

SELECTIONS FROM JALAYIRID BOOKS IN THE LIBRARIES OF ISTANBUL

The Jalayirid tribe was a branch of the Mongols that migrated to eastern Persia (*‘Irāq-i ‘Ajam*) in the retinue of the Ilkhanids (1256–1353). Their tribal leaders rose to prominence within the Ilkhanid military aristocracy and one of them, Hasan (d. 1356), established an independent state in Baghdad in 1340, during the turmoil that followed the death of the Ilkhanid ruler Abu Sa‘id (r. 1317–35).¹ When Sultan Hasan died, the throne was assumed by his son, Shaikh Uvays (r. 1356–74),² who continued to fight with the Muzaffarid Shah Shuja‘ (r. 1357–84) in Isfahan and Shiraz, the Shirvanshah Kay Ka‘us b. Kay Qubad (d. 1372–73) in Azerbaijan, and the Karakoyunlu Turkmans (r. 1351–1469). Throughout his reign, Shaikh Uvays managed to retain Baghdad as the capital of his realm. He intermittently occupied Tabriz and maintained relations with the Italian states to encourage them to trade in the Iranian market.³ His son Husayn became the Jalayirid ruler in 1374. Two years later, the Muzaffarids briefly occupied Azerbaijan, including Tabriz, from Isfahan.⁴ Upon Husayn’s death in 1382, his territory was divided among his three brothers, one of whom, Ahmad, subsequently defeated the other two to become the sole ruler, between 1382 and 1410.⁵ After Sultan Ahmad’s death, the Jalayirid state lost its power, but his descendants continued to rule Khilla, Wasit, and Basra as vassals of first the Karakoyunlu Turkmans and later the Timurids (1380–1507), until 1431.⁶

Shaikh Uvays and his son Sultan Ahmad were prominent rulers both politically and as patrons of the arts. There is no doubt that Tabriz and Baghdad were among the most important centers of art and culture during their reigns, and musicians, poets, calligraphers, painters, and binders flourished under their sponsorship.⁷ Turkish became the second spoken language after Arabic in the *‘Irāq-i ‘Ajam*.⁸

Citing documentary and contemporary sources, illustrated manuscripts, and album paintings from various museums and libraries, recent scholarship has addressed the high-quality art and cultural patronage of the Jalayirid period. However, it has not taken into account some of the Jalayirid manuscripts found in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, nor has it established a connection between these and ones from other libraries and museums in Istanbul. This article attempts to fill this void, using these heretofore unexamined manuscripts to shed light on the roles played by Shaikh Uvays and Sultan Ahmad as patrons of the arts of the book.

BOOKS PRODUCED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF SHAIKH UVAYS

The importance of the contribution of neighboring Muzaffarid and Mamluk patrons to the arts of the book during the reign of Shaikh Uvays is well known. Shaikh Uvays used Tabriz and Baghdad as his administrative centers, but during the reign of the Muzaffarid ruler Shah Shuja‘ he occupied Shiraz as well and had coinage struck there in his own name in 1364. Staying in the Fars region for two years, Shaikh Uvays also forged family relationships with the Muzaffarid rulers.⁹ However, this did not prevent the Muzaffarids from occupying Jalayirid Tabriz for short periods later on during his reign and that of his son Husayn.¹⁰ These not always peaceful interactions caused the migration of artists between Shiraz, Tabriz, and Baghdad, and thus led to the formation of a common taste in these cities.¹¹

The names of the artists encountered in the manuscripts under examination here demonstrate changes in patronage over the years. For example, the calligrapher Ahmad Shah appears to have been in the ser-

vice of first Shaikh Uvays at Najaf and Baghdad and then the Muzaffarids at Shiraz, while the scribe and illuminator (*mudhahhib*) Lutf-Allah al-Tabrizi must have worked for Shaykh Uvays at Tabriz before being employed by Shah Shuja'.¹² During this time, Mamluk sultans were also important patrons of manuscripts. Especially during the reign of Sultan Ashraf Shaban (d. 1377), Mamluk arts of the book were exemplified by the monumental (*haykal*) Korans that were donated to Mamluk madrasas and reflected the illumination style of *mudhahhib* Ibrahim Amidi,¹³ as well as by scientific manuscripts that possessed luxurious bindings and were sometimes illuminated.

Shaikh Uvays ruled mainly from Baghdad but also at times from Tabriz, which was often occupied by neighboring polities. In Najaf, he had the tomb of 'Ali repaired, and also had a tomb built in the same spot for his father, Sultan Hasan. Marjan b. 'Abdallah, the governor of Baghdad during the reigns of both Shaikh Uvays and his father, had a complex (*kulliya*) built in that city between 1357 and 1359. The decoration and inscription panels of these structures must have been produced by local artists, who had been there since the Ilkhanid period.¹⁴ The inscriptions on both of the tombs in Najaf as well as on Marjan's Baghdad complex were the work of the calligrapher and illuminator Ahmad Shah, who was known as the "Golden Pen" (*zarrin-qalam*) of Tabriz.¹⁵

One of the Topkapı Palace albums, Ms. B. 411, contains many calligraphic examples by well-known scribes of the period, including Haji Muhammad, who referred to himself as *bandgır* (stucco master) and *mushahharriji* (the designer of the waterworks of structures).¹⁶ One example of his work, done in the *muhaqqaq* and *thuluth* scripts and dated 783 (1381), specifically mentions "Shaykh Uvays Bahadur Khan" (Ms. B. 411, fol. 107a).¹⁷ Up to the present time, the only known manuscript with a colophon indicating that it was prepared for the scriptorium (*kitābkhāna*) of Sultan Ahmad Khan is a copy of the *'Ajā'ibnāma* (History of Wonders) of Muhammad Tusi. However, the rather low-quality miniatures in this work, which was produced on 2 Rabi' I 790 (March 10, 1388), do not reflect the style of the period. No other manuscripts that refer by name to either Shaikh Uvays or Sultan Ahmad have been published.¹⁸

Publications about the arts of the book of the Jalayirid period premise their assertions concerning the artistic nature and patronage of these two sultans solely on two sources: the Timurid writer Dawlatshah (d. 1495) and the Safavid writer and painter Dust Muhammad (d. 1564). In the same publications, manuscripts have been assigned to the Jalayirid period based on evidence found in their colophons such as: a reference to a location under the rule of Shaikh Uvays or Sultan Ahmad; a date that falls within their reigns; or a signature of, or an attribution to, an artist whose name corresponds to one referred to in documentary sources as having lived during the period of their rule.

According to the *Tazkira-i shu'arā* of Dawlatshah, written in 1487, Shaikh Uvays was talented in di art forms and known for his good taste and artistic nature. He was also a generous administrator and apparently so handsome that when he rode through the streets of Baghdad the citizens rushed out of their houses to look at him. Dawlatshah refers to his skill in reed pen and ink paintings (*vāṣitī ṣūrāt*), stating that artists greatly admired Shaikh Uvays's designs. Since the sultan trained his son Ahmad in the art of the *thuluth* and *naskh* scripts, one may infer that he himself had earned a diploma (*ijāzat*) in calligraphy. Dawlatshah also reinforces Shaikh Uvays's role as a patron when he mentions that 'Abd al-Hayy, the most famous painter of the period, worked for the sultan, who also sponsored poets, including the famous Salman Savaji.¹⁹ 'Abd al-Qadir Maraghi (d. 1435), the most famous musician, composer, music theorist, instrument maker, and performer in the Islamic world, earned his reputation at the court of Shaikh Uvays.²⁰

Information on artists and patrons in the Islamic world is also found in the preface (*muqaddima*) to an album from the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Ms. H. 2154) that was produced for Bahram Mirza (d. 1549), the brother of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) and the governor of Herat. Apart from its significant preface, which was written by Dust Muhammad in 951 (1544–45), this album also contains splendid examples of painting, calligraphy, and illumination from the Islamic world and the Far East between the thirteenth and the mid-sixteenth centuries.²¹ Dust Muhammad's introduction provides the names of some Jalayirid

artists, establishing links between them and artists from the Ilkhanid period. According to the writer, Ahmad Musa lifted “the veil from the face of painting” during the reign of the Ilkhanid ruler Abu Sa‘id, illustrating manuscripts of the *Abūsa‘idnāma*, *Kalīla va Dimna*, and the *Mi‘rājnāma* produced by the calligrapher ‘Abdullah Sayrafi, as well as a copy of the *Tārīkh-i Chingīzī* beautifully calligraphed by an unknown scribe. All of these works later became part of the library of the Timurid sultan Husayn Mirza (r. 1470–1507).²² Dust Muhammad writes that during the reign of Shaikh Uvays the artist Shams al-Din—who had been a student of Ahmad Musa—embellished the *Shāhnāma-i Firdawsī* copied by Mir ‘Ali with square-shaped images. He adds that after Shaikh Uvays’s death Shams al-Din did not enter into anyone else’s service; instead, he spent the rest of his life teaching the renowned painter ‘Abd al-Hayy, whose master had taken Shams al-Din under his protection.²³ This shows that Shaikh Uvays inherited a territory that had enjoyed a lively art scene for more than fifty years both in Tabriz and in Baghdad during the Ilkhanid period, and that it continued to flourish under his patronage as well.

The surviving Jalayirid manuscripts that have already been published do not truly reflect the artistic and cultural environment of the Jalayirid period, nor do they show the importance of Shaikh Uvays and his patronage. However, two hitherto unpublished manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library prepared in his name significantly contribute to our knowledge about the period and Shaikh Uvays’s role as a sponsor of the arts of the book. One of these is the only known copy of *al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya li-haḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya* (A Beautiful Present for the Ruler of the Uvaysid Sultanate), an Arabic work in *nasta‘līq* script (Ms. A. 656) that contains information on the Islamic sciences and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (hadith).²⁴ The other work, to be discussed below, is the *Farhādnāma*.

Al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya li-haḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya

The Persian preface (fols. 1b–2a), which was also written in *nasta‘līq* script, outlines the contents of the book

and includes praises for Shaikh Uvays Bahadur Khan. It then states that the work was composed for the sultan in Arabic through the efforts of Haji Muhammad b. Husayn al-Damghani, though it does not mention the date of composition nor does it carry a copying date. The book opens with a dedication medallion within an illuminated border (fig. 1 [figs. 1–58 are placed together after the appendix]).²⁵ This page, which was damaged and then repaired at an unknown date and place, is inscribed in gold *riq‘a* script with the title of the book and the name of the sultan (Shaikh Uvays Abu’l-Fath Bahadur Khan), together with various praises for him. The oval seal of Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) below the dedication medallion demonstrates that the book was in the Ottoman palace treasury since the time of his reign. As the second seal on the same page is highly damaged, it is not possible to decipher its owner’s name.

Measuring 37.8 x 22 cm, the brown leather binding of the book, decorated with both geometric and vegetal designs and bearing a number of long inscriptions, is unique among contemporary bindings. The top cover, which was torn in places and subsequently repaired (fig. 2), has a scalloped central *shamsa* (medallion) with finials and four corner pieces. The interior of the *shamsa* is decorated with rosettes within an interlocking geometrical design. Two wide inscription bands used to run across the upper and lower edges of the cover, but the top band was torn off and has disappeared. The lower band is also partially torn and the inscription on it cannot be deciphered. The name ‘Ali (the son-in-law of the Prophet) was written in the empty squares along the sides of the inscription bands in *ma‘qilī* calligraphy, a geometric variant of the Kufic script. The original leather facing of the back outer cover has been removed, but the markings that remain on the cardboard core show that the back cover was decorated in the same manner as the front. The chestnut-colored leather doublures are decorated with a simple central rhomboidal *shamsa*. The outer cover (*miqlab*) and fore edge (*sertāb*) of the flap are undamaged; they are inscribed with the title *al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya li-haḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya* in large *thuluth* script over a background decorated with *rūmī* scrolls, which proves that the binding was originally produced for this manuscript (fig. 3). Flanking the title are more inscriptions, in Persian, that

remark on the beneficial value of the manuscript. The outer face of the *miqlab* is decorated with *rūmī* patterns within borders of rosettes and leaves. The name ‘Ali is written in *ma‘qilī* script in the large square spaces in the corners. This must refer to ‘Ali b. Abi Talib, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad and the fourth caliph.

The doublure of the flap has a scalloped oval *shamsa* the interior of which is decorated with an interlocking pattern. The doublure of the fore edge of the flap (*sertāb*) has two narrow, rectangular spaces on its sides that are covered with inscriptions in Persian praising the book (fig. 4). The central inscription contains Arabic words written in Kufic script on a background decorated with *rūmī* patterns; it includes a wish that God grant the sultan a long and successful life. The Persian inscription bands in *thuluth* script surrounding the central inscription on four sides indicate that the manuscript was prepared “under the patronage of the son of the all-conquering and victorious Shah Uvays, through the efforts of one of his subjects, Muhammad b. Husayn, who wishes that the book will be auspicious for the sultan and declares that this work, which contains useful information, was completed and decorated in Tabriz in the year 775 (1373–74).” The tooled decorations and inscriptions are gilded and, in places, painted in blue.

Neither the central *shamsa* and corner-piece design of the outer covers nor the central *shamsa* of the doublures are unusual among the bindings that were used in fourteenth-century Anatolia or within the territories of the Mamluks.²⁶ However, no other binding is known to have contained such informative inscription bands.

The inscriptions both on the fore edge of the flap and in the preface of the book indicate that Haji Muhammad b. Husayn Damghani was an important personage who belonged to Shaikh Uvays’s inner circle and played an active role in the adornment of the binding. These inscriptions are not the work of an ordinary calligrapher. Indeed, some of their features are reminiscent of the inscription bands found on monumental architecture of the fourteenth century: e.g., the harmony of the bands in the inscription on the fore edge of the flap, the central inscription in Kufic script, the design of the background surface, the information provided about the time and place in which the book was produced,

and the fact that the name of the royal subject Muhammad b. Husayn is mentioned together with that of the sultan.²⁷ It is possible that the calligrapher may have also designed architectural inscription bands. It is well known that during the reign of Shaikh Uvays, master calligraphers of the monumental scripts designed architectural inscriptions in Baghdad and Najaf.

The similarity between the hand in the calligraphy specimens from the Topkapı album discussed earlier (Ms. B. 411), which were signed by a scribe named Haji Muhammad (who sometimes referred to himself as *bandgīr* or *mushahharrijī* and thus may have been involved with architecture in some way),²⁸ and the calligraphy of the *al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya* is interesting. Indeed, the fact that Shaikh Uvays’s name appears in one of the samples of Haji Muhammad’s calligraphy from the Topkapı album Ms. B. 411 suggests that the latter might also have been the calligrapher responsible for the inscriptions on the binding of the *al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya*. “Muhammad b. Damghani,” the name of the individual who was instrumental in the preparation of the *al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya*, as well as in the decoration of the binding, is also found in the inscriptions of a tomb and a mosque from the beginning of the fourteenth century in Bistam in Iran, where he is referred to as “the engineer and master plasterer of buildings.”²⁹ Although it is difficult to assert that this scribe (the one in Bistam), who worked for the Ilkhanids in the early 1300s, would still have been working for the Jalayirid sultan Shaikh Uvays sixty to seventy years later, one could say that the two artists were related. It is therefore possible that Haji Muhammad b. Husayn al-Damghani, the scribe of the *al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya*, also designed and produced the inscription bands of the binding of the manuscript.

THE FARHĀDNĀMA: BOOKMAKING AMONG THE JALAYIRIDS AND THE SHIRVANSHAHS

A copy of the *Farhādnāma*, written by Muhammad b. Muhammad al-‘Arif al-Ardabili between 1369 and 1372, provides us with some new information about the art of bookmaking during the time of Shaikh Uvays and the Shirvanshah Hushang (d. 1382), who ruled Shirvan and its environs as a vassal of the Jalayirids.

The manuscript, today preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Ms. H. 678), is a versified work in Persian.³⁰ The first *maṣnavī*, entitled *Farhād u Gulistān* (fols. 1v–85v), is dedicated to Shaikh Uvays, while the second, entitled *Farhād u Shīrīn* (fols. 86v–146v), is dedicated to Shah Hushang. In the preface, the author provides some autobiographical information and explains why he composed the *Farhādnāma*, which, he says, was based on a work in the possession of Farhad's talented young son that recounted the love stories of, respectively, Farhad and Gulistan, and Farhad and Shirin. The author also mentions that the Shirvanshah Kay Ka'us b. Kay Qubad invited him to Shirvan to educate his son, Prince Hushang, and that he spent his days there teaching and practicing fine calligraphy. The text also reveals that Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Arif al-Ardabili had been to Ardabil, Derbend, Shamakhi, Karabagh, and Kuchha (Azerbaijan), and that he had seven sons, one of whom died at a young age.³¹

The date of the Topkapı copy of the *Farhādnāma* is given in a chronogram (fol. 85r) as 771 (1369–70). On the following page (fol. 85v), the colophon of the first *maṣnavī* provides the date 18 Ramadan 772 (April 6, 1371) and states that it was copied in Karabagh; according to the colophon of the second *maṣnavī* (fol. 146v), *Farhād u Shīrīn* was copied by the author, Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Arif al-Ardabili, on 28 Ramadan 773 (April 3, 1372) in Ardabil. At the bottom of that page (fol. 146v), one finds the names and birthdays of three individuals, most probably the sons of the author: Mir Ahmad, born on 22 Ramadan 773 (March 29, 1372); Mir Mahmud, born on 5 Shawwal 777 (February 26, 1376); and Mir Muhammad, born on 14 Dhu 'l Qa'dah 781 (February 20, 1380). These records and the statement on the colophon of the second *maṣnavī* demonstrate that the same person (Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Arif al-Ardabili) was both author and scribe of the entire work.

Measuring 23.5 x 15 cm, the manuscript has 148 folios of relatively thick sized and polished paper. The text is written in two columns of seventeen lines each, in *nasta'liq* script, and the text area (17 x 11 cm) is unruled. The headings are written in gilt, blue, red, and black *thuluth* calligraphy. The oval imperial seal of Sultan Bayezid II is on fol. 1r, while that of Sultan Ahmad III (r. 1703–30) is on fol. 2r, along with the latter's enthronement

date. On each of the outer covers of the original, tooled, chestnut-colored leather binding is a narrow, oval-shaped central *shamsa*, the interior of which is divided into a central rectangular section, with triangular sections above and below, and decorated with curved lines and rosettes (fig. 5).³² The flap is embellished with a scalloped rosette and the doublures are of plain, chestnut-colored leather.

The thirty-eight small illustrations of the manuscript cannot be attributed to a master illustrator of the Shaikh Uvays period. The colors are not rich and no gilt has been used. It cannot be compared with the examples of illustrated manuscripts attributed to the patronage of Shaikh Uvays. Instead, the clothes, head-dresses, women's headscarves, and elements of nature give the impression that the pictures were executed by the author himself. The almost square-shaped picture spaces have black rulings. The depictions of architectural elements and details in the landscape also indicate that these images were not created by a master painter (figs. 6–43). In the representations of interior spaces, figures are shown before a three-sided brick structure with a plainly decorated, pointed arch, which appears to be depicting an iwan.³³ One of these can be seen in the church in which Gulistan appears before a picture of Jesus and the Virgin Mary (fig. 12). In another example, which shows Farhad being brought into the presence of Shirin, both the interior and exterior spaces are shown together (fig. 26). The outside area where Farhad stands is signified by a stylized cloud, while the interior, where Shirin is seated, is represented by an arched structure. The exteriors are often depicted with a dark blue sky, pale-colored flowers, and leaves on the ground, as well as a line of hilltops in the background (fig. 13). The pictures spill into the upper margins only very rarely, as with the trees that appear above the scene of the author presenting his work to Shah Hushang (fig. 24). Dark cherry and dark blue are used, along with pale beige, pink, and green. Although the miniatures do not exhibit a skilled workmanship, they do display an extraordinary effort to directly illustrate the narrative text: e.g., figure 11, which shows Farhad depicting Gulistan's image on stone; figure 13, where Gulistan checks Farhad's likeness of her in a mirror; and figure 12, mentioned above, in which Gulistan dreams of visiting a church, where she weeps before a picture of Jesus and the Virgin Mary.

We see the author's own portrait in two places, first when presenting his work to Shaikh Uvays in the preface of the book (fig. 6), and then, as pointed out earlier, when he presents it to Shah Hushang at the beginning of the second *maṣnavī* (fig. 24). Many elements resemble those found in the illustrations of two copies of the *Khamṣa* of Nizami dated to the Jalayirid period: compare the shape of the figures; the men's turbans, which droop slightly on one side; the women's headscarves, which are gathered on the top of the head and flow backwards; the seats of the elite, decorated with layers of cloth; the cylinder-shaped pillows and cushions; the trees; the line of background hilltops; and the tents (fig. 36). The illustrations from both of these *Khamṣa* manuscripts are in a provincial style. The first is dated 712 (1312), but its illustrations are attributed to circa 1370;³⁴ the second carries the dates 788 (1386) and 790 (1388).³⁵ The same attributes can also be seen in the illustrations of a copy of the *Kalīla va Dimna* dated 793 (1391).³⁶

On the other hand, other characteristics of the *Farhād-nāma* illustrations—such as their dimensions, the depiction of elements of nature, the high horizon line, the figures' clothes and headdresses, the rich tone of red used, the structures with brick façades, and the text written in two columns of *nasta'liq* script—show similarities with the illustrations of an undated copy of the *Khamṣa* of Khusraw Dihlavi, today preserved in Tashkent and attributed to Shiraz during the Muzaffarid period.³⁷ Moreover, the miniatures of both these manuscripts display characteristics in common with the illustrations of the two known copies of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi produced in Shiraz under the patronage of the Muzaffarid rulers. Both of these *Shāhnāma* manuscripts are relatively well known: the copy in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Ms. H. 1511) was produced in Shawwal 772 (April–May 1371),³⁸ the one in the Dar al-Kutub in Cairo (Ms. F. 73) in 795 (1392–93).³⁹ In the second half of the fourteenth century, the political and familial relations between the Jalayirids and the Muzaffarids, as well as the migration of artists between the two states, seem to have resulted in the birth of a unified style in the arts of the book, especially in their paintings.⁴⁰ Reflecting this unity, this copy of the *Farhād-nāma* seems to have paved the way for new tra-

ditions in the art of bookmaking: this can be seen in its smaller size in comparison with earlier examples from the Jalayirid period, its headings in the *thuluth* script, its versified text in two columns of *nasta'liq* script, and its iconographically inventive illustrations that relate directly to the narrative text without repeating earlier models. Furthermore, the fact that it is both the autograph and the only illustrated copy of this work places it in a unique position within the Islamic arts of the book.

THE BOOKS OF SHIRVANSHAH HUSHANG

The second *maṣnavī* of the *Farhād-nāma* is an interesting example of how the relationship between the Shirvanshahs and the Jalayirids influenced the arts of the book. The poet Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Arif al-Ardabili was in the retinue of the Shirvanshah Kay Ka'us b. Kay Qubad, who became a vassal of the Jalayirid state and had coins minted in the name of Jalayirid rulers. Shah Kay Ka'us's son Hushang, who succeeded him, also ruled for ten years under the Jalayirids.⁴¹ The existence of a second manuscript that was prepared for Shah Hushang's treasury demonstrates that the Shirvanshahs were also avid patrons of the arts of the book. It is a copy of the extended Persian translation of Ghazali's treatise on Sufism, *Kitāb-i Kīmīyā-i sa'ādat*, now in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi [TİEM]) in Istanbul (Ms. 1999). The work is an examination of Islamic mysticism and morals. This copy of the book was written on Thursday (the fifth day of the week), 2 Safar 781 (May 19, 1379), by 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abdallah, called "the scribe and illuminator/guilder of Shiraz" (*al-kātib al-mudhahhib al-Shirāzī*), in the province (*bilād*) of Shirvan.⁴² On fol. 1r, it bears the oval imperial seal of Sultan Bayezid II, the endowment seal of Sultan Mahmud I, and the oval seal of the writer of the foundation note, Dervish Mustafa, inspector of the endowments of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina (*Haremeyn müfettişi*).⁴³

The *Kitāb-i Kīmīyā-i sa'ādat* is written in *naskh* script and the text area does not have framing rulings. Its chestnut-colored leather binding (29.5 x 21 cm) is the work of a master binder. The front outer cover has

an oval central *shamsa* (fig. 44a), while the *shamsa* on the back is circular (fig. 44b); each is decorated with a *rūmī* pattern and a series of flowers. The corner pieces are also decorated with a *rūmī* pattern and the wide borders have a series of large flowers and leaves.⁴⁴

The flap is covered in *rūmī* scrolls, and the name of the book is inscribed in monumental *thuluth* script on the fore edge of the flap. The light chestnut-colored doublures have large central *shamsas* and corner pieces filled with tooled dots. The book opens with a fully illuminated page (*lawḥa tazhīb*) on fol. 1r and an illuminated heading (*‘unvān*) on fol. 1v, both of which must be the work of the scribe ‘Abd al-Rahman Shirazi, who is specified as a *mudhahhib* (illuminator/gilder) in the colophon (fig. 45).⁴⁵ The inscription in white *thuluth* script in the central area of the fully illuminated opening page states that the book was produced for the treasury of Sultan Shah Hushang. Except for the emphasis on the color blue, the illumination of the opening page shows similarities in its flower motifs and use of colors with the widely used illumination style seen in manuscripts prepared in the first half of the fourteenth century under the Injuid dynasty, which ruled Shiraz under Mongol domination.⁴⁶ On the other hand, its star-shaped design, composed of geometric bands, bears a close resemblance to both the star-shaped tiles produced at Kashan and those from the Mongol period found at the archaeological site of Takht-i Sulayman. This resemblance is not limited to the star-shaped form of the design but is also noticeable in the *khaṭāyī* decoration (a swirling design of Chinese [Cathay] as opposed to Islamic origin) in the borders, between the lines, and within the spaces framed by the geometric bands.⁴⁷ The illumination of the opening page of the *Kitāb-i Kīmiyā-i sa‘ādat* demonstrates that the presence and influence of the Mongols were strongly felt in the Shirvan area of the Caucasus during the Ilkhanid period.

Though such influences, caused by the migration of artists, can be seen in the arts of illumination and calligraphy from time to time, it is difficult to follow these trends in bookbindings due to the paucity, especially from the fourteenth century, of extant examples. Since bindings are easily damaged and thus removed when manuscripts are passed from hand to hand, those that retain their original bindings are hard to find except in

the libraries in Turkey.⁴⁸ The binder who designed the covers of the *Kitāb-i Kīmiyā-i sa‘ādat* must have been one of the master binders who helped develop this craft, which reached its zenith during the Timurid period. After working for the Shirvanshah Hushang and then perhaps for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, he may have been among the artists appropriated first by Timur (r. 1370–1405) and then by the Timurid princes from Azerbaijan and Baghdad, leading to the rise of the art of bookbinding in the Timurid centers of Shiraz and Herat.

THE BOOKS OF SULTAN AHMAD JALAYIR

Sultan Ahmad is another Jalayirid ruler whose personality comes forth as both an artist and a patron of the arts.⁴⁹ He ruled Baghdad during the reign of his father Shaikh Uvays; when the latter died in 1374, Ahmad’s brother Husayn assumed the throne in Tabriz. In 1382, he had Husayn killed and became the Jalayirid leader, with Tabriz and Baghdad under his rule. However, when Timur arrived in Azerbaijan in 1384, his armies occupied Tabriz. From then on, the city, an important stop on the Silk Road and the point of entry into Anatolia, continually changed hands among Ahmad Jalayir, Timur, Karakoyunlu Kara Yusuf (r. 1389–1420), and Timur’s son Miranshah (d. 1408). Consequently, there appears to have been a lull for a while in artistic production there. Because of the chaotic environment in Tabriz, Ahmad Jalayir ruled from Baghdad between 1386 and 1393, when that city also fell during Timur’s invasion, leading Ahmad Jalayir to take refuge with the Mamluks. In the same year, Jalayirid Tabriz, Rayy, and Sultaniyya were occupied by Timur’s son Miranshah. Ahmad Jalayir returned to Baghdad in 1394, but when Timur entered Azerbaijan and *‘Irāq-i ‘Arab* (Mesopotamia) once more in 1399, Ahmad sought refuge abroad yet again, this time at the court of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402) in 1400, together with the Karakoyunlu Turkman leader Kara Yusuf.⁵⁰ Timur reoccupied Baghdad in 1401, when the city was witness to a huge massacre and looting, and all the buildings other than mosques and madrasas were razed to the ground. The Mamluks arrested Ahmad Jalayir and Yusuf Karakoyunlu in Damascus, but they were both

released after Timur's death in 1405. The understanding between the two was that Yusuf Karakoyunlu would rule Tabriz and Ahmad Jalayir Baghdad. However, Ahmad still had his eye on that wealthy center of the Silk Road trade; although he managed to occupy Tabriz for a short time in 1406, he had to return to Baghdad.⁵¹ He never abandoned the idea of ruling Azerbaijan and was killed after being beaten in battle against the Karakoyunlu Turkmans near Tabriz in 1410. Thus, Sultan Ahmad intermittently ruled Baghdad during the following periods: 1386–93, 1394–99, and 1405–10. According to primary sources, Timur deported local Baghdad artists to Samarkand when he occupied the city.⁵²

Although Sultan Ahmad Jalayir ruled during a turbulent period of continuous invasions and wars among the Timurids, the Karakoyunlu Turkmans, and the Jalayirids, his patronage of the arts is noteworthy. The author Dawlatshah, who describes Sultan Ahmad as the ruler of Baghdad and notes that he also ruled Azerbaijan, provides information about his personality as a patron and his style of patronage.⁵³ According to Dawlatshah, Sultan Ahmad was noted for his knowledge of calligraphy, poetry, music, and astronomy, and was proficient in many crafts such as painting, illumination, design, bow making, arrow making, inlaying, and engraving. The Safavid author Dust Muhammad recounts that the well-known artist 'Abd al-Hayy educated Sultan Ahmad in depiction and that the sultan himself painted a scene for the *Abūsa'īdnāma* in ink and wash (*qalam-i siyāhī*).⁵⁴ He adds that Ahmad Jalayir, who, as mentioned earlier, learned to write in the *thuluth* and *naskh* scripts from his father, was considered competent in the six classical styles of Islamic calligraphy (*aqlām-i sittā*), namely, *muḥaqqaq*, *rayḥānī*, *thuluth*, *naskh*, *riq'a*, and *tawqī'*, and was a master of *nasta'liq* script.⁵⁵ Both the calligrapher Mir 'Ali, considered to be the creator of *nasta'liq*,⁵⁶ and his son, 'Ubaydallah, also a master of *nasta'liq* and the teacher of the well-known Timurid calligrapher Mawlana Ja'far,⁵⁷ became famous under Sultan Ahmad's patronage, as did Ma'ruf Baghdadi, who later migrated to the Timurid realm, where he worked in the palaces of the rulers of Shiraz and Herat.⁵⁸

These were not Sultan Ahmad's only talents. His companion (*nadīm*), the renowned musician 'Abd al-

Qadir Maraghi, whose friendship with the sultan began before the latter became ruler, mentions that Ahmad had an in-depth knowledge of musical rules (*advār*), played all the string instruments of the period, and composed music that was very well received. According to a *vaṣfnāma* (a document that describes the admirable qualities of a person) given by Sultan Ahmad Jalayir to 'Abd al-Qadir Maraghi in Safar 779 (June 1377), the latter was not only a musician but also a reciter of the Koran (*hāfiz*), a master calligrapher of the *aqlām-i sittā*, and the inventor of a string instrument made of ceramic (*sāz-i kāсахā-yi chīnī*).⁵⁹ 'Abd al-Qadir Maraghi was treasured by the Jalayirid rulers and princes but he was captured during Timur's invasion of Baghdad in 1393, while in the service of Sultan Ahmad, and taken to Samarkand.⁶⁰ Dawlatshah informs us that Ahmad Jalayir's compositions were still played and sung during his own time.⁶¹

No doubt, one of the most important roles filled by Ahmad Jalayir was as a patron of poets: Dawlatshah affirms that Ahmad Jalayir admired the famous poet Hafiz, and that Hafiz sent his poems to the sultan when he ruled in Baghdad.⁶² In addition, Dust Muhammad's *risāla* makes it clear that Ahmad Jalayir started the tradition of preparing anthologies (sing. *jung*) that contained choice *maṣnavīs* from the works of famous poets of the Persian language such as Firdawsi, Nizami, and Khwaju Kirmani, including epic poems and moral tales. These anthologies were written in fine calligraphy, decorated with illumination and illustrations, and luxuriously bound by master binders. Dust Muhammad states that the Timurid prince and art patron Baysunghur Mirza (d. 1433) had the master Sayyid Ahmad Naqqash, the painter Khwaju Ali, and the master book-binder Qavam al-Din Tabrizi brought from Tabriz to produce a *jung* in "exactly the same format and size and with the same scenes depicted" as the one that had been prepared for the ruler of Baghdad, Sultan Ahmad Jalayir.⁶³ According to the same source, this *jung* was calligraphed by Mawlana Farid al-Din Ja'far, its binding was by Qavam al-Din, also a master of embossed filigree (*munabbatkārī*), and its decorations and illustrations were by Mir Khalil. This renowned work is considered the model that made luxuriously produced *jungs* popular among elite Timurid art patrons from the end of

the fourteenth century onwards; it especially inspired the production of the spectacularly beautiful *jungs* that were prepared for the Timurid prince Iskandar Sultan in Yazd and Shiraz.⁶⁴

Copies of the Dīvān of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir

A poet of some renown, Sultan Ahmad must have been the first ruler to have a *Dīvān* of his own.⁶⁵ Copies of his *Dīvān*, composed in Persian, have survived, but the most extensive one that carries a colophon with a date and a place of origin at the end of each of its sections is today preserved in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul (Ms. 2046).⁶⁶ Fol. 1r bears the oval imperial seal of Sultan Bayezid II, the endowment seal of Sultan Mahmud I, and the oval seal of the writer of the endowment note, Dervish Mustafa, the *Haremeyn müfettişi* (fig. 46). The oval seal of Sultan Bayezid II is also stamped on fol. 235v.

The sections of the *Dīvān* are: (1) *Kitāb-i Kunūz al-ushāq* (fols. 3v–54r, in the margins); (2) *Kitāb al-Ḥidāya* (fols. 3v–53r, in the center); (3) *Kitāb al-Badī'iyāt* (fols. 57v–101r, in the margins); (4) *Kitāb al-Sharḥiyāt* (fols. 56v–117r, in the center); (5) *Kitāb al-Muqaddima* (fols. 119v–196v, in the center); (6) *Kitāb al-Gharbiyyāt* (fols. 120v–192r, in the margins); and (7) *Kitāb-i Lavāmi' al-anvār* (fols. 198v–235v, in the center).

Some of the colophons of the manuscript carry the signature of the aforementioned scribe Mir 'Ali, as well as that of his son, the royal scribe 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ali (fols. 54r, 101r, 117r, 192r, 194v, and 235v). The colophons at the end of four of the seven sections of the *Dīvān* (fols. 54r, 101r, 117r, and 192r) mention the year 809 (1406–7); two bear the day and month: fol. 194v has 10 Sha'ban 809 (January 20, 1407) and fol. 235v mentions 5 Ramadan 809 (February 13, 1407). Three colophons (fols. 101r, 117r, and 235v) also mention Dar al-Salam (Baghdad) as the place of origin of the manuscript.

The work, which has a magnificent original leather binding, was painstakingly illuminated. The first pages of four of the sections of the *Dīvān* have an illuminated central *shamsa* (fols. 1r, 55r, 118r, and 197r [fig. 46]). These are each followed by a double folio of full-page illumination without any text (*lawḥa tazhib*)

(fols. 1v–2r, fig. 47[a and b]; fols. 55v–56r, fig. 50[a and b]; fols. 118v–119r, fig. 51[a and b]; fols. 197v–198r, fig. 52[a and b]), and a double-folio *serlawḥ* containing the heading and the beginning text of the section (fols. 2v–3r, fig. 48[a and b]; fols. 56v–57r; fols. 119v–120r; and fols. 198v–199r). Some of the sections written in diagonally running lines on the margins also have more simply illuminated headings (*unvān*) (fig. 49[a and b]). Earlier versions of the designs seen in the fully illuminated folios that are devoid of text, such as scalloped medallions, many-sided stars, and cartouches repeated ad infinitum, are found in the large-sized Korans of the Mamluk and Ilkhanid periods, as well as in copies of the *Maṣnavī* and the *Dīvān* of Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi and the *Dīvān* of Sultan Veled produced in the second half of the fourteenth century in Anatolia.⁶⁷

The illumination of the *Dīvān* of Ahmad Jalayir also has innovative characteristics that point to a new taste. As described above, the organization of the illuminated areas is extremely inventive: a dedication page is followed by a double folio of full-page illumination, a double-folio *serlawḥ*, and marginal text written on the diagonal with illuminated headings. In the second half of the fourteenth century, this kind of design was introduced into anthologies (*jungs*), which included diverse sections in verse or prose. It is interesting to see that this organization was used for the first time in a copy of the *Dīvān* of a ruler.

Book style underwent significant changes during Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's time. Manuscripts became smaller in size, the *nasta'liq* script replaced the six classical styles, including *naskh* and *thuluth*, especially in versified works, and illumination designs became finer and more elegant. This is evident in the smaller, more graceful illumination motifs of the *Dīvān* of Ahmad Jalayir, which better fit the reduced proportions of the book and the aesthetics of its elegant *nasta'liq* script. Emerging in the second half of the fourteenth century, this type of book design acquired a higher level of enhancement with the wealth of colors and designs seen in the illumination of this copy of the *Dīvān* of Ahmad Jalayir.

The black leather outer covers of the binding have central scalloped medallions with finials, four corner pieces, and wide borders filled with *rūmī* and *khaṭāyī-*

style flowers. All these figures were lightly pressure moulded and the contours of the center and corner pieces and borders were tooled; these tooled lines were then painted in gold (fig. 53). The outer cover of the flap is additionally adorned with a rich and well-executed design. The doublures are of light chestnut-colored leather, with an extraordinary decoration in filigree technique lending color to the binding (fig. 54). The embellishment of the doublures is a reflection of the unified decoration on the outer covers, in a different technique.⁶⁸ This binding must be the work of the most famous bookbinder of all time, Qavam al-Din, or of one of his students. This hypothesis is also supported by Dust Muhammad, as was mentioned before.⁶⁹ In another source, a progress report thought to be from Baysungur's workshop around the year 1430, the calligrapher Ja'far describes Qavam al-Din as occupied with the binding of a *Shāhnāma*.⁷⁰ Taken together, these facts strongly support the hypothesis that Qavam al-Din, who worked for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir in Baghdad during Timur's invasions, was brought to Samarkand or Herat, along with other artists, as a master bookbinder skilled in the *munabbatkāri* technique, and that he had previously worked on the doublures of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's *Dīvān*. This manuscript, which is a noteworthy masterpiece, can thus be regarded as the starting point for fifteenth-century Timurid bookbinding. With its masterful binding, calligraphy, and illumination design, this volume must have paved the way for the splendid, fifteenth-century Timurid and Turkman examples of the arts of the book, distinguished by their fine *nasta'liq* calligraphy and expertly applied, elegant illumination.

There are unillustrated manuscripts of selected sections from the *Dīvān* of Ahmad Jalayir in the libraries of Istanbul. One of the earliest, dating to 800 (1397–98), is the *Kitāb al-Sharkiyyāt*, copied in *nasta'liq* calligraphy at the *madīnat al-salām Baghdād* by Salih b. 'Ali Razi (Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, Ms. 3924).⁷¹ A second example, from the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Ms. H. 909), contains mostly ghazals and was copied in 809 (1406–7) by the royal scribe 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ali, who also calligraphed the aforementioned splendid copy of Sultan Ahmad's *Dīvān* now in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (Ms. 2046).⁷²

Another copy of the *Dīvān* of Ahmad Jalayir, in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (Ms. 32.30–32.37), is famous for the *qalam-i siyāhī* drawings found in the margins of seven of its folios. The colophon at the end of the text, written in a different hand from the rest of the book, gives the name of the scribe as Khwaju Mir 'Ali and the date of completion as Ramadan 508, written in words rather than Arabic numerals. It has been proposed, though, that this should actually be 805 (March–April 1403).⁷³ Its colophon page bears the oval imperial seal of Sultan Bayezid II, which shows that the manuscript belonged to the Ottoman treasury by the time of his reign at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The subjects of the seven extraordinarily beautiful marginal ink and wash drawings, which are not connected to the text, have been discussed in many publications and will not be examined here. D. E. Klimburg-Salter has attributed them to 'Abd al-Hayy, the famed master of *qalam-i siyāhī* and, as mentioned earlier, a pupil of the master Shams al-Din. These drawings can be considered a late fourteenth-century interpretation of this technique, executed with a brush in a Far-Eastern style.⁷⁴

Basātīn al-uns (Gardens of Fellowship)

The Topkapı Palace Museum Library owns another illustrated manuscript that is most probably from the time of Ahmad Jalayir. It is an unfinished copy of a work in Persian entitled *Basātīn al-uns* (Ms. R. 1032).⁷⁵ In the preface, the author, Muhammad Sadr Ala-i b. Ahmad Hasan Dabir-i Abdusi, known as *Ikhtisān*, dedicates his work to Muhammad Shah b. Tughluq Shah (r. 1325–51). He explains that he was a member of the royal chancery who accompanied the shah (Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq) on his Tirhut campaign; when he fell ill on the way, he was treated by the physician Muhammad Khujandi. As he was recuperating, he was given a very plainly written Persian translation of the Hindu story depicted in the present book. It later took him a few months to embellish this tale with some poems in Persian and verses from the Koran in Arabic. Muhammad Sadr concludes with a grateful acknowledgement of the patronage of the shah, who had given him sixty thousand dinars and sixty horses for a single qasida. Muhammad Sadr writes that he completed the *Basātīn al-uns* in 726 (1325–26), when he was twenty-six years

old. The main protagonists of the story are the vizier, the ascetic (*zāhid*), the rajah of Ujjain and Qannauj, King Kishvargir, and the daughter of the Chinese emperor, Queen Mulkarai of Serendib (Ceylon).⁷⁶ The public feasts, gardens, types of textiles, master artists of figurative work, musical instruments, and musical *maqams*, all depicted within the framework of the story, shed light on the social history that the author witnessed at first hand.⁷⁷

Muhammad Tughluq Shah, to whom the author dedicated and presented the *Basātīn al-uns*, was the second sultan of the Tughluqids (r. 1320–1412), who were of Turkman–Mongol lineage⁷⁸ and ruled in Delhi, the Punjab and the Deccan. Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq Shah, founder of the Tughluq state (r. 1320–25), his son Muhammad Tughluq, and Firuz Tughluq, the son of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq's brother and the third ruler of the state (r. 1351–88), were the dynasty's most powerful leaders; they were also the patrons of many public building activities.⁷⁹ These three sultans established the settlements of Tughluqabad, Jihanpenah, and Firuzabad in the environs of Delhi. Each of these has encircling fortified walls, with monumental palaces, mosques, madrasas and mausoleums inside.

Sultan Muhammad Tughluq was an able, assertive, brave, and skilled administrator. Paying heed to the Hindus, while declaring his loyalty to the caliphate in Egypt, he had coins minted in the caliph's name, was infinitely respectful to his ambassador, and supported the spread of Islam through the Chisti, Suhrawardi, and other brotherhoods, the numbers of which considerably increased during his time.⁸⁰ Muhammad Tughluq appointed the well-known Arab traveler Ibn Battuta as a kadi, and in 1342 sent him to China as his ambassador.⁸¹ Before his accession to the throne, Muhammad Tughluq had become a disciple of Nizam al-Din Awliya (d. 1325), the most famous and beloved shaikh of India. During his principedom, he must have encountered the most famous poet of Persian literature in India, Amir Khusraw Dihlavi (d. 1325), who was also a disciple of the same shaikh. In addition, Muhammad Tughluq's father, Giyath al-Din, was Amir Khusraw's patron, for whom the poet wrote the historical text known as the *Tughluqnāma*.⁸² Renowned for his *Khamsa*, Amir Khusraw must have exerted an influence

on Muhammad Sadr, with his love story of a contemporary Hindu princess and a Muslim prince, *Duvalrānī va Khizr Khān*.⁸³

Muhammad Tughluq and his successors were contemporaries of the Jalayirid sultans; both dynasties were Turco-Mongol. An illustrated copy of the *Basātīn al-uns* from the Tughluq period is not known; it is possible that the copy in the Topkapı Palace is the earliest, and perhaps only, illustrated example of this work, which was very well known in its time. It has a dark brown leather binding with light brown plain leather doublures and a flap (26.7 x 18.5cm). The outer covers have a central *shamsa* with finials (fig. 55). The design of the *shamsa* and the tooled decoration resembling dots are similar to the decoration seen on the doublures of the copy of the *Kitāb-i Kīmiyā-i sa'ādat* discussed above. The text of the Topkapı *Basātīn al-uns* is written in seventeen lines of black *nasta'liq* and gilded *tawqī'* script on 142 folios (16.8 x 11.2 cm). Some pages have gilt rulings outlined in black; others have no rulings at all. Versified sections of the text are written in two columns, without any illumination. The colophon, written in a triangular area at the end of the text, has been scratched out, as a result of which neither the name of the scribe nor the date can be deciphered (fol. 142a). Fol. 1r carries the endowment seal of Sultan Mahmud I and the oval seal of the writer of the foundation note, Mustafa Tahir.

The manuscript has two miniatures, one of which is a double-folio illustration (fols. 6v–7r, and fol. 14r). The double-folio example is unfinished, and although blank spaces were left for miniatures on twelve pages (fols. 47v, 58v, 63v, 74r, 92v, 100v–101r, 109v–110r, 114v, 129r, and 139v), they were not illustrated nor do the pages have rulings. Located in the preface, the double-folio illustration (fol. 6v: 15.8 x 15.7 cm; fol. 7r: 21.5 x 14.1 cm) depicts the shah (Giyath al-Din Tughluq) arriving in Tirhut during his Bengal campaign as the Rajah greets him before the fort (fig. 56).⁸⁴ In the upper half of the image on the right page (fol. 6v), one sees Shah Tughluq's military encampment on the hill-tops. The shah is depicted on an armored horse, leading his fully armed cavalry unit in the foreground. Directly behind him is a soldier holding a royal umbrella topped with the figure of a bird.⁸⁵ In front of the shah's horse, the notables of the fort are shown declaring their loyalty.

There are bunches of flowers and tufts of grass on a light pink background, with tree roots and hills at the bottom of the picture. Two of the soldiers in the right margin carry standards, one with the image of a standing peri, and the other with that of a lion.⁸⁶ Some elements have not been colored, including the images on the standards, the faces of the men on horseback, the three people from the fort, the horses' hooves, and some of the armor. On the opposite page (fol. 7r), a walled city overflows into the top and left margins. The domes, minarets, and square, flat roofs of the imposing buildings within are visible above the city walls. Notables stand in front of the city gate, respectfully watching the shah. A river runs along the walls at the bottom of the page, with rocks and a strikingly tall tree next to it. Though the city wall and the buildings inside have been partially colored, the figures have not.

The second illustration of the manuscript (fol. 14r, 17.4 x 11.3 cm) depicts the scholars of the city of Ahin, a center of culture and learning, and its ruler, who enjoyed spending time with artists, listening to an ascetic recounting pleasant stories (fig. 57).⁸⁷ This is the only example of a completed miniature in the manuscript. The young sovereign sits on a white spread, talking with the pious man, who kneels on a carpet with geometric designs, as three graceful young men look on. The walls of the room feature a dado of navy blue tile, and the arch of the curtained iwan is decorated with flowers. The architectural details of the room, along with the carpet, tiles, and shapes of the figures, all bear a strong resemblance to an illustration depicting the conversation between Nushirvan and Buzurgmihr found in the copy of the Khwaju Kirmani manuscript in the British Library in London (Ms. Add. 18113),⁸⁸ although the composition of the *Basātīn al-uns* image is less crowded.

The British Library manuscript contains three poems of Khwaju Kirmani—*Humāy u Humāyūn*, *Kamāl-nāma*, and *Rawzat al-anvār*, copied in Baghdad in Jumada I and Jumada II 798 (February–April 1396) by Mir ‘Ali b. Ilyas al-Tabrizi al-Bavarji.⁸⁹ It presently measures 32 x 14 centimeters and does not retain its original binding. The work has nine painstakingly executed miniatures, all attributed to the same artist, whose signature, ‘*amal-i Junayd-i Baghdādī*, can be seen over the upper window in the illustration that depicts Humay leaving Huma-

yun's room. The words *Aḥmad Shāh* inscribed in the same place probably refer to Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (fol. 45v).⁹⁰

An undated copy of the *Khusraw u Shīrīn* of Nizami from the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (Ms. 31-32) also contains illustrations resembling those in the Topkapı *Basātīn al-uns*. Although the name of its scribe, ‘Ali b. Hasan al-Sultani, and its place of origin, Tabriz, can be read in its colophon, the date is unfortunately lost. Five of the six miniatures in this work are among the best examples of paintings from the late Jalayirid period.⁹¹

The twelve empty spaces reserved for miniatures (fig. 58), as well as the unfinished double-folio illustration, suggest that the Topkapı *Basātīn al-uns* was produced towards the end of Ahmad Jalayir's reign and passed, incomplete, into the hands of the Karakoyunlu Turkmans at his death. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, as mentioned above, the colophon of the manuscript is completely scratched out. This was most probably done after the Karakoyunlu conquest of Baghdad and Ahmad Jalayir's death because it might have included a reference to the Jalayirid ruler.

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to understand how the Jalayirid manuscripts came to reside in the Ottoman palace, but the seals on the flyleaves and on some other folios of these manuscripts suggest that they entered the Ottoman treasury as soon as they reached Istanbul. The books under discussion in this article carry one or more of the following: the oval imperial seal of Sultan Bayezid II, the treasury seal of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20), the seal of Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), or the endowment seal of Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–54). (Only the *Basātīn al-uns* lacks the oval imperial seal of Sultan Bayezid II.) Furthermore, the *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C., also bears Bayezid II's seal, which suggests that these Jalayirid manuscripts must have entered the Ottoman treasury before his death in 1512. His seal must have been imprinted on these manuscripts during an inventory check for the palace treasury during his reign.

These manuscripts may have reached the Topkapı palace in Istanbul during the second half of the fifteenth century as diplomatic presents from envoys, renegade princes, artists, and men of learning. Some may also have been presented to Bayezid II by Karakoyunlu or Akkoyunlu Turkman notables during his principedom at Amasya, while he was the governor of the city. They may have then been transferred to Istanbul after his accession to the throne in 1481.

It is difficult, though, to determine where these books may have been before they were brought to Anatolia. As has been mentioned above, the written sources emphasize the artistic patronage of both Shaikh Uvays and Sultan Ahmad Jalayir. The reign of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir in particular witnessed constant military struggles and at different times the sultan had to relinquish control of Baghdad and Tabriz, asking for protection from the two strongest rulers of the western Islamic world, the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I and the Mamluk Sultan Barquq (r. 1382–99). The surviving Jalayirid manuscripts demonstrate that Sultan Ahmad Jalayir's *kitābkhāna* was kept active whenever there was a short period of political tranquility.

Calligraphers and the art of calligraphy were always of primary importance in the creation of Islamic art. In the early 1370s, Jalayirid and Muzaffarid calligraphers, whose patrons had political and familial ties, were employed in similar activities. They were extremely adept at determining the design of the books, the proportions between the dimensions of the page and the text, the number of columns and lines per page, the amount of illumination and the quantity and location of the illustrations. The Jalayirid calligrapher Mir 'Ali al-Sultani al-Tabrizi and his son 'Ubaydallah were the most notable experts during the years when *nasta'liq* became the preferred script for the production of literary works. The *Divān* of Ahmad Jalayir in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (Ms. 2046), the most important legacy of the Jalayirids to the history of the art and culture of the Islamic world, comprises many innovations in the arts of calligraphy, illumination, and binding.

The richly decorated Jalayirid manuscripts, including those discussed in this article, were mostly literary works. The *Farhādnāma* was an autograph copy of the

poet Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Arif al-Ardabili, who lived during the reigns of Shaikh Uvays and the Shirvanshahs. He might also have executed the illustrations of the manuscript, which possess a distinctive iconography, even if they lack a courtly character. The *Basātīn al-uns* was copied by a calligrapher who worked for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir; it was supposed to have been illustrated by a master painter but was never completed. Other illustrated copies of the *Farhādnāma* and the *Basātīn al-uns* are not known, which suggests that neither achieved much popularity.

The *al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya li-haḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya* and *Kitāb-i Kīmiyā-i sa'adat* are not versified literary works but comprise religious and mystical subjects as well as compilations of the hadiths of the Prophet. Although the former is not a courtly manuscript, it is unique because of its documentary value, since the inscription bands on its leather binding and the passages on the opening page and preface record Shaikh Uvays's patronage of the arts of the book. The *Kitāb-i Kīmiyā-i sa'adat*, which was introduced to art historians in 1934, has three important distinctions: the first is that it is the earliest known example of a courtly manuscript produced for the Shirvanshahs; the second is that its calligrapher also acted as its illuminator; and the third is its extraordinary leather binding, decorated with flower motifs. As far as is known, this design on a binding appears for the first time in 1379 in western Iran. The fact that one section of the *Farhādnāma* was also prepared for the Shirvanshah Hushang is also of interest, since it reflects the cultural links connecting the Jalayirid sultans with the Shirvanshahs.

The expertly produced bindings decorated with tooled and moulded designs, the rich colors and innovative designs of the illuminations, the elegant figures, the enchanting garden representations, the interior spaces richly decorated with tiles, the curtains and murals, the multistoried pavilions, and the fine *nasta'liq* script of the texts were all introduced during the Jalayirid period, in the second half of the fourteenth century. These manuscripts were ornamented almost with a jeweler's sensitivity, and their paintings were made richer with a profusion of detail. Shaikh Uvays and his son Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, who appear to have sponsored a large number of artists, were among the most

important patrons of the arts of the book in the Islamic world. The artists who made books for these Jalayirid rulers gained unrivalled fame through the new designs and styles they created. Their innovations were repeated in the Timurid world, where these artists continued to practice their craft between the years 1410 and 1446— at Shiraz under the patronage of Iskandar Sultan and at Herat under the patronage of Shahrukh and Prince Baysungur. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Jalayirid style was reflected in the *kitābkhānas* of the Karakoyunlu and Akkoyunlu Turkmans⁹² and reached Ottoman illuminators in the same century.⁹³ Carrying their art to the lands where they migrated, the Jalayirid court artists contributed to the creation of Herat as the most important Timurid center for the arts of the book.

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APPENDIX

Subjects of the pictures of the *Farhādnāma*, Istanbul,
Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 678

Farhād u Gulistān

- Fol. 4r (fig. 6): Muhammad b. Muhammad al-‘Arif presents his work, *Farhād u Gulistān*, to Shaikh Uvays Bahadur Khan (10.1 x 9.5cm).
- Fol. 23r (fig. 7): The Shah of Anjan orders a banquet for Sha’ur (10 x 9.4 cm).
- Fol. 26r (fig. 8): Farhad and Sha’ur before the Shah of Anjan (9 x 10 cm).
- Fol. 30v (fig. 9): Gulistan sees Farhad sleeping in the shade of a cypress tree (7.8 x 10 cm).
- Fol. 34r (fig. 10): Farhad declares his love for Gulistan during a drinking party (8.3 x 9.5 cm).
- Fol. 38r (fig. 11): Farhad draws Gulistan, as he saw her in a dream, on stone (6.6 x 9.8 cm).
- Fol. 40r (fig. 12): In her dream, Gulistan goes to a church and weeps before a picture of Jesus and the Virgin Mary (10.1 x 9.3 cm).
- Fol. 42r (fig. 13): Gulistan assesses the accuracy of Farhad’s drawing of her with two mirrors (7.2 x 10.1 cm).
- Fol. 48r (fig. 14): Farhad and Gulistan are married in a church (9.5 x 9.7 cm).
- Fol. 49r (fig. 15): Gulistan is washed in a hammam by her friends (11 x 9.6 cm).
- Fol. 52r (fig. 16): Gulistan is brought to Farhad by her friends (9.5 x 9.4 cm).
- Fol. 53v (fig. 17): Farhad and Gulistan remove their clothes (8.8 x 9.5 cm).
- Fol. 55v (fig. 18): The author, Muhammad b. Muhammad al-‘Arif, is entertained by some young women in Derbend (10.1 x 9.6 cm).
- Fol. 62r (fig. 19): Gulistan weeps when she sees Farhad after an attempt was made on his life (8 x 9.5 cm).
- Fol. 70r (fig. 20): Farhad returns to China and meets his uncle (10.8 x 9.3 cm).
- Fol. 75v (fig. 21): The emperor of China together with Farhad and his retinue (10.6 x 9.8 cm).
- Fol. 76v (fig. 22): Mihin Banu speaks with Sha’ur (9.2 x 9.8 cm).
- Fol. 82r (fig. 23): Farhad mourns for Gulistan, who dies giving birth to their daughter (9.5 x 9.7 cm).

Farhād u Shīrīn

- Fol. 90r (fig. 24): Muhammad b. Muhammad al-‘Arif presents his work, *Farhād u Shīrīn*, to the Shirvan-shah Hushang (15.3 x 10 cm).
- Fol. 90v (fig. 25): Firdawsi requests a favor from the Shah of Tus in return for the work he has produced (11 x 10 cm). (This picture is located at the beginning of the second poem, where Muhammad b. Muhammad al-‘Arif mentions Firdawsi.)
- Fol. 106v (fig. 26): Sha’ur brings Farhad into Shirin’s presence (8.9 x 10 cm).
- Fol. 108r (fig. 27): Farhad and Shirin remove their clothes (10.8 x 9.4 cm).
- Fol. 112v (fig. 28): Farhad and Shirin together in the pool house that he had built for her (11 x 9.7 cm).
- Fol. 113v (fig. 29): Shirin receives the news of Mihin Banu’s death (11.2 x 9.4 cm).
- Fol. 117v (fig. 30): Farhad counsels his sons before going to Shirin (9.5 x 9.5 cm).

- Fol. 118r (fig. 31): Shirin greets Farhad (9.2 x 9.8 cm).
- Fol. 120r (fig. 32): Shirin comes to see Farhad, who has tunneled through a mountain to open a milk canal (6.7 x 9.8 cm).
- Fol. 125v (fig. 33): Farhad and Shirin make love (8 x 9.8 cm).
- Fol. 126r (fig. 34): Farhad and Shirin bid each other farewell (7.1 x 9.6 cm).
- Fol. 128r (fig. 35): Farhad and Sha'ur come into the presence of Khusraw and Maryam (11 x 10 cm).
- Fol. 132r (fig. 36): Khusraw asks Maryam for forgiveness (9.3 x 9.9 cm).
- Fol. 135v (fig. 37): Farhad and Shirin make love on Mount Bisutun (6.2 x 9.5 cm).
- Fol. 136v (fig. 38): Giray, a member of Khusraw's retinue, sees Farhad and Shirin making love (5.7 x 9.6 cm).
- Fol. 138r (fig. 39): Farhad throws Giray out of Taq-i Kisra (the Arch of Ctesiphon) (7.6 x 9.5 cm).
- Fol. 139v (fig. 40): Farhad and Shirin make love at Taq-i Kisra (7.7 x 9.6 cm).
- Fol. 140v (fig. 41): Farhad and Shirin bid each other farewell (6.5 x 9.5 cm).
- Fol. 142v (fig. 42): An old lady puts poison in Farhad's bowl to avenge the murder of her son (6.6 x 9.7 cm).
- Fol. 144v (fig. 43): Sha'ur and Shirin in mourning at Farhad's mausoleum (7.8 x 9.5 cm).



Fig. 1. Illuminated dedication page. *Al-Tuhfat al-najibiyya li-haḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya*, Tabriz, 1373–74. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. A. 656, fol. 1r. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

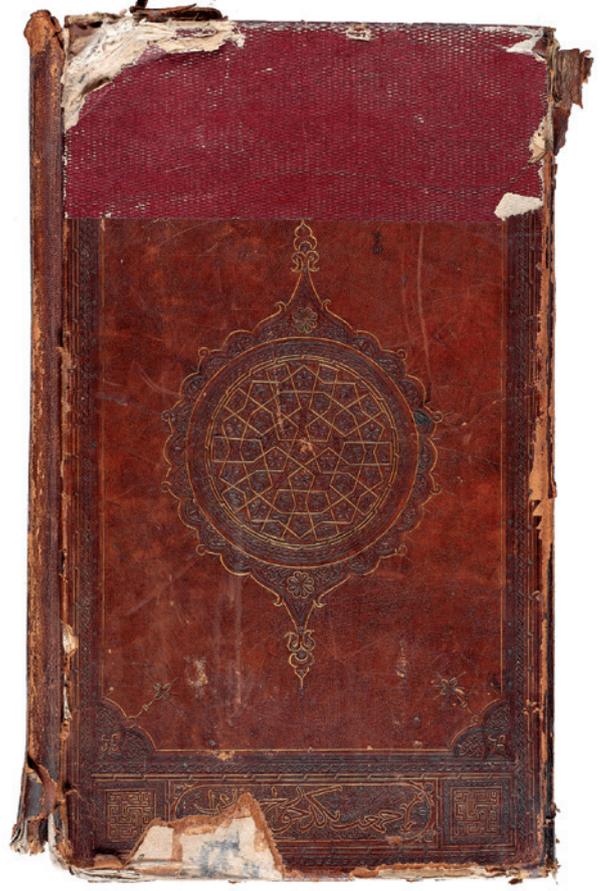


Fig. 2. Outer front cover. *Al-Tuhfat al-najibiyya li-haḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya*, Tabriz, 1373–74. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. A. 656. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

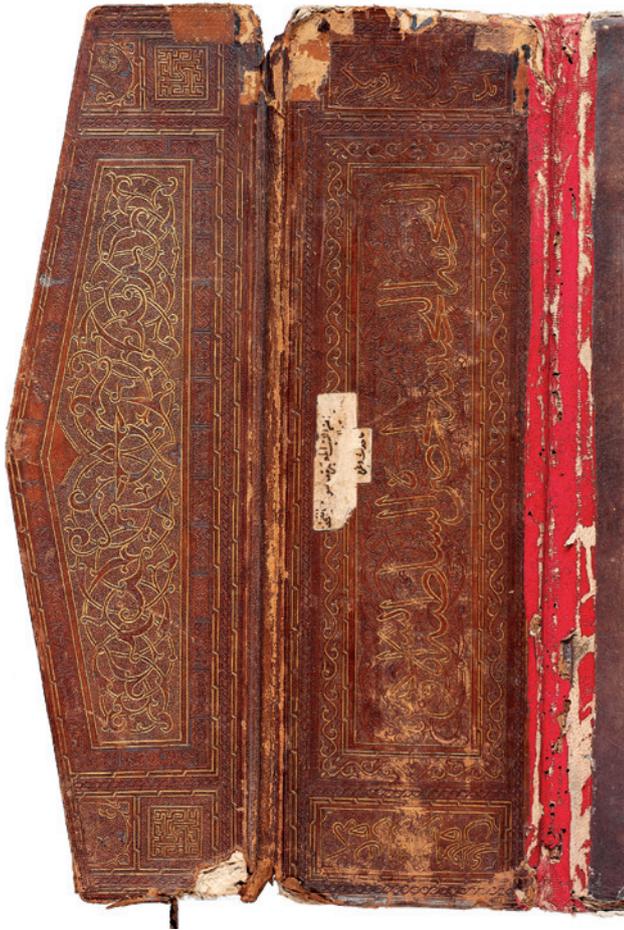


Fig. 3. Fore edge and outer cover of the flap. *Al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya li-ḥaḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya*, Tabriz, 1373–74. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. A. 656. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

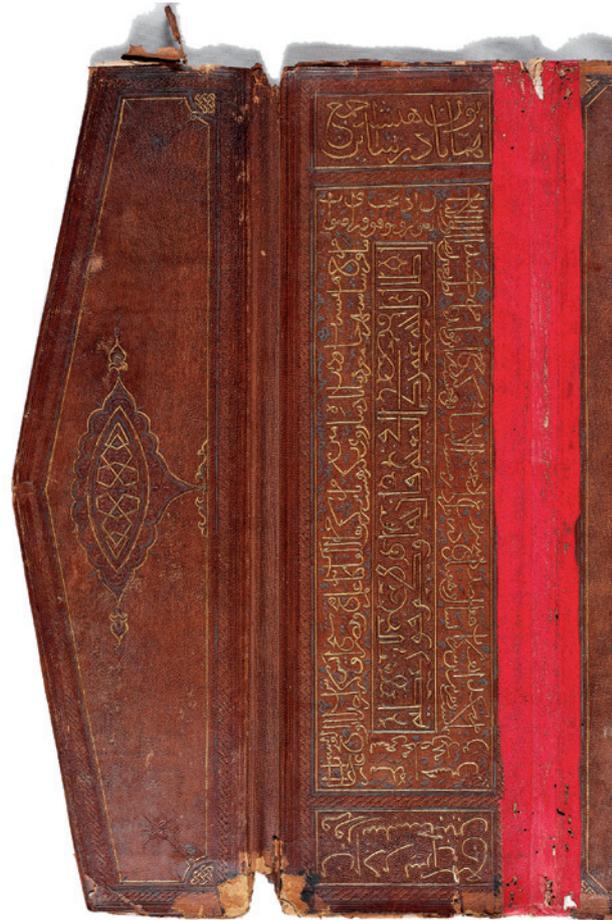


Fig. 4. Doublure of the fore edge of the flap. *Al-Tuḥfat al-najībiyya li-ḥaḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya*, Tabriz, 1373–74. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. A. 656. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Figs 5–43 are from the *Farḥādnāma*, Karabagh and Ardabil, 1369–72. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 678 (Photos: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library). Please refer to the Appendix for folio numbers for figs. 6–43.



Fig. 5. Outer side of back cover with flap.



Fig. 6. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Arif presents his work, *Farhād u Gulistan*, to Shaikh Uvays Bahadur Khan.



Fig. 7. The Shah of Anjan orders a banquet for Sha'ur.



Fig. 8. Farhad and Sha'ur before the Shah of Anjan.



Fig. 9. Gulistan sees Farhad sleeping in the shade of a cypress tree.



Fig. 10. Farhad declares his love for Gulistan during a drinking party.



Fig. 11. Farhad draws Gulistan, as he saw her in a dream, on stone.



Fig. 12. In her dream, Gulistan goes to a church and weeps before a picture of Jesus and the Virgin Mary.



Fig. 13. Gulistan assesses the accuracy of Farhad's drawing of her with two mirrors.



Fig. 14. Farhad and Gulistan are married in a church.



Fig. 15. Gulistan is washed in a hammam by her friends.



Fig. 16. Gulistan is brought to Farhad by her friends.



Fig. 17. Farhad and Gulistan remove their clothes.



Fig. 18. The author, Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Arif, is entertained by some young women in Derbend.



Fig. 19. Gulistan weeps when she sees Farhad after an attempt was made on his life.



Fig. 20. Farhad returns to China and meets his uncle.



Fig. 21. The emperor of China together with Farhad and his retinue.



Fig. 22. Mihin Banu speaks with Sha'ur.



Fig. 23. Farhad mourns for Gulistan, who dies giving birth to their daughter.

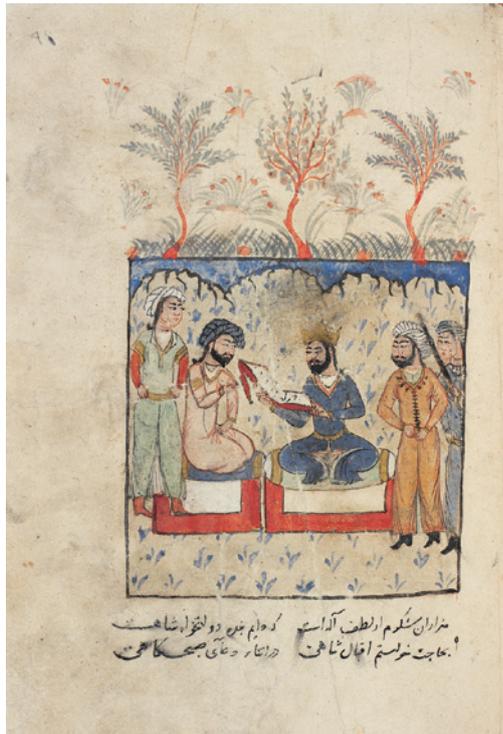


Fig. 24. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-'Arif presents his work, *Farhād u Shirīn*, to the Shirvanshah Hushang.

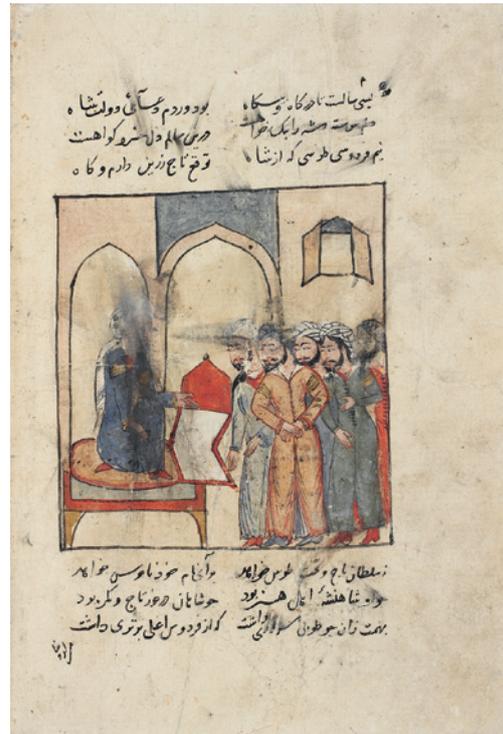


Fig. 25. Firdawsi requests a favor from the Shah of Tus in return for the work he has produced.



Fig. 26. Sha'ur brings Farhad into Shirin's presence.



Fig. 27. Farhad and Shirin remove their clothes.



Fig. 28. Farhad and Shirin together in the pool house that he had built for her.



Fig. 29. Shirin receives the news of Mihin Banu's death.



Fig. 30. Farhad counsels his sons before going to Shirin.



Fig. 31. Shirin greets Farhad.



Fig. 32. Shirin comes to see Farhad, who has tunneled through a mountain to open a milk canal.



Fig. 33. Shirin and Farhad make love.



Fig. 34. Farhad and Shirin bid each other farewell.



Fig. 35. Farhad and Sha'ur come into the presence of Khusraw and Maryam.



Fig. 36. Khusraw asks Maryam for forgiveness.



Fig. 37. Farhad and Shirin make love on Mount Bisutun.



Fig. 38. Giray, a member of Khusraw's retinue, sees Farhad and Shirin making love.



Fig. 39. Farhad throws Giray out of Taq-i Kisra (the Arch of Ctesiphon).



Fig. 40. Farhad and Shirin make love at Taq-i Kisra.



Fig. 41. Farhad and Shirin bid each other farewell.



Fig. 42. An old lady puts poison in Farhad's bowl to avenge the murder of her son.



Fig. 43. Sha'ur and Shirin in mourning at Farhad's mausoleum.

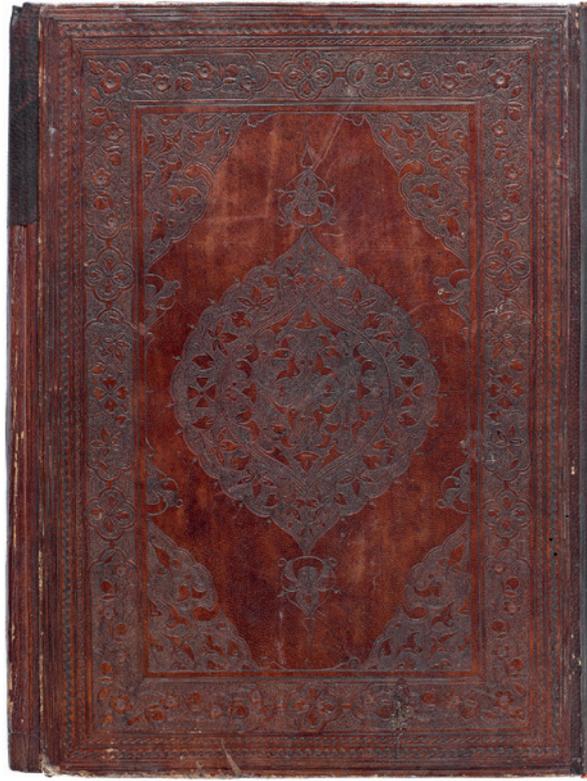


Fig. 44a. Outer front cover. *Kitāb-i Kīmiyā-i sa'ādat*, 1379. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.1999. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 44b. Outer back cover with flap. *Kitāb-i Kīmiyā-i sa'ādat*, 1379. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.1999. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 45. Illuminated dedication page (*zahriye*). *Kitāb-i Kīmiyā-i sa'ādat*, 1379. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.1999, fol. 1r. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 47a. Illuminated *lawh*. *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 2r. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 47b. Illuminated *lawh*. *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 1v. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

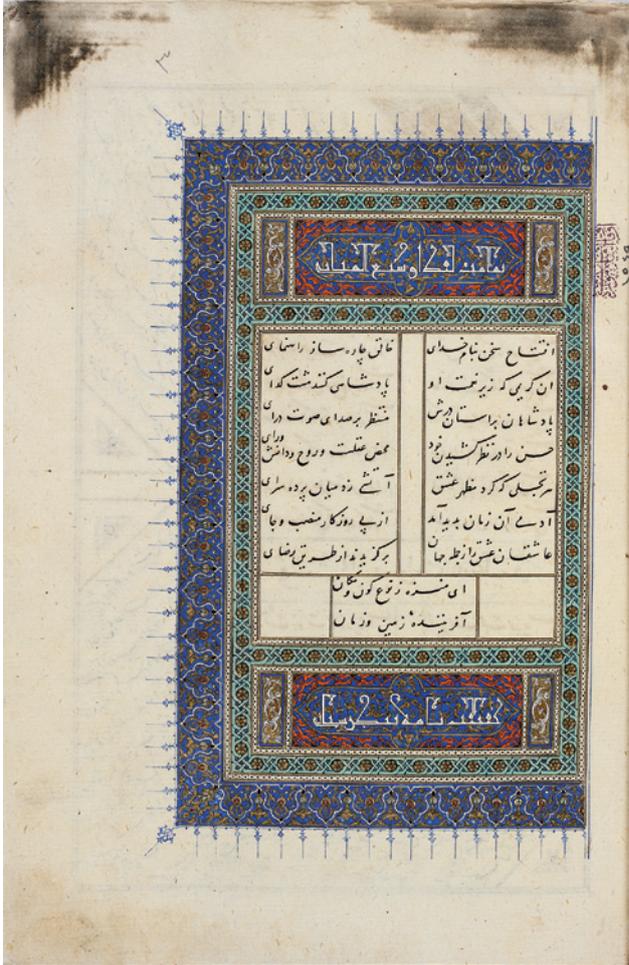


Fig. 48a. Illuminated *sarlawh*. *Divān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 3r. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

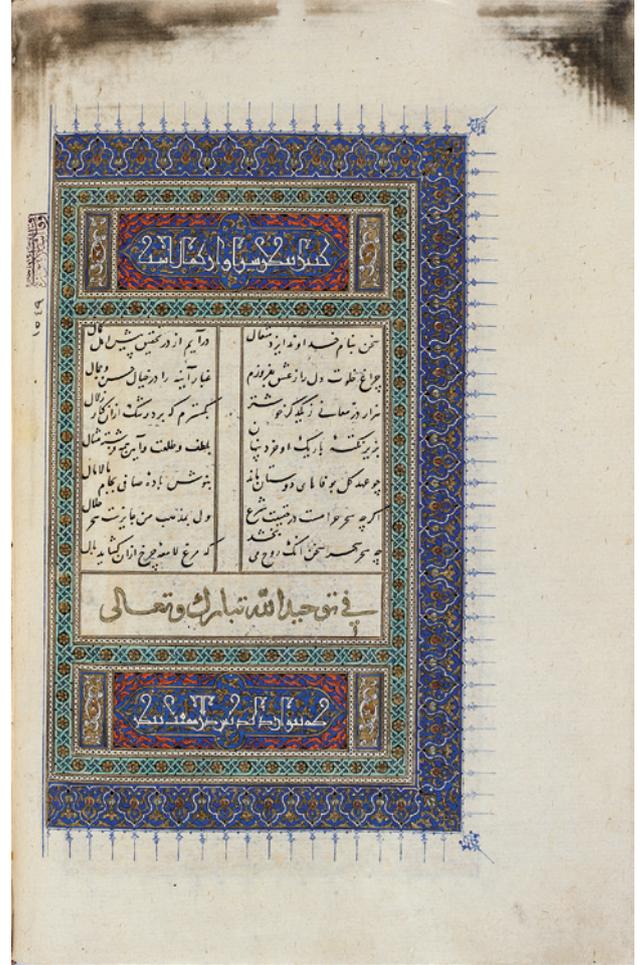


Fig. 48b. Illuminated *sarlawh*. *Divān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 2v. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 49a. Illuminated 'unvān. Divān of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 4r. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 49b. Illuminated 'unvān. Divān of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 3v. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

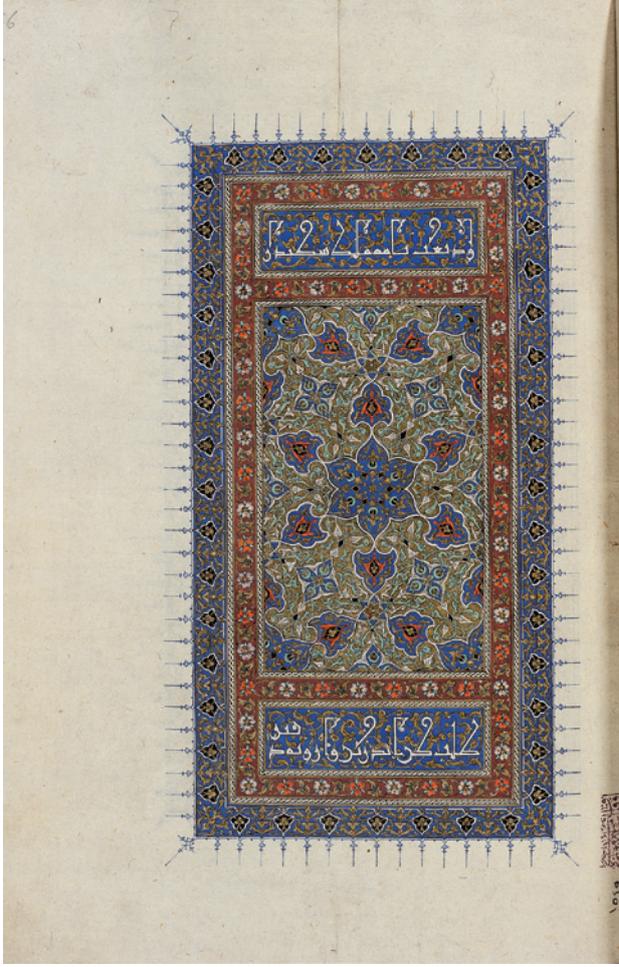


Fig. 50a. Illuminated *lawḥ*. *Divān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 56r. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 50b. Illuminated *lawḥ*. *Divān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 55v. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

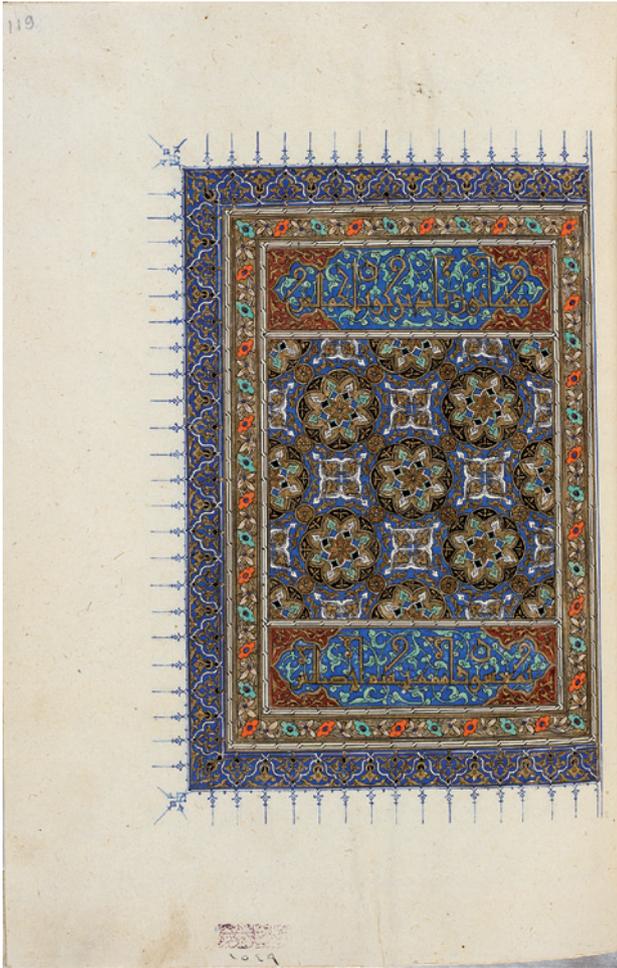


Fig. 51a. Illuminated *lawh*. *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 119r. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 51b. Illuminated *lawh*. *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 118v. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 52a. Illuminated *lawḥ*. *Divān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 198r. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

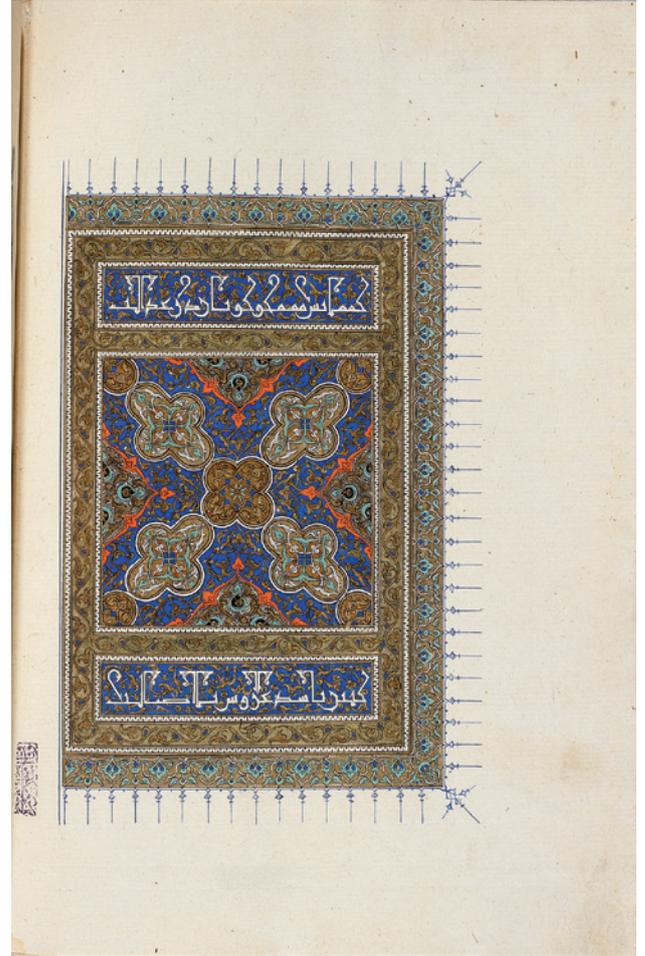


Fig. 52b. Illuminated *lawḥ*. *Divān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046, fol. 197v. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 53. Outer back cover with flap. *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

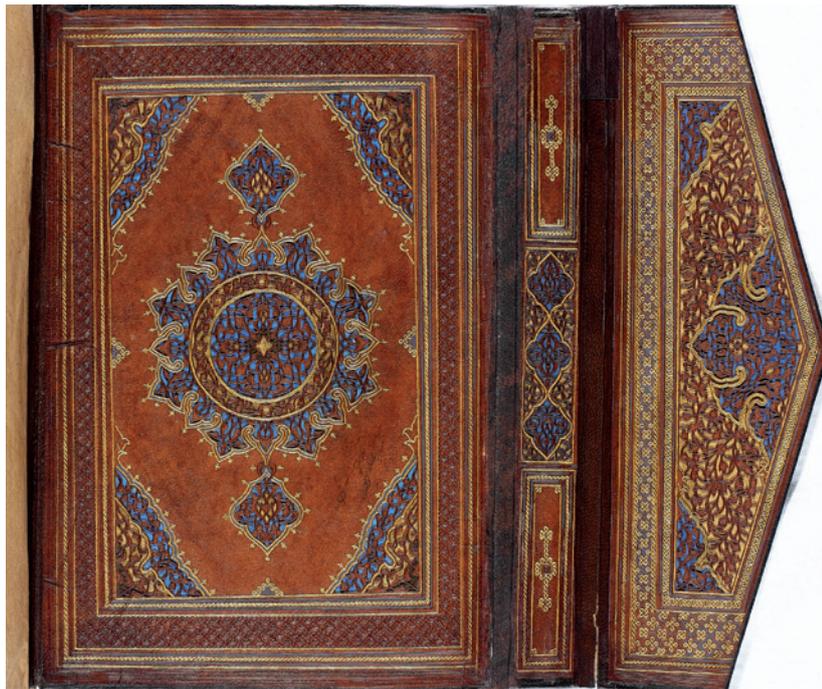


Fig. 54. Doublure of back cover with flap. *Dīvān* of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, 1406–7. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Ms. T.2046. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

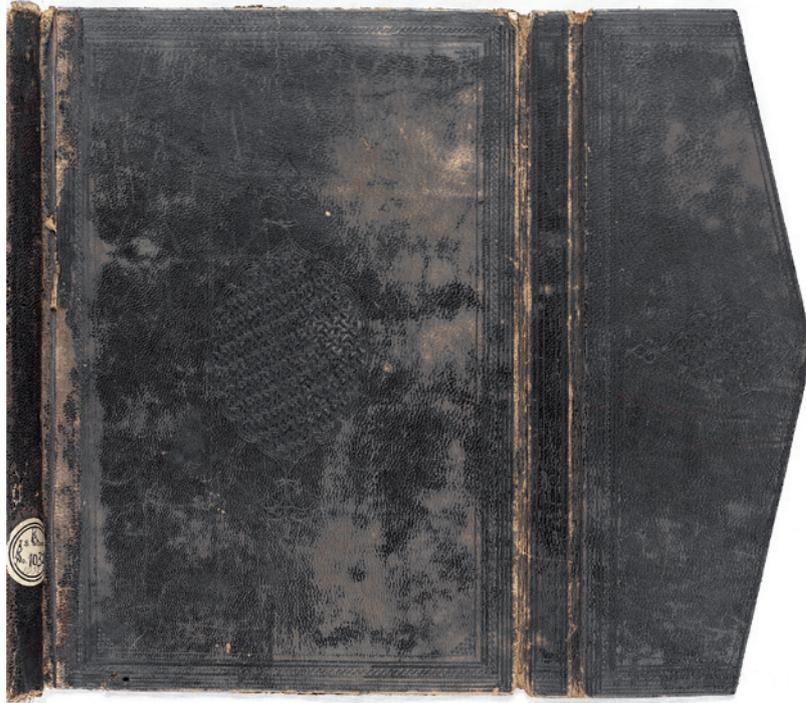


Fig. 55. Outer cover. *Basātīn al-uns*, ca. 1410. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. R.1032. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 56. The shah arrives in Tirhut. *Basātīn al-uns*, ca.1410. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. R.1032, fols. 6v–7r. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 57. The ruler of Akhin listens to an ascetic. *Basatīn al-uns*, ca. 1410. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. R.1032, fols. 13v-14r. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

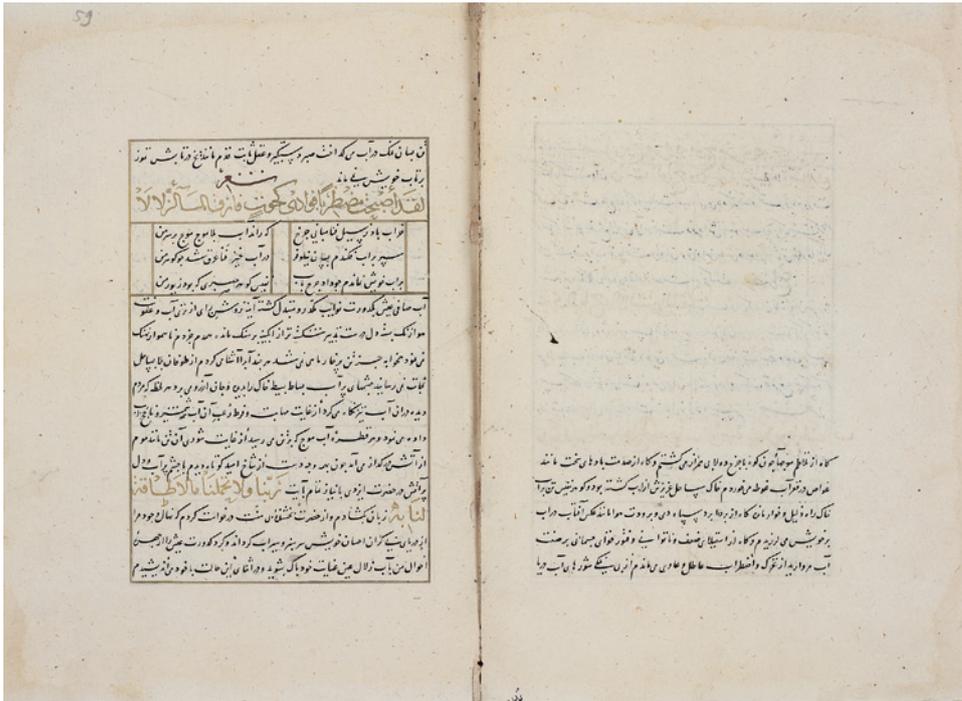


Fig. 58. A space left blank for a miniature. *Basatīn al-uns*, ca. 1410. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. R.1032, fols. 53v-54r. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

NOTES

Authors' Note: This article was meant to be published in 2003 as part of a festschrift for Professor Nurhan Atasoy. Since that work has not yet been realized, we would like to dedicate this to our dear colleague and friend Nurhan Atasoy while sharing it with the readers of *Muqarnas*. Dr. Lale Uluç translated this article into English and Dr. Aslıhan Erkmén worked on the text. We would like to thank them for their valuable contributions. We would also like to express our gratitude to the photographer Hadiye Cangökçe, as well as to Zeynep Çelik Atbaş, curator of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, and Sevgi Kutluay, curator of manuscripts in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum.

1. M. H. Yınanç, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (henceforth *İA*) (Istanbul, 1965–86), s.v. “Celâyir”; J. Smith, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1954–2004), s.v. “Djalair”; H. R. Roemer, “The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadars,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge, 1993), 5–9. For the illustrated manuscripts attributed to Baghdad during the reign of Sultan Hasan, see Dorothea Duda, “Die Buchmalerei der Ğalâ’iriden (1. Teil),” *Der Islam* 48 (1971): 28–72.
2. V. Minorsky, *İA*, s.v. “Üveys I”; C. E. Bosworth, *EI2*, s.v. “Uveys I.”
3. Şerafettin Turan, *Türkiye-İtalya İlişkileri: I. Selçuklular’dan Bizans’ın Sona Erişine* (Ankara, 2000), 196–97.
4. No manuscript has survived from the time of the Jalayirid Sultan Husayn: see Dorothea Duda, “Die Buchmalerei der Ğalâ’iriden: Die Malerei in Tabriz unter Sultan Uwais und Husain (2. Teil),” *Der Islam* 49 (1972): 153–220. Ernst J. Grube attributed the miniatures of the *Kalila va Dimna* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Ms. H. 362, dated 834 [1430–31] and copied by Ja’far al-Baysunguri at Herat), to the time of Sultan Husayn. They were all painted on extremely thin pieces of paper and pasted to the spaces that were left for the illustrations. See Ernst J. Grube, “The Kalilah wa Dimnah of the Istanbul University Library and the Problem of Early Jalayirid Painting,” in *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7.–10. September 1976* (Berlin, 1979), 491. This opinion was later accepted by Bernard O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting: Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century* (London and New York, 2003), 256–60; for reproductions of the miniatures of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library ms., see pp. 101, 103, 105, 108, 117, 119, 147, 148, 153, 158, 179, 183, 190, and 191. On the other hand, Sultan Husayn’s interest in music and literature is detailed in the biography of his renowned music master, ‘Abd al-Qadir Maraghi (d. 1435): see Murat Bardakçı, *Maragalı Abdülkadir: XV. yy. Bestecisi ve Müzik Nazariyatçısının Hayat Hikâyesiyle Eserleri üzerine bir Çalışma* (Istanbul, 1986), 24–27, 171.
5. F. Sümer, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (henceforth *TDVİA*) (Istanbul, 1988–2010), s.v. “Ahmed Celâyir.”
6. Yınanç, *İA*, s.v., “Celâyir,” 65.
7. For the paintings of this period, see Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timûrides* (Paris, 1954), 32, 33–39, pls. I–VIII; Nurhan Atasoy, “Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments from Fourteenth-Century Shah-namehs,” *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 19–48; Duda, “Die Buchmalerei der Gala’iriden (1. Teil);” Priscilla Soucek, “Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami’s Khamseh: 1386–1482” (PhD diss., New York University, 1972), 187–240; Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, “A Sufi Theme in Persian Painting: The Diwan of Sultan Ahmad Gala’ir in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.,” *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976–77): 43–84; Basil Gray, “The Fourteenth Century,” in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray (London, 1979), 93–120; Ernst J. Grube, *Persian Painting in the Fourteenth Century: A Research Report* (Naples, 1978); Grube, “Kalilah wa Dimnah,” 491–507; Sheila Blair, “Artists and Patronage in Late Fourteenth-Century Iran in the Light of Two Catalogues of Islamic Metalwork,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48 (1985): 53–59; O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 33–35. For the literary and musical atmosphere of the period, see Bardakçı, *Maragalı Abdülkadir*; Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht, 1968), 260–62.
8. Yınanç, *İA*, s.v., “Celâyir,” 65.
9. Blair, “Artists and Patronage,” 56; Roemer, “Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadars,” 5–16. Silver coins were struck in the name of Shaikh Uveys in 762 (1360–61) in Baghdad, and in 766 (1364–65) in Shiraz: see İbrahim Artuk and Cevriye Artuk, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslâmî Sikkeler Kataloğu*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1974), 2:829.
10. V. Minorsky, *İA*, s.v. “Tebriz.”
11. Blair, “Artists and Patronage,” 57–58.
12. Filiz Çağman and Priscilla Soucek, “A Royal Manuscript and Its Transformation: The Life of a Book,” in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany, N.Y., 1995), 182; Zeren Tanındı, “An Illuminated Manuscript of the Wandering Scholar Ibn al-Jazari and the Wandering Illuminators between Tabriz, Shiraz, Herat, Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul in the 15th Century,” in *Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art, Geneva 17–23 September 1995*, ed. F. Deroche (Geneva, 1999), 650.
13. David James, *Qur’ans of the Mamlûks* (London, 1988), 197–214.
14. Blair, “Artists and Patronage,” 53–55.
15. Qâdi Aḥmad b. Mîr Munshî, *Calligraphers and Painters*, ed. and trans. (from the Persian) Vladimir Minorsky, with an introd. by B. N. Zakhoder, trans. (from the Russian) by T. Minorsky (Washington, D.C., 1959), 61–62.
16. For the words *bandgîr* and *mushahharrijî*, see Muḥammad Mu’in, *Farhang-i Fârsî* (Tehran, 1380 [1960–61]), 1:586–87. We would like to express our thanks to Murat Bardakçı for his help in understanding the meaning of these terms.
17. David Roxburgh, “Our Works Point to Us’: Album Making, Collecting, and Art (1427–1565) under the Timurids and

- Safavids" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 507–8, 595.
18. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Suppl. Persan 332; Gray, "Fourteenth Century," 114, fig. 60; Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1997), no. 33.
 19. Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, *Tezkire-i Devletshah*, trans. Necāti Lugal, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1977), 2:318; Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 11–12.
 20. Bardakçı, *Maragah Abdülkadir*, 23–24.
 21. Ms. H. 2154, fols. 9a–17b. For an English translation of the preface, see Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 335–52. For an interpretation of the text, see David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran*, Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture: Supplements to Muqarnas 9 (Leiden, 2001), 1–15, 27–28, 160–200, figs. 1–7, 11–13, and 17. For a catalogue of the album, see Roxburgh, "'Our Works Point to Us,'" 771–998. For the paintings in the album, see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1979), nos. 10–12, 22, 96, and 99.
 22. Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 345; Filiz Çağman, TDVİA, s.v. "Ahmed Musa." Nine paintings thought to have belonged to the *Mi'rājnāma* illustrated by Ahmad Musa are found in the same album (Ms. H. 2154): see Richard Ettinghausen, *Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century* (Rome, 1957), 360–83; Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting*, nos. 10–12; Ernst J. Grube, Filiz Çağman, and Zeren Akalay [Tanındı], *Islamic Painting: Topkapı Sarayı Collection* (Tokyo, 1979), nos. 22–26; Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, translated, expanded, and edited by J. M. Rogers from the orig. Turkish (London, 1986), nos. 45–47; Christiane J. Gruber, "The Prophet Muhammad's Ascension (*Mi'rāj*) in Islamic Art and Literature, ca. 1300–1600" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005), 108–79. Some illustrations from a copy of the *Kalīla va Dimna*, also attributed to Ahmad Musa, are found in a second album from the Istanbul University Library (Ms. F. 1422): see O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 233–53.
 23. Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 345.
 24. Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1964–69), 2: no. 2965. The text has thin gold, blue, and black rulings, and is written in forty-three lines, with empty spaces on the sides reserved for marginal notes (*hāshiyya*). The preface is written in two columns.
 25. The manuscript has no other illumination.
 26. For the design of the central *shamsa* and corner pieces, see Gulnar Bosch, John Carswell, and Guy Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings & Bookmaking* (Chicago, 1981), 168; Zeren Tanındı, "Seçkin Bir Mevlevî'nin Tezhipli Kitapları," in *M. Uğur Derman Armağanı: Altmışbeşinci Yaşı Münasibetiyle Sunulmuş Tebliğler = M. Uğur Derman Festschrift: Papers Presented on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul, 2000), figs. 11–12. For the *rūmī* design of the corner pieces and the flap, see Richard Ettinghausen, "The Covers of the Morgan *Manâfi* Manuscript and Other Early Persian Bookbindings," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton, N.J., 1954), fig. 352.
 27. Sheila Blair, *The Ilkhanid Shrine Complex at Natanz, Iran* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 60–71, figs. 15–22.
 28. See n. 16 above.
 29. Sheila Blair, "The Inscription from the Tomb Tower at Bas-tam: An Analysis of Ilkhanid Epigraphy," in *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, ed. Chahryar Adle (Paris, 1982), 283; Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 6 vols. (London, 1938), 4:1082–84, 1099, pl. 353.
 30. Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1961), no. 616. A second copy of this work, without a date and place of origin, is found in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (Ms. Ayasofya 3335). It has 137 folios with the text written in two columns in beautiful *nasta'liq* script on fine sized and polished paper. The design of the leather binding (25.5 x 17 cm) and fine paper suggest that it might have been produced in Istanbul during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81). It additionally carries the oval imperial seal of Bayezid II, the treasury seal of Selim I (r. 1512–20), and the endowment seal of Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) (fols. 1r and 137v, respectively). Its text was studied by Herbert W. Duda, *Ferhād und Schirîn: Die literarische Geschichte eines persischen Sagenstoffes*, Monografie Archivu orientálního 2 (Prague, 1933): 86–97.
 31. Duda, *Ferhād und Schirîn*, 87, 89.
 32. See Ettinghausen, "Covers of the Morgan *Manâfi* Manuscript," 460–64, figs. 344 and 348, for a similarly decorated *shamsa* and corner pieces.
 33. Similar arches are seen in fourteenth-century Iranian architecture: see Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, 4:1084, pl. 395.
 34. Tehran University Library, Ms. 5179; Norah M. Titley, "A Fourteenth-Century Nizami Manuscript in Tehran," *Kunst des Orients* 8, 5 (1972): 120–25; Norah M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and Its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India: The British Library Collections* (London, 1983), 42.
 35. London, British Library, Ms. Or. 13297; Norah M. Titley, "A Fourteenth-Century *Khamseh* of Nizami," *British Museum Quarterly* 36, 1–2 (1971): 8–11; Gray, "Fourteenth Century," 114 n. 64.
 36. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Suppl. Persan 913; Gray, "Fourteenth Century," 114, pl. XXIX; Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, no. 35.
 37. Tashkent, Abu Raihan Biruni Institute, Ms. 3317; Hamid Suleimanov and Fazila Suleimanova, *Miniatures, Illustrations of Amir Hosrov Dehlevi's Works* (Tashkent, 1983); Barbara Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting: Illustrations*

- tions to Amīr Khusrāu's *Khamsah* (London and New York, 2003), 39–43.
38. Grube, Çağman, and Akalay, *Islamic Painting*, nos. 12–13; Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting*, no. 23.
 39. Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1971), no. 32, pls. XXIX–XXX; Gray, “Fourteenth Century,” 122, figs. 72 and 73; Bernard O’Kane, “The Iconography of the *Shahnama*, Ms. Ta’rih Farisī 73, Dar al-kutub, Cairo (796/1393–4),” in *Shahnama Studies* 1, ed. Charles Melville, Studies in Persian Cultural History, Pembroke Papers 5 (Cambridge, 2006): 171–88.
 40. Roemer, “Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadars,” 14–15.
 41. W. Bartold, *IA*, s.v. “Şirvan Şah.”
 42. The folio dimensions are 29.5 x 21 cm, while the text area is 22 x 13 cm: *Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi*, ed. Nazan Ölçer (Istanbul, 2002), 198–201; *Cengiz Han ve Mirasçıları: Büyük Moğol İmparatorluğu: Sabancı Üniversitesi Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 7 Aralık 2006–8 Nisan 2007* (Istanbul, 2006), 412.
 43. In 1740, Sultan Mahmud I founded a library adjacent to the south side of the Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia) Mosque. Its holdings were brought from the imperial treasury in the Topkapı Palace. In addition, several bureaucrats donated books at the inauguration of the library: İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1988), 2:87–90. It had around 5,000 books, most of which are preserved today in the Istanbul Süleymaniye Library. All the books from the Ayasofya Mosque Library bear both the seal of Mahmud I and the foundation note and seal of an inspector of the pious endowments of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina (*Haremeyn müfettişi*). To ensure their safety, this book (Ms. 1999) and some others were transferred to the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in 1914. Günay Kut, “Sultan I. Mahmud Kütüphanesi (Ayasofya Kütüphanesi),” in *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilim, Kültür ve Kütüphaneler*, ed. Özlem Bayram, Ali Can et al. (Ankara, 1999), 99–128.
 44. For the binding, see A. Sakisian, “Le reliure dans la Perse occidentale sous les Mongols, au XIV et au debut du XV siècle,” *Ars Islamica* 1 (1934): 84, fig. 6; Ettinghausen, “Covers of the Morgan *Manâfi* Manuscript,” 468, figs. 356 and 357; Alison Ohta, “Filigree Bindings of the Mamluk Period,” in “Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers,” guest eds. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Anna Contadini, special issue, *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 273, fig. 14.
 45. For the illumination of the work, see Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, 3:1960; Ölçer, *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*, 198–201; *Cengiz Han ve Mirasçıları*, 412.
 46. Oleg F. Akimushkin and Anatol A. Ivanov, “The Art of Illumination,” in Gray, *Arts of the Book*, 36–37, 41, 43; Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, nos. 18, 20, 24.
 47. *Cengiz Han ve Mirasçıları*, 386–87.
 48. The early manuscripts in Western collections generally do not have their original bindings because they were often replaced with modern ones; the owner of the book may have removed the artistically valuable binding to sell it separately from the manuscript, or the bindings may have been stolen and/or lost. The manuscripts in the Süleymaniye Library and TIEM were handled with care so that the bindings were preserved, as were a few in the Dar al-Kutb in Cairo. As for the Topkapı Palace manuscripts, they were kept in the royal treasury with only restricted access; they thus rarely passed from hand to hand, which kept them from suffering any damage or loss.
 49. Sümer, *TDVİA*, s.v. “Ahmed Celâyir”; Yınanç, *IA*, s.v. “Celâyir.”
 50. İsmail Aka, *Timur ve Devleti* (Ankara, 1991), 25.
 51. *Ibid.*, 43.
 52. The Timurid historian Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi writes that when Timur occupied the city of Baghdad in 1401, he transferred the artists to Samarkand: see Soucek, “Illustrated Manuscripts,” 195; Klimburg-Salter, “Sufi Theme in Persian Painting,” 72. The Safavid historian Dust Muhammad writes that Timur took the painter (*naqqash*) ‘Abd al-Hayy to Samarkand but does not give a date: see Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 345.
 53. Dawlatshâh Samarqandî, *Tezkire-i Devletşah*, 3:370; Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 13–14.
 54. Klimburg-Salter, “Sufi Theme in Persian Painting,” 76, 82; Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 345.
 55. Sümer, *TDVİA*, s.v., “Ahmed Celâyir.”
 56. Qâdî Aḥmad b. Mîr Munshî, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 100; Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 341, 354; Priscilla Soucek, “The Arts of Calligraphy,” in Gray, *Arts of the Book*, 17–19.
 57. Qâdî Aḥmad b. Mîr Munshî, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 100; Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 342, 354.
 58. Qâdî Aḥmad b. Mîr Munshî, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 64–66; Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 341. One of the rare, extant, dated manuscripts known to have been transcribed by Mawlana Ma’ruf is a copy of the *Kulliyât* of Hafiz-i Abru (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. B. 282, fol. 297v): Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, no. 138. Dedicated to the Timurid sultan Shahrukh Bahadur Khan, it was copied in *nasta’liq* script, probably in Herat, between the years 1415 and 1417–18, and has twenty miniatures: see Grube, Çağman, and Akalay, *Islamic Painting*, nos. 72–75; Tanındı, “An Illuminated Manuscript of the Wandering Scholar Ibn al-Jazari,” 651, 655; Eleanor Sims and Tim Stanley, “The Illustrations of Baghdad 282 in the Topkapı Sarayı Library in Istanbul,” in *Cairo and Kabul: Afghan and Islamic Studies Presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson*, ed. Warwick Ball and Leonard Harrow (London, 2002), 222–26.
 59. Bardakçı, *Abdülkadir Marağalı*, 30.
 60. *Ibid.*, 37–38.
 61. Dawlatshâh Samarqandî, *Tezkire-i Devletşah*, 3:370.
 62. *Ibid.*, 369.
 63. Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 346.
 64. For luxury *jung* copies prepared by master craftsmen from the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, see (a) Topkapı Palace Museum Library,

- Ms. H. 796: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, no. 887; Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting*, no. 24; Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, 45–49, 285–86; (b) London, British Library, Ms. Add.27261, and Lisbon, Gulbenkian Collection, no. 1617: Priscilla Soucek, “The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content,” in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, Studies and Sources on Islamic Art and Architecture: Supplements to Muqarnas 6 (Leiden, 1992), 116–31; and (c) Berlin Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. 4628: Volkmar Enderlein, *Die Miniaturen der Berliner Baisanqur-Handschrift* (Berlin, 1991); David Roxburgh, “The Aesthetics of Aggregation: Persian Anthologies of the Fifteenth Century,” in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 119–42.
65. Sultan Ahmad’s poetry must have been known in the literary circles of his time since Jihan Hatun, a female poet who lived in ‘Irāq-i ‘Ajam in the second half of the fourteenth century, wrote a *qasida* praising him in the preface of her *Divān*: Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H.867, fols. 5r–6v; Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, no. 626. For the binding, see Oktay Aslanapa, “The Art of Bookbinding,” in Gray, *Arts of the Book*, 61, figs. 37–38. A second copy of Jihan Khatun’s *Divān*, which was probably produced in Shiraz around 1380–90, is found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Supp. Pers. 763: see Francis Richard, *Le livre persan* (Paris, 2003), 84.
66. Timothy W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles 1989), 58, cat. no. 15; Sümer, *TDVİA*, s.v., “Ahmed Celâyir”; Ölçer, *Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi*, 204–6; David J. Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London 2005), 236; *Cengiz Han ve Mirasçıları*, 416–17. The manuscript has 135 folios (27.5 x 18.2 cm). The text area (22.5 x 14 cm) has gold rulings with black outlines. It is written in *nasta‘liq* script, in thirteen lines in the central section and in thirty-four oblique lines in the margins around the central text.
67. James, *Qur’āns of the Mamlūks*, figs. 57–58, 66–67, and 83, and pp. 135, 141–42; Tanındı, “Seçkin Bir Mevlevî’nin,” figs. 3 and 8.
68. Aslanapa, “Art of Bookbinding,” 61, pl. XII; Ölçer, *Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi*, 204–6; Ohta, “Filigree Bindings,” 267; Roxburgh, *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years*, 237. A binding nearly the same as the one in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (Ms. 1550) covers a Persian anthology copied at Yazd in 840 (1437): see Mehmet Aga-Oglu, *Persian Bookbindings of the Fifteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1935), pls. XV and XVI.
69. Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 346.
70. M. Kemal Özergin, “Temürlü Sanatına ait Eski bir Belge: Tebrizli Ca’fer’in Bir Arzı,” *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 6 (1976): 494; Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 324.
71. The manuscript has fifty-five folios (20.5 x 14 cm). The text is written in two columns of fourteen lines. It does not retain its original binding and is not illuminated. Fol. 1r carries the endowment seal of Sultan Mahmud I as well as the oval seal of the writer of the foundation note, Dervish Mustafa, the *Haremeyn müfettişi*.
72. Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, no. 652. The manuscript (19 x 12.4 cm) does not retain its original binding and has no illumination. It has eighty folios written in fine *nasta‘liq* script in thirteen, fifteen, and seventeen lines. Fol. 1r carries the treasury seal of Sultan Selim I and a second, narrow oval seal with an unclear impression that cannot be deciphered.
73. The work was first published by Fredrik R. Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Timur in a Ms. of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair* (Vienna, 1926). In this book, Martin also includes an account of how he obtained the manuscript in Istanbul. The illustrations of the manuscript, its date, and the painter are discussed by Klimburg-Salter, “Sufi Theme in Persian Painting,” 44–84; Esin Atlı, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings From Iran and India* (Washington, D.C., 1978), 18–27.
74. The manuscript has an original, chestnut brown leather binding, which used to have a flap that is now lost. The outer covers were decorated by tooled and moulded designs; the front has a central *shamsa* and corner pieces with vegetal scrolls, while animal figures such as rabbits and deer grace the back. The flower designs on the wide borders are similar to the *qalam-i siyâhî* flowers used as intercolumnar decoration in the text (no. 32.30). The maroon leather doublures also have a central *shamsa* and corner pieces that are decorated with black leather filigree designs on blue and gold backgrounds. An anthology (*jung*) from the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Ms. H.796) that was copied between 19 Rabi’ I and 19 Rabi’ II 810 (23 August–21 September 1407) has a binding similar to the unpublished binding of the Freer manuscript: see Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, no. 887; Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting*, no. 24; Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, 45–49, 285–86. For the reproduction of the binding, see Aslanapa, “Art of Bookbinding,” 61, figs. 32–33.
75. Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, no. 877; *Onbin Yıllık İnan Medeniyeti, İkibin Yıllık Ortak Miras: İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2 Aralık 2009–5 Şubat 2010* (exhibition catalogue) (Istanbul, 2009), no. 161.
76. Only a few copies of this work are known. One from the seventeenth century is found in the British Library, London, Ms. Add. 7717: see Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London, 1891), 2:752–53. The text was studied using the British Library copy: see S. H. Askari, “Historical Value of *Basâtin-ul-uns*: A Rare Literary Work of the Early 14th Century,” *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 48 (1962): 1–29. Basing his information on Iraj Afshar, Askari reports that another example of the same work, copied by Qavam al-Din Muhammad al-Mazandarani in 836 (1433), can be found in the People of Asia Collection in Moscow. İqtidar Husain Siddiqui published a textual study of the *Basâtin al-uns* using the British Library copy together with another copy from the Lucknow Tagore Library, Ms. 297: İqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Perso-Arabic Sources of Information on the Life and Conditions in the Sultanate of Delhi* (Delhi, 1992), 90–101. We would like to thank Prof. Barry Flood

- of New York University, who drew our attention to these publications and kindly sent us copies.
77. Askari, "Historical Value of *Basātīn-ul-uns*," 6–7, 19–29.
 78. Yusuf H. Bayur, *Hindistan Tarihi*, 3 vols. (Ankara, 1946), 1:319–75; Anthony Welch, *EI2*, s.v. "Tughlukids."
 79. Anthony Welch and Howard Crane, "The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 124–27.
 80. Bayur, *Hindistan Tarihi*, 1:327, 351–59.
 81. *Ibid.*, 326.
 82. S. Abdurrahman, "Appreciative Study of Variagatedness [*sic*] of Ameer Khusrau's Poetry," in *Life, Times and Works of Amir Khusrau Dehlevi* (New Delhi-Bombay, 1975), 97–98; Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, xxii
 83. Abdurrahman, "Appreciative Study of Variagatedness [*sic*] of Ameer Khusrau's Poetry," 93–94; Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, no. 604.
 84. The author describes the shah's Tirhut campaign and his conquest of the fort in a first-person narrative: Askari, "Historical Value of *Basātīn-ul-uns*," 10–12.
 85. A similar umbrella is held by an attendant behind Khusraw in the illustration depicting "Khusraw before Shirin's Castle" from the Jalayirid copy of the *Khusraw va Shīrīn*, ca. 1405–10, Tabriz: Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, no. 31, fol. 31.36; see Gray, "Fourteenth Century," pl. XXXIII.
 86. Armed equestrian figures carrying standards with peris and lions are also seen in the illustrations of a copy of the *Shāhnāma* attributed to Shams al-Din, who worked for Shaikh Uvays: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H.2153, fols. 52v–53r, 102r; see Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums," figs. 17, 19. A small *qalam-i siyāhī* illustration depicting armed equestrian figures can also be seen in Ms. H.2153, fol. 54r.
 87. We would like to thank Prof. Selahattin Parladır of Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir for his help in determining the subject of this miniature.
 88. For a color reproduction of this miniature, see Eleanor Sims, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven and London, 2002), fig. 105.
 89. Selected sources discussing the manuscript include: Schoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timūrides*, pls. IV–VIII; Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India, and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum* (London, 1977), no. 251; Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 27–28, pl. I, fig. 12; Gray, "Fourteenth Century," 116, pl. XXXI, fig. 65; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 54–55, cat. no. 13; Teresa Fitzherbert, "Khwaju Kirmani (689–753/1290–1352): An Eminence Grise of Fourteenth-Century Persian Painting," *Iran* 29 (1991): 137–51, pls. XIX–XXII; Sims, *Peerless Images*, figs. 73, 105, 114.
 90. For a color reproduction of this miniature, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 55; Sims, *Peerless Images*, fig. 114.
 91. The Freer Nizami manuscript measures 27.3 x 16.5 cm. The sixth miniature was painted on an unfinished design at some point after the work was originally produced. The binding has figurative compositions painted in the lacquer technique on the outer covers and leather filigree doublures. Both the binding and the later miniature can be dated to the Safavid period, ca. 1525, either at Tabriz or Herat. The illumination of the opening pages and heading are from the Jalayirid period: see Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "Khusrau va Shirin," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 479–81; Esin Atıl, *Exhibition of 2500 Years of Persian Art* (Washington D.C., 1971), 7–8, figs. 19–22; Gray, "Fourteenth Century," 117, fig. 63, pl. XXXIII. For the illumination, see Atıl, *Exhibition of 2500 Years of Persian Art*, fig. 6; Akimushkin and Ivanov, "Art of Illumination," pls. I, V.
 92. N. M. Titley, "Persian Miniature Painting: The Repetition of Compositions during the Fifteenth Century," in *Akten des VII. International Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, 471–91; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 376–79; Ada Adamova, "Repetition of Composition in Manuscripts: The *Khamsa* of Nizami in Leningrad," in Golombek and Subtelny, *Timurid Art and Culture*, 67–75.
 93. Zeren Tanındı, "The Art of the Book: Patrons and Interactions in Erzincan Between 1365 and 1410," in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th–15th Century Eastern Anatolia: International Conference, Istanbul 4–6 May 2007* (Istanbul, forthcoming).