C., New Haven: 2022). Idem, “Colour in the Great Mongol Shahnama in Manuscripts”, in Panayotova, S. and Ricciardi, P. (eds.), *Manuscripts in the Making, Art and Science 1* (Brepols: 2017), 215–226. Idem, “The Great Mongol Shāhnāma: Some Proposed Repatriations”, in Gonnella, J., Weis, F. & Rauch, Ch. (eds.), *The Diez Albums* (Leiden: 2016), 439–468. Bertalan, S., “Close Examination of Leaves from the Great Mongol Shahnama” in Komaroff, L. (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden & Boston: 2006), 226–232. Blair, Sh.S., “On the track of the ‘Demotte’ Shahnama manuscript”, in Déroche, F. (ed.), *Les Manuscrits du Moyen Orient, Actes du Colloques d’Istanbul 26–29 mai 1986*, Varia Turcica VIII (Istanbul & Paris: 1989), 125–131.

24 Thackston, W., *Album prefaces and other documents on the history of calligraphers and painters* (Leiden & Boston: 2001), 11–13. The document is in the *Bahram Mirza Album* at Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2154), and some samples of Ahmad Musa’s works are included there: folios: 31b, 42a, 61a, 121a. Roxburgh, D., *Album Making, Collecting, and Art (1427–1565) under the Timurids and Safavids*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania: 1996).

### 3 The Injuïd and Muzaffarid Dynasties

While the Ilkhanate courtly workshop was located in Tabriz, alternative cultural hubs also began to flourish under the patronage of the local governors in the south of Persia. These governors were administrators of the Ilkhanate who gradually gained autonomy. From 1304 to 1357, the Injuïds ruled over Fars, with a territory that encompassed two important cultural hubs: Shiraz and Isfahan. Meanwhile, in 1314 the Muzaffarids became the governors of Yazd. Local rulers took advantage of the growing weakness of the Ilkhanate court following the death of Abu Sa'ïd (r. 1316–1335) to build up their own power structures. This process saw the Muzaffarids extend their territory towards that of the Injuïd and eventually overthrow them. The Muzaffarids remained in power until the invasion of the Turko-Mongol conqueror Timur in 1393.

During the 14th century, the Injuïd and Muzaffarid rulers played a pivotal role in forming a specific school of painting which preserved pictorial traditions inherited from earlier centuries.<sup>25</sup> Of the many Injuïd illuminated manuscripts, there is a copy of *Kalila wa Dimna* dated 1307–08 in the British Library (Or. 13506),<sup>26</sup> and a copy of the *Shahnama* dated 1330–1331 at Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 1479). Also, there is a fine illuminated copy of *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp*, dated to the early 14th century, two folios of which are held at the Rijksmuseum (RP-T-1993-436 and RP-T-1993-437). Furthermore, there is a copy of the *Shahnama* dated March 1341, dedicated to the esteemed Injuïd vizier Qawam al-Daula wa'l-Din Hasan (d. 1353).<sup>27</sup> From the Muzaffarid period, there are two *Shahnamas*, one dated 1371, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 1511), and a copy dated 1393/94 in the Egyptian National Library (Tarikh Farsi 73).<sup>28</sup>

25 Wright, E., "Patronage of the Arts of the Book Under the Injuïds of Shiraz", in Komaroff, L. (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden & Boston: 2006), 248–268. Idem, *The look of the book: manuscript production in Shiraz, 1303–1452* (Washington, D.C.: 2012), 153–164.

26 *Kalila wa Dimna*, dated 707/1307–1308. Waley, P. & Titley, N., "An Illustrated Persian Text of Kalila and Dimna Dated 707/1307–08", *British Library Journal* 1 (1975), 42–61.

27 Simpson, M.Sh., "A Reconstruction and Preliminary Account of the 1341 Shahnama, With Some Further Thoughts on Early Shahnama Illustration", in Hillenbrand, R. (ed.), *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars* (London & New York: 2000), 217–247.

28 O'Kane, B., "The Iconography of the Shahnama, Ms. tarikh farisî 73, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo (796/1393–4)", in Melville, Ch. (ed.), *Shahnama Studies* 1 (Cambridge: 2006), 171–188.

#### 4 Jalayirid Period

As the Ilkhanate descended into political chaos in the 1330s, the Jalayirids (c.1335–1410) seized power in western Persia.<sup>29</sup> The Jalayirid rulers were of Mongol descent, and their territory boasted two prominent cultural hubs: Baghdad and Tabriz. In particular, having Tabriz afforded the Jalayirids the privilege of exploiting the artistic heritage of the Ilkhanate court. Among the Jalayirid rulers, two were prominent patrons of the arts: Shaykh Uways (r. 1356–74) and his son Sultan Ahmad (r. 1382–1410). Sultan Uways was a patron of painter Shams al-Din, who was a pupil of Ahmad Musa, the royal painter of the Ilkhanate.<sup>30</sup> Shams al-Din in turn trained another painter, Khwaja ‘Abd al-Hayy, who played a pivotal role in the court of Sultan Ahmad. His tasks included teaching painting to the sultan,<sup>31</sup> who was skilled in several arts, including painting, illumination and calligraphy.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, ‘Abd al-Hayy trained other distinguished painters such as Junayd of Baghdad, whose name is inscribed on an exquisite illuminated manuscript of the *Divan* of Khwaju Kirmani, dated 1396, British Library (Add. 18113), fol. 45v.<sup>33</sup>

Compared with the Ilkhanate style, the Jalayirid paintings possess a more poetic aura. Stylistically, they are vertical, and the size of the figures is reduced in favour of the landscape, which, along with architecture, receives more elaborate treatment. Of the prominent illuminated books of the Jalayirid period, there are two examples in the Freer Gallery of Art; the *Divan* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, late 14th century, (F1932.29, F1932.31–37),<sup>34</sup> and a copy of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, c.1400, (F1931–37). Meanwhile, we also have samples of two non-literary books: the *‘Aja’ib al-makhlūqat* of Tusi, dated 1388, commissioned by Sultan Ahmad, made in Baghdad, Bibliothèque nationale de France

29 Wing, P., *The Jalayirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Middle East* (Edinburgh: 2016).

30 Thackston, *Album prefaces* 13. Of the works by this artist there is a drawing, ‘Large Plane Tree’, signed ‘Shams al-Din’, 14th century, in Berlin, Diez A fol. 73, p. 50, no. 4.

31 Ibidem, 13. The document is in the *Bahram Mirza Album*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2154). Fol. 20b in this album is ascribed to ‘Abd al-Hayy.

32 Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-shu‘ara*, ed. E.G. Browne (Tehran: 1382/2003), 308.

33 ‘[Painting] made by the Sultan’s painter Junayd’, (عمل جنید نقاش سلطانی). Thackston, *Album prefaces*, 13.

34 Farhad, M., “The *Divan* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and the Diez and Istanbul Albums”, in Gonnella, J., Weis, F. & Rauch, Ch. (eds.), *The Diez Albums* (Leiden: 2016), 485–512. For various samples of Jalayirid miniatures, see O’Kane, B., “The Great Jalayirid *Shāhnāma*”, in Gonnella, J., Weis, F. & Rauch, Ch. (eds.), *The Diez Albums* (Leiden: 2016), 469–484. Atasoy, N., “Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments from the Fourteenth Century *Shahnamehs*”, *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), 19–48.

(Supplément Persan 332), and a copy of *Kitab al-Bulhan* (Book of Wonders), dated 1330–1450, at the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. Or. 133).<sup>35</sup>

## 5 Timurid and Turkmen Periods (the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu)

Toward the end of the 14th century, the Turko-Mongol conqueror Timur (r. 1370–1405) seized Persia and Central Asia, and established the Timurid Empire. After his death his territory was passed on to his successors, and his son Shah Rukh (r. 1405–1447) became the ruler of Persia, establishing Herat as his capital, marking the beginning of the golden age of Timurid art, which was indebted to the artistic passion of numerous Timurid princes.<sup>36</sup> Among them was Timur's grandson Iskandar Sultan (1384–1415), who was governor of Shiraz from 1410–14, and who commissioned three illuminated miscellanies: one at the British Library (Add. 27261), one at the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum (LA. 161), both dated 1410–11, and another at Topkapı Palace Museum Library (B.411), fols. 138r–166v, dated 1413–1414.<sup>37</sup> The assassination of Iskandar Sultan in 1415 by Shah Rukh was a tragic end to the life of an eminent patron of the arts.

Shah Rukh himself also commissioned several illuminated books in Herat, including Hafiz Abru's *Majma' al-tawarikh* (Compendium of History) dated c.1425,<sup>38</sup> and a copy of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated December 1431, at the State Hermitage Museum (VR-1000). Meanwhile, in the 1420s Shah Rukh's son, Baysunghur (1397–1433), helped transform Herat into the Timurids' most important artistic centre.<sup>39</sup> Although Prince Baysunghur never became ruler, he was

35 Carboni, S., "The 'Book of Surprises' (Kitāb al-Bulhān) of the Bodleian Library", *La Trobe Journal* 91 (2013), 22–34.

36 Wright, *The look of the book* 165–208, Roxburgh, D., *The Persian album, 1400–1600: from dispersal to collection* (New Haven: 2005) 85–147. Lentz, T.W. & Lowry, G.D., *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles & Washington, D.C.: 1989). On various manuscripts produced in other cities, see Stchoukine, I., "La peinture à Yazd au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Syria* 40.1 (1963), 139–145.

37 Roxburgh, D., "The Aesthetics of Aggregation: Persian Anthologies of the Fifteenth Century", in Grabar, O. & Robinson, C. (eds.) *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (Princeton: 2001), 123–131. Soucek, P., "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content", in Golombek, L. & Subtelny, M. (eds.), *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 1992), 116–131.

38 Two detached folios of this manuscript can be seen in the David Collection (8/2005) and the Freer Gallery of Art (S1986.131).

39 Mihan, Sh., *Timurid Manuscript Production: The Scholarship and Aesthetics of Prince Bāysunghur's Royal Atelier (1420–1435)* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge: 2018).

in charge of various administrative positions, including, around the year 1430, the post of governor-general of Tabriz,<sup>40</sup> which gave him the opportunity to benefit from the Jalayirid artistic tradition, and also to bring back some painters to the eastern side of Persia.<sup>41</sup> Starting in 1429, Baysunghur's workshop in Herat actively produced superb decorated manuscripts including a *Shahnama*, dated January 1430, Gulistan Palace Library (716),<sup>42</sup> two copies of *Kalila wa Dimna* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library; one dated October 1429, (R.1022), and one dated 1431, (H. 362), and also the *Baysunghur Album*, c.1400–1450, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2152).<sup>43</sup> Foremost among the painters in his workshop was Amir Khalil, who 'was at that time without equal or peer in his own line, and the aforementioned prince had showered him with great patronage and day by day so increased his favour towards him that he became an object of jealousy on the part of the high and mighty'.<sup>44</sup>

Simultaneously, Baysunghur's brothers, Ulugh Beg (1394–1449),<sup>45</sup> Muhammad Juki (1402–1445)<sup>46</sup> and Ibrahim Sultan (1394–1435), also commissioned illuminated books. Ibrahim Sultan, who was the governor of Fars province from 1415–1435, commissioned various splendid illuminated books in Shiraz,

---

Idem, "On the Meaning of a Fifteenth Century Technical Term in a Timurid Document Associated with Prince Baysunghur's Library in Herat", *Iran* 54.2 (2016), 129–134. Lentz, T.W., *Painting at Herat Under Baysunghur Ibn Shahrukh* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University: 1985).

- 40 Hafiz Abru, *Zubdat al-tawarikh*, vol. 2, ed. S.K. Haj Sayyed Javadi (Tehran: 1372/1993), 736–740.
- 41 Thackston, *Album prefaces*, 13.
- 42 Hillenbrand, R., "Exploring a Neglected Masterpiece: The Gulistan Shahnama of Baysunghur", *Iranian Studies* 43. 1 (2010), 97–126. Rajabi, M.A. (ed.), *Master pieces of Persian painting*, exhibition cat., Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (Tehran: 2005), 39–68.
- 43 Roxburgh, *Album Making*, 111–175.
- 44 Thackston, *Album prefaces*, 13–14. See the unique document, known as "Arzedasht" (report), in an album at Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2153, f. 98a). This document is a report from Baysunghur's atelier, including the names of the artists in its service, and its ongoing projects. Ibidem, 44–46.
- 45 In 1409, Ulugh Beg became the governor of Samarkand, and from 1411–1449 he was the governor of Transoxiana, with Samarqand as his capital. After the death of Baysunghur, his workshop and artists were passed on to his son, 'Ala al-Daula Mirza. In 1448, Ulugh Beg defeated 'Ala al-Daula and took the artists serving him to Samarkand. Of the works Ulugh Beg commissioned in Samarqand, there is a manuscript of *Suwar al-kawakib*, 1449, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Arabe 5036), and a detached folio of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, 1425–1450, Freer Gallery of Art (F1946.26). Thackston, *Album prefaces*, 14.
- 46 Of the works he commissioned, there is a copy of *Shahnama*, dated late 1440s, made in Herat, Cambridge University Library (MS RAS 239). Brend, B., *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi* (London: 2010).

among them a copy of the *Shahnama*, 1432–1435, Bodleian Library (ms. Ouseley Add. 176),<sup>47</sup> and a copy of Nizami's *Iskandarnama*, Majlis Library, Tehran (Ms. 61866).<sup>48</sup> Compared with Herat, Shiraz paintings are simpler, with less decorative elements and the landscapes have a high horizon line.

After the generation of Shah Rukh's sons, the next influential courtly patron came to the throne in 1469, in Herat. Sultan Husain Bayqara Mirza (r. 1469–1506) was the great-great-grandson of Timur. In his service were painters such as Mirak Naqqash, Maulana Haji Muhammad, Qasem 'Ali Chehreh Gusha, Ustad Darvish, Khalifa of Khiva, Maulana Vali Alla, and Bihzad.<sup>49</sup> The most prominent among them was Bihzad (d. 1535–36), a highly esteemed painter whose art was greatly praised by his contemporaries and successors alike.<sup>50</sup> These painters collaborated on the decoration of fine books such as Yazdi's *Zafarnama* of 1467–1468, illustrations dated c.1490,<sup>51</sup> in John Hopkins University, and the *Bustan of Sa'di*, dated 1488, the Egyptian National Library (Adab Farsi 908).<sup>52</sup>

While the art of painting experienced a prosperous era in Herat, in western Persia painting was likewise flourishing under the patronage of Turkmens rulers; the Qara Qoyunlu (1374–1468) and Aq Qoyunlu (1378–1503). Starting in the 1410s, the Turkmens gradually ascended to power, and by the mid-15th century, the Aq Qoyunlu governed over major cities such as Tabriz, Shiraz and Baghdad.<sup>53</sup> Like the Timurid rulers, the Turkmens commissioned fine manuscripts, among them a copy of *Khamsa* of Nizami, 1481, made in Shiraz,

47 Abdullaeva, F. & Melville, Ch., *The Persian Book of Kings: Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnama* (Oxford: 2008). Wright, *The look of the book*.

48 Uluç, L., "An Iskandarnāma of Nizami Produced for Ibrahim Sultan", *Muqarnas* 30.1 (2014), 235–253.

49 Balafrej, L., *The making of the artist in late Timurid painting* (Edinburgh: 2009). Thackston, *Album prefaces* 15. Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qādi Ahmad, Son of Mir-Munshi (circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)*, trans. V. Minorsky (Washington, D.C.: 1959) 179. See also Wilkinson, J.V.S., "Fresh Light on the Herat Painters", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 58. 335 (1931) 60–69.

50 There are countless publications about Bihzad; see e.g. Bahari, E., *Bihzad, Master of Persian Painting* (London: 1996). Lentz, T.W., "Changing Worlds: Bihzad and the new painting", in Canby, Sh.R. (ed.), *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: 1990), 39–54. Roxburgh, D., "Kamal al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting", *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), 119–146.

51 Natif, M., "The Zafarnama of Sultan Husayn Mirza", in Hourihane, C. (ed.), *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton: 2002), 211–228.

52 Balafrej, *The making of the artist*, 43–74.

53 Savory, R.M., "The Struggle for Supremacy in Persia after the death of Timūr", *Der Islam* 40 (1964), 35–51.

Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 762), and another copy of *Khamsa*, made in Baghdad or Shiraz, c.1460, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 753).<sup>54</sup> One of the most distinguished Turkmen patrons was Pir Budaq (d. 1466), who was the governor of Shiraz from 1456 to 1460 and of Baghdad from 1460 to 1466. A copy of the *Shahnama*, dated c.1460s, at the University of Michigan Museum of Art, is presumably one of the works he commissioned.<sup>55</sup>

Alongside the aforementioned courtly patronage of the 15th century, there are copious manuscripts that were produced in Shiraz and Yazd for non-royal owners, which is why art historians have labelled them ‘commercial manuscripts’.<sup>56</sup> The miniatures in this style are characterized by figures with round childlike faces, simplified backdrops, landscapes comprising large hills, and stylized flowers. The production of commercial manuscripts grew to satisfy a thriving market in the subsequent centuries.<sup>57</sup>

## 6 Safavid Period

In 1501, Shah Isma‘il I (r. 1501–1524) founded the Safavid dynasty, which was to last until 1722. The long rule of this dynasty, with a generous royal patronage that fostered the virtuosity of successive generations of painters, set the stage for a golden age in Persian art, which is categorized according to the three Safavid capitals: Tabriz style, Qazvin style, and Isfahan style.

The reign of Shah Isma‘il I (r. 1501–1524) was focused on stabilizing the Safavids’ territory. During the fight with the Uzbeks and Timurids in the east, and the Turkmens in the west, Shah Isma‘il confiscated many exquisite books

54 Tanmıd, Z., “Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops”, *Muqarnas* XVII (2000), 147–161. Robinson, “The Turkmen School”, 241–243. The Topkapı manuscript (H. 753) was later transferred to Safavid territory in Tabriz, where several new miniatures were added.

55 Soucek, P., “The Ann Arbor Shahnama and its Importance” in Hillenbrand, R. (ed.), *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars* (London-New York: 2000), 267–281. To read about his patronage and the works associated with him, see Roxburgh, D., “‘Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust’: Pir Budaq and the Formation of Turkmen Arts of the Book”, in Roxburgh, D. (ed.) *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Honor of Renata Holod* (Leiden & Boston: 2014), 175–222.

56 The expression was proposed by Robinson. See Robinson, B.W., “The Turkmen School to 1503”, in Gray, B. (ed.), *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries* (London & Paris: 1979), 215–248, 243–244. See also “The commercial Turkmen style” in Adamova & Bayani, *Persian Painting*, 161–162, 292–293.

57 Uluç, L., *Turkman governors, Shiraz artisans and Ottoman collectors: sixteenth century Shiraz manuscripts* (Istanbul: 2006).

in the areas he captured, such as a copy of the *Khamasa* of Nizami Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 762), 1481.<sup>58</sup> He established his royal workshop in his capital, Tabriz, and in 1522 appointed the distinguished master Kamal al-Din Bihzad (d. 1535–36) as director.<sup>59</sup> There, Bihzad cooperated with other masters such as Sultan Muhammad (d. 1540s–1550s)<sup>60</sup> and Aqa Mirak (d. 1560s–1570s). These painters, brought in from across Persia, created a specific *mélange* of the Timurid and Turkmen traditions. Their art was diverse in style, rich in colours, and complex in composition. Meanwhile, Safavid paintings are recognizable by the hallmark of the men's white turban wrapped around a distinctive baton.<sup>61</sup> Among the projects commissioned by Isma'il there is a copy of the *Divan* of Khata'i (the shah's own pen-name), c.1520, Freer Gallery of Art (S1986.60), and a copy of *Jamal u Jalal*, c.1502–1505, in Uppsala University Library (O Nov. 2).<sup>62</sup>

In 1524 Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576) ascended the throne. In addition to being a patron of the arts, he was himself a painter. It is believed that the young king was trained by Sultan Muhammad, and enjoyed the company of other master painters as well.<sup>63</sup> Numerous exquisite illuminated books were produced in his workshop, the foremost being the *Shahnama-yi Shah Tahmasp*, dated 1520s–40s, and *Khamasa-yi Shah Tahmasp*, dated 1539–1543, British Library (Or. 2265).<sup>64</sup> When Tahmasp's enthusiasm for the arts faded sometime in the 1540s–1550s,<sup>65</sup> the activity of his workshop slowed, and was never to

58 In this manuscript ten miniatures are in the Turkmen style and nine were added in the Safavid period sometime after 1501. Stchoukine, I., "Les peintures turcomanes et safavies d'une Khamseh de Nizâmî, achevée à Tabriz en 886/1481", *Arts Asiatique* 44 (1966), 1–16. Tanmî, "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts", 149–150, note 29, 160.

59 "Decree of appointment of Bihzad to the head of the royal library", dated 24 April 1522. Bahari, *Bihzad*, 185.

60 Soucek, P., "Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi: Painter at the Safavid Court", in Canby, Sh.R. (ed.), *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: 1990), 55–84. Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 180–181.

61 Schmitz, B., "On a Special Hat Introduced during the Reign of Shâh 'Abbâs the Great", in *Iran* 22 (1984), 103–112.

62 *Jamal u Jalal* is a *Masnavi* composed by Muhammad Asafi (or Nazlabadi), c.1405 (808 AH). The Uppsala manuscript was initially made in 1502–3 in Herat and later transferred to the Safavid library. Canby, Sh.R., *The Golden Age of Persian Art 1501–1722* (London: 1999), 29–35.

63 Iskandar Beg Munshi, *Tarikh-i 'Alam-ara-yi 'Abbasi*, ed. I. Afshar, vol. 1 (Tehran: 1350/1971), 174–75. Also, several painters in the service of Shah Tahmasp are mentioned in Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 179–86, 191.

64 Welch, S.C., *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (New York: 1976). Dickson, M.B. & Welch, S.C., *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: 1981).

65 The timing of and reasons behind his disenchantment are not certain. Based on some historical records, around 1532–33 Shah Tahmasp had two dreams which made him repent all his sins and lead a pious life. Later, in 1556, the shah issued an 'Edict of Sincere

recover for the rest of his reign. Nevertheless, several Safavid princes filled in this gap, the most prominent being Bahram Mirza (d. 1549),<sup>66</sup> who commissioned the superb album known as the *Dust Muhammad Album*, dated to the 1544–1545, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2154).<sup>67</sup> Apart from Bahram Mirza, his two sons, Ibrahim Mirza (d. 1577)<sup>68</sup> and Badi' al-Zaman (d. 1577),<sup>69</sup>

---

Repentance'. Around this time, the royal library became less active and a number of painters left the employ. The coincidence of these events has convinced some art historians that the shah's repentance caused his disenchantment with the arts. Meanwhile, other art historians have argued that this change was due to the shah's own peculiar character traits, or even his failing eyesight. For a variety of opinions, see: Welch, S.C., Canby, Sh.R. & Titley, N., *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–1576* (Boston: 1979), 27. Welch, *A King's Book*, 68. Soudavar, A., "Between the Safavids and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition", *Persian Studies* 47 (1999), 51–52. Canby, Sh.R., "The World of the Early Safavids Shah Tahmasp at Qazvin 1550–76", in Thompson, J. & Canby, S.R., *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576* (Milan & London: 2003), 19. The question of Tahmasp's 'repentance' and his decrees in 1533 and 1556 are discussed by other scholars, among them Babayan, K., *Mystics, monarchs, and messiahs: cultural landscapes of early modern Iran* (Cambridge: 2002), 308–325. Arjomand, S.A., "Three Decrees of Shah Tahmāsp on Clerical Authority and Public Law in Shi'ite Iran", *Sociology of Shi'ite Islam: Collected Essays* (2016), 151–165.

- 66 Qazi Ahmad (b. 1546) wrote: 'His Majesty [Bahram Mirza] had an extreme inclination toward painting and perfected the practice of drawing. In His Majesty's workshop the calligraphers and painters were proficient and they were always working and making manuscripts'. Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 183.
- 67 This album has been studied in depth by Roxburgh. Roxburgh, D., *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Boston: 2000). Idem, *Album Making*. Simpson also discussed two additional works made for Bahram Mirza. Simpson, M.Sh., "A Manuscript Made for the Safavid Prince Bahram Mirza", *The Burlington Magazine* 133. 1059 (1991), 376–384.
- 68 Ibrahim Mirza is mentioned in several Safavid histories. *Khulasat al-tawarikh* states: 'In painting and drawing he [Ibrahim Mirza] was skilled and quick as the virtuosos of the Mani style; indeed, spellbinding painters from Tarrazan in China, from Frankish lands, from Iraq and from Azerbaijan were in awe of him'. Among the works he commissioned is a copy of Jami's *Haft Awrang*, 1556–65, made in Mashhad, in the Freer Gallery of Art (46.12). Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Khulasat al-tawarikh*, ed. E. Eshraqi, vol. 1 (Tehran: 1383/2004) 635–637. Simpson, M.Sh. & Farhad, M., *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (New Haven: 1997).
- 69 He governed Sistan during 1557–1577. Although there is no explicit record of his patronage, it is evident that Badi' al-Zaman was a patron of painters. Sistani states, 'Most of the members of Bahram Mirza's workshop, in addition to the workshop equipment, were inherited by Mirza [Badi' al-Zaman], whose inheritance also included valuable slaves'. Sistani, Malek Shah Husain, Ehya' al-muluk: Tarikh-i Sistan az Advar-i Bastani ta 'Asr-i Safavi, ed. M. Sutuda (Tehran: 1344/1965), 170.

as well as his brother, prince Sam Mirza (1517–1566),<sup>70</sup> also commissioned illuminated books.

Following the death of Shah Tahmasp, Isma‘il II (r. 1576–1577) inherited the throne. The reign of Isma‘il II was short-lived, and laden with bloodshed, which did not allow the arts to flourish under his patronage. After two years, upon his death, the royal projects such as an illuminated copy of the *Shahnama*, dated 1576–1577, were stopped.<sup>71</sup> In 1578, Muhammad Khudabanda (r. 1578–1587) was enthroned. Despite his interest in the arts, there is no explicit documentation on the activities of his workshop. We know that he suffered from impaired eyesight, which may also explain his lack of patronage in this field. Nevertheless, there is evidence for other patrons. For example, crown prince Hamza Mirza (d. 1586) supported two painters, Farrukh Beg and his brother.<sup>72</sup> Mirza Salman Jabiri (d. 1583), the grand vizier, commissioned book decorations.<sup>73</sup> Also, Prince ‘Abbas and his tutor (*lala*) ‘Ali Quli Khan Shamlu (d. 1589) presumably supported painters as well.<sup>74</sup>

In 1587, Prince ‘Abbas took the throne as Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1588–1629). The long and powerful reign of Shah ‘Abbas ushered in a vibrant period of courtly sponsorship, starting in around the 1590s. In 1597/98, he officially transferred the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan, and accordingly had the royal workshop established there. The paintings produced in this workshop developed throughout the 17th century, and came to form a style known as the Isfahan School. The success of this school is indebted to the patronage of Shah ‘Abbas I and his successors, and the virtuosity of skilled painters such as Sadiqi Beg (d. 1610), Riza ‘Abbasi (d. 1635), Mu‘in Musavvir (fl. 1630s–1690s), Shafi ‘Abbasi (d. 1670s), and ‘Ali Quli (fl. 1650s–1690s) and Muhammad Zaman (d. 1700s).<sup>75</sup>

The paintings of the Isfahan School are unequivocally hybrid and diverse in their techniques and subject matters, in part because of popularity of

70 Welch, *A King's Book*, 55–60.

71 Robinson, B.W., “Shah Ismā‘īl II’s Copy of the Shāh-Nāma: Additional Material”, *Iran* 43 (2005), 291–299. Idem, “Ismā‘īl II’s Copy of the Shāhnāma”, *Iran* 14 (1976), 1–8.

72 Iskandar Beg Munshi, *Tarikh-i ‘Ālam-ara*, vol 1, 176.

73 Soudavar, A., “The age of Muhammadi”, *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), 60–66.

74 Welch, A., “Painting and Patronage under Shah Abbas I”, *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974), 465, 473.

75 Of the many studies on these painters, see Sajadi, F., *The impact of the Netherlandish art on Persian Miniature in Safavid era 1588–1722* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Warsaw: 2021), Habibi, N., *‘Ali Qoli Jebādār et l’occidentalisme Safavide: une étude sur les peintures dites farangi sāzi, leurs milieux et commanditaires sous Shāh Soleimān (1666–94)* (Leiden: 2018). Landau, A., *Farangi-sāzi at Isfahan: the court painter Muhamad Zamān, the Armenians of New Julfa and Shah Sulaymān (1666–1694)* (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University: 2009). Canby, Sh.R., *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi ‘Abbasi of Isfahan* (London: 1996).

album-making and the single-page paintings,<sup>76</sup> the international art market, and the Armenian arts and artists in Isfahan's New Julfa district.<sup>77</sup> One striking feature is the service of three Dutch painters at the royal court, each of whom received a handsome salary: Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt (died after 1654), Henrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst (died after 1648) and Philips Angel (d. c.1664).<sup>78</sup>

The Safavid dynasty fell apart with the Afghan invasion of 1722–1736. Nevertheless, the accomplishments of the Safavid painters, in particular the Isfahan School, would remain a powerful presence in the artistic sphere during subsequent centuries.

## 7 Post-Safavid Era

Post-Safavid painting is categorized into three groups, according to three dynasties: Afsharid (1736–1796), Zand (1751–1794), and Qajar (1789–1925).

The 18th-century Afsharid (1736–1796) and Zand (1751–1794) dynasties were short-lived, and our information about their painters is scant. However, the extant artworks prove that Afsharid and Zand painters continued the late-Safavid pictorial tradition.<sup>79</sup> Examples of miniatures from the Zand period include the courtly miniatures 'Portrait of Mu'iz al-Din Muhammad Ghafari', 1781–1782, by Abu'l-Hasan Ghaffari, in the Malek National Library and Museum (1393.02.00053), 'Portrait of Karim Khan Zand', 18th century, in the National Museum of Iran (4601). Afsharid examples include 'Portrait of Nadir Shah', 1743–1744, by Bahram Naqash Bashi, at the State Hermitage Museum (VR-552), and 'Portrait of Nadir Shah Afshar', attributable to Muhammad 'Ali, made in Isfahan, c.1740–1745, at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (14.646). In addition to courtly portraits, there are several samples of miniatures with other subject

76 Roxburgh, *The Persian album*. Idem, *Album Making*.

77 Landau, *Farangi-sāzi*. Idem, "European Religion Iconography in Safavid Iran: Decoration and Patronage of Meydani Bet'ghehem", in Floor, W. & Herzog, E. (eds.), *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, (London: 2012), 425–446. Carswell, J., *New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* (Oxford: 1968).

78 Sajadi, F., "Netherlandish prints and Persian painting: Inspirational source for Persian painters during 1650s–1680s", in Kovačić, D. & Novaković, J. (eds.), *Beyond Boundaries. Conceptualizing Netherlandish Prints*, (Belgrade: 2021), 107–120. Floor, W. & Sajadi, F., "Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt: A Dutch Painter in Safavid Isfahan", *Iranian Studies* 53, 3–4 (2020), 1–28.

79 Diba, L., Ekhtiar, M. & Robinson, B.W. (eds.), *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925* (London: 1998), 137–167.

matters, such as ‘Standing woman, with flowers’, by Muhammad Baqir, at Rijksmuseum (AK-MAK-1259), and ‘Birds and flower’, in the National Museum of Iran (19871) signed by Muhammad Hadi, both dated 18th century.

In 1789, Agha Muhammad Khan founded the Qajar dynasty, which lasted until 1925. Qajar paintings are diverse in terms of their materials, techniques and styles. They depict a wide range of subject matters, from erotic scenes, lovers, youths and assemblies of dervishes, to literary figures, flora and fauna, and portraits. Some paintings represent fantastical and idealized images, while others focus on the realities of everyday life. It is during this period that the influence of western art became much more prominent, in particular in the second half of the 19th century, when Persian painters began to undertake an academic study of European art. Simultaneously, their enthusiasm for the art of their predecessors also increased, be it the Achaemenid and Sasanian art of ancient Persia, or the more recent art of Safavid times.

In addition to copious oil paintings, both mural and on canvas, Qajar painters pursued the traditional art of book decoration. Of the illuminated manuscripts from this period, there are several copies of *Shahanshahnama*, the book in verse describing the history of the Qajars up to 1808, during the reign of Fath ‘Ali Shah (r. 1797–1834).<sup>80</sup> Moreover, there are numerous decorated literary and religious books.<sup>81</sup> The period’s decorated manuscript par excellence is the splendid *Thousand and One Nights* commissioned by Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–1896), spanning six volumes, illustrated between 1852–1859, in the Gulistan Palace Library (MS. 12367–12372).<sup>82</sup>

In addition to book decoration, from the late 19th century on, many albums and single-page paintings were produced. These artworks proliferated in response to increasing interest in Safavid art from both the Persian and Western markets.<sup>83</sup> Accordingly, Persian artists reproduced artworks as a display of

80 Diba, L., “Introducing Fath Ali Shah: Production and Dispersal of the Shahanshahnama Manuscripts”, in Melville, Ch. (ed.), *Shahnama Studies 1* (Cambridge: 2006) 239–258. Idem, “An Encounter Between Qajar Iran and the West: The Rashtrapati Bhavan Painting of Fath ‘Ali Shah at the Hunt”, in Behrens-Abouseif, D. and Vernot, S. (eds.), *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation and Eclecticism* (Leiden: 2006) 281–304. Diba, Ekhtiar & Robinson (eds.), *Royal Persian Paintings*.

81 Several samples are described by Ekhtiar, M., “Infused with Shi’ism: Representations of the Prophet in Qajar Iran”, in Gruber, C.J. & Shalem, A. (eds.), *The Image of the Prophet between Ideal and Ideology* (Berlin & Boston: 2014), 97–112.

82 Simsar, M.H., *Golestan Palace Library: Portfolio of Miniature paintings and Calligraphy*, trans. K. Emami (Tehran: 2000), 223–247.

83 Scholars have dedicated a number of studies to Persian art produced in the Safavid style during the Qajar and Pahlavi periods, e.g. Adamova, A., *Persian Manuscripts, Paintings and Drawings: From the 15th to the Early 20th Century in the Hermitage Collection* (London:

admiration for the glories of Safavid art, but also to feed growing demand from Western collectors. Samples of these artworks include ‘Two Young Men in an Erotic Embrace’, from the last third of the 19th century, Rijksmuseum (AK-MAK-1544); ‘Rustam kills Div’, Qajar period, National Museum of Iran (22519); or ‘Assembly of Four Sufis’, from the late 19th or early 20th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1979.461).<sup>84</sup>

---

2012) 55–59, Diba, L., “The Formation of Modern Iranian Art: From Kamal-al-Molk to Zenderoudi”, in Daftari, F. & Diba, L. (eds.), *Iran Modern* (New York: 2013), 45–65. Langer, A., “Safavid Revival in Persian Miniature Painting: Renewal, Imitation and Source of Inspiration”, in Giese, F., Volait, M. & Varela Braga, A. (eds.), *À l’orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Leiden & Boston: 2019), 15–27.

84 There are various samples at the State Hermitage Museum. Adamova, *Persian Manuscripts*, 364–392.

# Guide to the Catalogue Entries

In the catalogue, the artworks are presented chronologically. For each artwork, the recto (front) and the verso (back) are discussed respectively. The focal point of this catalogue is on the illustrations and not on the accompanying text. However, the starting couplet of folios of *Shahnama*, and *Divan* of Hafiz are underscored. Also, the headings, catchwords, and annotations are highlighted. The title of the *Shahnama* folios follows the database of ‘The Shahnama Project’, in the Cambridge Digital Library.<sup>1</sup>

The inventory numbers are based on the present record of the museum. In many cases, the inventory number is written with a pencil in the margin of the artwork and is detectable on the image; cat. no. 1, 3, 5, 6,7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29. The inventories in some cases are not harmonious because of two main reasons. First, in the museum, the Persian miniatures are preserved dispersedly in the folders of a sizeable collection of Indian single miniatures. Second, when a few detached folios are from one manuscript, the order of the inventory numbers does not match the sequence of events in the book.

In the catalogue, the names of the manuscript collections are mentioned in the shortened form. The full names of collections can be seen on pages xvi–xvii.

---

1 Cambridge Digital Library, *Shahnama Project*, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/shahnama/1>.



# *Catalogue*





# The Early Period: The Pre-Mongol Period

## 1 One Page of *Khawass al-ashjar* (The Characteristics of Trees)



FIGURE 1A 'Cacalia', inv no. RP-T-1993-434, sheet: 29,5 × 20,2 cm



FIGURE 1B 'Viola odorata', inv no. RP-T-1993-135, sheet: 29.5 × 20.2 cm

The images are on both sides of one page. Dated thirteenth century, attributed to Iraq, 'Abbasid period (750–1258), Baghdad School. Opaque watercolour and ink on paper. The text is in Arabic, black Naskh script, and the heading is in red Naskh script. Vowels are marked. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993.

The folio belong to the book *Khawass al-ashjar* (The Characteristics of Trees), which is an Arabic translation of the book *De Materia Medica*, by the Greek physician and pharmacologist Pedanius Dioscorides (c.40–90 AD). The recto and verso both carry text and an image.

*De Materia Medica* was originally compiled in Greek in five volumes in the first century AD. The book is known through the Latin translation, which circulated across Europe and the Islamic lands. During the late 8th and the 9th century, the book was translated into Syriac, and shortly after into Arabic at the court of the 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. Several copies were produced and some were illuminated, among them the earliest samples of Islamic manuscripts. In the subsequent periods, this book remained one of the most frequently illustrated scientific books in the Islamic lands.<sup>1</sup> The RM page belongs to a copy dated to the 13th century.

Folio RP-T-1993-434 (Figure 1A) is dedicated to (اقا ققليا، قاقاليا، قنقوليون), the *Cacalia* plant. Folio RP-T-1993-135 (Figure 1B) describes (بنفسج), *Viola odorata*. Both folios present the image of the corresponding plant. The images are compatible with the convention of illustrated botanical books during this period, whereby the plant is stylized and symmetrical. It is presented from flowers to bare roots. The comparable items can be seen at MET (65.271.1), Kuwait (LNS 37 MS), SDMA (1972.219), Harvard (2002.50.140) and Aga Khan (AKM7), (AKM8), (AKM9), (AKM10).

<sup>1</sup> Saliba and Komaroff extensively discuss various copies of this book from the 'Abbasid period; Saliba, G. & Komaroff, L., "Illustrated Books may be Hazardous to your Health: A New Reading of the Arabic Reception and Rendition of the "Materia Medica" of Dioscorides' of Dioscorides", *Ars Orientalis* 35 (2008), 6–65.

# The Mongol Period

## 1 'Harish', One Page of *Manafi' al-hayawan* (The Benefits of Animals)



FIGURE 2 Inv no. RP-T-1993-435, sheet: 17.5 × 17.5 cm. Dated early 14th century, Ilkhanid dynasty (1256–1335), Mongol period, made in Persia. Ink, watercolour and gold pigment on paper. The folio has been trimmed. The recto has the text, in four lines, and a painting. The verso has seven lines of text and a headline. The text is in Persian, black Naskh script. The headline is in Arabic in blue Kufic script. The text and the painting are set in red rulings. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993. Previously, the miniature was on auction at Sotheby's on 27 April 1981, lot 13, as the properties of the Hagop Kevorkian Fund

The object is a detached folio from *Manafi' al-hayawan*. The book is in Persian, and is the translation of an Arabic work titled *Tabayi' al-hayawan wa khawasiha wa manafi' a'za'iha* (The characteristics of animals and their properties and the usefulness of their organs). The Arabic book was compiled by an eminent Persian physician, 'Ubayd-Allah b. Jibrail b. Bakhtishu' (d. 1058). Ibn Bakhtishu' belonged to a prestigious Nestorian family, who through several generations were the distinguished physicians of their time.<sup>1</sup> He compiled several books on medicine, of which *Tabayi' al-hayawan* was the most well-known. This book is divided into four discourses: the characteristic and benefits of human beings, of quadrupeds and wild beasts, of large and small birds, and of insects and reptiles of land and water. Each entry begins with a section describing

1 About this family read Richter-Bernburg, L., "БОҚТІШҮ'", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. IV. Fasc. 3 (1989), 333–336.

the creature's physical characteristics and habits, and then lists its medicinal qualities, with prescriptions for use. The original text did not survive per se, but can be reconstructed through several bestiary books which incorporated parts of it. Of these, there is a Persian translation of the book, which was commissioned by the seventh Ilkhanid ruler, Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304). The book was translated into Persian by 'Abd al-Hadi b. Muhammad b. Mahmud b. Ibrahim al-Maraghi (death n.d.), in a copy decorated with paintings that is preserved at Morgan (ms. M500).<sup>2</sup> Some other copies of this book were made during the Mongol period. In the illustrated manuscripts, normally the text, spanning one to one-and-a-half pages, is dedicated to a specific item that is likewise depicted in the illustration. The paintings of *Manafi' al-hayawan* are among the earliest surviving samples of Persian miniatures, and are currently preserved as detached folios at museums and collections worldwide, among them this folio from the RM.

The recto contains the image and the text. The text is about a goatlike animal named *Harish* or *Haris*. Based on the text, the *Harish* is a strong animal that has a horn in the middle of its head, which it uses to hit other animals as a means of defence.<sup>3</sup> It runs fast, making it very difficult to trap. The trick is to get a young maid dressed in white to sit close to its lair, as it will come over to her of its own accord. The rest of the text, which continues onto the next page, has been defaced.

The folio contains a painting, set in a rectangular frame. The bottom of the painting has been cut out. The image depicts a young maid with stringy black hair. The maid is sitting next to the lair of the animal. She has a halo around her head, as can be found in several paintings from this time. The backdrop is decorated with plant forms: a cluster of bamboo next to the den, and the red pomegranate-like fruits on the left side of the image. The sky is simply designated at the top of the picture via crooked upward lines. The corresponding painting is held at Morgan (M500), fol. 54r, and has been described by Barbara Schmitz.<sup>4</sup>

2 Schmitz, B., *Islamic and Indian manuscripts and paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: 1997) 11. See also Qazvini, M., "Manafi' al-Hayawan", *Yadegar* 1 (1324/1945), 38–53. Contadini, A., "The Ibn Bukhtishu Bestiary Tradition", *Medicina nei Secoli Arte e Scienza* 6 (1994), 349–364.

3 The *Haris* is sometimes depicted with one horn and sometimes with two. For an image, see the Arabic manuscript of *Manafi' al-Hayawan*, dated 1300–1301, held at BnF (Arabe 2782), fol. 27v, 28r, and *Farahnama* (Farah's Encyclopedia of Nature), c.1600–1700, held at the Cushing-Whitney (Persian 23), f. 228.

4 Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian manuscripts*, 21.

The verso continues to discuss the *Harish*. After two lines, a headline marks the beginning of a new section. The headline is in blue Kufic script, outlined in red.<sup>5</sup> The headline, as with several parts of the main text, has been rendered illegible by damage to the paper. Based on various recognizable words, the text appears to be an entry on an animal with 'broad feet and a short neck'.

---

5 Such blue Kufic scripts can be seen on several folios, for example, 'Pair of Eagles', c.1300, attributed to Iran, The MET (18.26.2), 'Sheep', dated to the early 14th century, Kuwait (LNS 31 MS).

2 Two Pages of *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp* (The Book of Jamasp the Sage)



FIGURE 3A 'Horoscope of Shah Ardashir', inv no. RP-T-1993-436, sheet: 12 × 15.5 cm, painting: 5 × 4.4 cm

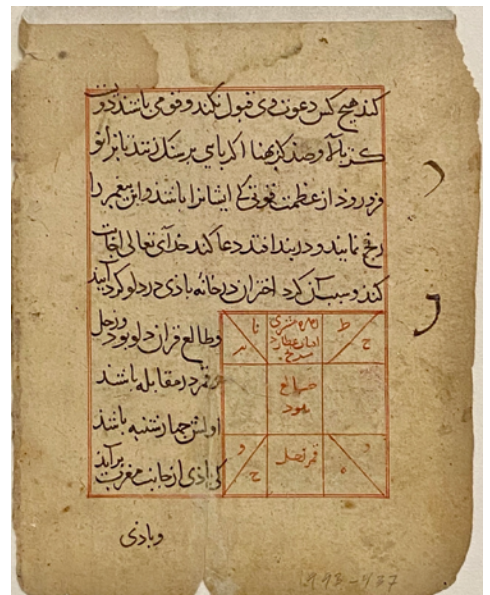


FIGURE 3B 'Horoscope of Hud', inv no. RP-T-1993-437, sheet: 12 × 15.3 cm, painting: 4.49 × 4.5 cm

The works dated early 14th century, Injuid dynasty (1335–1357), Mongol period, made in Shiraz. Ink, watercolour, and gold pigment on paper. The text is in Persian, in black Naskh script. The text and painting are framed in red rulings. The pages contain schematic charts in red. The artworks are the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993. Prior to that folio RP-T-1993-436 was auctioned in the Sotheby's 07-12-1970, lot 18.

The folios belong to a book known as *The Book of Jamasp the Sage* (*Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp*), which is a translation of originally a favoured Zoroastrian apocalyptic tradition. This text was compiled in the third quarter of the 13th century, in Persian in various redactions.<sup>6</sup> The content is a mélange of astrology and history, presenting entries on a wide range of personages from Persian and Islamic history, as well as some legendary figures. Each section is brought to a close with a corresponding horoscope. From the earliest recognized texts, there are two manuscripts dated 1340<sup>7</sup> and 1352/3.<sup>8</sup> The folios of the RM belong to a copy produced in the early 14th century, but most importantly, it belongs to the only known illuminated copy of *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp*. This book was made in Shiraz in the Injuid period (1335–1357). Recently, several dispersed folios of this illuminated manuscript have been identified that share common characteristics.<sup>9</sup> They are all small-size paintings tending towards vertical orientation, with backgrounds in solid colours. The paintings are sketchy, with little detail. The figures are large-scale and personalized. The protagonist is placed at the centre of the image, flanked by attendees.<sup>10</sup>

6 The content of *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp* is in Middle Persian (Pahlavi and Pāzand), and its later redactions in the Islamic period are still the subject of ongoing discussion among scholars. See the ongoing project of 'The Book of Jāmāsp the Sage', based at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Iranian Studies: <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/ifi/forschung/manuskriptkulturen/the-book-of-jamasp-the-sage>. Also, for a summary of the literature, see Boyce, M., "AYĀDGĀR Ī JĀMĀSPĪG", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. III. Fasc. 2 (1987). Bowen Savant, S. & Montazer Mahdi, M., "The History of Iranian Cities through Their Books: What Ms. Köprülü 01589 Tells Us about 8th/14th Century Shiraz", in Durand-Guedy, D., Mottahedeh, R.P. & Paul, J. (eds.), *Cities of Medieval Iran* (Leiden & Boston: 2020), note 2, 432.

7 The manuscript is preserved at BnF (Supplément persan 380).

8 The manuscript is at Süleymaniye (Köprülü 01589), and contains multiple texts, one of which is *Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp*. See Bowen Savant and Montazer Mahdi, "The History of Iranian Cities".

9 Various folios were auctioned at Sotheby's on 1 December 1969, lot 25, 26, 27, 28, Sotheby's 7 December 1970, lot 15, 16, 17, 18.

10 Ettinghausen dated the paintings to the 1330s–1340s, and Grube proposed the date of 1340. Ettinghausen, R., "Six Thousand Years of Persian Art" the Exhibition of Iranian Art New York, *Ars Islamica* 7.1 (1940), 111. Grube, E.J. (ed.), *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century from collections in the United States and Canada*, exh.cat., Fondazione

Folio RP-T-1993-436 (Figure 3A): the recto bears the text and a painting and the verso bears a chart and the text. The painting, with a yellow background, depicts a king. The enthroned king sits at the centre of the image. He is facing right and flanked by three courtiers who are looking at him. The king has a black beard and wears a gold crown. He is wearing an orange undergarment, and a lavish dark red robe ornamented with golden circle motifs. To the king's right there is a standing attendant who is looking at him. He is wearing a yellow headdress and a red outfit. On the other side of the throne stand two courtiers, one with blue clothes and a brown cap, and the other with yellow clothes. The figures have Chinese features and dress. According to the text, the depicted king is Shah Ardashir, son of Shapur. The verso represent the horoscope chart of Ardashir. In the margin there is the catchword (ساعت), 'the time'.

Folio RP-T-1993-437 (Figure 3B): The recto contains a painting and the horoscope of Manuchihr. The image depicts a man who must be Hud. He is flanked by two young men with large round faces. One with a black headdress and red clothing stands on the prophet's right, and another with a red headdress and yellow garment is placed to his left. Hud wears a red outfit whose sleeves are decorated with gold bands. He has an Arab turban and a long beard, and sits cross-legged on a rug bearing a pattern of black circles. He is looking to his right, and with his hand is addressing the young man. The background is goldish. The verso presents the horoscope of the Islamic prophet Hud. In the margin, the catchword (و بادى), 'and a wind' is given.

The folios of the RM seems to belong to one manuscript with following dispersed folios:

Three pages at Aga Khan (AKM87), (AKM86), (AKM26).<sup>11</sup>

Two pages at Kuwait (LNS 50 MS (b), LNS 50 MS (a)).<sup>12</sup>

Two pages at Princeton (mss. Garrett 91G and 92G).<sup>13</sup>

Two pages in ROM (980.115.7.B), (980.115.7.A).

One page at SDMA (1972.221).

One page at Houghton (MS Persian 26).<sup>14</sup>

One page in Portland (71.45B).

---

Giorgio Cini (Venice-New York, 1962), 35. Waley & Titley, "An Illustrated Persian Text" 56. See a summary of the research on these miniatures in Adamova and Bayani, *Persian Painting*, 113–114.

11 See the extensive curatorial commentary about these folios, on the website of the Aga Khan, Kamola, S., "THE ARRIVAL OF A PROPHET", <https://agakhanmuseum.org/collec tion/artifact/the-arrival-of-a-prophet-akm26>.

12 Adamova & Bayani, *Persian Painting*, 112–117.

13 Grube, *Muslim Miniature*, 35.

14 Nykl, A.R., "Ali Ibn Abi Talib's Horoscope", *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943), 152–153.

3 'Isfandiyar's Fifth Labour: He Kills the Simurgh', One Page of *Shahnama*

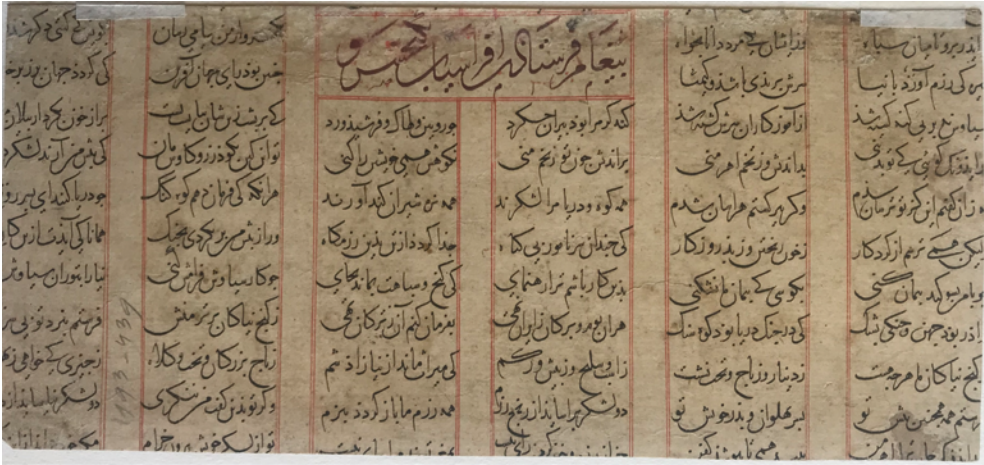


FIGURE 4 Inv no. RP-T-1993-439, sheet/painting: 10.3 × 22.7 cm. Dated 1341, Injuid dynasty (1335–1357), Mongol period, made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The recto has a text in black Naskh script, set in a red ruling. It has six columns and eleven lines. There is a headline, (پیغام فرستادن افراسیاب بکیخسرو), 'Afrasiyab sends the message to Kay Khusrau'. The text starts with the couplet:

از ایدر بروتا میان سپاه      وزیشان یکی مرد دانا بخواه<sup>15</sup>

Go forth and be the Maker thine  
ally

And may thy foemen's heads be  
overturned<sup>16</sup>

The verso contains an image, rectangular. The detached illustration is cut out from the original sheet.

Isfandiyar is a prince of Persian legendary history, and a hero of the *Shahnama*. The image refers to his seven trials. According to the *Shahnama*, two sisters of Isfandiyar are held hostage by Arjasb, and Isfandiyar undertakes seven trials to save them. The RM painting represents the fifth trial, where Isfandiyar fights against Simurgh, a fabulous but malevolent bird.<sup>17</sup>

The image depicts Simurgh with multicoloured feathers. Simurgh is on an object that must be Isfandiyar's cage. On the right-hand side Isfandiyar is portrayed as a bearded warrior wearing golden armour and black footwear. The hero is striking the giant bird with his sword. Close to him are two young combatants on horseback. The painting is horizontal, with a golden background denoting daytime.

The RM miniature has a close affinity with the folio 'Isfandiyar kills Simurgh', dated 1341, held at the DMA (K.1.2014.7). The similarities suggest that these two folios were produced in the same workshop using the same template. In the RM's folio, the image and the text are not in the right sequence, which is also true of the Dallas miniature. The RM and DMA folios are correlated with a *Shahnama* manuscript known as *Qawam Shahnama*, dated 1431, labelled after its patron, Qawam al-Daula wa'l-Din Hasan (c.1303–1357), which has been studied thoroughly by Marianna Shreve Simpson.<sup>18</sup> Currently, several dispersed folios of *Qawam Shahnama* are preserved in collections worldwide.

15 Firdausi, *Shahnama*, ed. Dj Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 4 (California: 1373/1994), no. 423, 198.

16 Firdausi, *The Sháhnáma of Firdausí*, trans. A.G. Warner & E. Warner, vol. 4 (London: 1909), sec. 6, 161.

17 The RM has another miniature depicting the same scene: inv no. RP-T-1993-393, cat no. 27.

18 Simpson, "A Reconstruction and Preliminary Account", 217–247.

'Mihr Hurmuzd Murders Khusrau Parviz', One Page of *Shahnama*

FIGURE 5 Inv no. RP-T-1993-438, sheet: 30.5 × 21.7 cm, painting: 11.6 × 9.1 cm, text frame: 24.4 × 17.5. Dated early 14th century, Mongol period, made in Persia. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The text is set in red rulings, and the painting is framed in black, red and blue rulings. The text has six columns and thirty-one lines, written in black Naskh script. The recto contains the text, a painting and a headline. The headline is in gold, outlined in black, stating (داستان شیروی و شیرین), 'the story of Shiruya and Shirin'. The text starts with the couplet:

همان تخت پیش اندرش دام بود<sup>19</sup>      که شیروی ترسنده و خام بود

Shiruya, a timid, inexperienced youth

Found that the throne beneath him was a snare<sup>20</sup>

19 Firdausi, *Shahnama*, ed. Dj Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 8 (Tehran: 1386/2007), no. 437, 358.

20 Firdausi, *The Shāhnāma of Firdausi*, trans. A.G. Warner & E. Warner, vol. 9 (London: 1925), sec. 5, 32.

The verso has just text. There is a catchword in the margin (چو شنید), 'when [he] heard'. Also on the verso, two verses are written vertically in the margin, to correct a missing portion.

The folio is about the episode of Khusrau's death, and the subsequent incident between Shiruya and Shirin. Khusrau II, known as Khusrau Parviz (c.570–628), was the last great king of the Sasanian Empire (224–651).<sup>21</sup> The RM folio deals with the end of his life, when Khusrau was imprisoned by his son Kavad II (590–628), known as Shiruya, who ordered the assassination of his father. He is searching for someone who will dare to murder Khusrau. An obscure wandering man named Mihr Hurmuz comes and accepts the mission. Mihr Hurmuz is the ungroomed man with blue eyes, pale face, and dry stubbly skin. Shiruya gives him a pouch of gold coins and a sharp dagger. Mihr Hurmuz goes to Khusrau's palace and, after a short talk, Khusrau realizes that this man has been sent to kill him, and prepares himself for his imminent death. He asks a page for a tub of water, musk, and fine and clean clothes. He washes himself, puts on fine garments, repents of his sins and draws a cloak over his head in order not to see the face of his killer. Mihr Hurmuz then closes the door of the house and stabs him to death. The RM's painting captures this poignant moment.

Mihr Hurmuz is wearing a green robe with a red sash, and yellow trousers and footwear. He is holding a dagger, and leaping forth to kill Khusrau. Beneath his feet there is an object that must be the bowl and pitcher that Khusrau used to wash himself. In front of Mihr Hurmuz, the seated king calmly gazes at the killer. Oddly, the king appears to have female features, with long locks of hair hanging down his chest. He is wearing a white and blue garment, and is seated on a violet cushion, with golden circular ornaments, and a blue bolster. The background is in gold, embellished with a red curtain. The painting is set in an architectural frame, with the cordate ornamental frieze.

This painting is one of the earliest depictions of this episode. There is another contemporary example, 'Mihr Hurmuz assassinate Khusrau II in his bed', c.1300, in CB (Per 104.80). In light of its painting and calligraphy style, and its dimensions, the detached folio from the RM has close affinity with a manuscript in Freer (F1930.1), where forty detached folios of this manuscript are preserved (F1929.25–46, F1930.2–17 and F1940.12,13).

21 For a brief reading about him see Howard-Johnston, J., "KOSROW II", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (2010), available online: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/khosrow-ii>.

# The Timurid and Turkmen Period

## 1 'The Second Combat: Giv Stuns Guruy Zirih', One Page of *Shahnama*



FIGURE 6 Inv no. RP-T-1993-442, Sheet: 31.6 × 22.6 cm, painting: 14 × 16 cm, text frame: 20 × 15.9 (recto) and 16 × 20.1 (verso) cm. Dated c.1430s–1440s, Timurid period, Shiraz school. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The text is in black Nasta'liq script,<sup>1</sup> and the headlines are in Naskh script, set in black and gold rulings. The recto has four columns, twenty-two lines, and a headline, (رزم فریبرز [پسر] کاوس و کلباد [پسر] ویسه), 'Battle of Fariburz [the son of] Kavus and Gulbad [the son of] Visa'. The text starts with the couplet:

1 From fifteenth century Nasta'liq became the predominate script for writing Persian. Blair, Sh.S., *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: 2006), 247–275.

نهادند پس گيو را باگروى      كه هم زور بودند و برخاش جوى<sup>2</sup>

They matched Giv with Guruy

As peers in strength and pluck<sup>3</sup>

The verso includes an image, and bears text in four columns, eight lines, and the headline (رزم گيو باگروى زره و دست ياقن گيو), 'battle of Giv with Guruy Zereh and the triumph of Giv'.

The RM folio belongs to the episode of the 'twelve combats'. It is a fairly long episode in the *Shahnama* which recounts the campaign between twelve warriors from Persia and Turan,<sup>4</sup> wherein the Persians ultimately slay their opponents. The folio recounts the first and second battles.

In the first battle, young and brave Persian warrior Fariburz faces off against Gulbad, a knight from Turan. Fariburz overcomes his rival easily and ties Gulbad up. The second battle is between Giv with Guruy Zereh. The Persian company is full of hatred for Guruy Zereh, because he beheaded legendary Persian prince Siyavush. Giv aims to seize Guruy and take him in shackles to Kay Khusrau, the king of Persia and son of Siyavush, and is successful in his quest. He brings his sword down on Guruy's head and helmet, blood splashing across the latter's head and face. Giv then handcuffs Guruy's hand and raises the flag of victory. The RM's painting captures this stirring moment. On the right-hand side of the image, an unconscious Guruy, slumped against his horse's neck, is depicted with bloodied head and body. He has a blue garment, green undergarment and red boots. The Persian warrior, Giv, wears golden armour, and is pulling along the horse of his defeated opponent. He carries the triumphal flag in his right hand. The background displays the battlefield, with diagonal silhouetted rocks on the right-hand side. The sky is golden, embellished with rolling, reddish clouds outlined in white.

The RM's folio exhibits the characteristic painting technique, palette and composition of the first half of the 15th century, such as the high-horizon landscape, the outlined rocks in the background, and the specific shape of the hero's armour and the horses. Two dispersed folios of *Zafarnama*, 1436, made in Shiraz, held at the MET (55.121.16), (55.121.17), are among the various examples. Meanwhile, the calligraphy style of the RM folio, including the headline treatment, bears a similarity to many Shiraz-made artworks, such as 'Zahhak enthroned', from *Shahnama*, c.1435, at SDMA (1972.223).

2 Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 4, no. 1817, 115.

3 Warner & Warner, vol. 4, sec. 28, 97.

4 Turan is a historical region in Central Asia. In *Shahnama* it refers to the region beyond Khurasan and the Oxus river. For a detailed discussion of this episode see Melville, Ch., "Serial killers: the mise-en-page of Firdausi's 'Davazdah rukh'", *Persica* 23 (2009–10), 73–107.

2 'Minuchihr Defeats the Army of Salm and Tur', One Page of *Shahnama*



FIGURE 7 Inv no. RP-T-1993-441, sheet: 31.7 × 23.2 cm, painting: 15.7 × 8 cm, text frame: 16.1 × 20.3 cm. Dated first half of the 15th century, Turkmen period, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The text is in black Nasta'liq script, set in black and gold rulings. The recto contains a painting and a heading. The painting is horizontal and covers up eleven lines of the text, and the heading in Naskh script reads: (رقن منوچهر بجنگ برادران سلم و تور), 'Manuchihr goes to battle Salm and Tur, the brothers'. The heading is embellished with gold treatment embedded in blue, black and gold rulings. The recto's text includes four columns and fifteen lines, and eleven lines are covered up by the painting. The text starts with this couplet:

گرآیند زی ما به جنگ آن گروه      شود کوه هامون و هامون چو کوه<sup>5</sup>

If these men come to fight us      hill and plain will be confounded<sup>6</sup>

The verso has the text with four columns and twenty-five lines. There is a catchword, (یکی گرز) 'a mace'.

The folio's text recounts the quest of Manuchihr, the legendary king of Persia, to avenge the murder of his grandfather Iraj at the hands of his jealous brothers Salm and Tur. Upon ascending to the throne, Manuchihr decides to seek revenge. The folio describes Manuchihr's fight against Salm and Tur. The RM's image does not correspond with the text. The image depicts a bearded warrior wearing a tiger-skin coat and golden helmet, who is doing battle with a dragon. The dragon is blue, with blood splattered over his face and body. To the left of the combatants, a sturdy horse is also attacking the dragon. The horse has a mace on its saddle, which according to *Shahnama* belongs to Rustam, the legendary hero of Persia. The subject matter and pictorial details point to the episode in which 'Rustam kills the dragon', in the second trial of the Seven Labours. The painting and calligraphy style bear features of artworks from the Shiraz School, a Turkmen style produced in the 15th century.

5 Firdausi, *Shahnama*, ed. Dj Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 1 (New York: 1366/1987), no. 748, 135.

6 Firdausi, *The Sháhnáma of Firdausí*, trans. A.G. Warner & E. Warner, vol. 1 (London: 1905), sec. 18, 215.

3 'Khusrau Receives Gul's Letter', One Page of *Khusraunama*

FIGURE 8 Inv no. RP-T-1993-205, sheet: 27.9 × 18 cm, painting: 12 × 13.7 cm. Dated 15th century, Timurid period, probably Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The text and the painting are set in black, blue and gold rulings. The recto has a painting. The text is in black Naskh script with vowel markings. Each side has two columns, seven lines on the recto and nineteen on the verso. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993. Prior to that folio was auctioned in the Sotheby's 13-04-1976, lot 59, as the property of D.G. Morris, Esq

Note: In the auction's catalogue, Formijne's note, and the current record of the RM, the work is labelled as Deccani, India Sultanate (see intro. – Fig. 2). Sotheby's. *Catalogue of fine oriental miniatures, manuscripts and Qajar paintings: Tuesday, 13th April, 1976, Wednesday, 14th April, 1976* (London: 1976), 10, 16

Detached page from the poetic book *Khusraunama*, also known as *Gul u Hurmuz* or *Khusrau u Gul*. The book is attributed to the eminent poet Farid al-Din 'Attar (c.1142–c.1220).<sup>7</sup> The book narrates the love story of Khusrau, son

7 See introduction of Khansari in 'Attar Nishapuri, *Khusraunama*, ed. A. Soheili Khansari (Tehran: 1355/1976), 3–25. The RM's text is different than the edition of Khansari. Ibidem, 179.

of the king of Rum, a region in Anatolia, in modern-day Turkey,<sup>8</sup> and Gul, the daughter of the king of Khuzistan, today a province in southwestern Iran.

The RM's folio is from the episode when Khusrau receives Gul's letter. In this letter, Gul voices her love for Khusrau, and tells him she longs to be with him. The letter touches Khusrau's heart, and he travels to the city Isfahan (Ispahan) to find Gul, who was taken hostage by the king of Isfahan. Throughout this journey, Khusrau weeps profusely for Gul. The RM's painting captures this emotional moment.

The painting represents the crowned Khusrau, who is kneeling upon an embellished orange rug. He is overwhelmed, holding a white cloth in his right hand to wipe his eyes. He wears a purple robe decorated with a gold plant motif, and a blue belt and undergarment. A wisp of his long black hair rests upon his shoulder. An attendant kneels next to him, wearing a brown garment, embellished blue belt and a blue headdress. Two locks of long thin hair cover his shoulders. He gazes at Khusrau, aiming to console him. The story is set in a garden, in which a tree with alternating layers of green and gold foliage stands in the background. The ground is covered with scattered tufts and flowers. The landscape has a very high horizon line, outlined with a row of polychrome rocks. The painter has made efficient use of the space behind the rocks to depict a blue sky embellished with Chinese cloud scrolls in gold.

The RM's folio supposedly are from the same manuscript as 'Prince, with Three Lady Attendants', 15th century, WCMA (91.15.64).<sup>9</sup> Also, a few folios of this manuscripts were on the Christie's auction; the folio 'Gulrukh is brought to the gallows', auctioned on 26 October 2023, lot 96; two pages 'Gul and Gulrukh in an embrace', auctioned on 6 October 2011, lot 118; and the folio 'a wise man narrating a story on Khusrau Shah', auctioned on 13 April 2010, lot 70.<sup>10</sup> Prior to that, three folios of this manuscript were up for auction at Sotheby's on 12 December 1972, lot 175, 176, 177.<sup>11</sup>

These folios point to the flourishing art market of Shiraz in the first half of the 15th century during the reign of Ibrahim Sultan (1394–1435), the Timurid prince. There are copious manuscripts and dispersed folios from this time. Along with the painting style, the calligraphy in these artworks shares a

8 It also refers to the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire.

9 The miniature is mistakenly labelled as *Khamsa* of Dihlavi, made in India, in the WCMA records.

10 Christie's auction on 2010 and 2011 labelled the folios Timurid, Shiraz. However, in 2023, they labelled the folios of this manuscript as Sultanate Indian artworks.

11 The folios were attributed to South India. Sotheby's auction, *Catalogue of fine Indian and Persian miniatures and a manuscript: auction by Sotheby and Co., Tuesday, 12th December, 1972* (London: 1972), 56–57.

striking characteristic: it is always written in Naskh with vowel markings. In this period, this script was used not only for the Qur'an, but also for literary and historic books.<sup>12</sup> Some examples are: A detached folio of *Mantiq al-Tair* (Language of the Birds) by 'Attar Nishapuri, early 15th, Freer (F1923.4), 'The Campaign against China', a page of Zafarnama, 1436, David (5/2016), a single folio of 'Farhad carrying Shirin and her horse', 1446, DMA (K.1.2014.387), and a copy of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, c.15th, at the MET (13.228.9.1).

---

<sup>12</sup> Sheila Blair describes this Naskh as 'the thin but sturdy script [which] is characterized by long tails on the final forms of letters like nun (ن), sin (س) and ya (ي)'. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 263–265.

4 'Rustam Kills Shaghad before Dying', One Page of *Shahnama*



FIGURE 9 Inv no. RP-T-1956-274, sheet: 33.5 × 22.5 cm, painting and text (rectangular panel): 19 × 25 cm. Dated 1460s–1490s, Timurid period, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is purchased by the museum in 1956

The text is in black Nasta'liq script, set in black, blue and gold rulings. Image on the recto. The text is written in Naskh script, in gold, decorated with gold and blue ornamentation. Four columns, seventeen lines, and a headline, (کشته شدن شغاد بدست رستم), 'Shaghad slain by Rustam'.

The text starts with the couplet:

بدوگفت ای مرد بدبخت شوم ز کار تو ویران شد آباد بوم<sup>13</sup>

O man of black and evil destiny!

Thine action hath laid waste a prosperous land<sup>14</sup>

13 Firdausi, *Shahnama*, ed. Dj Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 5 (California: 1375/1997), no. 169, 452.

14 Firdausi, *The Sháhnámá of Firdausí*, trans. A.G. Warner & E. Warner, vol. 5 (London: 1910), sec. 4, 271.

The verso has four columns and twenty-three lines. There is a catchword in the bottom margin, ([از آن پس]), ‘then’.

The folio recounts the last episode in the life of Rustam, the central legendary hero of *Shahnama*. Rustam is killed through the conspiring of his half-brother Shaghad and the king of Kabul.

In a hunting field in Kabul, the king has his army dig various pits and set poisoned javelins and swords at the bottom of them. Then he entices Rustam to go hunting in this meadow, where the hero and his faithful steed fall into one of the pits. Rustam sees Shaghad next to the pit and realizes this is the end. He asks the envious brother for a bow and two arrows, to protect himself against any lions that might come hunting in the meadow. Shaghad, who is cheerful about his brother’s imminent death, fulfils the wish. Rustam shoots one of the arrows, which frightens Shaghad, who hides behind a tree for protection. Rustam then shoots the other arrow clear through the tree, slaying Shaghad. The folio’s verso narrates the scene in which Rustam’s father Zal learns of the hero’s death. Upon hearing the news, he mourns uncontrollably, strewing dirt over himself, and clawing at his face and body. He dispatches Rustam’s son Faramarz to retrieve the hero’s body.

The RM’s painting captures the moment that Rustam slays his malicious brother Shaghad. The earliest existing depiction of this scene is from the Mongol period, in the 1314 book *Jami’ al-tawarikh*, made in Tabriz, Edinburgh (Or.Ms.20), f. 281. Another is ‘Rustam slaying Shaghad’, 1330–1340, and another miniature at the BM (1948,1211,0.25). During the 15th century, this episode became a favoured scene, depicted in many copies of *Shahnama*, including the one to which the RM’s folio originally belonged.

In this painting, Rustam is depicted atop Rakhsh on the right-hand side. They are trapped in the deep black pit full of erect spears, which have torn through Rakhsh’s body. Rustam wears his helmet and tiger-skin garment, and holds the bow in one hand. On the left-hand side, Shaghad is depicted behind the tree as the arrow passes through the trunk and strikes him. The painter masterfully extends the scene beyond the text frame, where Shaghad is depicted. Shaghad has a moustache, and wears a red undergarment and a blue robe embellished with golden ornamentations. He has a red cap, and a wrapped white turban. With his left hand, he grasps the tree. The tree is placed on top of a small rise formed by rocks rendered in pink and cream tones. Two magpies are perched at the top of the tree.

The overall palette and the rendering of the rocks are reminiscent of various folios of the Ann Arbor *Shahnama*, dated c.1460, in particular, the folio ‘Afrasiyab slays a dragon’, attributed to Shiraz, preserved at UMMA (1963/1.61).<sup>15</sup>

15 Soucek, ‘The Ann Arbor Shahnama’.

5 'Shiruya Sends a Message to Khusrau Parviz', One Page of *Shahnama*



FIGURE 10 Inv no. RP-T-1993-440, sheet: 30.9 × 20.7 cm, painting: 8.4 × 13.9 cm, text frame: 24.2 × 14.3 cm. Dated 1430s–1450s, Timurid dynasty, Shiraz School. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993. Previously, the folio went up for auction at Sotheby's on 7 December 1970, lot 24  
 Note: In the auction catalogue, the figure is mentioned as Kay Khusrau. Sotheby's auction, *Catalogue of highly important oriental manuscripts and miniatures: auction by Sotheby and Co., Monday, 7th December, 1970* (London: 1970), 13

The recto carries a text and an image. The verso is blank. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, framed in black and blue rulings. There are two headlines in Naskh script written in gold and red respectively; (پادشاهی شیرویه هفت ماه بود), 'the reign of Shiruya lasted seven months' and, (پیغام شیرویه بخسرو), 'Shiruya's message to Khusrau'.

The text is distributed into four columns with sixteen lines each, with nine lines of text covered by the painting. In the margin there is a catchword, (گر آنک), 'the other [is]'. The text starts with the couplet:

که امروز در دست اهرمنم<sup>16</sup>      مکن دوستی نیز با دشمنم

Be not a friend with to these mine  
enemies

For I am in the hands of  
Ahriman<sup>17</sup>

The text recounts the final stages in the life of Khusrau II, also known as Khusrau Parviz (c.570–628), the last great king of the Sasanian dynasty (224–651). During the vicissitudes of his kingship, he became increasingly unjust, supporting the tyranny of the nobles. The people, left destitute, without even water or food, joined forces with the enemies of their homeland. Khusrau's injustices make his warriors and grandees turn against him. They plot to dethrone him and enthrone instead his son, Kavad II (590–628), known as Shiruya. Therefore, Khusrau is arrested in a garden where he is hiding, while Shiruya takes the throne amid an atmosphere of joy and tranquillity. At first Shiruya does not intend to harm his father, and sends a message to him. Nevertheless, his courtiers eventually persuade him to assassinate his father.

The RM's painting does not correspond with the text. The painting depicts a man with a long beard and clasped hands who is bathing. He is up to his waist in water, which contains silver pigment and has since become tarnished. The man's garments are at water's edge: a green and red robe, and a red cap with a white wrapped turban. Regarding the context of the folio, the painting must be depiction of Khusrau, who is washing his body prior to his assassination.<sup>18</sup>

16 Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 8, no. 4096, 318.

17 Warner & Warner, vol. 8, sec. 65, 421.

18 See the comment in miniature (RP-T-1993-438) from the RM collection.

6 'Rustam's Seventh Labour: He Kills the White Div', One Page from *Shahnama*



FIGURE 11 Inv no. RP-T-1993-451, sheet: 29 × 18.5 cm, painting: 11.5 × 11 cm, text frame: 20.4 × 12. Dated 1440s–1460s, Timurid period, Shiraz school. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, framed in black, gold, red and opaque blue rulings. The recto has four columns and twenty-five lines. The text starts with the couplet:

همه سروانزادان بدید انجمن<sup>19</sup>      چو نزدیک کاوس شد پیلتن

The elephantine chief, approached  
Kavus

And all the noble paladins,  
flocked round<sup>20</sup>

19 Firdausi, *Shahnama*, ed. Dj Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 2 (California: 1369/1990), no. 527, 39.  
20 Firdausi, *The Shāhnāma of Firdausī*, trans. A.G. Warner & E. Warner, vol. 2 (London: 1906), sec. 11, 58.

The verso, four columns and eleven lines. The verso contains an image, and has the catchword, (همه غار یکسر), ‘throughout the cave’. Also, there is a nine-line inscription in the margin that is no longer legible. The detectable words indicate that the inscription is an annotation to the text.

The legendary hero Rustam undertakes the Seven Exploits (*Haft Khan*) to save the life of the king of Persia, Kay Kavus, who has been captured along with his troops by the White Div (demon) in Mazandaran.<sup>21</sup> The RM text recounts the sixth and the seventh episode of the quests, and the painting captures the riveting moment, wherein Rustam kills the White Div.

Rustam is accompanied by Aulad, a brave aspiring young warrior whom Rustam encounters during his fifth quest. There, Rustam defeats Aulad in combat, but does not kill him in exchange for being led to the lair of the White Div. After many vicissitudes, they reach the cave, where the White Div and the group of other Divs are living. Rustam ties Aulad to a tree and enters the cave. Inside the deadly black cave Rustam sees the shaggy White Div, rendered in a spectral white. The hero is wearing an iron helmet, and iron armour on his forearms. The Div rushes at Rustam and a savage fight ensues, until Rustam at last drives his dagger into the Div and tears out his heart and liver.

This scene, where the hero and Div wrestle with each other and Rustam drives his dagger into the demon’s body, was a favourite among Persian painters. It was first depicted around 1330–1350, in several copies of *Shahnama*, as in ‘Rustam Kills the White Div’, c.1330–1340, attributed to Persia, probably Isfahan, at the MET (1974.290.7), ‘Rustam Kills the White Div’, c.1300–1230, attributed to north-western Persia or Baghdad, also at the MET (69.74.7), and ‘Rustam Fighting the White Demon’, 1300–1350, made in Persia, in CAM (1947.497). These paintings formulate the standard iconography of this scene. During the 15th century, as the paintings in manuscripts increase in size, painters start depicting the scene in more detail, and with compositional variety.<sup>22</sup> The RM’s belongs to this latter period. In this painting, Rustam and the White Div are depicted inside the cave. Aulad, tied to the tree, and Rustam’s horse Rakhsh, look on from the right-hand side of the picture. The scene is decorated with a polychrome rocky backdrop full of grotesque shapes resembling the faces of demons. Far in the back two demons observe the scene from among the rocks.

21 Mazandaran region is located in the north of Persia, along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. Omidisalar, M., “Dīv”, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. VII. Fasc. 4 (1995), 428–431.

22 To see a short review about what is depicted and denoted in this scene, see Clinton, J.W. & Simpson, M.Sh., “How Rustam Killed White Div: An Interdisciplinary Inquiry”, *Iranian Studies* 39. 2 (2006), 185–192.

7 'A Convivial Gathering in the Garden', One Page of *Divan* of Shahi

FIGURE 12 Inv no. RP-T-1993-456, sheet: 21.2 × 15.2 cm, painting: 5,6 × 7 cm. Dated 1470s–1490s, Timurid period, probably made in Khurasan. Opaque watercolour, ink and gold on paper. The folio has speckled gold illumination. The text, in Persian, is in black Nasta'liq script, in blue, black, green and red rulings. Two columns per side. Seven lines and the illustration on the recto and thirteen lines on the verso. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The RM's folio belongs to a manuscript of the *Divan* of Shahi. The book is a collection of poems compiled by Amir Shahi Sabzavari (d. 1453), known by his pen name Shahi. He served the Timurid prince Baysunghur Mirza (1397–1433) in Herat, who was a great art enthusiast. Shahi was a man of many talents in poetry, music, painting and calligraphy.<sup>23</sup> In literature, he is best known for his *Divan*, of which there are many copies from the 16th century, but far fewer from the 15th, the RM's folio belonging to one of them.

The RM's folio has gilded illumination. Between poem sections, there are the delicate polychrome decorative bands consisting of arabesques with scrolled floral and leaf patters. The recto is embellished with a small-size painting

23 *Manaqib Hunarwararan*, in BnF (Supplément turc 193), fols. 2v, 43v, Bayani, M., *Ahwal wa Asar-i Khoshnevisan: Nasta'liq Nevisan* (Tehran: 1966), 77–79.

(5.6 × 7 cm) depicting an entertainment scene in a yard. The central figure is on the left-hand side of the image: a clean-shaven youth with a round face, sitting on the ground on a red rug covering the floor of the building's porch. The wall to the back of the young man is decorated with a door and two small windows. The façade is adorned with blue and green tiles, while the patio is covered in purple and green tiles. In the foreground, in the yard, three musicians are playing. One plays the harp, while another one plays a frame drum. The head of the harp player is tilted upward at an unnatural angle. A third musician plays a stringed instrument with large balls on either side, which could be an Indian Rudra Veena. While the Persian painter attempts to execute relatively realistic depictions of the three instruments, the result falls short, in part because the painter had to squeeze the entire scene into a very small space. Moreover, the painter may have copied the instruments from other depictions, or based on memories of something he had once seen, without necessarily having first-hand musical knowledge.<sup>24</sup>

On the right-hand side of the image, two men are standing in the yard and conversing. One is clean-shaven, with his head tilted oddly upward, while the other has a ducktail beard, a style that can be seen in paintings from Khurasan, in the eastern part of Persia. Using the ferrous red fence to generate depth, the image extends outward. Just over the wall, two onlookers next to a slender tree peer over at the festivities. The background is decorated with a green and light-pink landscape, garnished with scattered tufts. The sky is gold, and a wisp of Chinese scroll cloud punctuates the top-right corner of the sky.

---

24 I would like to thank Dr Mohsen Mohammadi, from UCLA's Department of Ethnomusicology, for commenting on this miniature. See also Tsuge, G., "Musical Instruments Described in a Fourteenth-Century Persian Treatise 'Kanz al-tuḥaf'", *The Galpin Society Journal* 66 (2013) 165–184, 255–259.

8 'Meeting the Intimate in the Garden', One Page of *Fatihah al-shabab*

FIGURE 13 Inv no. RP-T-1993-444, sheet: 25.6 × 16.4 cm. Dated c.1480, Turkmen period, made in Shiraz. Opaque watercolour, ink and gold on paper. The recto has eight lines and the image. The verso contains fifteen lines. The text, in Persian, is in black Nasta'liq script. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

This detached folio is part of a manuscript of the *Divan* of Jami (d. 1492), entitled *Fatihah al-shabab* (Opening of Youth), also known as the First *Divan*. The calligrapher has employed an individualistic style with decorative touches.<sup>25</sup> The painting depicts an outdoor scene. The main characters are two youths at the centre of the folio. One, with an embellished red robe and white turban, is humbly kneeling, offering something to the other young man standing in front of him. The standing man wears a blue garment embellished with gold ornamentation, and an orange undergarment. They gaze at each other. A white, ornated bottle is in front of him, placed on the ground. On the right side

25 There is a tilde sign above or under the letters Ayin (ع) and Ghayn (غ), and dots below Sin (س).

of the image, another young man watches them in astonishment. Further back behind a hilltop, three onlookers watch the scene.

The story takes place against a springtime backdrop. There is a green tree with red fruits in the background. Three birds are on the tree. The sky is rendered in gold, and a wisp of white cloud occupies the middle of the sky. The ground is embellished with scattered tufts of flowers. The poet expresses his longing to have the attention of the beloved, and the beloved pays him a visit:

غصه هجر بس مرا وعده آمدن مده      برسر آن فزون مکن محنت انتظار هم<sup>26</sup>

Lest the separation hurts me, don't promise to come  
Don't augment the agony of waiting too

The poet makes an analogy between his love and a delightful garden in spring. Altogether, the painting is in harmony with the content of the lyric poem of the folio.

Stylistically, the painting exhibits the features of the Shiraz School in the 1480s, when Shiraz was the commercial hub of decorated manuscript production. The quantity of manuscripts points to the existence of a flourishing market that cropped up around the princely circle in the Turkmen period.<sup>27</sup> The identifying characteristics here are the large scale of the figures and the presence of onlookers. The RM folio from *Divan* of Jami belongs to this body of miniatures. As to similar folios, there is a decorated copy of *Divan* of Jami, c.1480, made in Shiraz, preserved at the MET (13.228.4).

26 See the poem in Jami, *Divan Jami*, ed. A. Afsah Zade, vol. 1 (Tehran, 1378/1999), 600–601, no. 637, line 2.

27 Robinson, “The Turkmen School”, 243–244. “The commercial Turkmen style”, in Adamova & Bayani, *Persian Painting*, 161–162, 292–293.

9 Two Pages of *Khamsa* of Nizami



FIGURE 14A 'Khusrau at the castle of Shirin', inv no. RP-T-1993-445, sheet: 25.9 × 15.8 cm, painting: 10.9 × 9.7 cm, text panel (verso): 18.7 × 10.4 cm



FIGURE 14B 'Layla and Majnun swoon on meeting each other', inv no. RP-T-1993-446: sheet: 27.2 × 16.3 cm, painting: 12.1 × 9.9 cm, text panel (verso): 18.7 × 10.3 cm

The works are dated late 15th century, Turkmen period, made in Shiraz. Ink, colour and gold on paper. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script. The folios are framed in blue, gold and black rulings. They are the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993.

The folios are both from the same manuscript of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami (1141–1209). The *Khamsa* is among the great masterpieces of Persian literature, and is one of the most frequently decorated books throughout the centuries.<sup>28</sup> Stylistically, the RM folios exhibit the features of 15th-century manuscripts from Shiraz.

Folio RP-T-1993-445 (Figure 14A): The recto has a painting and text with nine lines and four columns. The verso has twenty-one lines and four columns, and the heading, (سخن گفتن خسرو و شیرین), 'The talk between Khusrau and Shirin'. The heading script is in gold, outlined in black, and the text is framed in a scroll decorated with a plant motif.

This folio belongs to the romantic story between Khusrau Parviz (c.570–628), the Sasanian king of Persia, and the Armenian princess Shirin. In one part of the story, Khusrau comes to the castle of his beloved, begging her forgiveness. Shirin goes onto the rooftop to watch him, but refuses to receive him. The king approaches the castle and sees the gates are closed, which touches his heart. With ardent messages, Khusrau tries to change Shirin's mind, but fails. This plot is represented in the picture on the recto. The image shows Khusrau on horseback, looking upward toward Shirin. Shirin is at the ornamented window of her castle, wearing a red robe, gold undergarment and green headdress. The earliest depiction of this scene is from the 14th century.<sup>29</sup> Throughout the 15th century this scene became a stock image depicted in various copies of *Khamsa*. Some paintings closely follow the content of the book, representing an elaborate mise-en-scène with the protagonists and several attendants.<sup>30</sup> Some paintings, however, such as the RM folio, depict only the main characters. There are several paintings of this scene from this time, made in Shiraz, which use the same pictorial convention and composition, namely 'Prince Khusrau Arriving at Shirin's Castle', 15th century, at MIA (51.37.33a, b), 'King Khusrau

28 To read about *Khamsa's* stories see Chelkowski, P., *Mirror of the Invisible World: Tales from the Khamseh of Nizami* (New York: 1975).

29 'Khusrau arriving at Shirin's castle', 1386–1388, made in Baghdad, BL (Or. 13297), f. 80. 'Khusrau at Shirin's castle', fol. 134a, dated late 14th century, made in Shiraz, in Keir Collection, see the miniature in Robinson, B.W. (ed.), *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book: the Keir Collection* (London: 1976) 138, and plate 17.

30 'Khusrau at the castle of Shirin', c.1400, made in Tabriz, The Freer Gallery of Art (F1931.36). 'Khusrau in front of Shirin's castle', 1479, Shiraz School, in NLR (Dorn 337), f. 50v.

in front of Shirin's palace', c.1485, Israel (B69.0907), and 'Khusrau in front of Shirin's Castle', 1491, NLR (ПНЧ 83), f. 83v.

Folio RP-T-1993-446 (Figure 14B): The recto includes a painting and text with seven lines and four columns. The verso text is distributed in twenty-one lines and four columns. Some verses have been crudely rewritten. There is a catchword (بادی), 'a wind'.

This folio belongs to the love story of Layla and Majnun. The painting illustrates the episode of Layla and Majnun swooning on meeting each other. The earliest extant representations of this scene are from the first half of the 15th century; one in the *Miscellany* of prince Iskandar Sultan (1384–1415), dated 1410–11, made in Shiraz,<sup>31</sup> and one dated 1431, made in Herat.<sup>32</sup> These images depict an elaborate scene with several spectators. In the subsequent decades different variations of this scene are rendered. The RM's contains a relatively a simple setting that can be seen in several other Shiraz-made manuscripts. Here we see the lovers after they have fainted, next to each other on the ground. Close to the protagonists, a man, named Zayd, attempts to bring them back to consciousness by sprinkling rose water and ambergris on their faces. They are surrounded by beasts: a lion, a goat, a gazelle and a dog. Two onlookers are watching the scene: a woman with a red robe, from behind the embellished tent, and a man with a blue garment, standing further back behind the hill. In the background a single large tree embellishes the scene, and the ground is covered with scattered tufts of flowers and grass.

31 It preserved at the BL (Add. 27261), f. 131v.

32 This miniature is part of a *Khamsa* manuscript made for Shahrukh (1377–1447), the son of Timur (1336–1405). It preserved at the Hermitage (VR-1000), f. 225b.

## 10 Two Detached Pages, Depictions of Majnun



FIGURE 15A 'Majnun in desert', inv  
no. AK-MAK-1250, sheet:  
15.8 × 8.5 cm



FIGURE 15B 'Majnun in Layla's tent', inv  
no. AK-MAK-1251, sheet:  
15.8 × 8.5 cm

Dated c.1490s, Timurid period, attributed to Persia. The paintings are set in brown, blue, green, cream and black rulings. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The folios have no accompanying text, and the paintings both have the same characteristics and size. They were probably produced with the aim of being put in an album. The paintings are the favourite episodes of Layla and Majnun. The folios are the gift of Mr and Mrs Hülsmann-Stork to KVVAK in 1976; on loan to the RM.

Folio AK-MAK-1250 (Figure 15A): The painter illustrates an episode in which Majnun is visited in the wilderness. The love-struck Majnun is depicted as gaunt, with unkempt hair. He is half naked, wearing only a piece of blue

cloth, decorated with golden motifs. He converses with a man who is elegantly dressed, his camel resting behind him. In the absence of the text, one can conjecture that it is a scene from the *Khamasa* of Nizami, and the man depicted is Ibn Salim, a nobleman from Baghdad who visits Majnun by camel. The earliest depiction of this scene was in the manuscript of *Khamasa*, dated 1431, made in Herat, at Hermitage (VR-1000), fol. 217b.<sup>33</sup>

The backdrop represents the wilderness, with polychrome rocky hills, trees and scattered tufts of bushes and flowers. The beasts, such as a goat, a rabbit, a gazelle and an Asiatic cheetah, are wandering through the wilds. Some of them sit serenely near Majnun.

Folio AK-MAK-1251 (Figure 15B): The painting depicts Layla and Majnun, the protagonists of the love story. A semi-clothed Majnun with unkempt hair sits on the ground at the entrance of Layla's tent, conversing with her. Layla is inside her decorated tent, sitting on a cream-coloured rug with a decorated blue border. She has an embellished red robe and a blue undergarment. She wears a white headdress, from which protrude locks of hair that fall about her face and neck. The protagonists are surrounded by onlookers. Three maids are standing on her right, and another peers out at the scene from behind the tent. All wear white headdresses. An attendant approaches Layla with a large covered dish. Behind Majnun, a youth, a bearded middle-aged man, and a child are watching the scene. Interestingly, there is a dog lying down close to tent, gazing toward Majnun. This dog probably points to the *Khamasa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi (1253–1325), where the story of dog and Majnun is mentioned, as has been illustrated by various painters.<sup>34</sup>

The scene is set against a wild background. The foreground is embellished with rocks, a stream, scattered flowers and tufts of grasses. The background is decorated with four trees, green rocks, and three roaming beasts.

33 In this manuscript the folio 'Majnun receives the letter from Layla' also depicts a camel in the scene, Hermitage (VR-1000), 206b.

34 One example is 'Laila visiting Majnun in the Desert', 1520–1525, made in Herat, MET (13.160.3).

# The Safavid Period

## 1 'Muhammad Converses with God in Heaven', One Page of *Mirajnama*



FIGURE 16 Inv no. AK-MAK-1545, sheet: 35.5 × 23.4 cm, text panel: 13 × 20.2 cm. Safavid period, made in Persia. Ink and colors on paper. The text is in black Persian Nasta'liq script. The folio has a polychrome stencilled decoration, embellished with plant and Simurgh motifs. In recto the text is set in blue, black, red and gold rulings. In verso the text has a blue ruling and a white frame. The verso also bears a headline in red Thulth script in Arabic says, (رَبَّنَا لَا تُؤَاخِذْنَا إِنْ نَسِينَا أَوْ أَخْطَأْنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْنَا مَا لَا طَاقَتَ لَنَا بِهِ وَعَافُ) 'Our Lord, do not impose blame upon us if we have forgotten or erred. Our Lord, burden us not with that which we have no ability to bear and pardon us'. The last word of the headline, (عَافًا), 'us', falls outside the frame panel on the left side. There is a catchword, (دروازه), 'gate', in the bottom margin. The work is the gift of Maartje Draak to KVVAK in 1996, on loan to the RM Note: The Arabic text is part of Aya 286, in Sura *al-Baqarah*.

The folio is part of a book entitled *Mirajnama*, which narrates the Night Journey of Muhammad, first from Mecca to Jerusalem, and then up into the heavens. On this celestial journey, Muhammad is led by the archangel Gabriel (Jibril), and observes both heaven and hell.<sup>1</sup> The details of this miraculous journey are discussed in the Qur'an, and in other religious, historical and literary books. Of these, there is a variety of books produced over the centuries known as *Mirajnama*, which focus on the ascension. The RM folio belongs to a copy of *Mirajnama* made in Persia.

The recto narrates Muhammad's visit to the seventh heaven. Gabriel leads him along as he meets angels and the guardians of heaven, who greet him and give him good tidings. He also reaches a sea of fire, whereupon Gabriel tells him not to fear, because God will protect him. The archangel then takes Muhammad to the place where he worships God, and then begins to tremble, telling Muhammad, 'this is my station and I do not have permission to go higher'. The archangel Michael then comes and leads Muhammad further in his journey.<sup>2</sup>

The verso contains the passage in which Muhammad meets God. In this moment Muhammad 'is overwhelmed, his tongue became inarticulate and stuck'. Eventually he exclaims, 'Greetings, prayers, and good tidings to God'. God replies 'Peace be upon you, O! Prophet, and God's mercy and His blessing'. As part of this momentous conversation, they talk about the earlier prophets – Adam, Noah, Abraham and Jesus – and how God had equipped each one for prophecy.<sup>3</sup>

The RM folio is embellished with negative stenciled technique. The stencil was a progressive decorative technique invented in the Timurid period. The earliest dated manuscript using this technique was produced in Yazd in 1431.<sup>4</sup> This technique was popular throughout the Safavid period. Of the numerous examples, we might mention 'Man on top of a minaret', c.1417–1418, made in Iran, in Freer (S1986.138), 'Anthology of Persian Poetry in Oblong Format', 1499–1500, attributed to Herat, at the MET (1997.71), 'Young dervish', the second half of the 16th century, attributed to Muhammad Haravi, made probably in Khurasan, at the Louvre (MAO 148).

1 Amir-Moezzi, M.A., "Me'rāj i. definition", in Encyclopædia Iranica (2010), available online: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/meraj-i>. Gruber, Ch., *The Ilkhanid Book of Ascension: A Persian-Sunni Devotional Tale*, (London: 2010), 1–17.

2 To read about this section, see an Ilkhanid manuscript which is transcribed in Persian and translated into English: Ibidem, 63–64, and 115–114. The RM folio seems to come from an abridged edition of this Ilkhanid text.

3 Ibidem, the English translation: 68–69; the Persian transcription: 106–109.

4 Roxburgh, *The Persian album* 155. Roxburgh elaborately argued this technique and the relevant samples in the 15th century. Ibidem, 152–159.

2 Three Pages of *Mihr u Mushtari* (The Sun and Jupiter)

FIGURE 17A  
 'Execution of Mushtari and Badr', inv  
 no. RP-T-1993-449, sheet: 14 × 10.2 cm

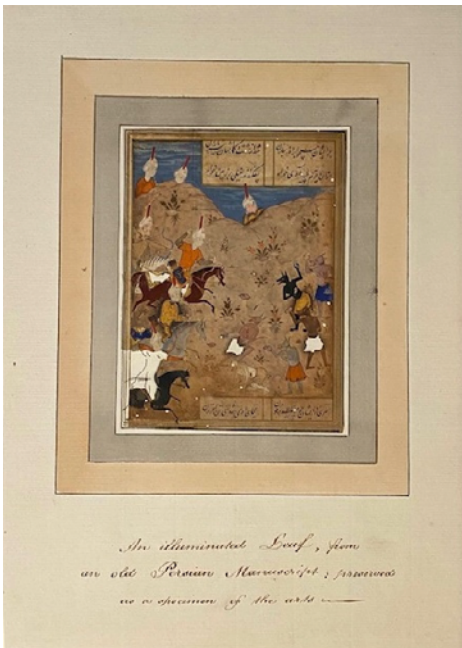


FIGURE 17B  
 'The battle of Mushtari with  
 cannibals', inv no. RP-T-1993-450, sheet  
 (large panel): 20 × 16 cm, painting:  
 12.9 × 10.2 cm. The painting is framed  
 in white, grey and cream. The margin  
 carries a note in English: "an illuminated  
 leaf, from an old Persian manuscript;  
 presented as a specimen of the arts"



FIGURE 17C  
 'The feast of Shah Kayvan and  
 Mihr', inv no. RP-T-1993-448, sheet:  
 14 × 10.3 cm

These three detached folios are from a single manuscript, however, the order of the museum inventory numbers does not match the sequence of events in the book. The artworks dated 1530s–1540s, Safavid dynasty. Ink, watercolour and gold pigment on paper. The paintings are in several areas discoloured and smudged, and some bits have been lost. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, written in two columns. The text and the image are set in gold, black and blue rulings. The verso is blank.

The works are the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993. Prior to that the folios were auctioned at Sotheby's on 12 December 1966, lot 46. According to the Sotheby's note these miniatures were from the collection of an English man named James Forbes (1749–1819), who was in India from 1765 until 1784. There, he acquired an extensive collection of artworks.<sup>5</sup> Forbes annotated the margins of several of his artworks, and the note on folio RP-T-1993-450 (Figure 17B), matches Forbes' handwriting.

The folios are from a literary manuscript called *'Eshqnama*, and better known as *Mihr u Mushtari* (The Sun and Jupiter). This poem was composed

5 Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of western and oriental manuscripts and miniatures, auction by Sotheby & Co., on Monday, 12th December, 1966* (London: 1966), 11.

in 1376 by Shams al-Din Muhammad ‘Assar Tabrizi (died 1377 or 1382).<sup>6</sup> The poem narrates a platonic love between two protagonists named Mihr and Mushtari. Mihr is the son of the king of Istakhr,<sup>7</sup> and Mushtari, the son of the king’s vizier. This book was popular throughout the 16th century, in the Safavid period. The three RM scenes can be seen in a manuscript d. 1490, in BnF (Supplément Persan 766), 44r, 75v, 107r.

According to the story, Shah Shapur, the father of Mihr, is opposed to the relationship between his son and Mushtari, and endeavours to keep them apart. Nevertheless, the lovers contrive to get in contact via letter. The king finds out and becomes furious. He decides to imprison his son and kill Mushtari. The painting of RP-T-1993-449 (Figure 17A) captures the moment where Mushtari awaits his fate before the king in the royal palace.<sup>8</sup>

The king sits on his throne at the centre of the image. He wears a lavish outfit, with a blue robe draped over his shoulders and an orange garment ornamented with gold motifs. He wears a gold crown, garnished with a plume. He converses with a man who wears a wrapped turban with a long red baton.<sup>9</sup> This man is named Bihzad, who strives to intercede with the king. In the lower part, at the centre, two offenders are seated on a red carpet, handcuffed and wearing blue blindfolds. They are Mushtari and his companion Badr, who was the messenger between the two young men. They are bald and shaven, with their hands clasped behind their backs, and one leg stretched forward. Behind them, an executioner with a long sword is standing at the ready. The executioner has a red headdress, brown undergarment, and blue garment, which is decorated with gold patterns. Between the executioner and the interceder sits an attendant, whose head is missing due to damage to the painting, and only part of his body is visible. Similar damage has occurred on the wall behind the king. Between these two damaged walls there is a doorway framed in red, which connects the viewer to the outside, where two attendants talk to each other. On the right-hand side, in the foreground, another attendant can be seen, entering through a doorway. He wears a baton turban, a yellow garment, and a light-brown undergarment. High above this entrance, a woman,

6 Safa, Z., “AŞŞĀR TABRĪZĪ” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. II. Fasc. 8 (1987), 803, ‘Assar Tabrizi, *Mihr u Mushtari: Eshqnama*, ed. R.M. Sabzevari (Tehran: 1375/1996), 15–40.

7 Istakhr is an ancient city in Fars province.

8 This episode is illustrated in several contemporary copies, for example Bodleian (ms. Ouseley Add. 21), fol. 54a, dated 16th century, ‘Mushtari and Badr await execution’, c.1520, at Christie’s, 26 April 2012, and ‘Bihzad pleading for Mihr and Mushtari’, c.1540, private collection. See the latter miniature in Stchoukine I., *Les peintures des manuscrits Safavides de 1502 à 1587* (Paris: 1959), no. 48.

9 About male headdresses in Safavid times, see Schmitz, “On a Special Hat”, 104.

in a white headdress embellished with strips of gold, observes the scene, her arched brows denoting astonishment.

Thanks to Bihzad's intercession, the king agrees not to have Mushtari and Badr beheaded, instead banishing them. Mushtari and Badr wander off and, during the vicissitudes of their journey, come cross a group of cannibals in a thicket. The hirsute and unclothed cannibals, who sport wolf-like fangs, make to chase after the protagonists, in a moment captured in folio RP-T-1993-450 (Figure 17B). The painting illustrates six wolf-faced cannibals on the right-hand side, hurling stones. The colour of each one's skin and waist cloth is unique. Two of them are hit by arrows. The protagonists and their fellows are on the left-hand side, fighting back, mounted on horseback, bows raised. In the background, against a blue sky, three observers look on from behind the hills. All of the human characters in the painting have the distinctive Safavid turban, with its characteristic long red baton.

While Mushtari is forced into exile, his friend Mihr is overwhelmed with sadness and cannot cope with their separation, and so eventually sets off to find him. On this journey he goes to Khwarazm,<sup>10</sup> where he befriends the king of the land, Shah Kayvan. Miniature RP-T-1993-448 (Figure 17C) depicts the outdoor feast of Shah Kayvan and Mihr. The scene is embellished with a tree and a stream in the immediate background. The stream was originally silver, but has since become tarnished. The ground is embellished with scattered flowers. Shah Kayvan and Mihr are sitting on a rug on the right-hand side. The bearded king has a crown, garnished with a plume. He wears a short-sleeved green robe and green garment, his outfit decorated with golden motifs. He has a cup in his right hand, and converses with Mihr, who is depicted as a clean-shaven youth who sports the Safavid turban. He wears a short-sleeved orange robe and a green garment. His outfit is decorated with gold-coloured designs similar those of the king. They enjoy the feast as two musicians play the tambourine and an end-blown flute (*ney*). Five more attendants, also wearing the Safavid turban, accompany the protagonists. They are sitting around and conversing with each other.

---

10 Khwarazm (Khorezm) is a historic region along the Amu Darya (Oxus), in the territories of present-day Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

3 'Mahan and the Old Gardener', One Page of *Khamsa* of Nizami

FIGURE 18 Inv no. RP-T-1993-447, sheet: 26.4 × 15.5 cm, painting: 13.5 × 9.4 cm, text frame: 18 × 10.1 cm. Dated first half of the 16th century, Safavid period. Ink, watercolour and gold pigment on paper. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, set in black, gold and blue rulings. The recto has a seventeen-line text distributed in four columns. The verso contains a painting and a six-line text in four columns. There is a catchword in the bottom margin, (با غریبان), 'with strangers'. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The folio, which belongs to the fifth chapter of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, called *Haft Peykar* (Seven Fair Forms), depicts (بهرام در گنبد فیروزه ای در روز) 'Bahram in Turquoise Pavilion on Wednesday'.<sup>11</sup> Conventionally, from this account the painters represent the scene of Bahram sitting in the

11 Chelkowski, *Mirror of the Invisible*, 95–99.

Turquoise Pavilion; nevertheless, there are a few paintings which diverge from this prototype, and the RM's painting is one of them.<sup>12</sup>

The text recounts the story of an Egyptian youth, named Mahan, who is handsome, clever and blessed. One night he comes across his business partner, who outside the city gates has a load of goods. The man lures Mahan with the promise of great profits into helping him smuggle the load past the city tax officials. Mahan is convinced and goes along with the man, unaware that it is in fact a ploy. After a series of dreadful misadventures, one night Mahan ends up in a garden full of fruits. As he joyfully partakes of the fruits, an old gardener suddenly appears, with a club over his shoulder. He comes upon Mahan angrily, and calls him a thief. Mahan tells the gardener his distressful story, which arouses the compassion of the gardener. The painting captures the exchange between Mahan and the elderly gardener, who is depicted as a bearded old man carrying a black club. Mahan is depicted as a young man sporting a white turban wrapped around a black baton. This type of turban was standard for men in the 16th century, during the Safavid period.<sup>13</sup> The backdrop consists of a lush garden, with trees in bloom and two cypresses. A narrow stream flows through the garden. Although the story takes place at night, the sky in the painting is golden, denoting daytime.

---

12 Another sample is 'Mahan confronted by demons', from one manuscript dated 1442–1443 and another c.1535–1540, made in Herat and Tabriz, respectively, preserved at the BL (Add MS 25900), f. 188r.

13 Schmitz, "On a Special Hat", 104.

4 'Khusrau and Shirin in Hunting Ground', One Page of *Khamsa* of Nizami



FIGURE 19 Inv no. RP-T-1993-457, sheet: 35.2 × 23 cm, painting and text frame: 28.6 × 18.7 cm. Dated first half of the 16th century, Safavid period, made probably in Tabriz. Ink, colour and gold on paper. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, in four columns and fourteen lines. The painting and the text are framed in red, blue, black and gold rulings. The verso is blank. The folio is exquisite, being rather large and with fine colours. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The folio narrates the episode from Nizami's *Khusrau and Shirin* in which Khusrau and Shirin come across each other in a hunting ground, recognizing each other for the first time. The painting captures the early stage of their encounter. Shirin is accompanied by three maids, and Khusrau by one attendant. Shirin, wearing a blue crown garnished with gold ornaments, engages in hunting. She has just hit a gazelle with an arrow, while three other beasts flee. Khusrau is on the left-hand side of the image on his horse, watching Shirin. He wears a crown garnished with a black-green fan-shaped plume.

The backdrop represents the hunting ground with blue and pink rocks. Trees, tufts of grass and flowers grow up here and there through the rocks. Moreover, the painter has extended the image into the upper left-hand side. Here, on top of the rocks, next to the tulips and bushes, are trees, one of which has multi-coloured leaves. A bird is sitting in the tree, its nest resting on the upper branch.

Similar rocks can be seen in 'Iskandar talks to the Simurgh at the fountain of life', a folio of *Shahnama*, made in Tabriz, dated to the first half of the 16th century, preserved at the Ashmolean (EA2012.50).<sup>14</sup> The dimensions of this folio are close to those of the RM folio. Moreover, the calligrapher's hand in both folios bears the same characteristics.<sup>15</sup> These similarities suggest that the RM's *Khamsa* and Ashmolean's *Shahnama* could have been produced in the same workshop.

---

14 Currently, the miniature is mistakenly labelled as *Iskandarnama* of Nizami in the Ashmolean records, <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/712589>.

15 This individual calligraphy style is reflected mainly in the rendering of the dots. The calligrapher combines the three dots of one word, and in several letters he omits the dots.

5 'Rustam's First Labour: Rakhsh Kills a Lion', One Page of *Shahnama*

FIGURE 20A Inv no. RP-T-1993-454, sheet:  
34.5 × 23.5 cm, text frame:  
25 × 14.8 cm. Dated to 1590s–1600s,  
Safavid dynasty. Ink, opaque  
watercolour and gold on paper.  
The work is the gift of Peter  
Formijne to the museum in 1993



FIGURE 20B Detail, stamp

The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, framed in blue, black, red and gold rulings. The text has four columns and ten lines. The starting couplet says:

چو خواهم خود آید سوارم بدست<sup>16</sup>

“First”, said the lion, “I must maim  
the steed,

نخست اسب را گفت باید شکست

then I can take the rider when  
I please”.<sup>17</sup>

16 Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 2, no 290, 22.

17 Warner & Warner, vol. 2, sec. 6, 45.

The folio has an illumination in gold, outlined in black. There is a rectangular stamp on the left-hand side, which is only partially legible (Figure 20B).<sup>18</sup>

The folio's text is an abridgement of the first and the second exploit of Rustam; 'Rakhsh combats with the lion', and 'Rustam passes a dry desert'.<sup>19</sup> According to the *Shahnama*, the mythological king of Persia, Kay Kavus, and his troops, are captured by the White Div in Mazandaran.<sup>20</sup> Rustam undertakes the Seven Exploits (*Haft Khan*) to save them, briskly heading off towards Mazandaran. After a one-day journey, the hero and his horse are fatigued, reaching a meadow with a herd of zebra. Rustam hunts a zebra, makes a fire and eats. He then sends Rakhsh away to graze, while he himself takes a nap, unaware that a lion dwells nearby. Later in the day, the lion comes back to his lair, seeing the strangers there. The lion reckons that if he first beats the horse, then he can easily defeat the horseman. The RM painter captures the moment where the lion faces off with the horse, in an episode that was one of the most frequently illustrated scenes from the early 14th century on.<sup>21</sup>

In the painting, Rustam is shown asleep beneath a leafy tree next to the stream. Rustam's name is written on the trunk. Though asleep, the hero remains dressed for battle, wearing even his helmet, and is surrounded by his shield, sword, quiver and mace. On the other side of the image, Rakhsh is illustrated grappling with the lion. Rakhsh has an exquisite embellished blue saddle.

Next to the protagonists, two foxes are close to the stream, looking upward at the fight. In the background, two white beasts are standing above the rocks. The painter uses the margin space for illumination, embellishing it with plant and animal motifs (bird, tiger, gazelle), which harmonizes well with the meadow scene.

18 I would read it as 'Muhammad 'Abd Husain [...] 1723/24' (محمد عبد حسين [...] 1136).

19 The RM has another miniature with this subject matter: inv no. RP-T-1993-453, which is mentioned in the appendix.

20 Mazandaran is a region located along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea.

21 'Rakhsh Kills a Lion while Rustam is Asleep', c.1300-1330, attributed to north-western Iran or Baghdad, MET (69.74.9).

6 'Kay Khusrau Grants an Audience to Rustam and Zal', One Page of *Shahnama*



FIGURE 21 Inv no. RP-T-1956-275, sheet: 43.7 × 28.9 cm, painting: (blue frame): 33.6 × 22.7 cm. Text panel (recto): 27.3 × 15.6 cm. Dated 1560s–1570s, Safavid dynasty, probably made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is purchased by the museum in 1956

The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, framed in blue, black, red, brown and gold rulings. The recto bears the text, in four columns and twenty-five lines. The folio starts with this couplet:

و زانجا سوی کاخ رفتند باز      بخت جهاندار دیهم ساز<sup>22</sup>

They sought the palace and the  
world-lord's throne-

His who has made the diadem  
his own<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 2 (California: 1369/1990), no. 686, 469.

<sup>23</sup> Warner & Warner, vol. 2 (London: 1906), sec. 36, 411.

Also, there is a headline in a gold decorative frame outlined in blue: (پادشاهی یکسرو شصت سال بود), 'the reign of Kay Khusrau was sixty years'. The verso has the painting, and the text is distributed in four columns of five lines each. There is a catchword, (چو توس و), 'namely Tus and'.

The present folio recounts the first meeting between Rustam and Kay Khusrau, the legendary king of Persia. Kay Khusrau has ascended the throne, and Rustam wishes to pay him a visit, in the company of his father (Zal), his grandfather (Sam) and his son (Faramarz). As they approach the king's residence, Kay Khusrau exuberantly dispatches his warriors Giv, Gudarz and Tus to welcome them and lead them to the court, where Rustam and Kay Khusrau first meet face to face. They are both overwhelmed and pay tribute to Siyavush, Kay Khusrau's father, before conversing with their companions, and enjoying food and drink well into the night.

The image depicts this moment in the court. On the left-hand side, Kay Khusrau is sitting on the throne. He has a beard, and wears a red crown decorated with gold. He addresses Rustam and a young man. Rustam is distinguished by his outfit and helmet. The protagonists are surrounded by companions, attendants, musicians and onlookers. The court scene is embellished with candles, platters of fruit and vessels.

7 'Solomon and *Ajenna*', One Page of *'Aja'ib al-makhlūqat* (Wonders of Creation)



FIGURE 22 Inv no. RP-T-1993-455, sheet: 21.1 × 13.1 cm, painting: 17.6 × 10.2 cm. Text frame: 10 × 17.6 cm; on the side with the image, text frame: 17.5 × 10 cm. Dated second half of the 16th century, Safavid period, Shiraz. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script. Ink, colours and gold on paper. Fourteen lines of text ruled in gold, black, blue and red lines. The recto contains fourteen lines of text and a painting. The folio has a peculiar layout, in which first the painting was set in the middle of the page, and then the text was inscribed around image. The verso has a catchword, (از بهر او), 'for the sake of him'. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The RM folio belongs to the book of *'Aja'ib al-makhlūqat wa ghara'ib al-mawjudat* ("The Marvels of Creation and the Oddities of Existence"). The book was written by Zakaria bin Muhammad bin Mahmud Abu Yahya Qazvini (died 1280). The book was compiled in Arabic and translated into Persian. It comprises a miscellany of different sciences (i.e. medicine, geography, botany and astronomy), as well as superstitions and fantasies of the time.<sup>24</sup>

24 There are numerous studies about this book. Of them, see Von Hees, S., *Enzyklopädie als Spiegel des Weltbildes: Qazwīnīs Wunder der Schöpfung: eine Naturkunde des 13. Jahrhunderts*, (Wiesbaden: 2002). For a summary of the literature on this book Carboni, S.,

The text of the RM is from the section ‘of the odd stories about Jinn’, dedicated to *Jinn* – the supernatural beings in Islamic mythology and theology.<sup>25</sup> The text narrates the story of *Jinn* and the prophet Solomon (Suleyman). Solomon is one of the exalted figures in Islam; according to the Qur’an, God granted him a number extraordinary aptitudes, including his talent for talking to the birds<sup>26</sup> and supernatural beings.<sup>27</sup> God bestowed upon him a miraculous ring, which makes *Jinn*, devils and demons bow down before him.

Based on the RM text, the archangel Gabriel (Jibril) calls on Solomon to stand up. Solomon, wearing his magical rings, does so, and in turn the *Jinn* and devils bow down, which matches up with the scene in the painting. Gabriel is depicted on the left side of the image, addressing Solomon. The archangel wears a green robe, goldish undergarment and a long red sash. His physiognomy is imbued with Chinese artistic conventions, particularly the almond-shaped eyes and hair held up in a bun. Solomon wears a long red robe, and two undergarments, in brown and blue. He has his famous ring on the little finger of his right hand. A golden flame engulfs his head, marking his holiness. Solomon stands upon an embellished throne, surrounded by a group of supernatural beings with horse, donkey, elephant and white-leopard faces. In the blue sky in the background, a demon watches the scene.

Two similar pages are preserved at the Louvre (AOR 4242) and (AOR 4241). In particular, in folio (AOR 4242), Solomon is portrayed with the same outfit and physiognomy as in the RM painting. Also, the backdrop (blue sky, cream-coloured hills ornamented with scattered tufts) reappears in this folio. Two other folios are in MAH, (1971-0107-0495) and (1971-0107-0030). The Gabriel of the RM painting matches the angels in the miniature (1971-0107-0495).

There are plentiful copies of *‘Aja’ib al-makhlūqat* produced in Shiraz in the 16th century. These manuscripts spotlight the status of Shiraz as a hub of book production, and the high demand for *‘Aja’ib al-makhlūqat* in particular. Of them, it is worth mentioning a copy with sixty-five miniatures that was auctioned at Sotheby’s on 22 November 1985, lot 417. The miniatures, layout, and calligraphy bear a close affinity with RM, Louvre and MAH, but the pages have twelve lines of text (two lines less than the discussed folios).

---

*The Wonders of Creation and the Singularities of Painting: A Study of the Ilkhanid London Qazvini* (Edinburgh: 2015), 13–22. In a broader discussion about ‘literature of marvels’ (genre of *‘Aja’ibnama*) in Islamic lands see Von Hees, S., “The Astonishing: a critique and re-reading of ‘Aja’ib literature”, *Middle Eastern literatures* 8.2 (2005) 101–120.

25 Jinn or genie, and ajenna, which is an incorrect plural form used in Persian. Sura 72 of the Qur’an is named after them. Omidsalar, M., “GENIE” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. x. Fasc. 4 (2000), 418–422.

26 Sura *al-Naml*, Aya 15–22.

27 Sura *Saba’*, Aya 12–14.

8 Four Pages of *Divan* of Hafiz

FIGURE 23A 'A princess and her maid, a tumbled man and a seated woman', inv no. RP-T-1993-403, sheet: 12.5 × 21.6 cm, painting panel: 8.4 × 15 cm, verso (text panel): 8.4 × 15.2 cm



FIGURE 23B 'A convivial company', inv no. RP-T-1993-404. Sheet: 21.4 × 12.6 cm, painting frame: 8.1 × 11.3 cm, text frame (verso): 14.9 × 8.4 cm



FIGURE 23C 'Triumph of Shah Mansur', inv no. RP-T-1993-405. Sheet: 21.2 × 12.5 cm, painting: 9.5 × 7.3 cm, frame: 15 × 8.4 cm (with painting), text frame (verso): 15.3 × 8.4 cm



FIGURE 23D 'The King and the beggar', inv no. RP-T-1993-406. Sheet: 21.5 × 12.5 cm, painting: 8.1 × 7.6 cm, text panel (recto): 14.3 × 8.3 cm

The four detached folios belong to one manuscript of the *Divan* of Hafiz. Dated to the second half of the 16th century, Safavid period, made in Shiraz. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, in red, blue, black and gold rulings. The painting are mounted on the page. In several cases the trace of another text below the image and text is detectable.

The miniatures were a gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993.

Shams al-Din Muhammad Hafiz (c.1325–1390) is one of the most celebrated lyric poets of Persia. His *Divan* is a favourite of 16th-century decorated books. The RM folios bear the features of the Shiraz commercial manuscripts. The RM's folios supposedly are from the same manuscript as a detached folio at the Ashmolean (EA1978.202). As far as other similar folios are concerned, there two detached folios in Jerusalem (B69.0612) and (O.S.B77.10.4045).

Folio RP-T-1993-403 (Figure 23A): The recto contains an image, while the verso contains two ghazals, in twelve lines of text.<sup>28</sup> The text starts with the couplet:

ساقیا آمدن عید مبارک بادت      وان مواعید که کردی مرواد از یادت<sup>29</sup>

May the festival's coming be blessing for you, O! wine-boy  
And those promises you made not slip from your memory<sup>30</sup>

The text panel is lavishly gilded and the text outlined. There is a catchword, (من, (و مقام [رضا]) 'I and the stage [of contentment]':

The meaning of the image is not straightforward. It depicts two outdoor scenes. The upper part represents an entertainment scene, with two women under two embellished canopies on an ornamented rectangular rug. The protagonist is a woman who is sitting cross-legged on a red mat, holding a handkerchief in her right-hand. She is conversing with a standing woman, who must be her maid. In the bottom half, a man has tumbled to the ground. He is wearing a white robe with a decorative pattern, a yellow undergarment and a red belt. He has a long stick in his hand. A woman is sitting on the ground, gazing at him in astonishment. There is a narrow stream close to them. The landscape is in gold, with scattered tufts of plants, flowers and stones.

28 Ghazal no. 19 and 88: Natal Khanlari's edition, Hafiz, *Divan Hafiz*, ed. P. Natal Khanlari, vol. 1 (Tehran: 1362/1983), 54, 192, the English translation: Hafiz, *The collected lyrics of Háfiz of Shíráz*, trans. P. Avery, (Cambridge: 2007), 47, 128.

29 Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz*, 54.

30 Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 47.

Folio RP-T-1993-404 (Figure 23B): The recto has two lines of text in a single column, above a large image. It says:

حافظا باز نما قصه خونابه چشم که دراین چشمه همان آب روانست که بود<sup>31</sup>

Again, O Hafiz, resume the narrative of eyes' tears of blood  
From this source still flows that same liquid as ever was<sup>32</sup>

The verso contains two ghazals,<sup>33</sup> with twelve lines of text in two columns, and the catchword, ([نقش می بستم]), 'I conceived'.

The painting depicts an outdoor feast scene in which the protagonist is sitting cross-legged on the ground. He has a red cap, blue robe and red undergarment. An attendant is serving him a platter of fruit. The headdresses of these two men are of the conventional sort depicted in 16th-century Safavid paintings. In the foreground, two seated musicians play the tambourine and *setar*. The ground is rendered in gold, embellished with a stream crossing the field. There are tufts of flowers, leaves and stones scattered about the landscape. The sky is blue, with wispy clouds. Behind the rocks in the distance there is a tree.

Folio RP-T-1993-405 (Figure 23C): The folio contains three ghazals. The recto has four lines of text in two columns, and an image.<sup>34</sup>

The verso has twelve lines of text distributed in two columns and the catchword, (صالح), 'virtuous'.<sup>35</sup>

The folio, recto below the image, has one of the most famous pieces of Hafiz's *Divan*, in praise of Shah Mansur (c.1345–93), who was the last king of the Muzaffarid dynasty (1314–1393). This specific text extols the triumph of Shah Mansur in Shiraz in 1387.<sup>36</sup>

31 Ghazal no. 207: Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz*, 430.

32 Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 271.

33 Ghazal no. 208 and 206: Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz* 432, 428, Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 272, 270.

34 Ghazal no. 130, and no. 237: Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz*, 276, 490, Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 178, 302.

35 The continuation of ghazal no. 237 and ghazal no. 228: Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz* 472, Avery, *The collected lyrics* 293.

36 The ghazal starts from a couplet in the bottom of recto and continues onto the verso. Ghazal no. 237: Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz*, 276, 490, Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 178, 302. About Hafiz's affection for Shah Mansur see Gani, Q., *Bahs dar Asar wa Afkar wa Ahwal Hafiz*, vol. 1 (Tehran: 1386/2007), 492–511. Limbert, J., *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez: The Glory of a Medieval Persian City* (Seattle: 2004).

بیا که رایت منصور پادشاه رسید نوید فتح و بشارت به مهر و ماه رسید<sup>37</sup>

Come, because the victorious strand of the Padishah has arrived  
Good news of triumph and glad tidings have reached the sun and moon<sup>38</sup>

The battle scene in the painting matches up with the text. A horseman on the right-hand side, who must be Shah Mansur, is dealing a mortal blow to the rider on the left, splitting his head open with his sword. Three severed heads lay on the battlefield. Back in the hills there are six combatants, distributed symmetrically, watching the battle scene and holding a billowing red standard.

Folio RP-T-1993-406 (Figure 23D): The recto contains two ghazals written in twelve lines and two columns.<sup>39</sup> The folio starts with this couplet:

عید رخسار تو کو تا عاشقان دروفایت جان و دل قربان کند<sup>40</sup>

When is the festival of your cheek, so that lovers  
In fidelity to you may make their lives a sacrifice

The verso has five lines and two columns, and carries an image and the catchword (کلک), 'reed'.<sup>41</sup>

The painting represents two men who are conversing amid a landscape. One is an elegantly dressed horseman wearing a red crown embellished with a plume and golden trim. He has a blue garment, green undergarment and orange trousers, and carries a quiver full of arrows. His interlocutor is dressed in plain, modest attire. The painting presumably corresponds to the last verse of the text, which says that kings pay scant attention to the condition of a beggar, (شاهان کم التفات بحال گدا کنند).<sup>42</sup>

37 Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz*, 490.

38 Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 302.

39 Ghazal no. 192, and ghazal no. 191: Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz*, 400, 398, Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 252, 251.

40 The RM folio says (جان و دل) while the edited versions suggest (جان خود). Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz*, 400, Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 252.

41 Ghazal no. 191: Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz* 398, Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 251.

42 'Beggar' (Gida, Faqir) [فقیر, گدا] has a sophisticated meaning for Hafiz (and in Sufi literature more broadly), and the poet refers to himself in these terms on several occasions. See Raja'i Bukharai, A., *Farhang-i ash'ar-i Hafiz* (Tehran: 1375/1997), 509–23.

9 'Seduction of Yusuf by Zulaikha', One Page of *Haft Awrang*  
(Seven Thrones)



FIGURE 24 Inv no. RP-T-1993-461, sheet: 25.3 × 17.6 cm, painting: 19 × 8.8 cm, text panel (recto): 19.8 × 9.3 cm. Dated 16th or 17th century, Safavid period, made in Shiraz. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper; the painting and the text are pasted on the sheet, inside the ruling space. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script. The recto has fifteen lines; the verso contains four lines and a painting. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The page narrates the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha from *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones), by the eminent poet Nur al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (d. 1492).

Yusuf (Joseph in the Old Testament) is a revered prophet in Islam, and shows up regularly in Islamic literature. The twenty-seventh Sura of the Qur'an is titled after him. Accordingly, his life was a favoured theme in Persian literature. The climax of his story in the Islamic tradition is the romance between Yusuf and Zulaikha (Potiphar's wife in the Old Testament). While Yusuf is the servant of Zulaikha, she becomes besotted with him. Their love has been told in verse by numerous poets and, in turn, is a frequent subject in decorated manuscripts, especially the sensational moment when Zulaikha tries to seduce

Yusuf in her palace.<sup>43</sup> The earliest and perhaps finest depiction of this moment is Bihzad's 1488 painting in the *Bustan* of Sa'di, in Cairo (Adab Farsi 908), f. 52v, which became an established pictorial formula for subsequent painters, and the painter of the RM folio is no exception.

The RM painting is small in size, but elaborate. The image captures the moment when Zulaikha, inside her palace, expresses her love to Yusuf and grasps his hand pleadingly. Yusuf, wearing an embellished orange robe and white garment, asks her to desist, his head enshrouded in a flaming halo signifying his holiness. The lavish palace is topped with a red cupola, decorated with spiral plant motifs. The spandrels are dark-blue, and garnished with golden plant motifs, which is the same pattern used in the carpet. These embellishments point to the Shiraz school.

Behind the protagonists, the inside of the niche is decorated with two sets of drawings, which probably reflect actual styles of architectural decoration in the Safavid period. The smaller panel is in pink, portraying a combat between two animals, and is surrounded by larger narrative drawings. This feature can be seen in several 16th-century paintings related to the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha.<sup>44</sup> From the bottom right side of the panel, the scenes are: (1) a couple in a loving embrace; (2) a standing woman conversing with a seated man; (3) two men conversing: one man is leaning against a tree with a cup in hand, and there is a bottle next to him on the ground, and he is addressing a man who, by his headdress, must be a dervish; (4) an unfinished sketch of three figures. The headdresses of the figures exhibit features of the Isfahan School in the 17th century. I suspect that these drawings were added in later.

Next to the palace's interior, the painter broadens our attention toward the outside. In the foreground there is a tiled patio with a large vase containing colourful flowers. At the bottom of the image there is a pool with a fountain. Two ducks are standing on the rim of the pool, while a third duck stands further away. The patio is separated from the outside of the palace grounds by a reddish fence. Behind the palace there is a landscape scene, consisting of trees and rocks. A pond flows through the rocks. Further back, five birds and a golden sky embellish the landscape.

43 Abdullaeva, F., "From Zulaykha to Zuleika Dobson: the femme fatale and her ordeals in Persian literature and beyond", in Hillenbrand, R., Peacock, A.C.S. & Abdullaeva, F. (eds.), *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia* (London: 2013), 235–244.

44 Some examples are 'Yusuf u Zulaikha of Jami', 1518, Shiraz style, Manchester (Persian MS 20), fol. 107b, 'The Seduction of Yusuf' in *Bustan*, 1530–1540, in Vienna (od. A.F. 103 HAN MAG), f. 153, 'Yusuf u Zulaikha', a folio from *Majalis al-'ushshaq*, c.1580, TSMK (H. 829), f. 14b.

10 Three Pages of *Rawzat al-shuhada* (Garden of the Martyrs)

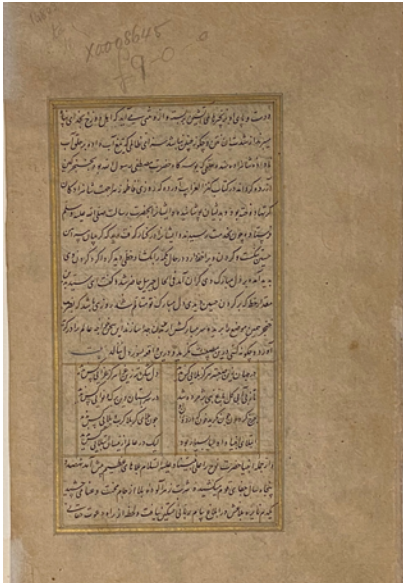


FIGURE 25A 'Pastoral scene', inv no. RP-T-1993-459, sheet: 25.2 x 14 cm, text frame: 16.5 x 8.8 cm, painting: 16.5 x 9 cm

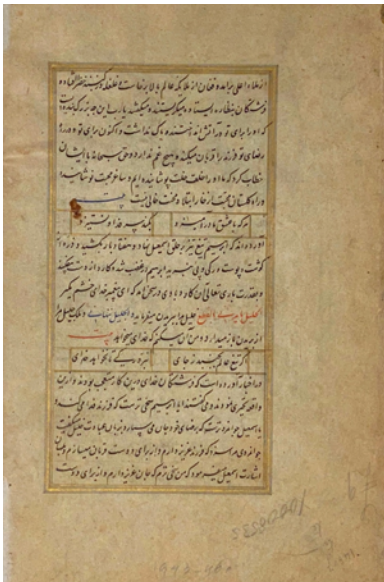


FIGURE 25B 'Abraham sacrifices his son', inv no. RP-T-1993-460, sheet: 25.3 x 15 cm, text frame: 16.5 x 8.7 cm



FIGURE 25C 'Yusuf and his brothers', inv no. RP-T-1993-458, sheet: 25.2 × 15 cm, text frame: 16.5 × 8.8 cm

The three detached folios are from the same manuscript. Dated 16th century, Safavid period. Opaque watercolour, ink and gold on paper. The text and the painting have gold and black rulings. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, in eighteen lines. The order of the museum inventory numbers does not match up with the sequence of events in the book. The artworks are the gifted by Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993.

These three folios belong to a manuscript of *Rawzat al-shuhada* (Garden of the Martyrs), compiled by Husain Va'iz Kashifi (d. 1504–5), which is the foremost Persian book in the *Maqtl* genre of Islamic historiography.<sup>45</sup> The book is dedicated to stories about prophets and Shi'i imams, and in particular focuses on the martyrdom of the third Shi'i imam, Husain b. 'Ali Talib (626–680).<sup>46</sup>

45 The *Maqtl* genre, known as *Maqtlnama* is a religious literature text devoted to the momentous incident of revolt and the martyrdom of the third Shi'i imam, Husain b. 'Ali Talib (626–680). His tragic death occurred in Karbala, nowadays in Iraq, on the tenth day of Muharram, the first month of the Islamic calendar. Rasoul Jafariyan indicates that a few earliest *Maqtlnamas* have not survived. Among the copious existing *Maqtlnama* there are five reliable texts which were written during the 8th to the 10th century. Jafariyan, R., *Ta'muli dar Nihzat-i 'Ashura* (Qum: 1386/2007), 13–34.

46 Ibidem, 348–358. During the Safavid period *Rawzat al-shuhada* turned out to be the most popular *Maqtlnama*. Also, see Amanat, A., "Meadow of the Martyrs: Kāshifi's

Folio RP-T-1993-459 (Figure 25A): The recto contains a text. In the lower left margin there is a catch word, ([عنان] بر نمی تافت), 'did not give up'. The verso carries the painting. The main part of the text is a quote about the life of Husain b. 'Ali (d. 680). The last three sentences of the text are about the prophet Noah (Nuh), and the hardships he suffered during his prophecy. The continuation of the text states that people mistreated him harshly, often pelting him with stones, so much so that on one occasion he was so completely buried in stones that he was presumed dead.

The verso contains a painting which depicts a pastoral scene. Two young men are in the foreground. A young shepherd is standing on the left-hand side of the image with a blue robe. He gazes at a clean-shaven young man in brown clothes who has lost consciousness. The second man's arms are splayed out, and his cap has fallen beside a stone, where he hit his head when he fell. Based on the text, the man on the ground must be Noah. However, Noah is conventionally depicted as an old or middle-aged bearded man,<sup>47</sup> which indicates the RM painter has wished to deviate from the pictorial convention of his peers. Above the protagonist, the young shepherd's herd is dispersed across a field, grazing. The sky is in gold, ornamented with a single wispy cloud. From behind the rocks, a goat and a bearded man with a grey cap and blue robe observe the scene.

This sort of pastoral scene can be seen in Safavid paintings from the 1530s–1560s. However, in several cases this secondary scene, though just part of the setting, is depicted as elaborately as the central scene. Some examples are 'Majnun brought to Layla's camp in chains', signed by Mir Seyyed 'Ali, a folio of *Khamsa-yi Shah Tahmasp*, d. 1539–1543, at BL (Or. 2265), f. 157v, and 'Nomadic Encampment', c.1540, at Harvard (1958.75). Also, several paintings in *Haft Awrang* by Sultan Ibrahim, 1556–1565, such as 'a depraved man commits bestiality', Freer (F1946.12.30), fol. 30a.<sup>48</sup>

Folio RP-T-1993-460 (Figure 25B): The recto contains text and the verso a painting. At the bottom of the recto, in the margin, there is a catchword, (زبان), 'the word'. The text narrates the famous story of the prophet Abraham (Ibrahim) setting out to sacrifice his son Ishmael (Isma'il),<sup>49</sup> who willingly

---

Persianization of the Shi'i Martyrdom Narrative in the Later Timūrid Herat", in Daftary, F. & Meri, J., (eds.), *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung* (London-New York: 2003), 250–275.

47 Some examples are 'Noah's Ark', a folio from *Majma' al-tawarikh*, Herat; c.1425, David (8/2005), and 'Noah and his family on deck in the ark', from of *Qisas al-anbiya'*, 1580, NYPL (Spencer Coll. Pers. ms. 46), fol. 19.

48 The manuscript is in Freer (46.12). See Simpson & Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim*.

49 In Judaism, Abraham aims to sacrifice Isaac.

consents, thereby astonishing the angels. The painting visualizes this plot. The earliest examples of this iconography are the painting in the *Anthology of Iskandar Sultan*, 1410–1411,<sup>50</sup> and the *Kulliyat-i Tarikh* of Hafiz Abru, 1415–1418, fol. 35v.<sup>51</sup> This scene became an established convention that appeared in various historical and religious books in the Timurid and Safavid periods.<sup>52</sup> The RM folio is an example from the Safavid period.

In the painting, Abraham is represented at the centre of the image, knife in hand, bending toward Ishmael, who, clad in a blue garment, sits with one leg stretched forward and his hands tied behind his back. The protagonists' heads are engulfed in flaming halos, signifying their holiness. There are four onlookers in the image, one close to Abraham, and three behind the hills. The golden sky is occupied by four angels flying toward the protagonists. Three angels carry golden platters of fruits in their hands, while the fourth, on the left-hand side of the image wearing a red robe, carries a sheep. According to the story, Gabriel is the one bearing the sheep from heaven, along with a message from God: Abraham is told to untie Isma'il's hands and sacrifice the sheep instead of his son.

Folio RP-T-1993-458 (Figure 25C): The recto contains text, while the verso bears an image. The verso has a catchword, 'and whatever', (و هر چه). The painting depicts a well-known episode in the life of Joseph (Yusuf), according to Islamic tradition. According to the story, Joseph has eleven brothers who conspire to throw him down a well out of jealousy. Conventionally, it is Joseph being pulled out of the well that is depicted.<sup>53</sup> What is unique about the RM's folio is that it depicts the moment his brothers cast him into the well. In the picture, seven brothers are depicted around the well. Three of them are actively engaged in throwing him down the well. The story is set against a craggy backdrop, with five goats wandering among the rocks. On the right-hand side, two brothers are looking upward at a shepherd on the rocks – a possible witness to their crime. A scroll cloud is set against the gold sky.

The recto text tells the story of the brothers' brutal conspiracy. Intriguingly, the author puts the story in relation with the assassination of Husain ibn 'Ali in

50 Gulbenkian (MS L.A. 161, vol. 2, fol. 326v).

51 TSMK (Baghdad 282).

52 Gutmann, J., "The Sacrifice of Abraham in Timurid Art", *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 59 (2001), 131–135.

53 Two examples are 'Yusuf being hauled up out of the well', a folio from *Qisas al-Anbiyā*, c.1580, Safavid School, NYPL (Spencer Coll. Pers. ms. 46), fol. 43v, 'Yusuf Pulled from the Well', Bukhara School, c.1560, a folio from *Haft Awrang*, David (53/1980). Milstein, R., Rührdanz, K. & Schmitz, B., *Stories of the prophets: illustrated manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (Costa Mesa: 1999).

the battle of Karbala,<sup>54</sup> an incident depicted in various other Safavid-era manuscripts. Among them, there are two detached folios of 'Rawzat al-shuhada', c.1580–1590, produced in Ottoman Baghdad; 'Hurr kills Qosura' in the Wereldmuseum (WM-70922), or 'The battle of Karbala', which went up for auction at Christie's on 31 March 2022, lot 44.

---

54 In addition, the Karbala incident is depicted in a Turkish manuscript of the *Hadiqat al-su'ada'*, of Fuzuli, 1602–1603, preserved in Brooklyn (70.143). See also: Shayestehfar, M., "The Impact of the Religion on the Painting and Inscriptions of the Tîmûrid and the Early Safavid Periods", *Central Asiatic Journal*, 47.2 (2003), 250–293.

11 'A Man in a Robe', One Page of *Divan* of Hafiz

FIGURE 26 Inv no. RP-T-1993-462. Recto: sheet:  $16 \times 9.5$  cm, painting:  $8 \times 14.6$  cm. Verso: existing calligraphy panel:  $6 \times 9.2$  cm, panel of two calligraphy frames:  $14.5 \times 8.1$  cm. Dated 1540s–1570s, Safavid period, made in Qazvin or Mashhad. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper. The recto has a painting set in an embellished gold frame. On the verso, the text is set in black, green and blue rulings. The text has two pieces. The upper one is currently blank. The lower part contains text in Persian written in white Nasta'liq script, outlined in black. The script is against a blue background. The folio is embellished with gold, and blue and the flora ornamentations. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

There is a poetic aura about the painting, which depicts a young musician with an orange garment and blue undergarment embellished with gold ornamentation. He wears green trousers, a loose white and red sash around his waist, and black footwear. He has a woollen cap wrapped with a brocade. He has a flower stuck in his turban. Wisps of hair fall across his cheek and neck. The musician is leaning slightly to his right (the left-hand side of the image), and is looking

downward at the ground as he delicately plays a *setar*. A dagger and sword hang from his waist. The background is embellished with stylized plant motifs.

The garment, headdress and elongated body all point to the Safavid style, specifically the so-called Qazvin School, of the second half of the 16th century. Of the copious comparable folios, we might mention 'Princely Hawking Party', c.1570, attributed to Mirza 'Ali, Qazvin or Mashhad, MET (12.223.1).

The verso contains text. The upper part was intended to contain a couplet, but is currently blank. According to the trace of the inscription, it is Hafiz's poem:

زندى حافظ نه گاهيست صعب      باكرم پادشه عيب پوش<sup>55</sup>

Hafiz's licentiousness is not a  
hard sin

For the ruler's fault-concealing  
kindness<sup>56</sup>

The lower text carries an inscription saying:

کتبه العبد المذنب الفقير  
[...] جان و قاطعه  
دوست محمد المذهب  
سترعيوبه

Written by the servant, the sinner, the poor [...] Jani and Dust  
Muhammad, the illuminator, the *découpeur* (the cutter), may his faults  
be concealed.

This informative text indicates that the folio is a fine piece of Qata'i (قطاعى), *découpage*, or cut-out, which is a collaborative work between a calligrapher and *découpeur* or Qati' (قاطع). This technique was first applied for book binding in the 1400s, and by the 1500s it had become a prevalent form of calligraphy, which artists practiced as an independent art form.<sup>57</sup> This art was greatly

55 Ghazal no. 279, line 7: Khanlari, *Divan Hafiz*, 574.

56 Avery, *The collected lyrics*, 349.

57 Yahya Zoka proposed the Timurid court of Sultan Husain Bayqara (r. 1469–1506), in the east of Persia, as the origin of this art form. However, the existing artworks simultaneously point to the west and the east of Persia. To read about this art and techniques see Couvrat-Desvergnès, A., "Cut-Out Calligraphy from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Discussion of Its Origins and Significance and Observations on the Techniques and Tools

favoured in the 16th century, the *Bahram Mirza Album* 1544–1545 being the example *par excellence*. This album contains numerous instances of this art, including three pieces which carry the name of *découpeur* Dust Muhammad.<sup>58</sup>

Apart from the known body of his work, little is known about Dust Muhammad's identity and apprenticeship. As scholars have discussed, there were multiple artists named Dust Muhammad who were active in the 16th century, which makes it hard to confirm anything about the identity of the RM folio's artist.<sup>59</sup> Based on the extant artworks, he was a skilled artist who collaborated as a *découpeur* with various calligraphers from the late 15th century to the first half of 16th century.<sup>60</sup>

Along with the *découpeur*, the RM text points to the name of a calligrapher who contributed to this piece. This name is partially erased, but based on the existing part, "Jan", one can assume it is Hafiz Baba Jan Turbati (d. 1537), a known versatile artist of the Safavid period, with talent in calligraphy, music and carving.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, the space and the length of the name 'Hafiz Baba' is not a clear match for the empty space here, leaving our hypothesis a matter of conjecture.<sup>62</sup>

The erased inscription in the lower panel, along with the dropped text in the upper panel (due to the poor quality of the adhesive employed), might indicate that the calligraphy piece was made as an artistic exercise in the early 16th century, and later, in the second half of the century, the painting on the recto and the calligraphy on the verso were assembled to give the page its present layout.

---

Used", *Material Cultures in the Muslim World* (2021), 3–31. Zoka, Y., *Honar-i Kaghaz Bori dar Iran: Qat'ai* (Tehran: 1379/2000) 4–11. Roxburgh, *The Persian album* 165–170.

- 58 Roxburgh, *Album Making* 934–35, 961. Folio 106a–1, inscribed as *Dust Muhammad découpeur*, folio 106a–2, inscribed as *Dust Muhammad découpeur*, folio 125a–3, inscribed as *découpeur Dust Muhammad Musawwir*.
- 59 Adle, Ch., "Les artistes nommés Dust-Moḥammad au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Studia Iranica* 22.2 (1993) 219–296. Zoka, Y., "Dust-Muhammad-e Mosawwer, Dust-Muhammad-e Kateb, Dust-e Musawwer", *Ayandeh* 8.5 (1361/1982) 244–253. Skelton R., "Iranian artists in the service of Humayun", in Canby, Sh.R. (ed.), *Humayun's garden party: Princes of the house of Timur and early Mughal painting*, (Bombay: 1995), 33–48.
- 60 Zoka mentioned other samples of his works, Zoka, *Hunar-i Kaghaz Buri*, 11–20. On his method in the RM folio, see Couvrat-Desvergnès, "Cut-Out Calligraphy", 18–19.
- 61 On the biography of Hafiz Baba Jan, see Bayani, *Ahval wa Asar*, 83–84, Sam Mirza Safavi, *Tadhkira-yi Sami*, ed. V. Dastgerdi (Tehran: 1314/1936) 82. Munshi Qumi, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 148.
- 62 'Baba Jan' is very short for the erased space, while a review of his artworks indicates that he never inscribed 'Hafiz Jan'. For specimens of his works, see *Bahram Mirza Album*, f. 145b, where he inscribed a folio as 'Hafiz Baba Jan', and two folios as 'Baba Jan Bahrami'. Roxburgh, *Album Making*, 992, 994–995.

12 'Isfandiyyar's Fifth Labour: He Kills the Simurgh', One Page of *Shahnama*



FIGURE 27 Inv no. RP-T-1993-393, sheet: 29.78 × 18.5 cm, text panel (verso) 12.4 × 23, (recto) 12.5 × 22.9 cm. Dated 1640s–1660s, Safavid dynasty, Isfahan School. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper

The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, framed in blue and gold rulings. The recto has four columns and seventeen lines and a painting. The painting is attributable to Mu'in Musavvir (active in 1630s–1690s). The folio starts with this couplet:

زمین را به دیبا پیاراستند      نشستند بر خوان و می خواستند<sup>63</sup>

Then to dine, they [joyous warriors] spread brocade, took seat, and called for wine<sup>64</sup>

63 Khaleghi Motlagh, vol. 5, no. 282, 243.

64 Warner & Warner, vol. 5, sec.6, 134.

At the top of the folio in the margin the word *waqf* (وقف), is written. The verso has four columns and twenty-five lines. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993.

Isfandiyar is a legendary Persian prince and warrior in *Shahnama*. Similarly to Rustam, Isfandiyar undergoes seven trials, in this case to rescue his two sisters who are taken hostage by Arjasp, the king of Turan. The RM folio recounts the fifth trial, where Isfandiyar fights against Simurgh, a fabulous and belliscose bird. The painting corresponds to the text. The image of the fight between Isfandiyar and Simurgh has been a favourite since the 14th century, and has been depicted by numerous painters.<sup>65</sup>

In the present painting, the artist has made a dynamic and rousing rendering of this episode. Simurgh is depicted as a giant bird with multicoloured feathers. Simurgh's body has been pierced by several thick blades disposed around the chariot. On the left-hand side of the image, the protagonist strikes the wounded bird with his sword. Isfandiyar is depicted as a youth with a crown. He wears a red robe, grey undergarment, yellow trousers, and black boots.

The painter masterfully transmits the sense of a tense combat to the viewer. On the left-hand side of the image, the warrior's right foot steps outside the rulings and into the margin, to emphasize the force of his blow. On the other side of the picture, the head of the horses are trying to escape from the bird's attack also leap out past the image frame. Back in the hills, a mustachioed combatant looks on. The picture bears key stylistic features of Mu'in Musavvir, the eminent painter of the Safavid period, who was active during the 1630s–90s.<sup>66</sup> This prolific painter was the student of the celebrated painter Riza 'Abbasi (c.1565–d. 1635). Here Mu'in's style shows up in the physiognomy of the figures, the schematic landscape and the intensity and dynamism of the scene. Of his vast body of work, two pieces that stand out are 'Tiger Attacking a Youth', 1672, at MFA (14.634), and 'Rustam Dragging the Khaqan of Chin from his Saddle', 1648–1649, at Harvard (1941.293).

65 See the RM miniature, inv no. RP-T-1993-439, cat no. 4. Another sample is 'Isfandiyar's Fifth Course', c.1330–1340, attributed to Iran, probably Isfahan, at MET (1974.290.28).

66 Farhad, M., "The Art of Mu'in Musavvir: A Mirror of His Time", in Canby, Sh.R. (ed.), *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: 1990), 113–128. Farhad, M., "An Artist's Impression: Mu'in Musavvir's Tiger Attacking a Youth", *Muqarnas* 9 (1992), 116–123.

## 13 'A Youth and Two Dervishes'



FIGURE 28 Inv no. AK-MAK-1252, painting; 16 × 8,5 cm. Dated first half of the 17th century, Safavid period, Isfahan School. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The painting is set in red, blue and black rulings. The single folio probably produced for the market. The work is the gift of Mr and Mrs Hülsmann-Stork to KVVAK in 1976, on loan to the RM. The verso is blank

The painting illustrates a youth visiting two dervishes. The squatting dervishes are wearing plain clothing. On the left-hand side, the kneeling youth is wearing an elegant garment, his headdress, belt and collar decorated in gold. He is conversing with the bearded dervish next to him, who wears a turban and gently hugs his legs as he gazes at the youth. Next to him, another squatting dervish appears to be inebriated, which metaphorically refers to Sufi meditation (*muraqaba*). The figures are sitting amid a landscape, nestled between rocks and two trees. Further in the distance, two storks embellish the background.

Depictions of a youth in the company of a dervish were a favourite of the Safavid period.<sup>67</sup> This companionship indicates the Sufi spiritual relationship between the youth as the novice (*murid*), and the older man as the guide (*pir*). Moreover, during the first half of the 17th century the depiction of intoxicated dervishes became popular as well. The RM's miniature represents a combination of both subjects.

---

67 One example is the miniature, 'A Prince Visits a Dervish', from the *Divan* of Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, Aga Khan (AKM282.23), fol. 23v.

## 14 'A Sitting Man'



FIGURE 29 Inv no. RP-T-1993-463. Recto: sheet: 31 × 19.3 cm, painting: 16.3 × 8.6 cm, painting with panel: 19.9 × 12.2 cm. Verso: text panel: 19.3 × 11.7 cm. Dated to the second half of the 16th century, Bukhara School, Shaybanid dynasty (1500–1599). Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script. The recto carries the text, while the verso contains the painting. The calligraphy and painting are set in illuminated frames. There are multiple rulings in blue, green, red, black and gold. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The text is a poetic piece, a quatrain (*Du-bayti*) by an unknown poet says:

ای قد تو سرو چمن دلجویی  
 سر تا قدمت لطافت و نیکویی  
 از رشته جان دوخته استاد ازل  
 بر قد تو جامه نکویی گویی

On the bottom left side, inside the triangular ornamented space, the calligrapher inscribed his name as

الفقير مير حسين الحسينى ابن مير كلنگى غفر لهما

The poor Mir Husain al-Husaini, son of Mir Kulangi, may they both be pardoned.

Mir Husaini, known as Mir Kulangi, is the calligrapher (d. 1575/6).<sup>68</sup> He was a pupil of the celebrated calligrapher Mir 'Ali Haravi (died c.1550). Mir Kulangi worked as the librarian and calligrapher at the court of the Shaybanid ruler 'Abdullah II (r. 1557–98) in Bukhara. There are copious works signed by him, including the 16th-century calligraphy piece at the Ashmolean (EA1962.156), the manuscript of *Gulistan* of Sa'di, d. 1516, in *Gulistan* (211), and the manuscript of Jami's *Tuhfat al-ahrar*, 1572, at CB (Per 239).

The verso side carries a painting, which is set in a gilded leaf-pattern frame. The painting depicts a bearded man, wearing a typical Bukhara-style turban, sitting on a rug. He has a brown robe, green undergarment, and white and blue shawl. He is busy writing, with several related objects strewn around him: books, a pen, a porcelain inkwell, a cutter, and an hourglass-shaped object. The background is embellished with golden ornamentations, and blue spiral motifs forming spandrels. Above the man's head is a trace of a circle that must have been intended to be filled in with a text or decoration. The folio has an illuminated margin comprised of eleven ornamented cartouches.

68 Bayani, *Ahval wa Asar*, 164–166.

## 15 'A Lion Attacking a Man'



FIGURE 30 Inv no. RP-T-1963-383, sheet: 16 × 10 cm. Painting frame: 20.5 × 14.6 cm, 11.8 × 17.6 cm. Dated 16th century, Safavid dynasty. Ink and pencil on paper. The work is purchased by the museum in 1963

The drawing depicts a lion violently attacking a bearded man. The lion stands upon the chest of the man, whose expression is one of terror and desperation. There is a tree sketched lightly in the background. This unfinished drawing is a practice sketch. The subject matter of the piece was a known scene for Persian painters since the 15th century. In many copies of the *Khamasa* of Nizami, it shows up in the background of the episode, 'Layla and Majnun faint on meeting each other'. Examples are the miniature 1431, in Hermitage (VR-1000), fol. 225b, and a folio in the *Miscellany* of Iskandar Sultan, 1410–1411, BM (Add.27261), fol. 131v. The scene remained a favourite of album-making in subsequent centuries, often receiving a whole page of its own, as in 'Lions Devouring Travellers', from a 15th-century album, made in Persia, Harvard (1969.171).

## 16 'A Youth and a Dervish'



FIGURE 31A Inv no. NG-2021-85, sheet: 35.7 × 21.9 cm, painting 11.7 × 17.6 cm, painting and frame: 20.5 × 14.7 cm. Dated c.1590–1620/21, probably made in Isfahan, Safavid dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The recto contains a painting and the verso has two stamps in Persian, two notes in Persian, and a note in Dutch. The recto has a lavishly gilded illumination, which is decorated with flora and fauna motifs. The work is purchased by the museum at the Bubb Kuyper Veilingen auction, 18–21 May 2021, lot 4605. Prior to that, the miniature belonged to a Dutch family via deceased owner Jan Betram van Stolk (1854–1927)

The painting depicts the companionship of a dervish and a youth – a popular subject in the 17th century. The figures are in a stylized landscape setting. The dervish has a full moustache, stubbly beard and shaved head. He has a pierced ear, and one rosary on his head and another around his wrist. He is holding a cup in his right hand. Next to him, on the ground, is his brown headgear, with a cream-coloured cloth wrapped around it, along with a pomegranate and a drinking gourd.

The dervish benevolently gazes at a youth, who has a grey under-cap and an elaborate wide wrapped turban adorned with three plumes and ending in a loose sash on his shoulder. He has slanted eyes and a single thin curved brow.

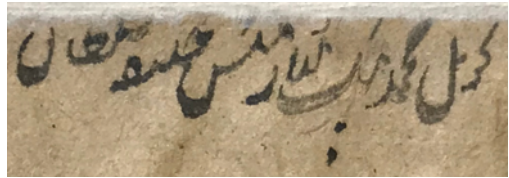
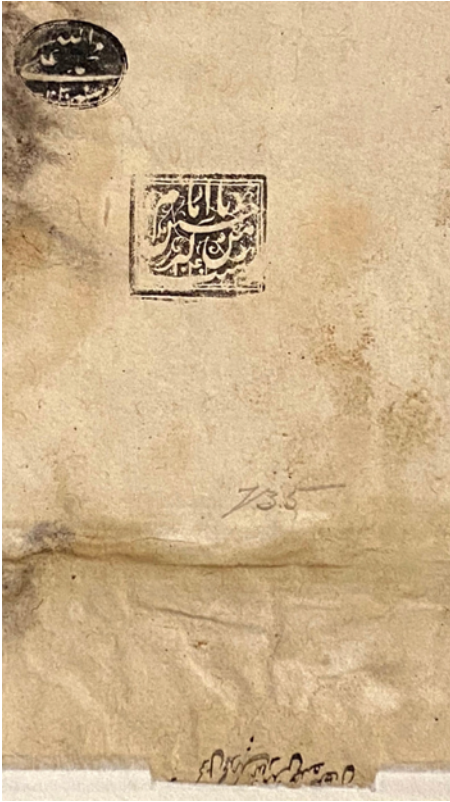


FIGURE 31B Detail, Persian note and two stamps in the verso

Wisps of hair curl about his cheeks and the neck. He is wearing blue trousers, an orange undergarment and a light-cream robe. The collar is blue with gold decorations. He has two sashes, a long loose purple one, and a striped multicoloured one fastened about his waist. With his left hand he gently grasps a tree full of white blossoms, and with his right hand addresses the dervish. The turban of the youth is in the fashion which first appeared during the reign of Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1588–1629).<sup>69</sup> The physiognomy of the dervish follows the model popularized by Sadiqi Beg Afshar (d. 1610) in the late 16th century and

69 Schmitz, “On a Special Hat”, 103–112.

the early 17th century.<sup>70</sup> Meanwhile, the youth's figure points to the painting style of the same period.<sup>71</sup>

The verso of the folio carries a number of fascinating notes and stamps which shed light on the broader meaning of this miniature and its ownership in the Safavid period.<sup>72</sup> There is an oval-shaped stamp that says, (الله محمد 1030 سنة على), 'Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali, the year 1620/21', and a rectangular one that reads, (دستگیر من یا امام حسین 1040), 'My Saviour, O Imam Husain 1630/31'. A word in upper left says (قیمت), 'price', but does not actually indicate what the price of the artwork was. The short text in the top right says (تحويل کتابخانه), 'hand in to the lib[rary]'. A text at the bottom of the page, written upside down, says (تحويل محمد بیگ سرکار پیشکش خلیفه سلطان), 'Hand to the exalted Muhammad Beg, a present of Khalifa Sultan' (Figure 31B).

The miniature entered a private library, which indicates the owner of the miniature belonged to the upper-class elites. The dates of the stamps and the painting style signify that this artwork was produced between c.1610 and 1620/21. Later, in 1630/16/31, the work was acquired by a new owner. The ownership of this exquisite miniature transferred from Khalifa Sultan to Muhammad Beg, as indicated in the inscription. During the 1600s–1630s, the historic evidence mentions several Muhammad Begs, making it difficult to determine his exact identity.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, the same documents point to one Khalifa Sultan, who was an esteemed statesman.

Sayyid 'Ala al-Din Husain (1592/1593–1654), better known as Khalifa Sultan or Sultan al-'Ulama, was an eminent courtier and theologian, who served three kings of Persia. He was from a prestigious family in Isfahan. In 1608, he married one of Shah 'Abbas I's daughters.<sup>74</sup> A few years later, in 1623/24, he

70 For example in 'Aulad Tied to a Plane Tree', dated 1575–1600, Cleveland (1988.101), 'Groom with a horse', d. the early 17th century, in Moscow (592 11), and 'Man in landscape', c.1600, private collection. See the latter miniature in Welch, A., *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven & London: 1976), 57.

71 For example, 'Portrait of a young man in a striped coat', attributed to Habib-Allah, c.1600, made probably in Isfahan, preserved in Kuwait (LNS 345 MS), and 'Prince smelling a flower', late 16th or early 17th century, Christie's auction, 26 October 2017.

72 I am grateful to Dr Willem Floor for his advice and for sharing his opinion about these inscriptions.

73 For example, Matthee, R., "The Career of Mohammad Beg, Grand Vizier of Shah 'Abbas II (r. 1642–1666)", *Iranian Studies* 24 (1991), 17–36.

74 About his biography and career see Floor, W., "A Note on The Grand Vizierate in Seventeenth Century Persia", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 155. 2 (2005), 435–481. Falsafi, N., *Zendeganiy-i Shah 'Abbas I*, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1347/1968), 200.

was appointed grand vizier of the king. He was in this position until 1632/33 when Shah Safi (r. 1629–1642) dismissed him. Consequently, he moved to Qum, where he engaged in religious education. Immediately after the new king, Shah ‘Abbas II (r. 1642–1666), took the throne, Khalifa Sultan returned to the capital and was again appointed grand vizier. He held this esteemed position until his death in 1654.

In addition, the RM folio has a Dutch annotation that deserves careful scrutiny. It says: ‘Kalanat [Kal ‘Enayat] with his mate’ (*Kalanat met Sijne mät*). What is the relationship between this Dutch inscription and the miniature? And who made the annotation?

The Safavid documents refer to two men by the name of Kal ‘Enayat: (1) a grand vizier who died in 1535, and (2) a royal clown who died in 1607/8.<sup>75</sup> I would suggest that Kal ‘Enayat the statesman is the subject of the miniature.

The Safavid book *Javahir al-akhbar* (Jewels of the Chronicles), compiled in 1576, points out that Kal ‘Enayat (full name Kachal ‘Enayat Isfahani) was appointed as the grand vizier in 1534.<sup>76</sup> During his tenure, Kal ‘Enayat fell in love with a young man who was ‘overwhelmingly handsome’. The father of this young man was one of the courtiers, in the position of *Darougha Farrashkhana* (داروغه فراشخانه) at the court.<sup>77</sup> Kachal ‘Enayat endeavoured to please the youth. At one point, the youth demanded Kachal ‘Enayat’s elegant outfit, a satin cloth and a brocaded fabric, which was probably the official court uniform. The vizier met his wish immediately, and the youth put the outfit on. This behaviour offended the king, Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576), who ordered the execution of Kachal ‘Enayat in 1535.<sup>78</sup> If we are to believe the Dutch annotation, the RM’s painting would then be a depiction of the love affair between the grand vizier and the youth.

There is no obvious clue as to the Dutch annotator’s identity. We can only conjecture about a Dutchman connected to the Persian Safavid inner court would could have acquired this exquisite miniature. Philips Angel (d. c.1664)

75 His name is mentioned by Persian and European travellers in the Safavid period, for example; Kaempfer, E., *Exotic attractions in Persia, 1684–1688: Travels & Observations*, trans-ed. W. Floor (Washington, D.C.: 2018), 232–34. Chardin, J., *Voyages de Mr. le Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l’Orient*, vol. 8 (Amsterdam: 1711) 165, 242, 243.

76 Budaq Munshi Qazvini, *Javahir al-akhbar: Bakhshi Tarikh-i Iran az Qaraqoyonulu ta sal-i 984*, ed. M. Bahram Nizhad (Tehran: 1387/2008), 181.

77 The term means an official in charge of the administrative works in the Farrashkhana (the royal establishment for furniture, tents and carpets). Another Safavid source introduces this man, Basliq Beg, as an esteemed royal attendant. Iskandar Beg Munshi, *Tarikh-i Alam-ara*, vol. 1, 160.

78 Munshi Qazvini, *Javahir al-akhbar*, 182–184.

is one plausible candidate. Angel was a Dutch court painter for Shah 'Abbas II from 1652–54. The documents indicate he had an accomplished career at the court, receiving an annual salary of 4,000 guilders. On one occasion, the shah gave the painter a robe of honour and 150 *toman* (the equivalent of 6,000 guilders) for some of his pictures.<sup>79</sup> The French traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), who visited the Persian court in 1664, reports that the shah studied painting with Angel.<sup>80</sup> In June 1655, a Carmelite noted that a Dutch painter had received great rewards and favours from the Shah.<sup>81</sup> With this esteemed position at the royal court, it is plausible that Philips Angel acquired this miniature from the inner court circle, heard the story of the unfortunate grand vizier, and then annotated it.

---

79 To read about Philips Angel's career in Persia, see: Sajadi, *The impact of the Netherlandish art on Persian Miniature*. Floor, W., "Dutch painters in Iran during the First Half of the 17th century" *Persica* 8 (1978), 150–51.

80 Tavernier, J.B., *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1678), 562.

81 Chick, H.G., *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, vol. 1 (London: 2012), 404.

## 17 'A Youth Holding a Cup'



FIGURE 32 Inv no. BI-1887-1463-40, sheet: 32 × 21.5 cm, painting: 19.6 × 12.2 cm. The painting belongs to the album of the Dutch artist family Ter Borch. Opaque watercolour, gold and silver on paper. The painting is originally a Persian miniature, made in Persia during the first half of the 17th century, and subsequently retouched by Gesina ter Borch (1631–1690), c.1660–1680, in the Netherlands. The album was purchased by the museum in 1887

The painting presumably was made by Gesina ter Borch (1631–1690), who belonged to an artistic lineage, of which her brother Gerard ter Borch (II) (1583–1662) was the foremost representative at the time.<sup>82</sup> Gesina was a talented young artist, who started making an album that included calligraphy and drawing when she was around the age of fourteen. Later on, she mastered her craft by working on two other albums.<sup>83</sup> This Persian painting is part of one of these albums, which belonged to her family's workshop. Prior to her, some of her family members had worked on the album between 1660–1680, and Gesina filled in the remaining blank pages. This Persian miniature is one of the works she rendered there.

The painting is a hybrid work, originally a Persian miniature which was pasted and retouched by this Dutch artist. The painting represents a youth with a cup. The youth gazes toward his right and gently holds a cup in his hand. He wears an elegant robe, embellished with plant and bird motifs. He has red shoes and a large wrapped turban, ornamented with a plume. A dagger and sword hang from his blue and orange sashes. On the right-hand side, the sash ends in grey cloth.

Full-length portraits of young men and women appeared in the late 16th century, and were best formulated by the distinguished painter Riza 'Abbasi (c.1565–d. 1635). In the same vein, Riza 'Abbasi introduced the use of plant and bird motifs to embellish the fabric worn by his subjects.<sup>84</sup> His style remained one of the absolute favourites among painters throughout the 17th century.<sup>85</sup> The RM's Persian miniature is one such painting that reproduced Riza 'Abbasi's style. The work has a close affinity with another miniature, 'A Youth Holding a Wine Cup', c.1650–70, auctioned on 24 October 2019 at Christie's.

Later, this miniature reached the Netherlands and came into the possession of Gesina ter Borch, who reworked it in her own manner, pasting it into

82 This miniature has been studied recently, in: Couvrat-Desvergnès, A., Sauvage, L., De Hond, J., D'Imporzano, P. & Alfeld, M., "Dutch or Iranian? Technical study of a seventeenth-century painting on paper from Gesina Ter Bosch's scrapbook", *Heritage Science* 9.1 (2021), 1–24. De Hond, J., Couvrat-Desvergnès, A., Sauvage, L., Sajadi, F. & D'Imporzano, P., "An Iranian Youth in an Album from Zwolle", *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 68.3 (2020), 204–231.

83 Honig, E.A., "The Art of Being 'Artistic': Dutch Women's Creative Practices in the 17th Century", *Woman's Art Journal* 22.2 (2001), 34–35. For an extensive description of Gesina's three albums, see McNeil Kettering, A., *Drawings from the Ter Borch Studio Estate*, 2 vols. (The Hague: 1988).

84 Of the many examples, see e.g. 'Saqi', by Riza 'Abbasi, 1620, in the Gulshan album, Gulistan (1663), 'Youth in gold trousers', 1620–1630, by Riza 'Abbasi, CB (Per 260.2), 'Kneeling man offering wine', attributed to Riza 'Abbasi, 1630–35, CB (Per 260.3).

85 On the career of Riza 'Abbasi, see Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer*.

the album and overpainting several spots in the garment and face. The loose greyish cloth, for instance, is added on to the original sash. Likewise, the cup has a handle that would originally have been a thumb ring. Extensive technical research on this miniature has revealed the most salient alterations, foremost among them being the addition of the solid black background, which in the original was a stylized golden landscape.<sup>86</sup>

It is not clear how this miniature entered into the workshop of the Ter Borch family. In the absence of documentary evidence, a wide range of conjectures come to mind. Gerard ter Borch (II), brother of Gesina, was an esteemed painter connected to the elite circle, which afforded him access to the international art market of the Netherlands, where artworks from around the world – including Persia, India or the Ottoman Empire – were available. In 1623, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established its first office in Persia. Starting in 1632, numerous merchants and painters travelled between the two countries. Through these contacts, some artworks and manuscripts from Persia inevitably reached the Netherlands. Of these travellers, three painters in particular – Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt (died after 1654), Henrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst (died after 1648) and Philips Angel (d. c.1664) – served at the Persian court from the 1610s–1650s, and took a few miniatures back with them to their homeland.<sup>87</sup> Interestingly, Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt was from the town of Hasselt, near Zwolle, where Gesina lived and worked on this Persian miniature.<sup>88</sup> Another possibility is the role of Armenians: in the 1660s–1770s there was a large community of Armenian merchants in Amsterdam, many of whom had ties to Persia, in particular the New Julfa district of Isfahan. They therefore could also have been responsible for transferring this miniature to the Netherlands.<sup>89</sup>

---

86 Couvrat-Desvergnès, Sauvage, De Hond, D'Imporzano & Alfeld, "Dutch or Iranian?". De Hond, Couvrat-Desvergnès, Sauvage, Sajadi & D'Imporzano, "An Iranian Youth".

87 Sajadi, *The impact of the Netherlandish art on Persian Miniature*. Floor, "Dutch painters in Iran", 150–151.

88 Floor & Sajadi, "Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt".

89 Bekius, R., "The Armenian Colony in Amsterdam in the 17th and 18th Century: Armenian Merchants from Julfa before and after the Fall of the Safavid Empire", in Floor, W. & Herzog, E. (eds.), *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age* (London: 2012), 265–268.

# Post-Safavid: The Zand, Afsharid and Qajar Periods

## 1 'Standing Woman with Flowers and a Bowl'



FIGURE 33

Inv no. AK-MAK-1259, sheet: 21.5 × 32 cm, painting: 17 × 10 cm.

Dated second half of the 18th century, Zand period (1751–1794), made in Persia. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The folio carries an inscription in Nasta'liq script, located at the top in the illuminated border, inside a rhombus ornamentation, which states, 'This is a fine work of Aqa Muhammad Baqir' (کار خوب (آقا محمد باقر است). The painting is embedded in multiple plain and ornamented frames, in gold, cream, blue and pink. The work is the gift of Mr and Mrs Hülsmann-Stork to KVVAK in 1976, on loan to the RM

This detached folio probably belonged to an album. It is a fine painting by Muhammad Baqir, a skilled and prolific artist of the second half of the 18th century.<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Baqir worked in different mediums, including paper and papier-mâché (mirror cases, pen-boxes and bindings), with different techniques.<sup>2</sup>

The painting depicts a woman in profile, who wears a princess's cape and a fine dress. The belt, buttons, and collar are all embellished with gold. The woman holds four stalks of narcissus in her left hand and a decorated bowl in her right. She gently gazes down at a bird on the ground. Wisps of curly hair fall about her face and back. She has a specific Safavid female headdress, characterized by an ornament on the top, a gold tiara ending in a long curve, and a decorative ribbon behind the head. This type of headdress was first depicted around the 1540s, and became an established model afterwards. Of the various examples in which the woman is holding a bouquet of flowers, there is 'Seated Princess with a Spray of Flowers', attributed to Mirza 'Ali, Persia, dated c.1540, at Harvard (1958.60), and 'Standing woman holding a flowering branch', c.1530, *Bahram Mirza Album*, at TSMK (H. 2154), f. 74a. This is the Safavid pictorial model that the RM's painter, Muhammad Baqir, is following. The artist has set the figure against a stylized backdrop that includes scattered clouds in the sky and trees flanking the protagonist. In the foreground, a large bird lies on the ground, its head tilted upward.

1 Diba, L., "Persian Painting in the Eighteenth Century", 149. I have to note scholars have presumed that several artists with the name of Muhammad Baqir were active during the Safavid to the Qajar period; Maury, Ch. & Guillaume, C., "A First Overview of Golestan 1644: Album Making, Connoisseurship, and the painter Muhammad Baqir", in Gwenaëlle, F. & Guillaume, C. (eds.), *Revealing the unseen: new perspectives on Qajar art* (London & Paris: 2021), 23–41. To read about the RM artist's career see Karimzada Tabrizi, M.A., *Ahwal wa asar-i naqqashan-i qadim-i Iran wa barkhi az mashahir-i nigargar-i Hind wa Osmani*, vol. 2 (London: 1369/1990), 659–663; Adamova, *Persian Manuscripts*, 320.

2 His vast body of work includes 'Lion and Dragon in Combat', signed as 'the humble Muhammad Baqir', dated to the second half of the 18th century, made in Persia, MET (1974.20); and 'Mirror-Case', signed as 'the most humble Muhammad Baqir', dated 1763–64, at Hermitage (VR-27). He also contributed paintings and marginal decorations to the St. Petersburg Album, in Russia (E-14).

2 Two Architectural Scenes



FIGURE 34A 'The view of Hizar Jarib garden in Isfahan', inv no. RP-T-1895-A-3069. Sheet: painting 33,2 × 22 cm

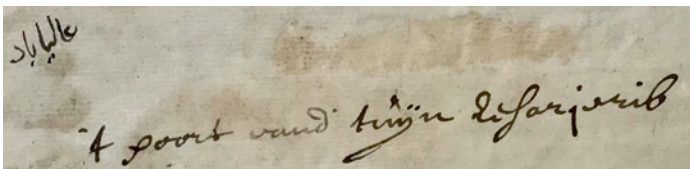


FIGURE 34B Detail, inscription in the verso



FIGURE 34C 'Khalwat Khana of Shah Safi in Qazvin', inv no. RP-T-1895-A-3070. Sheet: painting 34 × 22 cm

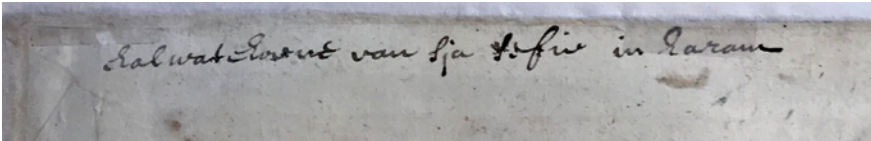


FIGURE 34D Detail, inscription in the verso

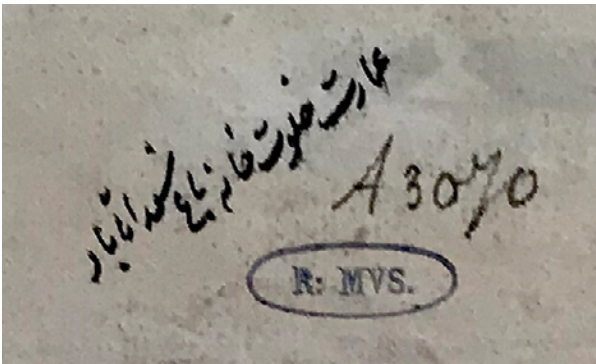


FIGURE 34E Detail, inscription in the verso

The pair of miniatures (RP-T-1895-A-3069) and (RP-T-1895-A-3070) are dated the 19th century, Qajar period, made in Persia. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The artworks are purchased by the museum sometime before 1895. The artworks are related to a third miniature preserved in another Dutch museum, Volkenkunde (RV-646-4). These miniatures represent the architecture and surrounding gardens typical of Safavid mansions. They carry notes in both Persian and Dutch, written by the same respective hands. They exhibit the same palette, ornamented details and style, and must have been produced in the same workshop. Interestingly, the RM owns an Indian miniature, 'Deccan ruler' (RP-T-1895-A-3066), dated c.1650–1699, which carries a Dutch note in the same hand on the verso side.<sup>3</sup> It is unclear how these miniatures ended up in the Netherlands, as well as who was their initial owner. On 18 April 1888, the Volkenkunde received its miniature from a Dutch man named Johan Frederik Croockewit (1832–1898). According to the Croockewit's note to the museum, he found this miniature in 'a small rubbish heap' (*Op een hoopje rommel*).<sup>4</sup> The RM acquired its three miniatures sometime before 1895.

Folio RP-T-1895-A-3069 (Figure 34A): The verso contains two annotations, one in Dutch and one in Persian. The Dutch note says, 'the gate of Hizar Jarib Garden'; ('t poort van de tuijn Hezarjerib), while the Persian note says, 'Aliabad' (عالیباد) (Figure 34B).

The painting, arranged symmetrically around its vertical axis, illustrates a mansion surrounded by gardens. The mansion and its immediate garden are separated from the foreground garden by a brick wall with five arched niches on either side of the central gate, their spandrels garnished with motifs in grey. The upper part of the wall consists of honeycomb brickwork, which must be a row of dovecots (کبوترخانه) (*Kabutar khana*).<sup>5</sup> The gate, which is ajar, consists of an ornamented door surmounted by a dome. Behind the wall there is a dense mass of trees, probably plane trees. Behind them stands an elegant palace, which consists of a two-storey octagonal pavilion. The façade is lavishly decorated with gold and plant motifs. The pillars are red, and there is a red canopy beneath the flat roof that is fastened with white ropes to the garden's wall. Behind the pavilion, visible on either side, are the walls of another dovecot, and, further back, two large trees, each the mirror image of the other. In the foreground there is another garden, with a row of fountains in the middle,

3 See the miniature on the website of the museum: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-T-1895-A-3066>.

4 The letter is preserved in the National Archive, The Hague, Volkenkunde Leiden 3.12.16, inv no. 13.

5 Beazley, E., "The pigeon towers of Isfahān", *Journal of the British institute of Persian studies* 4 (1966) 105.

ending in a pool. Two symmetrical rows of cypresses stretch from the foreground back to the gate.

The Persian note reads 'Aliabad', meaning 'superb abode'. Presumably the term merely describes the depicted mansion.<sup>6</sup> The Dutch note says 'Hizar Jarib', pointing to a famous palace-garden built in Isfahan in the time of Shah 'Abbas I, who, in 1597/98, officially transferred the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan. Starting in 1590/91 the soon-to-be capital was transformed with a new urban design that included squares, mosques, markets, madrasas, palaces, avenues and gardens.<sup>7</sup> One of these new sites was Chahar Bagh promenade, a 4-km-long public avenue built circa 1596–1602.

The southern portion of Chahar Bagh promenade was called Charhar Bagh-i Bala, referring to the area from Allah Verdi Khan bridge to the Hizar Jarib palace-garden. The RM miniature captures a view of Hizar Jarib, which was a royal pleasure outside the city, its descriptive name meaning 'one thousand acres'. Hizar Jarib was lauded in the writings of European travellers throughout the 17th century. For example, English traveller Thomas Herbert (1606–1682), who accompanied the royal embassy of King Charles I (r. 1625–1649) to the Safavid court in 1626–29, wrote:

This Garden [Hizar Jarib] is replenished with trees of all sorts, for Medicine, shade and fruit; which are all so green, so sweet and pleasant, as may well be termed a compendium of sense-ravishing delights or 'Abbas his Paradise.<sup>8</sup>

Later, Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), a German nobleman who was in Isfahan in 1684–1685, described Hizar Jarib extensively. He notes that Shah Sulayman (r. 1666–1694), of all the promenade, most cherished this garden. According

6 A similar usage of the term 'Aliabad' can be seen in *Mir'at al-buldan*, where the author writes about Safavid palaces in Isfahan: 'on the other side there are some superb abodes (عمارت عالی آباد), which the people of Isfahan called Haft Dastghah [palace]'. E'temad al-Saltana, Muhammad Hasan Khan, *Mir'at al-buldan*, vol. 1, eds. 'Abd al-Husain Nava'i and Mir Hashim Muhaddas (Tehran: 1989), 117.

7 Emami, F., "Coffeehouses, Urban Spaces, and the Formation of a Public Sphere in Safavid Isfahan", *Muqarnas* 33 (2016), 177–220. Babaie, S., *Isfahan and its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh: 2018). 'Alemi, M., "The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models", in Petruccioli, A. (ed.), *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design* (Leiden: 1977), 72–96. Honarfar, L., "Bagh-i Hizar Jarib and Kuh-i Suffa (Bihisht-i Shah 'Abbas)", *Honar wa Mardom* 157 (1354/1975), 73–94.

8 He refers to the garden as 'Nazer-jareeb'. Herbert, Th., *Some Years Travels Into Divers Parts of Africa, and Asia the Great* (London: 1677), 165.

to Kaempfer, the garden was almost square, with a slight slope. It was divided into two parts by an oblique wall, initially aimed at providing a comforting site for the women of the harem while the shah and his entourage were in the garden. The garden was watered by three streams from the Zayanderud River, which further split off into various smaller streams. The garden was full of trees of many varieties, most noteworthy among them being a row of plane trees. He also mentions the existence of many fountains, as well as doves located on four sides of the garden.<sup>9</sup> Kaempfer captures the layout of Hizar Jarib in a sketch which is compatible with the RM's painting.<sup>10</sup>

Folio RP-T-1895-A-3070 (Figure 34C, D, E): The recto represents an image, and verso carries two inscriptions, one in Dutch that says 'Halwat Honeh of Shah Safie in Haram', (Halwat Honeh van Sja Safie in Haram), while another in Persian says, 'Khalwat Khana Mansion in Sa'adatabad Garden' (عمارت خلوت خانه باغ سعادتآباد).

This highly imaginative, symmetrical image depicts a lavishly decorated pavilion in a garden. The two-storey pavilion is roofed, rectangular, and contains an iwan, the inside of which is decorated with an embellished niche in the middle, and polychrome arch-shaped ornamental windows on the walls. There are two open spaces on either side of the niche, offering a glimpse of the garden beyond. To either side of the iwan are barrel-vaulted rooms with colourful decorated floors, which also open onto the wooded garden on the other side of the white wall behind the building. The spandrels are in red, with gold decorations. The façade is elaborately decorated with outdoor scenes, wandering gazelles and birds, as well as landscape scenery, with paintings reminiscent of book decoration.

The band separating the two floors is blue, decorated with gilded plant motifs, the same scheme used further up for the space between the vaults and the ceiling. Under the roof there is a canopy, which is tied up with white ropes, and, further forward, four narrow pillars connect the roof to the yellow platform with ornamented margins on which the pavilion stands. An ornamental fountain is at the centre of the platform, which is surrounded by a red railing. Two tall trees stand in the foreground.

9 He refers to this site as 'Bagi hasar djjeriib'. Kaempfer, E., *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediarum fasciculi v* (Lemgo: 1712), 193–195. Hizar Jarib is described by other Europeans, such as Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651–1725), who was in Isfahan in 1694. Gemelli Careri, G.F., *Giro del Mondo: Contenente le Cose Più Raggiuardevoli Vedute nella Persia*, vol. 2 (Naples: 1708), 67.

10 The sketch is at the British Library (MS BL Sloane 5232, fol. 45 (left)). Reproduced in 'Alemi, "The Royal Gardens", 90.

The Persian and Dutch notes state that this pavilion is *Khalwat Khana* (Solitude House). *Khalwat Khana* is a generic name, and each king designated several locations as his *Khalwat*. Further, the Persian note indicates that the building is located in Sa'adatabad (Abode of Happiness) garden, while the Dutch text specifies that this building belongs to Shah Safi (r. 1629–1642).

The Safavid texts refer to two Sa'adatabad garden-palaces: one in Qazvin commissioned by Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576), whose construction began in 1555/6, and one in Isfahan commissioned by Shah 'Abbas II, begun in 1659/60.<sup>11</sup> The note on this RM folio presumably refers to the Sa'adatabad in Qazvin, which was an exquisite palatial complex including the royal precinct (*Daulat-khana*), gardens, palaces and pavilions.<sup>12</sup> To build it, Shah Tahmasp called upon the foremost engineers and builders from throughout the Safavid territory to design the excellent palaces, lofty talars and iwans, and pools.<sup>13</sup> While many of these sites have not survived, what we know about Sa'adatabad relies on 'Abdi Beg Shirazi's (1515–80) books *Ruzat al-saffat* and *Duhat al-azhar*, where the Safavid court writer under Shah Tahmasp extensively describes the Qazvin palace precinct in verse.<sup>14</sup>

By transferring the capital in 1597/8, Shah 'Abbas I shifted attention from Qazvin to Isfahan. Nevertheless, the Safavid sources indicate that for 'Abbas I's successor, Shah Safi (r. 1629–1642), the Sa'adatabad in Qazvin was the royal setting of choice. In the fifth year of his reign, in 1634, Shah Safi celebrated the Persian New Year (*Nowruz*) in Qazvin. That year, he spent the whole spring there, partaking in all manner of royal pastimes, including horse races, polo and *Qabaq-andazi* (an archery game), and ordered a new section of Sa'adatabad to

11 Vahid Qazvini, *Abbasnama: Sharh Zendeghaniye 22 Saleye Shah Abbas Sani (1052–1073)*, ed. E. Dahghan (Arak: 1329/1951), 270–271. For an overview of Qazvin in the Safavid period, see Dabir Siyaqi, M., *Seyr-i tarikhi-yi bana-yi shahr-i Qazvin wa banaha-yi an: az aghaz ta sal-i 1320 Hejri Shamsi (Qazvin: 1381/2002)*. (Qazvin: 1381/2002), 109–271.

12 Babaie, *Isfahan and its Palaces*, 47–55, Kleiss, W., "Der safavidische. Pavillon in Qazvin", *Archdologische Mitteilungen aus. Iran* 9 (1976), 290–298.

13 Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Khulasat al-tawarikh*, vol. 1, 312–313. Szuppe, M., "Palais et jardins: le complexe royal des premiers Safavides à Qazvin, milieu XVI<sup>e</sup>–début XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles", *Res Orientales* 8 (1996), 143–177.

14 These books are part of his third *Khamsa* called *Jannat-i Aadn* (Garden of Eden). Eshraqi, E., "Naghashihay-i Kakh-i Chihil Sutun Qazvin wa Kakh-ha-yi digar-i Safavi az khelal-i manzuma-yi 'Abdi Beyg Shirazi", *Honar wa Mardom* 182 (1356/1977), 2–9. 'Abdi Beg Shirazi, *Duhat al-azhar*, ed. 'A.K.A.U. Alizadeh (Baku: 1967). 'Abdi Beg Shirazi, *Ruzat al-saffat*, ed. A.H. Ughli Rahimev (Moscow: 1974).

be built to the north of the gardens.<sup>15</sup> In 1636, Shah Safi again celebrated the New Year in this city, in the gardens of Talar-i Sa'adatabad, hosting governors, officials and nobles. During this stay, he ordered a pavilion named *Hesar* to be built in his hunting grounds.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, as there is no physical evidence of any of the buildings commissioned by Shah Safi in Qazvin, we can only conjecture that the RM's miniature may depict one of the pavilions there.

---

15 Valih Isfahani mentions the date 1043 AH, and Khajigi Isfahani mentions 1042 AH. Valih Isfahani, *Iran dar zaman-i Shah Safi wa Shah 'Abbas II*, ed. M. Nasiri (Tehran: 1380/2001), 157–159. Khajigi Isfahani, Muhammad Ma'sum, *Khulasat al-siyar: Tarikh-i ruzigar-i Shah Safi*, ed. I. Afshar (Tehran: 1368/1989), 156.

16 Valih Isfahani mentions the date 1045 AH, and Khajigi Isfahani mentions 1044 AH. Valih Isfahani, *Iran dar zaman-i Shah Safi*, 211–212, Khajigi Isfahani, *Khulasat al-siyar*, 194–195.

## 3 'A Dervish Holding a Vase'



FIGURE 35 Inv no. RP-T-1993-402, sheet: 31.4 × 21.3 cm, Painting: 10.4 × 16.9 cm. Dated second half of the 19th century, made in the Qajar period, in the Safavid style. Ink, watercolour and gold on paper. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The recto contains a drawing, with four panels of text arranged around the margins. The reverse is blank. The text panels contain the poem 'Subhat al-abrar' (Rosary of the Pious) from Jami's 1492 *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones). The panels have been cut out from another page and pasted onto the present yellowish paper. This method can also be seen in the miniature 'Youths by a Tree', d. last third of the 19th century, at Hermitage (VR-955), where the calligraphy is in the same hand, and the same paper and palette are used.

The RM painting depicts a dervish with a black beard. He holds a vase, which is decorated with plant and bird motifs (probably Simurghs). The dervish wears a dark undergarment ornamented with golden plant and animal motifs, along with a short robe. The button, sash, collar and hem of the robe are embellished with gold. He has a long scarf draped over his left shoulder, and wears an atypical conical headdress with a wavy brim, decorated with a Simurgh spreading its wings. The headdress has an additional part, rendered as a round golden shape in the back. This peculiar headdress must have been thought up by the artist.

The background is a stylized landscape, with a wispy cloud, rocks, stones and scattered tufts of plants. This background can be seen in another RM miniature (AK-MAK-1544), dated the last third of the 19th century. These two miniatures, along with the aforementioned miniature at Hermitage (VR-955), must have been produced in the same workshop in Persia for the Western market.<sup>17</sup>

---

17 Adamova, *Persian Manuscripts*, 372–373.

## 4 'Two Young Men in an Erotic Embrace'



FIGURE 36 Inv no. AK-MAK-1544, sheet: 16.3 × 11.5 cm, painting: 15.3 × 10 cm. Dated the last third of the 19th century, made in the Qajar period, the Safavid style. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The reverse is blank. The work is the gift of Maartje Draak to KVVAK in 1996, on loan to the RM

The painting depicts two idealized youths locked in an erotic embrace.<sup>18</sup> The figures have elongated bodies and peculiar headdresses. The one on the left-hand side wears a plain grey robe. The collar of the garment is embellished with gold ornamentation. He has a sash tied loosely around his waist, from which hangs a dagger, and wears an exceedingly large headdress. He lustfully embraces the young man; entwining his left leg around the legs of the other youth, while his left forearm is slung over his partner's shoulder as he grasps his wrist. Meanwhile, with his right hand he gently strokes the other man's cheek and lip. The other man, who is on the right-hand side, wears a blue robe adorned with a gold plant-and-animal motif – a conventional adorned garment in Safavid miniatures. He has a long, loose white sash, which at one end leads into the sash of his companion, thus metaphorically accentuating the amorous association between the two youths.

The idea of a young man as the beloved emerged as a common trope in Persian literature in the ninth and the tenth centuries.<sup>19</sup> This subject matter found its way into painting in the 16th century, with numerous depictions of love between two young men. The popularity of album-making and single-page paintings boosted the market for this subject matter throughout the 17th century.<sup>20</sup> From the late 19th century onwards, there was a resurgence of interest in this subject matter, as part of the emergence of the Safavid revival school in the 19th century, during the Qajar period (1789–1925).<sup>21</sup> This school flourished from the late 19th century into the 20th century. Persian artists reproduced artworks in the Safavid style as a way of demonstrating their combined admiration and mastery of their predecessors' art. Around the turn of the century, the market for these artworks in the West soared, which further motivated Persian artists to meet the rising demand.

18 Sajadi, F., "Re-examining a Persian Miniature: Two Young Men in an Erotic Embrace", *Aziatische Kunst* 52.1 (2022), 40–45.

19 Shamisa, S., *Shahid Bazi dar Adabiyat-i Farsi* (Tehran: 2002). Wafer, J., "Vision and Passion: the Symbolism of Male Love in Islamic Mystical Literature", in Roscoe, W. & Murray, S.O. (eds), *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature* (New York: 1997), 107–131. For further study on the subject, read Floor, W., *A Social History of Sexual Relations in Iran* (Washington, D.C.: 2008) in particular, 279–350.

20 Two samples among many are 'Young Male Couple', c.1560, in Louvre (OA 7121), 'Two Youths Embracing', dated 1630s in Freer (F1954.28).

21 Several scholars have discussed the Persian art produced in the Safavid style under the Qajar dynasty (1789–1925) and Pahlavi dynasty (1925–1979), among them Adamova, *Persian Manuscripts*, 55–59. Diba, "The Formation of Modern Iranian Art". Ekhtiar, M. & Sardar, M., "Nineteenth-Century Iran: Continuity and Revivalism", in Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2000), available online: [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd\\_crir.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd_crir.htm). Langer, "Safavid Revival", 15–27.

The RM's miniature is a sample of this trend, a Qajar-era painting in the tradition of the Safavid style. Corresponding artworks are 'Youths standing by a tree', dated to the last three decades of the 19th century, at Hermitage (VR-957), which is essentially a mirror image of the RM piece, and yet another version, also at Hermitage (VR-1234). The poses of the figures in these three miniatures are closely related, although some discrepancies in the physiognomy, head-dresses and garments can be discerned. The figures in the RM piece are more delicate and the background is much subtler than the Hermitage works. This notwithstanding, these three miniatures must have originated in the same workshop, inspired by a Safavid model, probably 'Two Youths Romping', dated to the late 16th century, at the MET (1978.18). Interestingly, the pattern on the young man's robe in the RM folio also shows up in another Qajar-era Safavid-revival miniature at Hermitage (VR-957), which is further proof that these miniatures come from the same workshop.

## 5 Five Pages of the *Khamsa* of Nizami

AK-MAK-1253 till AK-MAK-1257. The folios are modern miniatures in the Timurid-Safavid style, dated probably from the early 20th century, made in Persia. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, and the heading is in red. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The painting has a black and gold frame, and the text has red and blue rulings. The papers have been cut off on all sides. Each folio has a painting, and a text which is set around the image diagonally. The flap side carries a text in two parts: the text in the centre, and its continuation in the margins. The folios were a gift of Mr and Mrs Hülsmann-Stork in 1976 to KVVAK, and are currently on loan to the RM.

The five pages are from a single manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, second poem: the love story between Khusrau, the king of Persia, and Shirin, the princess of Armenia.<sup>22</sup> The order of the museum inventory numbers does not match up with the sequence of events in the *Khamsa*. The paintings share numerous similarities with two miniatures in a copy of *Shahnama* in Malek (1393.04.06031/001), in physiognomy and garments of figures, pictorial details, quality of pigments and the painting style. They presumably come from the same workshop.<sup>23</sup>

Folio AK-MAK-1254 (Figure 37A): (نمودن شاپور صورت خسرو به شیرین [بار دوم]), 'Shapur presents the portrait of Khusrau to Shirin [for the second time]' and (نمودن شاپور صورت خسرو بار سوم), 'Shapur presents the portrait of Khusrau the third time'. The verso has the painting and the text, in forty lines. It bears the heading, (نمودن شاپور خود را به شیرین و سخن خسرو گفتن), 'Shapur presents himself to Shirin and talks about Khusrau'. The last words of the heading are squeezed in to fit the frame, which suggests that first the painting was set on the page, and then the calligraphy portion was filled in.

After hearing about the beautiful Shirin, Khusrau falls in love with her. He dispatches his attendant Shapur to Armenia to win Shirin's heart for him. In Armenia, Shapur paints a portrait of Khusrau and endeavours to have Shirin see it. For three days, he hangs the portrait on a tree in a meadow where Shirin and her maids come for enjoyment. Every time, Shirin sees Khusrau's portrait, and falls in love with him. The third time, the image arouses an irresistible

22 To read about this story see Chelkowski, P., *Mirror of the Invisible*, 21–48.

23 Mihan, Sh., "The Baysunghuri Manuscript in the Malek National Library", in Van den Berg, G. & Melville, Ch. (eds.), *Shahnama Studies III: The Reception of the Shahnama* (Leiden & Boston: 2017), 373–419. Simpson, M.Sh., "Mostly Modern Miniatures: Classical Persian Painting in The Early Twentieth Century", *Muqarnas* 25 (2008), 359–396.



FIGURE 37A 'Shapur shows the portrait of Khusrau to Shirin', inv no. AK-MAK-1254. Sheet: 18.7 × 11.7 cm, painting: 13.1 × 8 cm. The recto has forty lines in the margins and twenty lines in the main frame. Also, there are two headings

passion in Shirin, who commands a maid to stay on the site and ask people about the man in the portrait. Shapur appears there as a passer-by, telling the maid that he knows the man in the picture. The maid takes him to Shirin. There, Shapur gets the opportunity to extol the charms and merits of Khusrau as the crown prince, and describes him as a promising king of Persia.

The painting in the RM captures this moment in the meadow. Shirin is depicted on the left-hand side of the image. She is sitting on an ostentatious ornamented seat, and converses with Shapur, who is depicted as a bearded man with an elegant outfit. He is holding the portrait in his hand, gazing at Shirin. Close to him, five maids with headdresses and coloured garments look on.

Folio AK-MAK-1253 (Figure 37B): After seeing the portrait of Khusrau, Shirin falls in love with him. This passion drives the Armenian princess to travel to Persia and seek him out. On the way, after some days travelling, she gets tired and finds a spring to rest and bathe. Khusrau happens to be in the same place with his attendants, whom he orders to stop and let their animals graze. While



FIGURE 37B 'Khusrau watches Shirin bathing', inv no. AK-MAK-1253, sheet: 18.7 × 13.4 cm, painting: 13 × 8.6 cm. The recto is text, with forty-two lines in the margins and twenty lines in the main frame. There is a heading (رسیدن خسرو و شیرین بیکدیگر در چشم بطریق) (ناشناخت), 'Khusrau and Shirin meet at the river, as strangers'. The verso has a painting and forty-two lines of text

Khusrau wanders about, Shirin catches his eye and he is dazzled by her beauty, without knowing who she is. The painting captures this sensual moment. In the foreground Shirin is sitting in the stream, grooming her hair with a golden comb. The stream was originally silver, but has since become tarnished. Shirin has a red cloth garnished with red plant motifs. Her belongings, including a blue robe and crown, are hanging on the branch of a tree. Nearby, her horse, rendered in pink, stands next to the tree. Far in the hilly background, Khusrau is depicted on horseback, intently watching Shirin bathe. Khusrau has a red robe and a green undergarment, adorned with golden patterns. The sky is gold, with three small cloud scrolls.

The earliest depiction of this scene dates from the late 14th century.<sup>24</sup> Throughout the subsequent decades it became a favourite scene, represented

24 Two examples are: 'Khusrau spies on Shirin', 1390–1400, signed by Muhammad al-Khayyam, preserved in MAH (1971-0107-0398), and 'Khusrau spies Shirin's bathing', in



FIGURE 37C 'The story-telling of ten maids', inv no. AK-MAK-1257, sheet: 12.98 × 18.6 cm, painting: 13 × 8.5 cm. The recto contains forty-two lines in the margins and twenty-one lines in the main frame. The verso contains a painting and forty-two lines of text

in copious illuminated copies of the *Khamsa* of Nizami and other *Khamsas*, such as the *Khamsa* of Jamali, dated 1465.<sup>25</sup>

Folio AK-MAK-1257 (Figure 37C): Khusrau and Shirin come across each other as strangers for the second time in a hunting ground. They talk and recognize each other. Shirin invites Khusrau to her palace, where they exuberantly celebrate their love with joyous feasting every night. One evening, Khusrau asks the company of the festival, Shapur and ten of Shirin's maids, to tell a story. On Shapur's turn, he talks about Khusrau and Shirin's story and how he helped them bring their love to fruition.

The painting does not exactly match up with the text. It depicts an outdoor feast at which the two main characters are seated on a rug, under an

a manuscript of *Khamsa*, fol. 108b, dated the late 14th century, in the Keir collection. See the latter miniature in Robinson (ed.), *Islamic Painting*, 137, plate 16.

25 Jamali Tabrizi was an obscure poet, who composed his *Khamsa* at the beginning of the 15th century on the model of the *Khamsa* of Nizami. The miniature titled 'Mihr watches Nigar's bathing', made in Baghdad, is preserved at BL (10 Islamic 138), f. 75r.



FIGURE 37D 'The feast of Shirin and Khusrau', inv no. AK-MAK-1255: Sheet: 18.6 × 13.1 cm, painting: 12.99 × 8.5 cm. The recto has an image and forty lines of text. The text carries the heading, 'Nakisa sings on behalf of Shirin'. The verso contains only text, with forty-four lines in the margins and twenty-one lines in the main frame, as well as one heading, one in the top margin, (سرود گفتن نکيسا از زبان شيرين), 'Nakisa sings on behalf of Shirin' and one in the margin, (سرود گفتن باريد از زبان خسرو), 'Barbad sings on behalf of Khusrau'

embellished multicoloured canopy. Shirin offers a cup of drink to Khusrau. In front of them there is a gold platter of fruit. Four attendants accompany the protagonists. Two are playing the tambourine, while a third plays the harp. The protagonists are wearing opulent garments. Khusrau has a crown, adorned with a feather, and is resting his left arm upon a blue cushion. Shirin has a crown garnished with a six-pronged ornament, as can be seen in various commercial Shiraz manuscripts from the 16th century.<sup>26</sup>

Folio AK-MAK-1255 (Figure 37D): During Khusrau's stay at Shirin's palace, he pleads Shirin for intimacy. The beloved, out of prudence, refuses him harshly,

26 The ornamentation is usually three-pronged. Of various examples, of note are the manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated 1537, made in Shiraz, held in Kuwait (NLS 4 MS), and the manuscript of the *Divan* of Hafiz, also 1537, made in Shiraz, held at Morgan (MS M.15).

which drives Khusrau into despair, leaving her. Shirin then feels regret and tries to reconcile with him. With the help of Shapur, the attendant of Khusrau, one night Shirin sneaks into Khusrau's camp, where there is a feast, with a performance by two famous musicians, Nakisa and Barbad, who entertain Khusrau by playing and singing. Shirin contrives to approach Nakisa and ask him to sing of her love and regret. During the performance Shirin begins to speak to Khusrau and emerges from the tent.

The RM painting does not correspond with the text, as the musicians, Nakisa and Barbad, are absent from the image. Instead, the image depicts an outdoor festivity headed by Khusrau and Shirin. The protagonists wear embellished garments, and sit at the centre of the image on a fine multi-coloured seat. A large tree stands behind the seat. Khusrau offers his beloved a fruit. Both are holding white handkerchiefs.<sup>27</sup> Two female musicians are entertaining them by playing the harp and tambourine. Three maids are standing close to the central seat.

Folio AK-MAK-1256 (Figure 37E): After the vicissitudes of life, Khusrau gets married to another woman, named Maryam, which fills Shirin with sadness. After a while, a new love interest emerges in Shirin's life: when a stonemason named Farhad is called on to make a pool in Shirin's palace, he falls in love after speaking with her. When Khusrau hears about the love between Shirin and Farhad, he meets Farhad and attempts to dissuade him from loving Shirin. Khusrau fails, and therefore tells Farhad that if he succeeds in hewing a route through the impassable mountains, he will never bother him again. Farhad accepts the challenge, and begins work on the mountain, while his mind is overwhelmed with passion for Shirin. Once Shirin pays Farhad a visit, which exhilarates him. On the way back, Shirin's horse staggers. Farhad carries her and the horse on his shoulders to the palace. Khusrau is informed about the incident, and contrives to have Farhad killed.

The RM's painting captures Shirin's visit to Farhad. This scene is one of the most widely depicted scenes in illuminated Khamsas. The earliest depiction of this scene is in the *Miscellany* of prince Iskandar Sultan (1384–1415), which established a pictorial convention for this episode.<sup>28</sup> The RM's painting depicts Farhad as a bearded man with a white turban, garnished with a red cap. He carries on his shoulders both Shirin and her steed. Shirin wears a blue robe

27 This cloth must have a specific meaning, and can be seen in various commercial manuscripts. For example, 'Bahram Gur in the Blue Pavilion', 1494–95, Walters (W.605.183A), 'Bahram Gur in the Sandal Palace', 1524–25, MET (13.228.7.13), fol. 230.

28 Preserved at BL (Add MS 27261), fol. 61r.



FIGURE 37E 'Farhad carries Shirin on her horse', inv no. AK-MAK-1256, sheet: 18.4 × 13.5 cm, painting: 12.8 × 8.4 cm. The recto contains a painting and forty-two lines of text. The verso contains the headline, 'هلاک شدن فرهاد بجهله خسرو', 'Farhad perishes by Khusrau's deceit', along with forty-two lines of text in the margins and nineteen lines in the main frame. The folio is dedicated to the love story of Shirin and Farhad

embellished with golden motifs and an orange undergarment. On her head she has a headdress topped with a five-pronged ornament. On the left-hand side of the image, we see the route Farhad has carved through the mountain. On top part of the rock, there is a portrait of Shirin, rendered in smooth black lines. Against a golden sky, on the right-hand side, three maids are watching the scene.

## 6 'Hunting Scene'



FIGURE 38 Uncatalogued miniature. Painting with frames:  $23 \times 14.98$  cm, Dated late 19th or early 20th century, Qajar period (1789–1925), made in Persia. gouache on paper, with blue, brown, red, white, cream and black rulings. The painting is set in a larger page and was given a new layout and frame by the Dutch owner, Hofker-Rueter. The work is the gift of Maria Hofker-Rueter to the museum in 1999

The painting contains a hunting scene, with four gazelles in a field being pursued by a hunter on horseback. The young, beardless hunter is wearing a green garment, golden trousers and a white headdress, with a white dog running just ahead of his horse. He has shot an arrow that has hit one of the gazelles, while, behind the rocks in the background, another horseman, clad in red, sustains a falcon on his gloved right hand. Nearby, there is a gazelle among the rocks. The brown sky is full of small white scroll clouds. Although the painting closely follows the Safavid style, it was made in the Qajar period, imitating the Safavid school.<sup>29</sup>

---

29 Several miniatures in this style are preserved in the Hermitage Collection. Adamova, *Persian Manuscripts*, 384–392.

## 7 Two Pages of Gulzar Calligraphy

Uncatalogued artworks. Each piece was pasted onto a larger page, and was given a new layout and frame. The intervention was done by the Dutch owner, Hofker-Rueter. The works are the gift of Maria Hofker-Rueter to the museum in 1999.

Gulzar<sup>30</sup> calligraphy is a decorative style that was popular in Persia from the late 18th century through the 19th century. This script is characterized by large letters filled with various decorative motifs, such as plants, animals and human figures.

One fine example among many is the Gulzar calligraphic panel, dated 1797–1798, made by Husain Zarrin Qalam, at Congress (2019714627).



FIGURE 39A 'Gulzar calligraphy piece with the waq motifs', text panel: 185 × 12.2 cm. Dated Qajar period (1789–1925), made in Persia. Ink on paper. The text is on blue paper, embedded in pink and yellowish frames. Nasta'liq script

30 *Gulzar* means 'rose garden' or 'garden full of flowers'.

The folio is a calligraphy piece in Nasta'liq script. The text is a verse from the *Divan* of the esteemed poet Sa'di Shirazi<sup>31</sup> (c.1210–1291/92), which says: 'بی بند نگیرد آدمی پند' (Man does not accept advice except by force).<sup>32</sup> The letters' interior space is finely embellished with depictions of flora and fauna. Some words are decorated with a motif known as *waq-waq*, in which plant tendrils morph into animal heads. The space inside the dots is occupied by the faces of young girls, a young man and bearded men, whose physiognomies point to the Qajar style.



FIGURE 39B 'Gulzar calligraphy piece', Text panel: 30 × 21.6 cm. Probably Qajar period (1789–1925), made in Persia

31 Sa'di (pen name), full name Abu Muhammad Musharif al-Din Muslih b. 'Abd-Allah b. Musharrif Shirazi is one of the greatest masters of Persian literature.

32 The couplet is 'افتادم و مصلحت چنین بود بی بند نگیرد آدمی پند'. Sa'di, M., *Kulliyat-i Sa'di*, ed. M. Foroughi (Tehran: 1385/2006) 1002, *Tarjī' Band-ha van Tarkib Band-ha*, section 2.

Opaque watercolour on paper. The text is on cream-coloured paper, embedded in green, white and red frames, and black and green rulings. There is a mostly illegible stamp in the lower right-hand corner with the year 1962 (1341 SH) with a defaced stamp. Nasta'liq script with blue outline. The interior space of the script is embellished with polychrome plant and bird ornamentation. I conjecture that the text says, 'It is your hidden secret that has distracted [me]', (بهر راز مخفیت آشفته [م]).

## Selected Miniatures Attributed to India

1 'Majnun Watches the Battle between Clans'



FIGURE 40 Inv no. RP-T-1993-443, sheet: 20.2 × 12.9 cm, painting: 10.1 × 10.8 cm. Dated 16th century, attributed to India. The folio has a painting framed in black, green and gold rulings. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The work is the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993

The painting is a detached folio without accompanying text, and the verso is blank, which means the folio must have been made for an album. The painting represents a battle scene which is a known episode from the tale of Layla and Majnun as told in the *Khamsa* of Nizami. In it, an Arab warrior named Nawfal comes across Majnun, whose love for Layla has driven him mad. Nawfal, out of compassion for Majnun, goes with his troops to Layla's tribe in order to convince them to let the lovers marry. However, the tribe objects and a battle ensues. The RM folio depicts this battle. The combatants, in Arab dress, are fighting from both sides. Majnun is standing in the distance, behind the hills, surrounded by trees. He is watching the battle, and throwing a stone at the fighters from Layla's tribe.

The earliest depiction of this scene is from the late 14th century. Throughout the 15th century, this episode became a favourite scene depicted in copious pictures, with two main variations. In some of them Majnun is at the centre of the image,<sup>1</sup> while in others he stands on the right-hand side of the image.<sup>2</sup> Whereas the combatants are usually shown on camelback, the RM's image has them mounted atop horses.

---

1 Two examples are: 'Fight of two Arab tribes', c.1480, probably made in Shiraz, Louvre (MAO 155), 'The battle between the Arab chief Nawfal and the tribe of Layla', 15th century, Freer (F1931.22).

2 For example 'the battle of tribes watched by Majnun', 1386–1388, made in Baghdad, BL (Or. 13297), f. 109r. 'Nawfal in battle against Layla's clan', 1431, made in Herat, Hermitage (VR-1000), f. 185a.

2 Two Single Pages of *Shahnama*



FIGURE 41A 'Rustam catches Rakhsh',  
inv no. RP-T-1993-452. Sheet:  
21.1 × 12.3 cm, painting: 11 × 11.1 cm



FIGURE 41B 'Rustam's first labour: Rakhsh kills a lion', inv no. RP-T-1993-453. Sheet:  
21.1 × 12.3 cm, painting: 8.2 × 11.1 cm  
Note: The RM has another  
miniature depicting the same  
scene: inv no. RP-T-1993-454,  
described earlier (Mongol period)

The two detached folio are from one manuscript. Dated late 15th or the early 16th century, attributed to India. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The text is in Persian, in black Nasta'liq script, framed in black, blue and gold rulings. The verso is blank. The works are the gift of Peter Formijne to the museum in 1993.

Folio RP-T-1993-452 (Figure 41A): The recto has four columns of text with thirteen lines each. There is a headline in red: (گرقن رستم رخش را از گله اسبان), 'Rustam catches Rakhsh from the herd of horses'. The folio starts with this couplet:

پاسخ چنین گفت دستان سام      که ای سیرگشته ز آرام و جام<sup>3</sup>  
 'O tired of ease and revel!<sup>4</sup>      He [Sam] thus replied:

Rustam's father Zal, the legendary king of Zabul, agrees that his young son should prepare himself for his first combat in defence of Persia, but first the young hero needs to find the right mace and horse. Rustam receives the mace of his grandfather Sam, who was also a legendary hero. As for his steed, he examines all the horses in his region, in Zabulistan and Kabulistan,<sup>5</sup> but cannot find any horse that can hold his robust frame. During his search, however, a colt named Rakhsh catches his eye. Rakhsh is a nimble steed with black eyes, black testicles, and iron hoofs. His coat is the colour of a saffron petal, mottled with red and gold. The young hero asks the old herder about the owner of the horse. He replies that the colt is known as Rakhsh, and that the mother will vigorously attack anyone who tries to lasso him. Rustam lassoes the colt regardless, incurring the mare's wrath. Nevertheless, Rustam defeats her and successfully captures Rakhsh.

The RM's folio illustrates this episode, which became an established scene in the early 14th century.<sup>6</sup> In it, Rustam stands on the left-hand side of the image, in a meadow, and is capturing Rakhsh from among the herd. Far in the back, among some rocks, two onlookers watch the scene. Near them, a white goat wanders among the trees. In the lower part of the image, an emaciated white horse grazes. Such horses were stock figures of Persian and Indian painting in the 16th and 17th centuries.<sup>7</sup>

3 Khaleghi Motlagh, vol.1, footnote 18, 334.

4 Warner & Warner, vol.1, sec. 1, 378.

5 Zabulistan is a historic region in the eastern and southern part of modern-day Afghanistan. Rustam, the legendary hero of *Shahnama*, hailed from this region. Kabulistan is a historical regional name referring to the territory that mostly matches up with the today's Kabul Province in Afghanistan.

6 Examples are 'Rustam catches Rakhsh', c.1300, made in Iran, CB (Per 104.8); 'Rustam lassos Rakhsh', c.1330–1340, attributed to Iran, probably Isfahan, MET (1974.290.6).

7 'An Emaciated Horse Led by His Master', d. late 16th century, attributed to Iran, MET (45.174.11), 'An Emaciated Horse Harassed by Birds', mid-17th century, India, Bijapur, Aga Khan (AKM908), 'Emaciated Horse and Rider', c.1625, attributed to India, Deccan, Bijapur, MET (44.154).

Folio RP-T-1993-453 (Figure 41B): The text is in four columns and fifteen lines. There is an extensive headline in red, which reads, (از راه هفت خوان و صفت منزل اول و کشتن رخش شیر را و بیدار شدن رستم رقتن رستم بمازندران), 'Rustam goes to Mazandaran because of the Seven Exploits, and a description of the first exploit and how Rakhsh kills the lion and Rustam wakes up'. The folio starts with this couplet:

پوشید بیر و برآورد یال      برو آفرین کرد بسیار زال<sup>8</sup>

He donned the tiger-skin and stretched himself  
While Zal called many blessings down on him.<sup>9</sup>

The mythological king of Persia, Kay Kavus, and his troops, are captured by the White Div in Mazandaran.<sup>10</sup> Rustam undertakes the Seven Exploits (*Haft Khan*) to save them. The RM folio recounts the first exploit. Rustam swiftly proceeds toward Mazandaran. After a day, the hero and his horse are fatigued, reaching a meadow. There Rustam hunts a zebra, makes a fire and eats, sending Rakhsh away to graze while he takes a rest. In the meadow is the lair of a lion, who comes home later while Rustam is asleep. The lion sees the strangers by his den, and thinks, 'If I want to beat the rider, first I have to kill the horse'.

The lion and steed grapple with each other until Rakhsh emerges victorious. The RM's painting captures this fight, a favourite scene since the early 14th century.<sup>11</sup> Here the fight is set in a meadow, with a row of reeds in the left-hand side of the image. The sleeping Rustam still wears his helmet. Whereas conventionally Rustam is depicted as a bearded, middle-aged man, this painting diverges from this archetype by illustrating him as a beardless youth. His sword, mace, bow and quiver are strewn about him, and the cooking fire is depicted further down by the right edge of the image. In the lower portion of the image, the two beasts are locked in combat.

8 Khaleghi Motlagh, vol2, no. 269, footnote 30–31, 20.

9 Warner & Warner, vol2, sec.5, 44.

10 Mazandaran is a region located along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea.

11 'Rakhsh Kills a Lion while Rustam is Asleep', c.1300–1330, attributed to north-western Persia or Baghdad, MET (69.74.9).

3 'Sixth Feat of Isfandiyyar; Escaping from Snow Storm', One Page of  
*Tarikh-i Dilgusha-yi Shamshirkhani*

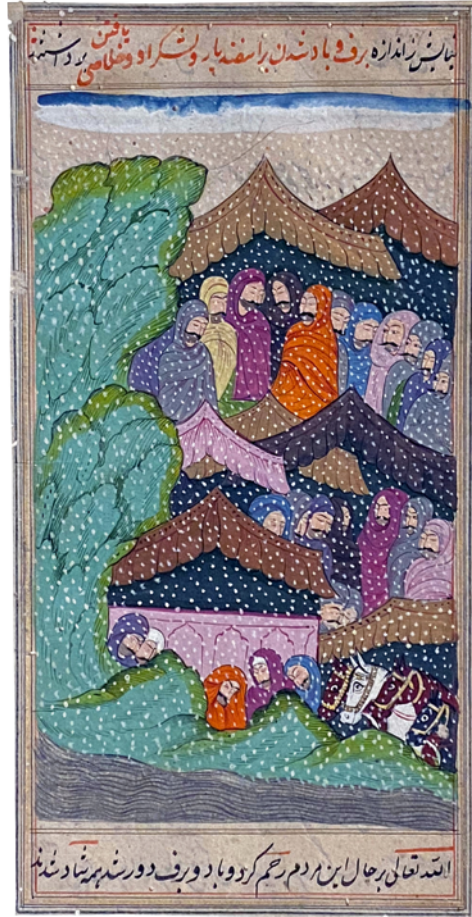
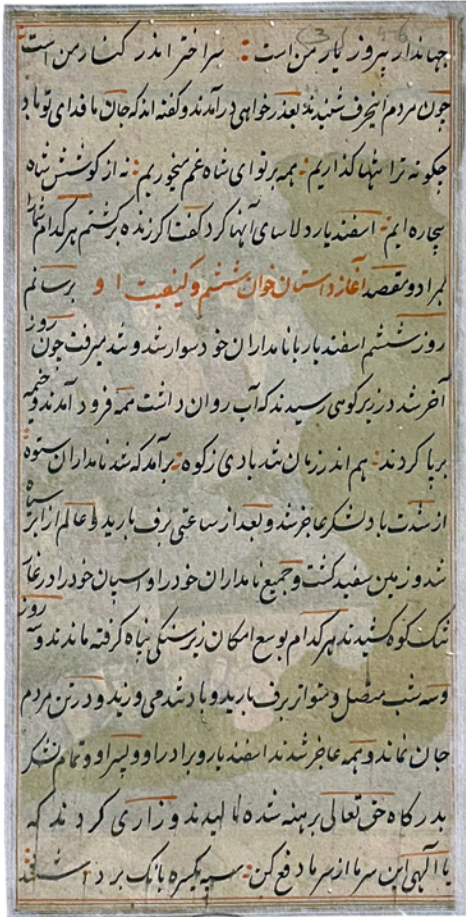


FIGURE 42 Inv no. RP-T-1993-219, sheet: 20 × 9.8 cm, painting: 16.6 × 9.6 cm. Dated 18th century, attributed to India, Deccan. Ink and opaque watercolour on paper. The text is in prose, in Persian, written in black Nasta'liq script with highlights in red; framed in red, black and brown rulings. The recto has fifteen lines and the headline, 'beginning of the sixth trial, and its description'. The verso has two lines of text and a painting. The work is given to the museum in 1993 by Peter Formijne, who purchased it from Maggs Bros. in 1978

The detached folio belongs to a manuscript of *Tarikh-i Dilgusha-yi Shamshirkhani*, which is an abridgment of the *Shahnama* of Firdausi. The book, written in prose, was compiled by Tavakkul Beg Husain in 1653, and commissioned by Shamshir Khan, the governor of Ghazna from 1650–1659.

Although there are numerous reproductions of this book, only a few copies were illuminated, the RM's folio belonging to one of them.<sup>12</sup>

The RM folio belongs to the seven trials of Isfandiyar, whose troops took a journey to rescue his two sisters, who were being kept hostage.<sup>13</sup> On the sixth day, Isfandiyar and his troops reach a mountain where a stream is flowing. They stop for a rest, and set up their tents. Shortly after, a massive gust of wind brings in a heavy snowstorm, which does not let up for three days and nights, much to Isfandiyar and his companions' frustration. The RM's painting captures this episode, in which we see twenty-five bearded men, many of them asleep, wrapped in blankets and huddling in their tents by the mountain, their horses close by. The snow is falling, and we can see the stream flowing at the bottom of the image. This scene was seldom depicted in *Shahnama* and its abridged versions, whether in India or in Persia. Of the few instances where it was, there is 'Isfandiyar escapes the snowstorm', from small *Shahnama*, c.1300, probably made in Tabriz, in CB (Per 104.37) and 'Isfandiyar caught by a snowstorm', 1800–1820, made in Persia, Israel (O.S.B77.09.3617).

---

12 Among other illuminated copies there is a manuscript with 33 paintings, dated 19th century in India, possibly Lahore, Walters (W.597), and another copy dated 1835/36, made in Kashmir, in Berlin (Ms. or. Oct. 1080).

13 Two paintings at the RM recount Isfandiyar's seven trials: RP-T-1993-439, PR-T-1993-393.

## 4 'Portrait of Shah 'Abbas I'



FIGURE 43 Inv no. RP-T-1993-181, sheet: 25.4 × 13.3 cm, painting: 17.1 × 6.5 cm. Dated c.1613–1630, attributed to India, Mughal dynasty. Ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper. The painting is framed in black and gold rulings. The verso, has a Persian text that is partially legible, and an indecipherable Indian inscription which probably is a vernacular language. The work is given to the museum in 1993 by Peter Formijne, who purchased it from Maggs Bros. in 1967. The notebook of Formijne deciphers the inscription as 'the image of Shah 'Abbas', 'the king was made by Konkaram, the painter' (see the notebook in intro. Fig. 0.3)  
 Notes: I would read the text as 'Miyan Sahib became [...], (ميان صاحب ... شد).  
 Formijne's notes are: 'De lange inscriptie luidt: Tasvire Rosrate Abbas Shah, Vertaald: Picture van Abbas Shah'. *Sorat* (picture) is misspelled as *Rosrat*.  
 'Padisha amale Konkaram mussaver, Koning gemaakt (door) Konkaram (de) schilder'.

Portrait of Shah 'Abbas I (r.1588–1629), the well-known king of the Safavid period (1501–1722). The painting represents the shah standing, garbed in a light-yellow robe and a turban adorned with a white plume, set against a green background. His hands are on his hips, tucked into his grey sash, next to his dagger, beside which hangs a sword in a green sheath. The painting is framed by a broad illumination, embellished with plant motifs. The physiognomy of Shah 'Abbas as depicted here is one of the canonical representations of him for the period 1613–1630. It was first introduced by Bishan Das (active 1590–1640), the skilled Indian Mughal artist, who was part of the 1613–1619 Mughal embassy to the Persian court.<sup>14</sup> Afterwards, this model reappeared in numerous miniatures, both in Persia and in India, including this RM folio. It has a close affinity with 'Portrait of Shah 'Abbas I', dated c.1613–1619, made in India, at BM (1920,0917,0.13.2). The two paintings adopt the same model and bear many of the same details, although the BM's is a finer, more elaborate version.

---

14 Robinson, B.W., "Shāh 'Abbās and the Mughal Ambassador Khān 'Ālam: The Pictorial Record", *The Burlington Magazine* 114, 827 (1972), 58–63.

# Bibliography

- ‘Abdi Beg Shirazi, Khwaja Zain al-‘Abidin, *Duhat al-azhar*, ed. ‘A.K.A.U. Alizadeh (Baku: 1967).
- ‘Abdi Beg Shirazi, Khwaja Zain al-‘Abidin, *Ruzat al-saffat*, ed. A.H. Ughli Rahimev (Moscow: 1974).
- Abdullaeva, F. & Melville, Ch., *The Persian Book of Kings: Ibrahim Sultan’s Shahnama* (Oxford: 2008).
- Abdullaeva, F., “From Zulaykha to Zuleika Dobson: the femme fatale and her ordeals in Persian literature and beyond”, in Hillenbrand, R., Peacock, A.C.S. & Abdullaeva, F. (eds.), *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia* (London: 2013), 235–244.
- Adamova, A., *Persian Manuscripts, Paintings and Drawings: From the 15th to the Early 20th Century in the Hermitage Collection* (London: 2012).
- Adamova, A. & Bayani, M., *Persian Painting: The Arts of the Book and Portraiture* (London: 2015).
- Ade, Ch., “Les artistes nommés Dust-Moḥammad au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Studia Iranica* 22.2 (1993), 219–296.
- ‘Alemi, M., “The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models”, in Petruccioli, A. (ed.), *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design* (Leiden: 1977), 72–96.
- Amanat, A., “Meadow of the Martyrs: Kāshifi’s Persianization of the Shi‘i Martyrdom Narrative in the Later Tīmūrid Herat”, in Daftary, F. & Meri, J. (eds.), *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung* (London & New York: 2003), 250–275.
- Amir-Moezzi M.A., “Me’rāj i. definition”, in *Encyclopædia Iranica* (2010), available online: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/meraj-i>.
- Arjomand, S.A., “Three Decrees of Shah Tahmāsp on Clerical Authority and Public Law in Shi‘ite Iran”, *Sociology of Shi‘ite Islam: Collected Essays* (2016), 151–165.
- ‘Assar Tabrizi, Shams al-Din Hajji Muhammad, *Mihr u Mushtari: Eshqnama*, ed. R.M. Sabzevari (Tehran: 1375/1996).
- Atasoy, N., “Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments from the Fourteenth Century Shahnamehs”, *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), 19–48.
- ‘Attar Nishapuri, Farid al-Din, *Khusraunama*, ed. A. Soheili Khansari (Tehran: 1355/1976).
- Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Iranian Studies, “The Book of Jāmāsp the Sage”, at: <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/iran/research/cultural-and-social-history-pre-modern/the-book-of-jamasp-the-sage>.

- Babaie, S., *Isfahan and its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh: 2018).
- Babayan, K., *Mystics, monarchs, and messiahs: cultural landscapes of early modern Iran* (Cambridge: 2002).
- Bahari, E., *Bihzad, Master of Persian Painting* (London: 1996).
- Balafrej, L., *The making of the artist in late Timurid painting* (Edinburgh: 2009).
- Bayani, M., *Ahval wa asar-i khoshnevisan: nasta'liq nevisan* (Tehran: 1966).
- Beazley, E., "The pigeon towers of Isfahān", *Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 4 (1966), 105–109.
- Bekius, R., "The Armenian Colony in Amsterdam in the 17th and 18th Century: Armenian Merchants from Julfa before and after the Fall of the Safavid Empire", in Floor, W. & Herzog, E. (eds.), *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age* (London: 2012), 259–283.
- Bertalan, S., "Close Examination of Leaves from the Great Mongol Shahnama", in Komaroff, L. (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden & Boston: 2006), 226–232.
- Blair, Sh.S., "On the track of the 'Demotte' Shahnama manuscript", in Déroche, F. (ed.), *Les Manuscrits du Moyen Orient, Actes du Colloques d'Istanbul 26–29 mai 1986*, Varia Turcica VIII (Istanbul & Paris: 1989), 125–131.
- Blair, Sh.S., *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: 2006).
- Bowen Savant, S. & Montazer Mahdi, M., "The History of Iranian Cities through their Books: What Ms. Köprülü 01589 Tells us about 8th/14th Century Shiraz", in Durand-Guedy, D., Mottahedeh, R.P. & Paul, J. (eds.), *Cities of Medieval Iran* (Leiden & Boston: 2020), 430–464.
- Boyce, M., "AYĀDGĀR Ī JĀMĀSPĪG", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. III, Fasc. 2 (1987), available online: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/ayadgar-i-jamaspig-memorial-of-jamasp-a-short-but-important-zoroastrian-work-in-middle-persian-also-known-as-the->
- Brend, B., "A Reconsideration of the Book of Constellations of 400/1009–10, in the Bodleian Library", in Hillenbrand, R. (ed.), *The Art of the Saljūqs in Iran and Anatolia: proceedings of a symposium held in Edinburgh in 1982* (Costa Mesa: 1994), 89–93.
- Brend, B., *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi* (London: 2010).
- Budaq Munshi Qazvini, *Javahir al-akhbar: Bakhsh-i tarikh-i Iran az Qaraqoyonulu ta sal-i 984*, ed. M. Bahram Nizhad (Tehran: 1387/2008).
- al-Buhturi, al-Walid b. 'Ubayd-Allah, *Divan al-Buhturi*, ed. H.K. al-Sirafi, vol. 2 (Cairo: 1963).
- Cambridge Digital Library, *Shahnama Project*, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/shahnama/1>.
- Canby, Sh.R., *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi 'Abbasi of Isfahan* (London: 1996).

- Canby, Sh.R., *The Golden Age of Persian Art 1501–1722* (London: 1999).
- Canby, Sh.R., “The World of the Early Safavids Shah Tahmasp at Qazvin 1550–76”, in Thompson, J. and Canby, Sh.R., *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576* (Milan & London: 2003).
- Canby, Sh.R., Beyazit, D., Rugiadi, M. & Peacock, A.C.S., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (New York: 2016).
- Canby, Sh.R., Beyazit, D. & Rugiadi, M. (eds.), *The Seljuqs and their Successors, Art, Culture and History* (Edinburgh: 2020).
- Carboni, S., “The ‘Book of Surprises’ (Kitāb al-Bulhān) of the Bodleian Library”, *La Trobe Journal* 91 (2013), 22–34.
- Carboni, S., *The Wonders of Creation and the Singularities of Painting: A Study of the Ilkhanid London Qazvini* (Edinburgh: 2015).
- Chardin, J., *Voyages de Mr. le Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l’Orient*, vol. 8 (Amsterdam: 1711).
- Carswell, J., *New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* (Oxford: 1968).
- Chelkowski, P., *Mirror of the Invisible World: Tales from the Khamseh of Nizami* (New York: 1975).
- Chick, H.G., *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, vol. 1 (London: 2012).
- Clinton, J.W. & Simpson, M.Sh., “How Rustam Killed White Div: An Interdisciplinary Inquiry”, *Iranian Studies* 39. 2 (2006), 171–197.
- Contadini, A., “The Ibn Bukhtishu Bestiary Tradition”, *Medicina nei Secoli Arte e Scienza* 6 (1994), 349–364.
- Contadini, A., *Arab painting text and image in illustrated Arabic manuscripts* (Leiden & Boston: 2007).
- Couvrat-Desvergnès, A., “Cut-Out Calligraphy from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Discussion of its Origins and Significance and Observations on the Techniques and Tools Used”, *Material Cultures in the Muslim World* (2021), 3–31.
- Couvrat-Desvergnès, A., Sauvage, L., De Hond, J., D’Imporzano, P. & Alfeld, M., “Dutch or Iranian? Technical study of a seventeenth-century painting on paper from Gesina Ter Bosch’s scrapbook”, *Heritage Science* 9.1 (2021), 1–24.
- Dabir Siyaqi, M., *Seyr-i tarikhi-yi bana-yi shahr-i Qazvin wa banaha-yi an: az aghaz ta sal-i 1320 Hejri Shamsi* (Qazvin: 1381/2002).
- Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-shu’ara*, ed. E.G. Browne (Tehran: 1382/2003).
- De Hond, J., Reynaerts, J. & Schapelhouman, M. (eds.), *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 59. 1 (2011).
- De Hond, J., Couvrat-Desvergnès, A., Sauvage, L., Sajadi, F. & D’Imporzano, P., “An Iranian Youth in an Album from Zwolle”, *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 68.3 (2020), 204–231.

- Diba, L., "Persian Painting in the Eighteenth Century: Tradition and Transmission", *Muqarnas* 6 (1989), 147–160.
- Diba, L., *Lacquerwork of Safavid Persia and Its Relationship to Persian Painting* (PhD dissertation, New York University: 1994).
- Diba, L., "Invested with Life: Wall Painting and Imagery before the Qajars", *Iranian Studies* 34 (2001), 5–16.
- Diba, L., "An Encounter Between Qajar Iran and the West: The Rashtrapati Bhavan Painting of Fath 'Ali Shah at the Hunt", in Behrens-Abouseif, D. and Vernoit, S. (eds.), *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation and Eclecticism* (Leiden: 2006), 281–304.
- Diba, L., "Introducing Fath Ali Shah: Production and Dispersal of the Shahanshahnama Manuscripts", in Melville, Ch. (ed.), *Shahnama Studies 1* (Cambridge: 2006), 239–258.
- Diba, L., "The Formation of Modern Iranian Art: From Kamal-al-Molk to Zenderoudi", in Daftari, F. & Diba, L. (eds.), *Iran Modern* (New York: 2013), 45–65.
- Diba, L., Ekhtiar, M. & Robinson, B.W. (eds.), *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925* (London: 1998).
- Dickson, M.B. & Welch, S.C., *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: 1981).
- Draak, A.M.E., "De schenking van de heer en mevrouw Hülsmann-Stork", *Bulletin van de Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische kunst* 24 (1980), 3.
- Ekhtiar, M., "Infused with Shi'ism: Representations of the Prophet in Qajar Iran", in Gruber, C.J. & Shalem, A. (eds.), *The Image of the Prophet between Ideal and Ideology* (Berlin & Boston: 2014), 97–112.
- Ekhtiar, M. & Sardar, M., "Nineteenth-Century Iran: Continuity and Revivalism", in Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2000), available online: [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd\\_crir.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd_crir.htm).
- Emami, F., "Coffeehouses, Urban Spaces, and the Formation of a Public Sphere in Safavid Isfahan", *Muqarnas* 33 (2016), 177–220.
- Eshraqi, E., "Naghashihay-i Kakh-i Chihil Sutun Qazvin wa Kakh-ha-yi digar-i Safavi az khelal-i manzuma-yi 'Abdi Beyg Shirazi", *Honar wa Mardom* 182 (1356/1977), 2–9.
- E'temad al-Saltana, Muhammad Hasan Khan, *Mir'at al-buldan*, vol. 1, eds. 'Abd al-Husain Nava'i and Mir Hashim Muhaddas (Tehran: 1989).
- Ettinghausen, R., "Six Thousand Years of Persian Art" the Exhibition of Iranian Art New York, *Ars Islamica* 7.1 (1940), 106–117.
- Falsafi, N., *Zendegani-yi Shah Abbas 1*, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1347/1968).
- Farhad, M., "The Art of Mu'in Musavvir: A Mirror of His Time", in Canby, Sh.R. (ed.), *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: 1990), 113–128.
- Farhad, M., "An Artist's Impression: Mu'in Musavvir's Tiger Attacking a Youth", *Muqarnas* 9 (1992), 116–123.

- Farhad, M., "The Dīvān of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and the Diez and Istanbul Albums", in Gonnella, J., Weis, F. and Rauch, Ch. (eds.), *The Diez Albums* (Leiden: 2016), 485–512.
- Ferdowsi, Abu'l-Qasim, *Shahnameh: the Persian book of kings*, trans. D. Davis (New York: 2016).
- Firdausi, Abu'l-Qasim, *Shahnama*, ed. Dj Khaleghi Motlagh, vols. 1–8 (New York: 1366/1987 – Costa Mesa: 1369/1990–1386/2007).
- Firdausi, Abu'l-Qasim, *The Shāhnāma of Firdausī*, trans. A.G. Warner & E. Warner, vols. 1–9 (London: 1905–1925).
- Floor, W., "Dutch painters in Iran during the First Half of the 17th century" *Persica* 8 (1978), 145–161.
- Floor, W., "A Note on The Grand Vizierate in Seventeenth Century Persia", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 155. 2 (2005), 435–481.
- Floor, W., *Wall Paintings and Other Figurative Mural Art in Qajar Iran* (Costa Mesa: 2005).
- Floor, W., *A Social History of Sexual Relations in Iran* (Washington, D.C.: 2008).
- Floor, W. & Sajadi, F., "Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt: A Dutch Painter in Safavid Isfahan", *Iranian Studies* 53. 3–4 (2020), 1–28.
- Gani, Qasim, *Bahs dar asar wa afkar wa ahval-i Hafiz*, vol. 1 (Tehran: 1386/2007).
- Gemelli Careri, G.F., *Giro del Mondo: Contenente le Cose Più Ragguardevoli Vedute nella Persia*, vol. 2 (Naples: 1708).
- Gerritsen, W.P., *Verhalen van de drakendochter: leven en werk van Maartje Draak (1907–1995)* (Hilversum: 2019).
- Goetz, H., *The Indian and Persian miniature paintings in the Rijksprentenkabinet (Rijksmuseum) Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: 1958).
- Gray, B., *Persian painting* (London: 1930).
- Gray, B., "The Tradition of Wall Painting in Iran", in Ettinghausen, R. and Yarshater, E. (eds.), *Highlights of Persian Art* (Boulder: 1979), 313–330.
- Grube, E.J. (ed.), *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century from collections in the United States and Canada*, exh.cat., Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venice & New York, 1962).
- Grube, E.J., "The Miniatures of Shiraz", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series* 21.9 (1963), 285–295.
- Grube, E.J., "Wall Paintings in the Seventeenth Century Monuments of Isfahan", in *Iranian Studies* 7.3–4 (1974), 521–542.
- Grube, E.J., *Cobalt and Lustre: The First Centuries of Islamic Pottery, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art* (London: 1995).
- Gruber, Ch., *The Ilkhanid Book of Ascension: A Persian-Sunni Devotional Tale* (London: 2010).
- Gutmann, J., "The Sacrifice of Abraham in Timurid Art", *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 59 (2001), 131–135.

- Habibi, N., *‘Ali Qoli Jebādār et l’occidentalisme Safavide: une étude sur les peintures dites farangi sāzi, leurs milieux et commanditaires sous Shāh Soleimān (1666–94)* (Leiden: 2018).
- Hafiz Abru, Shihab al-Din, *Zubdat al-tawarikh*, vol. 2, ed. S.K. Haj Sayyed Javadi (Tehran: 1372/1993).
- Hafiz, Shams al-Din Muhammad, *Divan-i Hafiz*, ed. P. Natil Khanlari, vol. 1 (Tehran: 1362/1983).
- Hafiz, Shams al-Din Muhammad, *The collected lyrics of Hāfiz of Shīrāz*, trans. P.W. Avery (Cambridge: 2007).
- Hamza Isfahani, Abu ‘Abd-Allah, *Tarikh-i payambarān wa shahan (Sani al-Muluk al-Ard wa’l-anbiya’)*, ed. J. Shu‘ar (Tehran: 1346/1967).
- Herbert, Th., *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa, and Asia the Great* (London: 1677).
- Hillenbrand, R., “Exploring a Neglected Masterpiece: The Gulistan Shahnama of Baysunghur”, *Iranian Studies* 43. 1 (2010), 97–126.
- Hillenbrand, R., “The Great Mongol Shāhnāma: Some Proposed Repatriations”, in Gonnella, J., Weis, F. & Rauch, Ch. (eds.), *The Diez Albums* (Leiden: 2016), 439–468.
- Hillenbrand, R., “Colour in the Great Mongol Shahnama in Manuscripts” in Panayotova, S. & Ricciardi, P. (eds.), *Manuscripts in the Making, Art and Science 1* (Brepols: 2017), 215–226.
- Hillenbrand, R., *The great Mongol Shahnama* (London & Washington, D.C. & New Haven: 2022).
- Honarfar, L., “Bagh-i Hizar Jarib and Kuh-i Suffa (Bihisht-i Shah ‘Abbas)”, *Hunar wa Mardom* 157 (1354/1975), 73–94.
- Honig, E.A., “The Art of Being ‘Artistic’: Dutch Women’s Creative Practices in the 17th Century”, *Woman’s Art Journal* 22.2 (2001), 34–35.
- Howard-Johnston, J., “K̲OSROW II”, in *Encyclopædia Iranica* (2010), available online: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/khosrow-ii>.
- Iskandar Beg Munshi, *Tarikh-i ‘Alam-ara-yi ‘Abbasi*, ed. I. Afshar, vol. 1 (Tehran: 1350/1971).
- Jafariyan, R., *Ta’muli dar Nihzat-i ‘Ashura* (Qum: 1386/2007).
- Jami, ‘Abd al-Rahman, *Divan-i Jami*, ed. A. Afsah Zada, vol. 1 (Tehran, 1378/1999).
- Juvaini, ‘Ata-Malik, *Genghis Khan. The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, trans. J. Boyle (Manchester: 1958).
- Kadoi, Y., *Islamic chinoiserie the art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: 2009).
- Kaempfer, E., *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediciarum fasciculi v* (Lemgo: 1712).
- Kaempfer, E., *Exotic attractions in Persia, 1684–1688: Travels & Observations*, trans. and ed. W. Floor (Washington, D.C.: 2018).
- Kamola, S., “THE ARRIVAL OF A PROPHET”, The Aga Khan Museum, <https://collections.agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/the-arrival-of-a-prophet-akm26>.

- Karimzada Tabrizi, M.A., *Ahwal wa asar-i naqqashan-i qadim-i Iran wa barkhi az mashahir-i nigargar-i Hind wa Osmani*, vol. 2 (London: 1369/1990).
- Kettering, A.M., *Drawings from the Ter Borch Studio Estate* (The Hague: 1988).
- Khajigi Isfahani, Muhammad Ma'sum, *Khulasat al-siyar: Tarikh-i ruzigar-i Shah Safi*, ed. I. Afshar (Tehran: 1368/1989).
- Khalili, N.D., Robinson, B.W. & Stanley, T., *Lacquer of the Islamic Lands*, 2 vols. (London: 1993–1997).
- Kleiss, W., "Der safavidische Pavillon in Qazvin", *Archdologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 9 (1976), 290–298.
- Landau A., *Farangi-sāzi at Isfahan: the court painter Muhamad Zamān, the Armenians of New Julfa and Shah Sulaymān (1666–1694)* (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University: 2009).
- Landau, A., "European Religious? Iconography in Safavid Iran: Decoration and Patronage of Meydani Bet'ghehem", in Floor, W. & Herzig, E. (eds.), *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age* (London: 2012), 425–446.
- Langer, A., "Safavid Revival in Persian Miniature Painting: Renewal, Imitation and Source of Inspiration", in Giese, F., Volait, M. & Varela Braga, A. (eds.), *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Leiden & Boston: 2019), 15–27.
- Lentz, T.W., *Painting at Herat Under Baysunghur Ibn Shahrukh* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University: 1985).
- Lentz, T.W., "Changing Worlds: Bihzad and the new painting", in Canby, Sh.R. (ed.), *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: 1990), 39–54.
- Lentz, T.W. & Lowry, G.D., *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles & Washington, D.C.: 1989).
- Limbert, J., *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez: The Glory of a Medieval Persian City* (Seattle: 2004).
- Lyons, J., *The House of Wisdom: How the Arabs Transformed Western Civilization* (London: 2009).
- McNeil Kettering, A., *Drawings from the Ter Borch Studio Estate*, 2 vols. (The Hague: 1988).
- al-Mas'udi, Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali, *al-Tanbih wa'l-ashraf* (Leiden: 1893).
- al-Mas'udi, Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali, *Muruj al-dhahab*, trans. and ed. A. Payandeh, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1382/2003).
- Matthee, R., "The Career of Mohammad Beg, Grand Vizier of Shah 'Abbas II (r. 1642–1666)", *Iranian Studies* 24 (1991), 17–36.
- Maury, Ch. & Guillaume, C., "A First Overview of Golestan 1644: Album Making, Connoisseurship, and the painter Muhammad Baqir", in Gwenaëlle, F. & Guillaume, C. (eds.), *Revealing the unseen: new perspectives on Qajar art* (London & Paris: 2021), 16–41.

- Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., *Le Roman de Varqe et Golšâh: Essai sur les rapports de l'esthétique littéraire et de l'esthétique plastique dans l'Iran pré-mongol, suivi de la traduction du roman* (Paris: 1970).
- Melville, Ch., "Serial killers: the mise-en-page of Firdausi's 'Davazdah rukh'", *Persica* 23 (2009-10), 73-107.
- Melville, Ch., "The Shahnameh in India: Tarikh-i Dilgusha-yi Shamshir Khani", in A.A. Seyed-Ghorab (ed.), *The Layered Heart: Essays on Persian Poetry, A Celebration in Honor of Dick Davis* (Washington D.C.: 2019), 411-441.
- Mihan, Sh., "On the Meaning of a Fifteenth Century Technical Term in a Timurid Document Associated with Prince Baysonghor's Library in Herat", *Iran* 54.2 (2016), 129-134.
- Mihan, Sh., "The Baysunghuri Manuscript in the Malek National Library", in Van den Berg, G. & Melville, Ch. (eds.), *Shahnama Studies III: The Reception of the Shahnama* (Leiden & Boston: 2017), 373-419.
- Mihan, Sh., *Timurid Manuscript Production: The Scholarship and Aesthetics of Prince Bāysunghur's Royal Atelier (1420-1435)* (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge: 2018).
- Milstein, R, Rührdanz, K. & Schmitz, B., *Stories of the prophets: illustrated manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* (Costa Mesa: 1999).
- Muqaddasi, Ahmad, *Ahsan al-taqasim fi ma'rifat al-aqalim*, trans. A.N. Monzavi, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1361/1983).
- Natif, M., "The Zafarnama of Sultan Husayn Mirza", in Hourihane, C. (ed.), *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton: 2002), 211-228.
- Nykl, A.R., "Ali Ibn Abi Talib's Horoscope", *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943), 152-153.
- O'Kane, B., "Rock Faces and Rock Figures in Persian Painting", *Islamic Art* 4 (1991), 219-246.
- O'Kane, B., "The Iconography of the Shahnama, Ms. tarikh farisī 73, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo (796/1393-4)", in Melville, C. (ed.), *Shahnama Studies* 1 (Cambridge: 2006), 171-188.
- O'Kane, B., "The Great Jalayirid Shāhnāma", in Gonnella, J., Weis, F. and Rauch, Ch. (eds.), *The Diez Albums* (Leiden: 2016), 469-484.
- Omidasalar, M., "DĪV", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. VII, Fasc. 4 (1995), 428-431, available online: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/div>.
- Omidasalar, M., "GENIE" in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. X, Fasc. 4 (2000), 418-422, available online: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/genie->.
- Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qādi Ahmad, Son of Mir-Munshi (circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)*, trans. V. Minorsky (Washington, D.C.: 1959).
- Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *Khulasat al-tawarikh*, ed. E. Eshraqi, vol. 1 (Tehran: 1383/2004).
- Qazvini, M., "Manafi' al-hayawan", *Yadegar* 1 (1324/1945), 38-53.

- Rajabi, M.A. (ed.), *Masterpieces of Persian painting*, exhibition catalogue, Tehran Museum of contemporary Art (Tehran: 2005).
- Raja'i Bukharai, A., *Farhang-i ash'ar-i Hafiz* (Tehran: 1375/1997).
- Richter-Bernburg, L., "БОКТИШŪ", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. IV. Fasc. 3 (1989), 333–336, available online: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/boktisu-ancestor-of-a-syro-persian-nestorian-family-of-physicians>.
- Robinson, B.W., "Shāh 'Abbās and the Mughal Ambassador Khān 'Ālam: The Pictorial Record", *The Burlington Magazine* 114. 827 (1972), 58–63.
- Robinson, B.W., "Ismā'īl II's Copy of the Shāhnāma", *Iran* 14 (1976), 1–8.
- Robinson, B.W. (ed.), *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book: the Keir Collection* (London: 1976).
- Robinson, B.W., "The Turkmen School to 1503", in Gray, B. (ed.), *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries* (London & Paris: 1979), 215–248.
- Robinson, B.W., "Shah Ismā'īl II's Copy of the Shāh-Nāma: Additional Material", *Iran* 43 (2005), 291–299.
- Roxburgh, D., *Album Making, Collecting, and Art (1427–1565) under the Timurids and Safavids*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania: 1996).
- Roxburgh, D., *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Boston: 2000).
- Roxburgh, D., "Kamal al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting", *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), 119–146.
- Roxburgh, D., "The Aesthetics of Aggregation: Persian Anthologies of the Fifteenth Century", in Grabar, O. – Robinson, C. (eds.) *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (Princeton: 2001), 119–142.
- Roxburgh, D., *The Persian album, 1400–1600: from dispersal to collection* (New Haven: 2005).
- Roxburgh, D., "Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust': Pir Budaq and the Formation of Turkmen Arts of the Book", in Roxburgh, D. (ed), *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Honor of Renata Holod* (Leiden & Boston: 2014), 175–222.
- Sa'di, Muslih al-Din, *Kulliyat-i Sa'di*, ed. M. Foroughi (Tehran: 1385/2006).
- Safa, Z., "AŞŞĀR TABRĪZĪ", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. II, Fasc. 8 (1987), 803, available online: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/assar-tabrizi-mawlana-sams-al-din-hajji-mohammad-poet-scholar-and-mystic-of-the-8th-14th-century>.
- Sajadi, F., "Netherlandish prints and Persian painting: Inspirational source for Persian painters during 1650s–1680s", in Kovačić, D. & Novaković, J. (eds.), *Beyond Boundaries. Conceptualizing Netherlandish Prints* (Belgrade: 2021), 107–120.
- Sajadi, F., *The impact of the Netherlandish art on Persian Miniature in Safavid era 1588–1722* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Warsaw: 2021).
- Sajadi, F., "Re-examining a Persian Miniature: Two Young Men in an Erotic Embrace", *Aziatische Kunst* 52.1 (2022), 40–45.

- Saliba, G. & Komaroff, L., "Illustrated Books may be Hazardous to your Health: A New Reading of the Arabic Reception and Rendition of the 'Materia Medica' of Dioscorides", *Ars Orientalis* 35 (2008), 6–65.
- Sam Mirza Safavi, Abu'l-Nasr, *Tadhkira-yi Sami*, ed. V. Dastgerdi (Tehran: 1314/1936).
- Savory, R.M., "The Struggle for Supremacy in Persia after the death of Timūr", *Der Islam* 40 (1964), 35–56.
- Scheurleer, P.L., "Collectie: de Heer en Mevrouw Hülsmann-Stork. Geschenk", *Bulletin van de Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische kunst* 24 (1980), 4–13.
- Schmitz, B., "On a Special Hat Introduced during the Reign of Shāh 'Abbās the Great", in *Iran* 22 (1984), 103–112.
- Schmitz, B., *Islamic and Indian manuscripts and paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: 1997).
- Simsar, M.H., *Golestan Palace Library: Portfolio of Miniature paintings and Calligraphy*, trans. K. Emami (Tehran: 2000).
- Shamisa, S., *Shahid Bazi dar Adabiyat-i Farsi* (Tehran: 2002).
- Shayestehfar, M., "The Impact of the Religion on the Painting and Inscriptions of the Timūrid and the Early Safavid Periods", *Central Asiatic Journal* 47. 2 (2003), 250–293.
- Skelton, R., "Iranian artists in the service of Humayun", in Canby, Sh.R. (ed.), *Humayun's garden party: Princes of the house of Timur and early Mughal painting* (Bombay: 1995), 33–48.
- Simpson, M.Sh., *The Illustration of an Epic: the Earliest Shahnama* (New York: 1979).
- Simpson, M.Sh., "A Manuscript made for the Safavid Prince Bahram Mirza", *The Burlington Magazine* 133. 1059 (1991), 376–384.
- Simpson, M.Sh., "A Reconstruction and Preliminary Account of the 1341 Shahnama, with Some Further Thoughts on Early Shahnama Illustration", in Hillenbrand, R. (ed.), *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars* (London & New York: 2000), 217–247.
- Simpson, M.Sh., "Mostly Modern Miniatures: Classical Persian Painting in the Early Twentieth Century", *Muqarnas* 25 (2008), 359–396.
- Simpson, M.Sh., & Farhad, M., *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (New Haven: 1997).
- Sistani, Malek Shah Husain, *Ehya' al-muluk: Tarikh-i Sistan az Advar-i Bastani ta 'Asr-i Safavi*, ed. M. Sutuda (Tehran: 1344/1965).
- Slaczka, A., "Tentoonstelling: Handelswaar en Souvenirs-islamitische kunst uit het Rijksmuseum Amsterdam", *Aziatische Kunst* 41–2 (2011), 30–35.
- Soucek, P., "Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi: Painter at the Safavid Court", in Canby, Sh.R. (ed.), *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: 1990), 55–84.
- Soucek, P., "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content", in Golombek, L. & Subtelny, M. (eds.), *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 1992), 116–131.

- Soucek, P., "The Ann Arbor Shahnama and its Importance", in Hillenbrand, R. (ed.), *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars* (London & New York: 2000), 267–281.
- Soudavar, A., "Between the Safavids and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition", *Persian Studies* 47 (1999), 49–66.
- Soudavar, A., "The age of Muhammadi", *Muqarnas* 17 (2000), 53–72.
- Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of western and oriental manuscripts and miniatures, auction by Sotheby & Co. on Monday, 12th December, 1966* (London: 1966).
- Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of highly important oriental manuscripts and miniatures: auction by Sotheby and Co., Monday, 7th December, 1970* (London: 1970).
- Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of fine Indian and Persian miniatures and a manuscript: auction by Sotheby and Co., Tuesday, 12th December, 1972* (London: 1972).
- Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of fine oriental miniatures, manuscripts and Qajar paintings: Tuesday, 13th April, 1976, Wednesday, 14th April, 1976* (London: 1976).
- Stchoukine, I., *Les peintures des manuscrits Safavis de 1502 à 1587* (Paris: 1959).
- Stchoukine, I., "La peinture à Yazd au milieu du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Syria* 40.1 (1963), 139–145.
- Szuppe, M., "Palais et jardins: le complexe royal des premiers Safavides à Qazvin, milieu xvi<sup>e</sup>–début xvii<sup>e</sup> siècles", *Res Orientales* 8 (1996), 143–177.
- Stchoukine, I., "Les peintures turcomanes et safavies d'une Khamseh de Nizâmî, achevée à Tabriz en 886/1481", *Arts Asiatique* 44 (1966), 1–16.
- Tanındı, Z., "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops", *Muqarnas* xvii (2000), 147–161.
- Tavernier, J.B., *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1678).
- Thackston, W., *Album prefaces and other documents on the history of calligraphers and painters* (Leiden & Boston: 2001).
- The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/712589>.
- The Rijksmuseum, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-T-1895-A-3066>.
- Tsuge, G., "Musical Instruments Described in a Fourteenth-Century Persian Treatise 'Kanz al-tuḥaf'", *The Galpin Society Journal* 66 (2013).
- Uluç, L., *Turkman governors, Shiraz artisans and Ottoman collectors: sixteenth century Shiraz manuscripts* (Istanbul: 2006).
- Uluç, L., "An Iskandarnāma of Nizami Produced for Ibrahim Sultan", *Muqarnas* 30.1 (2014), 235–253.
- Vahid Qazvini, Muhammad Tahir, *Abbasnama: Sharh-i zendegani-yi 22 sala-ye Shah Abbas-i Sani (1052–1073)*, ed. E. Dehqan (Arak: 1329/1951).
- Valih Isfahani, Muhammad, *Iran dar zaman-i Shah Safi wa Shah Abbas II*, ed. M. Nasiri (Tehran: 1380/2001).
- Von Hees, S., *Enzyklopädie als Spiegel des Weltbildes: Qazwīnīs Wunder der Schöpfung: eine Naturkunde des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: 2002).

- Von Hees, S., "The Astonishing: a critique and re-reading of 'Aga'ib literature", *Middle Eastern Literatures* 8.2 (2005), 101–120.
- Wafer, J., "Vision and Passion: the Symbolism of Male Love in Islamic Mystical Literature", in Roscoe, W. and Murray, S.O. (eds), *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature* (New York: 1997), 107–131.
- Waley, P. & Titley, N., "An Illustrated Persian Text of Kalila and Dimna Dated 707/1307–08", *British Library Journal* 1 (1975), 42–61.
- Welch, A., "Painting and Patronage under Shah Abbas 1", *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974), 458–507.
- Welch, A., *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven & London: 1976).
- Welch, S.C., *A King's Book of Kings: The Shah-nameh of Shah Tahmasp* (New York: 1976).
- Welch, S.C., Canby, S.R. & Titley, N., *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–1576* (Boston: 1979).
- Wilkinson, C.K., *Nishapur: Some Early Islamic Buildings and Their Decoration* (New York: 1987).
- Wilkinson, J.V.S., "Fresh Light on the Herat Painters", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 58. 335 (1931), 60–69.
- Wing, P., *The Jalayirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Middle East* (Edinburgh: 2016).
- Wright, E., "Patronage of the Arts of the Book under the Injuids of Shiraz", in Komaroff, L. (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden & Boston: 2006), 248–268.
- Wright, E., *The look of the book: manuscript production in Shiraz, 1303–1452* (Washington, D.C.: 2012).
- Ya'qubi, Ahmad bin 'Ali Ya'qub, *Tarikh Ya'qubi*, ed. M.E. Ayati, vol. 2 (Tehran: 1382/2003).
- Zoka, Y., *Hunar-i kaghaz buri dar Iran: Qat'ai* (Tehran: 1379/2000).
- Zoka, Y., "Dust-Muhammad-i Mosavver, Dust-Muhammad-i Kateb, Dust-i Musavver", *Ayandeh* 8.5 (1361/1982), 244–253.

# Index

- 'Abdullah 11 98  
'Aja'ib al-makhluqat 2, 12, 76, 77  
'Ata Malik Juvaini 2, 9  
'Attar 44, 46  
'Abbasid 4, 7, 9, 29  
'Abdi Beg Shirazi 116  
Abraham (Prophet) 63, 85, 87, 88  
Abu Sa'id Bahadur Khan 10  
Abu'l-Hasan Ghaffari 7  
Achaemenid 21  
Adam (Prophet) 63  
Afghanistan 8, 138n5  
Afrasiyab 37, 48  
Afsharid 20, 109  
Aga Khan Museum (Aga Khan)  
AKM7, AKM8, AKM9, AKM10 35  
AKM86, AKM87, AKM26 25  
AKM282.23, fol.23v 96n67  
AKM908 138n7  
Ahmad Musa 10, 12  
al-Buhturi 7  
'Ali Chehreh Gusha 15  
'Ali Quli (painter) 19  
'Ali Quli Khan Shamlu 19  
Aliabad 113, 114  
Allah Verdi Khan bridge 114  
al-Mansur (the second caliph) 7  
al-Muntasir (the eleventh caliph) 7  
al-Sabah Collection (Kuwait)  
LN 275 MS a 8m14  
LNS 349 MS 8m15  
LNS 37 MS 29  
LNS 31 MS 32n5  
LNS 50 MS (b), (a) 35  
LNS 345 MS 103n71  
NLS 4 MS 127n26  
Amalia Maartje Elisabeth Draak 3, 4, 62, 120  
Amir Daulat Yar 10  
Amir Khusrau Dihlavi 45n9, 61  
Amir Shahi Sabzavari 53  
Anatolia 45  
Aq Qoyunlu 1, 13, 15  
Arabic 29, 30, 31, 62, 76  
Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul  
ms. 216 9m19  
Arjasp 94  
Armenia 124  
Armenian 20, 58, 108, 124  
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology  
(Ashmolean)  
EA2012.50 71  
EA1978.202 80  
EA1962.156 98  
'Assar Tabrizi 66  
Aulad 52, 103n70  
Austrian National Library (Vienna)  
od. A. F. 103 HAN MAG 84n44  
Badi' al-Zaman 18  
Badr 64, 66, 67  
Baghdad (city) 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 29, 58n29,  
61, 73n21, 89, 126n25, 136n2, 139m11  
Baghdad School 29  
Bahram (Khamsa) 68, 128n27  
Bahram Mirza 18  
Bahram Mirza Album 10n24, 12n31, 92, 110  
Bahram Naqash Bashi 20  
Bakhtishu' 30  
Baysunghur 13, 14, 53  
Baysunghur Album 14  
Berlin State Library (Berlin)  
Diez A fol. 73, p. 50, no. 4 12n30  
Ms. or. Oct. 1080 14m12  
Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)  
Suppl. Persan 205 9m19  
Supplément Persan 332 13  
Arabe 5036 14n45  
Arabe 2782, fol. 27v, 28r 31n3  
Supplément persan 380 37n7  
Supplément turc 193, fols. 2v, 43v 52n23  
Supplément Persan 766, 44r, 75v, 107r  
66  
Bihzad (painter) 15, 17, 84  
Bihzad (Mihir u Mushtari) 66, 67  
Bijapur 138n7  
Bishan Das 143  
Bodleian library (Bodleian)  
ms. Marsh 144 8  
ms. Ouseley 379 9m19  
ms. Bodl. Or. 133 13  
ms. Ouseley Add. 176 15  
ms. Ouseley Add. 21 66n8

- British Library (BL)  
 Or.13506 9, 11  
 Add.18113, fol. 45v 12  
 Add. 27261 13, 31, 56n31  
 Or. 2265 17  
 Or. 13297, f.80 58n29  
 Add MS 25900, f.188r 69n12  
 Or 2265, f.157v 87  
 MS BL Sloane 5232, fol. 45 (left) 115n10  
 10 Islamic 138, f.75r 126  
 Add MS 27261, fol.61r 128n28  
 Or. 13297, fol. 109r 136n2
- British Museum (BM)  
 1948,1211,0.25 48  
 Add.27261, fol. 131v 100  
 1920,0917,0.13.2 142
- Bubb Kuyper Veilingen auction 101
- Bukhara 98
- Bukhara School 88n53, 97
- Bustan 15, 84, 84n44
- Buyid 7
- Caliphate 7, 9
- Calouste Gulbenkian Museum (Gulbenkian)  
 LA. 161 13  
 MS L.A 161, vol2, fol. 326v 88n50
- Cambridge Digital Library 23
- Cambridge University Library  
 MS RAS 239 14n46
- Central Asia 13, 4n4
- Chahar Bagh 114
- Chester Beatty Library (CB)  
 Per 104.80 39  
 Per 239 98  
 Per 260.2, Per 260.3 107n84  
 Per 104.8 138n6  
 Per 104.37 141
- Chinese 10, 35, 45, 54, 77
- Christie's auction 45, 66n8, 89, 103n71, 107
- Cincinnati Art Museum (CAM)  
 1947.497 52
- Ctesiphon 7
- Dallas Museum of Art (DMA)  
 K.1.2014.7 37  
 K.1.2014.387 46
- Darougha Farrashkhana 104
- David Collection (David)  
 50/1966 8n13  
 5/2016 46  
 8/2005 13n38, 87n47  
 53/1980 88n53
- Deccan 113, 138n7, 140
- Deccani 2, 44
- Découpeur 91
- Dervish 2, 21, 63, 84, 95, 96, 101, 102, 118, 119
- Divan of Hafiz 2, 23, 78, 80, 90, 127n26
- Divan of Khata'i 17
- Divan of Khwaju Kirmani 4
- Divan of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir 12
- Du-bayti 97
- Duhat al-azhar 116
- Dust Muhammad Album 18
- Dutch 20, 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 113, 114,  
 115, 116, 130, 132
- Early Islamic era 7
- Edinburgh University Library (Edinburgh)  
 Or.Ms.20 9n19, 15
- Egyptian National Library (Cairo)  
 Tarikh Farsi 73 11  
 Adab Farsi 908 15, 84
- Engelbert Kaempfer 114, 115
- Faramarz 48, 75
- Farhad 46, 128, 129
- Fariburz 40, 41
- Fath 'Ali Shah 21
- Fatihah al-shabab 55
- Fifth labour (trial, quest) 2, 36, 37, 52, 93, 94
- Firdausi 2, 3, 4n4, 140
- Freer Gallery of Art (Freer)  
 F1928.2 8  
 F1932.29, F1932.31-37 12  
 S1986.131 13n38  
 F1946.26 14n45  
 S1986.60 17  
 F1930.1, F1929.25-46 39  
 F1930.2-17, F1940.12,13 39  
 F1923.4 46  
 F1931.36 58n30  
 S1986.138 63  
 46.12 18, 87n48  
 F1946.12.30, fol. 30a 87  
 F1954.28 12n20  
 F1931.22 136n1

- Gabriel 63, 77, 88  
 Genghis Khan 9  
 Gesina ter Borch 106, 107, 108  
 Ghazan Khan 9, 31  
 Ghaznavid 7  
 Giv 40, 41, 75  
 Golden Age of Islam 7  
 Gulistan Palace Library (Gulistan)  
     716 14  
     MS. 12367–12372 21  
     211 98  
 Grand vizier 19, 104, 105  
 Gul 44, 45  
 Gul u Hurmuz 44  
 Gulbad 40, 41  
 Gulrukh 45  
 Gulshan Album 107n84  
 Gulzar calligraphy 2, 132, 133  
 Guruy Zereh 40, 41  
  
 Hafiz Abru 13, 88  
 Hafiz Baba Jan 92, 92n61, n62  
 Haft Awrang 2, 18n68, 87, 88, 93, 119  
 Haft Khan 52, 73, 139  
 Haft Peykar 68  
 Hagop Kevorkian Fund 29  
 Hamza Mirza 19  
 Haram 115  
 Harish 30, 31, 32  
 Harvard Art Museums (Harvard)  
     2002.50.140 29  
     1958.75 87  
     1941.293 94  
     1969.171 100  
     1958.60 110  
 Harvey Cushing and John Hay Whitney  
     Medical Library (Cushing-Whitney)  
     Persian 23, f.228 31n3  
 Henrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst 20, 108  
 Herat 13, 14, 15, 17n62, 53, 59, 61, 63, 69n12,  
     87n47, 136n2  
 Hizar Jarib 11, 113, 114, 115  
 Horoscope 8, 33, 34, 35  
 Houghton Library, Harvard University  
     (Houghton)  
     MS Persian 26 235  
 Hud 33, 35  
 Husain b. 'Ali Talib 86  
  
 Ibrahim Mirza 18  
 Ilkhanate 10, 11, 12  
 Ilkhanid 9, 10, 30, 31, 63n2  
 India 2, 23, 44, 45n9, 111, 65, 108, 135, 137,  
     138, 140, 141, 142, 143  
 Indian 2, 3, 45n10, 54, 113, 138, 142  
 Indian Mughal 143  
 Injuid 11, 34, 36  
 Isfahan 11, 19, 20, 45, 52, 94n65, 101, 103, 108,  
     111, 114, 115n19, 116, 138n6  
 Isfahan style 16  
 Isfahan School 19, 20, 84, 93, 95  
 Isfandiyar 2, 36, 37, 93, 94, 140, 141  
 Iskandar Sultan 13, 59, 88, 100, 128  
 Iskandarnama 15, 71n14  
 Israel Museum (Jerusalem)  
     B69.0907 59  
     B69.0612 80  
     O.S.B77.10.4045 80  
     O.S.B77.09.3617 141  
 Ispahan 45  
  
 Jalayirid 12, 14  
 Jamal u Jalal 17  
 James Forbes 65  
 Jami 2, 3, 18n68, 55, 56, 83, 84n44, 98, 119  
 Jami' al-tawarikh 9n19, 48  
 Jan Betram van Stolk 101  
 Jan Lucasz. van Hasselt 20, 108  
 Javahir al-akhbar 104  
 Jean Baptiste Tavernier 105  
 Jesus 63  
 Jibril 63, 77  
 Jinn 77  
 John Hopkins University Library 15  
 John Rylands Research Institute and Library  
     (Manchester)  
     Persian MS 20, fol. 107b 84n44  
 Jerusalem (city) 63  
  
 Kabul 48, 138n5  
 Kabulistan 138  
 Kabutar khana 113  
 Kal 'Enayat 104  
 Kalila wa Dimna 9n19, 11, 14  
 Karbala 86n45, 89  
 Karim Khan Zand 20  
 Kashan 8n13

- Kavad II 7, 39, 50  
 Kavus 40, 51  
 Kay Kavus 52, 73  
 Kay Khusrâu 37, 41, 49, 74, 75  
 Khalifa of Khiva 15  
 Khalifa Sultan 103, 104  
 Khalili Collections (Khalili)  
     POT 875 8*n*13  
 Khalwat Khana 112, 115, 116  
 Khamsa of Dihlavi 45*n*9, 61  
 Khamsa of Nizami 2, 3, 8, 12, 14*n*45, 15, 16,  
     17, 46, 57, 58, 59, 61, 68, 70, 71, 100, 123,  
     126, 127, 128, 136  
 Khamsa-yi Shah Tahmasp 17, 87  
 Khaqan of Chin 94  
 Khawass al-ashjar 1, 2, 27, 29  
 Khurasan 8, 4*n*4, 53, 54, 63  
 Khusrâu 39, 44, 45, 50, 57, 58, 70, 71, 123, 124,  
     125, 126, 127, 128, 129  
 Khusrâu II 39, 50  
 Khusraunama 2, 3, 44  
 Khusrâu Parviz 39, 49, 50, 58, 59  
 Khusrâu u Gul (Khusraunama) 44  
 Khuzistan 45  
 Khwaja 'Abd al-Hayy 12  
 Khwarazm 67  
 King Charles I 114  
 Kitab Suwar al-kawakib 7  
 Kitab-i Hakim Jamasp 1, 3, 11, 33, 34  
 Konkaram (painter) 142  
 Kufic script 30, 32  
 Kulliyat-i Tarikh 88
- Lala 19  
 Layla 57, 59, 60, 61, 87, 100, 136  
 Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.  
     (Congress)  
     2019714627 132  
 Louvre Museum (Louvre)  
     MAO 148 63  
     AOR 4242, AOR 4241 77  
     OA 7121 121*n*20  
     MAO 155 136*n*1
- Maggs Bros. Ltd. 4, 140, 142  
 Mahan 68, 69  
 Majalis al-'ushshaq 84*n*44  
 Majlis Library, Tehran  
     Ms. 61866 15
- Malek National Library & Museum (Malek)  
     1393.02.00053 20  
     1393.04.06031/001 123  
 Majnun 57, 59, 60, 61, 87, 100, 135, 136  
 Manafi' al-hayawan 2, 3, 30, 31  
 Manaqib Hunarwaran 53*n*23  
 Mantiq al-Tair 46  
 Manuchihr 35, 42, 43  
 Manuscript 1, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13*n*36, 138, 14,  
     15, 16, 17*n*58, 162, 18*n*66, 21, 23, 29, 31,  
     34, 35, 37, 39, 44, 45, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56,  
     58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69*n*12, 77, 80,  
     83, 86, 87*n*48, 89, 98, 108, 123, 126, 127,  
     128, 137, 140, 141  
 Maqal genre 86  
 Maqalnama 86*n*45  
 Maragha 9, 10  
 Maria Hofker-Rueter 3, 130, 132  
 Marzubannama 9*n*19  
 Mashhad 18*n*68, 90, 91  
 Maulana Vali Alla 15  
 Mazandaran 52, 73, 139  
 Mecca 63  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET)  
     1979.461 22  
     65.271.1 29  
     18.26.2 32*n*5  
     55.121.16, 55.121.17 41  
     13.228.9.1 46  
     1974.290.7, 69.74.7 52  
     13.228.4 56  
     13.160.3 61*n*34  
     1997.71 63  
     69.74.9 73*n*21  
     12.223.1 91  
     1974.290.28 94*n*65  
     1974.20 110*n*2  
     1978.18 122  
     13.228.7.13, fol. 230 128*n*27  
     1974.290.6 138*n*6  
     45.174.11, 44.154 138*n*7  
     69.74.9 139*n*11  
 Mihr 64, 65, 66, 67, 126  
 Mihr Hurmuz 38, 39  
 Mihr u Mushtari 2, 3, 64, 65  
 Minneapolis Institute of Art (Mia)  
     51.37.33a, b 58  
 Mir 'Ali Haravi 98  
 Mir Kulangi 98

- Mirajnama 62, 63  
 Mirak Naqqash 15  
 Mirza 'Ali (painter) 91, 110  
 Mirza Salman Jabiri 19  
 Miscellany of Iskandar Sultan 59, 100  
 Mongol 1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 30, 31, 34, 36, 38, 48, 137  
 Morgan Library & Museum (Morgan)  
   ms. M500 9m19, 31  
   ms M.15 127n26  
 Mr/Mrs Hülsmann-Stork 3, 60, 95, 109, 123  
 Mu'in Musavvir 2, 19, 93, 94  
 Mughal 2, 142, 143  
 Muhammad (Prophet Muhammad) 61, 63, 103  
 Muhammad 'Ali 20  
 Muhammad Baqir 2, 21, 109, 110  
 Muhammad Beg 103  
 Muhammad Hadi 21  
 Muhammad Haravi 63  
 Muhammad Juki 14  
 Muhammad al-Khayyam 125n24  
 Muhammad Khudabanda 19  
 Muhammad Zaman 19  
 Mu'iz al-Din Muhammad Ghafari 20  
 Museum of Art and History, Geneva (MAH)  
   1971-0107-0398 125n24  
   1971-0107-0495, 1971-0107-0030 77  
 Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland)  
   1988.101 103n70  
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA)  
   14.646 7  
   14.634 94  
 Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow (Moscow)  
   592 II 103n70  
 Museum Volkenkunde (Volkenkunde)  
   RV-646-4 113  
 Mushtari 2, 3, 64, 65, 66, 67  
 Muzaffarid 11
- Nasir al-Din Shah 21  
 Naskh script 29, 30, 34, 37, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 47, 50  
 Nasta'liq script 40, 42, 47, 50, 51, 53, 55, 58, 62, 65, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 80, 83, 86, 90, 93, 97, 109, 118, 123, 132, 133, 134, 137, 140  
 National Library of Russia (NLR)  
   PHC 83 58n30
- National Museum of Iran (Iran)  
   4601 20  
   19871 21  
   22519 22  
 Nestorian family 30  
 Netherlands 106, 107, 108, 113  
 New Julfa 20, 108  
 New York Public Library (NYPL)  
   Spencer Coll. Pers. ms. 46, fol.19 87n47  
   Spencer Coll. Pers. ms. 46, fol. 43v 88n53  
 Nishapur 7  
 Nizami 2, 3, 8, 12, 13, 14n45, 15, 17, 46, 57, 58, 61, 68, 70, 71, 100, 123, 126, 127n26, 136  
 Noah 63, 87  
 Nowruz 116
- Ottoman 89, 108
- Pahari 2  
 Persia 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 30, 38, 41, 43, 52, 54, 58, 60, 62, 63, 73, 75, 80, 91n57, 100, 103, 108, 109, 110n2, 113, 119, 123, 124, 130, 132, 133, 138, 139, 141  
 Persian art 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 16, 21n83, 121n21  
 Persian miniature 1, 2, 3, 4, 23, 31, 106, 107, 108  
 Persian wall-painting 4  
 Perso-Islamic culture 9  
 Peter Formijne 3, 4, 5, 6, 29, 30, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 49, 51, 53, 55, 58, 65, 68, 70, 72, 76, 80, 83, 86, 80, 94, 97, 118, 135, 137, 140, 142  
 Philips Angel 20, 104, 105  
 Portland Art Museum (Portland)  
   71.45B 35  
 post-Safavid 2, 20, 108  
 pre-Mongol 1, 7, 27  
 Princeton University Library (Princeton)  
   mss. Garrett 91G and 92G 35
- Qajar 2, 4, 20, 21, 22, 44, 108, 110n1, 113, 118, 120, 121, 122, 130, 131, 132, 133  
 Qara Qoyunlu 1, 13, 15  
 Qasida 7  
 Qata'i 91  
 Qati' 91  
 Qawam al-Daula wa'l-Din Hasan 11, 37  
 Qawam Shahnama 37

- Qazvin 12, 13, 14, 78, 96, 97, 99, 123, 124, 125,  
128, 132, 137
- Qazvini 16, 19, 90, 91, 112, 114, 116, 117
- Qazvin School 91
- Qisas al-anbiya' 87n47, 88n53
- Qur'an 46, 63, 77, 83
- Rakhsh 15, 48, 52, 72, 73, 137, 138, 139
- Rawzat al-shuhada 2, 3, 85, 86, 89
- Reza Abbasi Museum  
231, 1359 7
- Rijksmuseum (RM)  
RP-T-1993-434 1, 27, 29  
RP-T-1993-135 1, 28, 29  
RP-T-1993-435 30  
RP-T-1993-436 1, 11, 33, 34, 35  
RP-T-1993-437 1, 11, 33, 35  
RP-T-1993-439 36, 94n65, 141n13  
RP-T-1993-438 38, 50n18  
RP-T-1993-442 40  
RP-T-1993-441 42  
RP-T-1993-205 44  
RP-T-1956-274 47  
RP-T-1993-440 49  
RP-T-1993-451 51  
RP-T-1993-456 53  
RP-T-1993-444 55  
RP-T-1993-445 57, 58  
RP-T-1993-446 57, 59  
AK-MAK-1250 60  
AK-MAK-1251 60, 61  
AK-MAK-1545 62  
RP-T-1993-449 64, 66  
RP-T-1993-450 64, 67  
RP-T-1993-448 65, 67  
RP-T-1993-447 68  
RP-T-1993-457 70  
RP-T-1993-454 72, 137  
RP-T-1956-275 74  
RP-T-1993-455 76  
RP-T-1993-403 78, 80  
RP-T-1993-404 78, 81  
RP-T-1993-405 79, 81  
RP-T-1993-406 79, 82  
RP-T-1993-461 83  
RP-T-1993-459 85, 87  
RP-T-1993-460 85, 87  
RP-T-1993-458 86, 88  
RP-T-1993-462 90  
RP-T-1993-393 2, 37n17, 93  
AK-MAK-1252 95  
RP-T-1993-463 97  
RP-T-1963-383 99  
NG-2021-85 2, 101  
BI-1887-1463-40 106  
AK-MAK-1259 2, 21, 109  
RP-T-1895-A-3069 2, 111, 113  
RP-T-1895-A-3070 2, 112, 113  
RP-T-1993-402 118  
AK-MAK-1544 22, 119, 120  
AK-MAK-1254 124  
AK-MAK-1253 125  
AK-MAK-1257 126  
AK-MAK-1255 127  
AK-MAK-1256 129  
RP-T-1993-443 135  
RP-T-1993-452 137  
RP-T-1993-453 73n19, 137  
RP-T-1993-219 2, 140  
RP-T-1993-181 142
- Riza 'Abbasi 19, 94, 107
- Royal Asian Art Society in the Netherlands  
(KVVAK) 3, 60, 62, 95, 109, 120, 123
- Royal Ontario Museum (ROM)  
980.115.7.B, 980.115.7.A 35
- Rustam 43, 47, 48, 51, 52, 72, 73, 74, 75, 94,  
137, 138, 139
- Ruzat al-saffat 116
- Sa'di 15, 84, 98, 133
- Sa'adatabad 115, 116, 117
- Sadiqi Beg 19, 102
- Safavid 2, 10, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 61, 62, 63,  
65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 74, 76, 80, 81,  
83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94,  
95, 96, 99, 101, 103, 104, 110, 113, 114, 116,  
118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 131, 143
- Safavid School 88n53, 131
- Salm 42, 43
- Sam 75, 138
- Sam Mirza 19
- Samak-i Ayyar 9n19
- Samangan 8
- Samanid 7
- San Diego Museum of Art (SDMA)  
1972.219 29  
1972.221 35  
1972.223 41

- Sasanian 7, 8, 21, 39, 50, 58  
 Seljuk 8, 9  
 Seven Exploits 52, 73, 139  
 Shafi 'Abbasi 19  
 Shaghad 47, 48  
 Shah 'Abbas I 102, 103, 114, 116, 142, 143  
 Shah 'Abbas II 104, 105, 116  
 Shah Ardashir 33, 35  
 Shah Isma'il I 16, 17  
 Shah Isma'il II 19  
 Shah Kayvan 65, 67  
 Shah Mansur 79, 81, 82  
 Shah Rukh 13, 15  
 Shah Safi 104, 112, 115, 116, 117  
 Shah Tahmasp 17, 18n65, 19, 87, 104, 116  
 Shahanshahnama 21  
 Shahnama 2, 3, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23,  
 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48, 49, 51,  
 52, 71, 72, 73, 74, 93, 94, 123, 137, 138n5,  
 140, 141  
 Shahnama-yi Shah Tahmasp 17  
 Shams al-Din (painter) 12  
 Shapur 35, 123, 124, 126, 128  
 Shaybanid dynasty 97  
 Shaykh Uvays 12  
 Shi'i 86  
 Shiraz 2, 8n9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 34, 36, 40, 41,  
 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 58, 59,  
 74, 76, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84, 127, 136n1  
 Shiraz School 40, 42, 43, 47, 49, 51, 56,  
 58n30, 84  
 Shirin 38, 39, 46, 57, 58, 59, 70, 71, 123, 124,  
 125, 126, 127, 128, 129  
 Shiruya 38, 39, 49, 50  
 Simurgh 2, 36, 37, 62, 71, 93, 94, 119  
 Siyavush 41, 75  
 Solomon (Prophet Solomon) 76, 77  
 Sotheby's, London 4, 30, 34, 44, 45, 49, 65,  
 77  
 State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
 (Hermitage)  
 VR-1000 13, 59n32, 61, 100  
 VR-552 20  
 VR-27 110n2  
 VR-955 119  
 VR-957, VR-1234 122  
 St. Petersburg Album 110n2  
 Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (Süleymaniye)  
 Köprülü 01589 34n8  
 Sultan Ahmad 12  
 Sultan Husain Bayqara 15, 91n57  
 Sultanate Indian 45n10  
 Sura al-Baqarah 62  
 Sura al-Naml 77n26  
 Sura Saba' 77n27  
 Suwar Muluk Bani Sasan 8  
 Tabayi' al-hayawan wa khawasiha wa manafi'  
 a'za'iha 29  
 Tabriz 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 48, 58n30,  
 69n12, 70, 71, 126n25, 141  
 Tabriz style 16  
 Tahirid 7  
 Taq-i Kisra 7  
 Tarikh-i Dilgusha-yi Shamshirkhani 2, 140  
 Thomas Herbert 114  
 Thousand and One Nights 21  
 Timur 11, 15, 59n32  
 Timurid 1, 13, 15, 16, 17, 40, 44, 45, 47, 49, 51,  
 53, 60, 63, 88, 91, 123  
 Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK)  
 H. 841 9  
 H.2154 10n24, 12n31, 110  
 H. 1479 11  
 H. 1511 11  
 B.411, fols. 138r-166v 13  
 R.1022, H. 362, H. 2152 14  
 H. 2153, f.98a 14n44  
 H.762, H. 753 16  
 H.829, f. 14b 84n44  
 Baghdad 282 88n51  
 Tuhfat al-ahrar 98  
 Tur 42, 43  
 Turan 41, 94  
 Turkmen 1, 13, 15, 16, 17, 40, 42, 43, 55, 56,  
 58  
 Turkmenistan 67n10  
 Turko-Mongol 11, 13  
 Twelve combats 41  
 University of Michigan Museum of Art  
 (UMMA)  
 19, 1963/1.61 48  
 Uppsala University Library  
 O Nov. 217  
 Ustad Darvish 15  
 Uzbekistan 67n10  
 Uzbeks 16

Varqa wa Gulshah 9  
 Visa 40

Walters Museum of Art (Walters)  
 W.605.183A 128n27  
 W.597 14m12

Waq-waq 133

Wereldmuseum Rotterdam (Wereldmuseum)  
 WM-70922 89

White Div 51, 52, 73, 139

Williams College Museum of Art (WCMA)  
 91.15.64 45

Yazd 11, 16, 63

Yusuf 83, 84, 86, 88

Zabulistan 138

Zafarnama 15, 41, 46

Zahhak 41

Zal 48, 74, 75, 138, 139

Zand 7, 20, 109

Zayanderud River 115

Zayd 59

Zulaikha 83, 84

The present book offers an elaborate art historical study of the collection of Persian miniatures in the Rijkmuseum in Amsterdam. The collection includes detached folios, which are the most significant in any Dutch collection. The artworks are catalogued thoroughly in this book for the first time. They range in date from the thirteenth century until the early twentieth century, and cover diverse subject matters.

FOROUGH SAJADI, Ph.D. (2021), University of Warsaw, is a scholar of Islamic art at Leiden University. Her research focuses on Persian paintings in Dutch collections, and includes 'Re-examining a Persian Miniature: Two Young Men in an Erotic Embrace' (KVVAK, 2022).



Studies in Persian Cultural History, 20  
ISSN: 2210-3554

[brill.com/spch](http://brill.com/spch)