

CHAPTER SEVEN

EPILOGUE

“Books smile as pens shed tears”

al-‘Attabi

“Books are the shells of wisdom,
which are split open for the pearls of character”

Buzurgmihr

“A black object unveils its opposite
As night the uncovering of the dawn.
I have sent you this, and though dumb
It holds conversation with the eyes about that with which it is entrusted
Silent it is if its veil be clasped;
Sparkling when it is opened for enjoyment.”

al-Sari b. Ahmad al-Kindi

These three quotations—two aphorisms and a poem—that extol the virtues of books are among the numerous examples gathered by Ibn al-Nadim in his tenth-century survey of Muslim culture.¹ His *Fihrist* also contains a section on the virtues of calligraphy comprising a list of sayings of wise men from the pre-Islamic period up to his own time. Ibn al-Nadim was not alone. Other authors both then and after recorded a rich body of sayings about books and calligraphy. Some of these collections—one example is by Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. after 1009–10²)—were prefaced by discourses on technical matters and some by glosses on terms commonly used to refer to the formal features of calligraphy. Sayings about calligraphy often constituted the content of calligraphic specimens and collectively became the lore about the practice that was transmitted by the calligraphers themselves and was thus not only limited to works of belles-lettres.

Literature on the value of calligraphy, the preeminent art form of Islamic cultures, grew rapidly during the period of the Abbasid caliphate and continued until the sixteenth century. The arts of depiction, however, were much less frequently discussed in the early literary tradition, which only yields occasional references to artists and images. The most complete development of a written tradition about art, incorporating calligraphy, depiction, and allied practices of the arts of the book, emerged in the album preface around the middle years of the sixteenth century. By the later years of the fifteenth century, works of history and biography contained references to calligraphers, artists, and other practitioners at renowned courts; in the sixteenth century the custom of writing biographical sketches centering on the practice of art became axiomatic. Following developments in late fifteenth-century historical and biographical works, calligraphers inserted narrativized lists of makers into their technical treatises on calligraphy. It was also in the transition from the fifteenth

¹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, 1:18–22.

² See Rosenthal, “Abū Haiyān al-Tawḥīdī on Penmanship.”

to the sixteenth century that the earliest prefaces were composed for albums. Written by members of the Persian bureaucratic class these first album prefaces consisted of themes culled from the literary tradition that would remain constant in all album prefaces of the sixteenth century with two major additions: a narrativized list of sequential biographical sketches and anecdotes. It was left to the calligrapher to institute these additions and to present the preface as a history of art.

The idea of adding a preface to albums no doubt had its precedent in prefaces to books. This already established genre dictated the general framework of the album preface by providing its themes, its lexicon of terms, and its poetic images which were not merely surface ornament but extended into the deep structure of the text. Rhetoric also offered a means of organizing aesthetic experience and notions about art into language. In the tradition of prefatory genres, those written for albums had two unique characteristics: its narrativized list and its attempts to mold the hybrid contents of the new literary form into a single topic—art.

Knowledge about the history of art and artistic practices was expressed through biography, an episteme of linked, sequential practitioners, a method also widely applied to the histories of other pursuits. Similarities between the historical dimension of the preface and those of other disciplines extended to the conceptual relationship of the work as a trace of its maker, a concept that finds its analogue in historical and biographical writing generally. The production of history and biography was driven by a desire for remembrance, a concern also expressed in the album's preservation of works by masters of the art tradition. The language and criteria of judgment used in the preface find their parallel in an ethical literature concerned with mankind's potential for perfectability.³ Some persons were more perfect than others, or so the prefaces proclaim, and practitioners were accorded a privileged status among the most perfect. The practitioner not only increased his skill through painstaking effort but also possessed innate capacities that distinguished him from other people. Venerable practitioners were models for the preface reader and album viewer to follow. The preface also accords this distinction to the viewer, building on a concept of the morally and spiritually developed person fully incorporated into the Perso-Islamicate literary tradition.

By the sixteenth century, the functions of art, architecture, and literary endeavor and what such pursuits promised to the patron had been fully articulated. Cultural practices and their sponsors formed an image of the ideal court and generated a courtly ethos inherited and reproduced over time and from court to court. This continuity of practice and ethos was ensured by a class of courtiers who could be counted on to guard their heritage despite changes in the political order. Although the album was a relative newcomer to the court's cultural forms and activities, it easily fitted into preexisting practices by being organized according to the epistemes of history-biography and ethics. The recent achievements of the Timurid court in Herat offered the most powerful and appealing model for the Safavid courtiers.⁴

³ For a detailed study of the early development of these notions, see Oya Pancaroğlu, “‘A World Unto Himself’: The Rise of a New Human Image in the Late Seljuk Period (1150–1250),” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2000.

⁴ Looking, in particular, at Fakhri Haravi's *Javāhir al-'ajāyib* (Wonderous Jewels), a biography of women poets, Szuppe writes: “It seems that the cultural and intellectual life of Herāt was more intense than pre-

All these factors came into play in generating the album preface's particular literary tone and texture. The stylized rhetoric of official courtly Persian literature,⁵ including its etiquette, exemplarity, and wilful intricacy of words and layering of meanings that had then to be excavated were the textual priorities of the preface writer. It became art historical, presented the way responses to art were articulated, and how word, image, and maker were to be judged.⁶ More prescriptive than descriptive, the preface represented a cluster of social expectations and formal conventions. In writing the preface, the calligrapher was demonstrating his acumen, integrating knowledge, and showing his command over the requisite language. In short, the calligrapher was following the courtly behavior that earlier authors like Murvarid and Khvandamir/Amini had followed before him.

The ultimate progeny of the sixteenth-century prefatory tradition is Qazi Ahmad's *Gulistān-i hunar* written between 1596 and 1606.⁷ The all-encompassing dimension of Qazi Ahmad's text is figured by the hundreds of biographies of practitioners that he inserts into it. It contains information derived from written sources of the sixteenth century interwoven with passages composed by Qazi Ahmad himself and excerpts culled from such sources as Budaq Munshi Qazvini's history and the prefaces by Qutb al-Din Muhammad, Mir Sayyid Ahmad, and Shams al-Din Muhammad. In literary form, rhetoric, and organization of information about the tradition it replicates, the album preface is best exemplified by those of Dust Muhammad, Malik Daylami, Qutb al-Din Muhammad, and Mir Sayyid Ahmad. The only differences between Qazi Ahmad's text and the album preface proper lie in the addition of a technical treatise—Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi's *Širāt al-suṭūr* (1514)—and a conclusion (really an appendix) with recipes and instructions for making ink and pigments.⁸ The overbuilding of contents in the *Gulistān-i hunar* sealed its fate. Although generically similar to the album preface, it far exceeded it in length, making it overly long for an introductory text. Arguably, the fullness of Qazi Ahmad's text was possible because it was freed from the literary challenges imposed by the preface.⁹

After reading this book, those familiar with the art histories of pre-modern Europe and China may have found similarities to the Persian tradition of the sixteenth century. Points of similarity include the methodological challenges posed by the written sources when coming

viously thought, more widespread and more deeply engrained in the upper levels of society, because it included women. This is observed among the Herātī intellectuals close to court circles (both Persian and Turkic), local Xorasani noble families, and political elites" (Szuppe, "The Female Intellectual Milieu in Timurid and Post-Timurid Herāt," p. 134).

⁵ The literary style found in the album preface finds its origin in the chancellery style developed by court officials and secretaries, a style which they had applied earlier to the composition of dynastic histories. See Meisami, *Persian Historiography*, p. 10.

⁶ Some of these themes continue in a Mughal context. See for example the poem written by Abu Talib Kalim (d. 1645) in response to seeing an album (Welch, et al., *The Emperor's Album*, pp. 42–43).

⁷ Porter has worked on dated recensions of the manuscript and determined that the first identifiable copy was completed by 1596. A second copy with additions and developments of certain details was made by 1606. See Porter, "Notes sur le 'Golestan-e Honar' de Qazi Ahmad Qomi," pp. 210–12.

⁸ The treatise and conclusion were not present in the known recension dating to 1596 but were included into the expanded 1606 version when other changes were made. See *ibid.*, pp. 211 and 215.

⁹ Qazi Ahmad has little to say about the composition of the text and the decisions that he made. He briefly remarks about it in the beginning section where he describes why he wrote the treatise and expresses his hope that the finished work may find its home in the *kitābkhāna* of Shah 'Abbas. See Qāzī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar*, ed. Khvānsārī, pp. 5–6; trans. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters*, p. 44.

to grips with their literary dimensions; the literary texture of the written source;¹⁰ historical parallels, including features of the sociocultural networks and contexts in which the texts were produced;¹¹ interrelated aesthetic conceptions;¹² methods used to organize a tradition and its impact on the formation of a canon; and the folding together of history, aesthetic theory, and criticism into written sources.¹³ A detailed analysis of these points of similarity and difference extends beyond the framework of this study.¹⁴ That noted, several points of difference can be identified and discussed here, especially those that have a direct bearing on the understanding of the nature of Persianate art historiography during the sixteenth century.

The first point of difference involves the notion that the increased prominence of the artist's biography in particular is evidence of his rising status. Despite the problems inherent in gauging the nature of this change over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the fact remains that references to depiction and to artists occur with increasing frequency in biographical and historical works and in album prefaces. It is not until the very end of the sixteenth century, however, that a text written by an artist surfaces, Sadiqi Beg Afshar's *Qānūn al-ṣuwar*.¹⁵ Until Sadiqi composed his treatise on the practice of depiction, treatise literature had been the exclusive domain of the calligrapher (working in the context of the *kitābkhāna* and/or chancellery) and prefaces written only by calligraphers or bureaucrats of noble families who moved in court circles.

Recently J. Michael Rogers questioned the status of album prefaces as history of art; of

¹⁰ From a large body of literature on this subject the following three studies can be singled out, Michael Baxandall's *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Rubin's *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, esp. chap. 4; and Maguire's *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*. All three examine literary traditions on art in relation to rhetoric. A slightly different tack is taken by Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), who examine the recurrence of conceptions about the artist in biographical forms from the Hellenistic period to the Renaissance, specifically the persistence of leitmotifs and the artist anecdote.

¹¹ Such a study could examine the constitution of the court in various cultural settings and the social contexts, for example the literati gatherings, in which art was viewed and discussed. For the latter, see Deborah Del Gais Muller, "Hsia Wen-Yen and His T'u-Hui Pao-Chien (Precious Mirror of Painting)," *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1988): 131–48.

¹² The most obvious parallel is the central place accorded to calligraphy in both the Islamic and Chinese traditions and the relationship between calligraphy and the representation of forms other than written characters. Painting was theorized along the same lines as calligraphy and literature in pre-modern Iran, just as it had been in China. Comparative analysis could draw on a rich body of literature written in China that combines technical advice with the history of tradition and that also expresses aesthetic concepts. For examples of the Chinese treatise literature, see Chang Ch'ung-ho and Hans H. Frankel, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy: Treatise on Calligraphy (Shu Pu) Sun Qianli; Sequel to the "Treatise on Calligraphy" (Xu shu pu) Jiang Kui* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); and Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'ü-chang (1555–1636)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971). For similarities in training by use of models and the calligrapher's relationship to tradition in particular, see Lothar Ledderose, *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

¹³ All three are combined in Vasari (Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, p. 2) and would not be separated out until the eighteenth century.

¹⁴ One study that deals in part with a cross-cultural analysis of artistic traditions, focused on the central theme of collecting, is Alsop's *Rare Art Traditions*. Art history is one of what he terms "linked phenomena" in a collecting culture.

¹⁵ For a translation, see Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:259–69. Dickson and Welch date the *Qānūn al-ṣuwar* to the period between 1576 and 1602. The treatise was included in a gathering of texts written by Sadiqi Beg during his lifetime (*ibid.*, 1:259).

their authors, he remarked: “Their treatises are not art-historical works but addresses to patrons: if they were practitioners themselves their works could be cited to ennoble the craft of painting; but the patron-dedicatee, even of the finest illustrated manuscript, never gave way to the connoisseur—commissioner—any more than it has ever done in any other culture.”¹⁶ Rogers, perhaps including texts such as that by Qazi Ahmad and not just the prefaces exemplified by Dust Muhammad, notes the formality of the relationship between the author and the primary reader he is addressing (i.e., ruler, prince). He also seems to propose that such texts would have been different had artists written them, in that they would have incorporated more references to painting and drawing. Such a proposition that the author’s primary profession determined the content of the text raises the question about the intended role that the written source, including the preface, was meant to play. It suggests that the preface was used to bring about change, that it had the power to persuade its reader to act in a certain way or to think about depiction in particular terms. It also claims that the incorporation of references to depiction in the sixteenth-century context was in part intended to enhance the status of the practice, even to intellectualize it.¹⁷ In the Renaissance context, the same intention has been ascribed in the artist’s turn to the writing of literature, Vasari being its most famous proponent.¹⁸ By writing about depiction in a specific language, the artist could show his verbal acumen and visual knowledge, and thereby bring the art form into the center of an intellectual discourse where it had not had a place before.

But what we know of the artist’s status at the Safavid court suggests an altogether different rationale for the preface. Sketchy as they are, references in a range of sources indicate the potential for an intimate relationship between selected artists and the august patron of royal or high-ranking non-royal status. The artist—and calligrapher, of course—not only worked for the patron but participated in courtly activities. Moreover, the arts of depiction occupied a central, unquestioned role in the cultural pursuits of the court, in the production of illustrated and unillustrated books (in the latter through techniques such as illumination and marginal schemes), single-page images, and *découpage*. Patronage was court-centered and there existed no craft or trade-guild structure for painters (or calligraphers) beyond this economic framework. Depiction needed no text to argue either for its need or its merits; its high status was a given. If the preface had any kind of agency, it was to provide examples of the patronage of artists, in addition to calligraphers, to structure a relationship between contemporary and past patrons.

A second issue is the nature of responses to art outlined in the preface and whether or not the prefaces might be understood as embodiments of theoretical notions. It is clear that the prefaces were subject to certain structures of literary expression developed in courtly

¹⁶ J. Michael Rogers, “Centralisation and Timurid Creativity,” *Oriente Moderno* n. s. 15 [77], 2 (1996): 533–50; esp. 546.

¹⁷ Soucek suggested this for Dust Muhammad (“Nizāmī on Painters and Painting,” p. 12).

¹⁸ See Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, esp. p. 5; and Rossi, “*Sprezzatura*, Patronage, and Fate,” p. 60. Rossi provides examples of condescension to artists in the face of their attempts to be “remembered as gentlemen and literati” (ibid., pp. 60–61). See also Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000). By the end of the sixteenth century a literature had developed in which the artist’s relationship to the patron was described along with the abilities the artist should possess (Robert Williams, “The Vocation of the Artist as Seen by Giovanni Battista Armenini,” *Art History* 18, 4 [December 1995]: 518–36).

literature and that it was desirable that those structures be retained; they controlled the preface's content and were the reason behind the absence of lengthy descriptions of works of art. The Persianate art historical tradition did not develop a rhetorical genre of ekphrasis, the description of a work of art commonly found in Western art literatures.¹⁹ But it would be incorrect to deduce that the habit of description did not exist, even though textually recorded descriptions of paintings are rare and the descriptive aspect of the text requires definition.

ʿAbdi Beg Shirazi, the Safavid court poet who flourished in the middle years of the sixteenth century, composed a *Khamsa*, titled *Jannāt al-ʿadan* (The Gardens of Paradise) at Shah Tahmasp's request. In its poems the gardens and palaces of Qazvin form the central subject. One of the *Khamsa*'s poems, the *Dawḥat al-azhār* (The Blazing Tree),²⁰ includes descriptions of paintings in addition to its main focus on the iwan of the Chihil Sutun and two other palaces.²¹ The poetic framework and the descriptions express similar concerns and exhibit similar results to those encountered in the prefaces: a marked preference for structure and for prescribing the viewer's affective responses in the aesthetic experience and not to articulate the image's minutiae of form and content.²² The language of the preface does not attempt to produce a semblance of the absent, or removed, object present in the viewer's mind.²³ Despite this similarity, however, it should be remembered that the preface accompanied an album, an object which had been constructed to allow visual examination of collected calligraphies, paintings, and drawings. The union between text and image obviously made lengthy description redundant. For similar reasons, prefaces were not vehicles for developing a theory of aesthetic effects and principles of practice, although they contain allusions to both. But from all of these allusions, inferences, and hints we may not assume that theoretical notions were absent or technical knowledge scarce.²⁴ The text operates within a tradition of discursive representation that seems to us wilfully obscure but which was actually conventional. This coyness of the text engages the reader in the mental

¹⁹ The literature on ekphrasis is vast and complex, especially when it deals with different genres at different times. Useful studies about ekphrasis, with detailed bibliographies, include Norman E. Land, *The Viewer as Poet: The Renaissance Response to Art* (University Park, Penna: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*, chap. 9; Alpers, "Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari's *Lives*"; and Liz James and Ruth Webb, "'To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places': Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium," *Art History* 14, 1 (March 1991): 1–17.

²⁰ For an edition of the text, see ʿAbdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Dawḥat al-azhār*, ed. Abū al-Faẓl Hāshim Ev-Oghli Rahimov (Moscow: Dānish, 1974).

²¹ See Ehsan Echrāghī, "Description contemporaine des peintures murales disparues des palais de Šāh Ṭahmāsp à Qazvin," in *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, ed. Chahryar Adle (Paris, 1982), pp. 117–26, esp. pp. 123–26.

²² In this respect it is comparable to Roger de Piles abbreviated *Lives* of Vasari (1697–99). Alpers notes a shift of emphasis in his book to a "viewer's experience of painting rather than the explication of a picture" (Svetlana Alpers, "Roger de Piles and the History of Art," *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 48 [1991]: 175–88; esp. 180).

²³ Although the individuating power of ekphrasis has been questioned in the European context; see Alpers, "Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari's *Lives*," esp. p. 191.

²⁴ Comparable in balance and focal points are written sources of the medieval West. Noting these features, Barret comments on the puzzle that the tradition "should have left virtually no criticism of individual works and hardly any speculation on the nature of art." He then provides a useful summary of the types of texts that are available and what they include. See Cyril Barret, "Medieval Art Criticism," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 5, 1 (January 1965): 25–36; esp. 25. Focusing on art historiography of the same historical context is E. F. Van Der Grinten, *Elements of Art Historiography in Medieval Texts* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969).

gymnastics of a literary complex, perhaps to reflect the contemporary belief in the dissimilarity of words and images and that words were inadequate for conveying visually perceived phenomena.²⁵

Numerous social and cultural factors worked together in the sixteenth century to crystallize a series of developments, most of which had taken place by the final years of the fifteenth. These developments were critical to the articulation of the history of a tradition and its masters in a new literary form that found its primary context in the album. At the end of the century came texts like Qazi Ahmad's monumental biography and Sadiqi Beg's *Qāmūn al-ṣuwar*. Inspired by his encounter with a certain Qutb al-Din Muhammad in Baghdad, Mustafa 'Ali went on to write his *Menākib-i hünerverān* in 1587 at a time when he lamented the absence of a patron in Istanbul equal to the likes of Sultan Husayn Mirza or Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i. It is not surprising that the fullest text—Qazi Ahmad's—and the one that broke the mold—Sadiqi Beg's—should have appeared at a time when everything was changing.²⁶ Although Shah 'Abbas's cultural projects replicated the long-standing idea of the court and its cultural prerogatives, the disruption created during the years when Shah Isma'il II and Muhammad Khudabanda ruled and the later years of Shah Tahmasp's reign had brought about an entirely new context for the production of art. The execution of single-sheet paintings and drawings was now integrated into an economic structure that supported speculative production, effectively freeing the practitioner from the need for a patron. It may well be that larger social and economic reforms played a major role in transforming the nature of the relationship between court patronage and production. Whatever the precise causes of the change, the dense and rich output of art historiographic literature in the sixteenth century—especially its cluster of album prefaces—was such as we have not seen in Iran at any time since. In hindsight the court formation of the sixteenth century appears to have been quite fragile, subject to a slow erosion. Its tightly drawn elite circle of participants and players was scattered and unable to reunite by the century's end, a fact of critical consequence to the dissemination of knowledge. But it was also a time of new aesthetic priorities in the visual and literary arts for which the old court-centered model was no longer of use.

²⁵ Scholars of Renaissance art literatures have framed the same question even if they have not pursued it. Commenting on the better understanding of the debt of Renaissance art literature to Classical rhetoric, Goldstein ("Rhetoric and Art History in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque," p. 643) goes on to remark: "What has not been shown, or not with equal clarity, is how the language-based system is to be understood in relation to the visual arts it purports to define and evaluate." Moreover, noting the problems of connecting ekphrasis to the works of art they purportedly described, James and Webb ("To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places," p. 9) suggest a shift of focus, that "ekphrasis should be used to examine perceptions about art rather than particular works."

²⁶ Several years after Qazi Ahmad and Sadiqi Beg, Iskandar Beg Munshi would sit down to compose his *Tārīkh-i 'ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī* (completed by 1629). Dating to several years after the last preface studied in this book (1609), his history contains numerous biographies of calligraphers and artists that are very much the same as the model developed by Khvandamir for the practitioner's *tazkira*. But as Savory has noted, Iskandar Beg Munshi's history is "perhaps the last in the chain of great Persian medieval histories" (*History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, trans. Savory, 1:xviii).

APPENDIX 1. DESCRIPTION, LITERATURE, AND RECENSIONS

MURVARID'S PREFACE TO THE ALBUM FOR MIR 'ALI SHIR NAVA'I

Description. The recensions of Murvarid's preface included in his *inshā'*, known as the *Sharaf-nāma*, are usually copied in a script that combines features of *naskh* and *nasta'liq* in black ink with red ink used for transitional phrases and to introduce poetic segments.

Literature. Murvarid's preface has been published twice: Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, pp. 131–35, no. 74, German translation, and Persian facsimile (fols. 74a–76a); and Māyil Haravī, "Muraqqa' sāzī dar dawra-yi Tīmūrīān," *Hunar va mardum* 143 (1305): 32–36. Haravi includes a Persian edition of the preface.

Recensions. Roemer notes the likelihood that other manuscripts of Murvarid's *Sharaf-nāma* exist in Istanbul collections. To his list (see *ibid.*, pp. 24–25) the following two manuscripts should be added: (1) *Munsha'āt-i 'Abd Allāh Murvārīd* (Istanbul, TSK H. 828), copied by Muhammad Muhsini in Egypt, Ramadan 962 (20 July–18 August 1555), the preface covers fols. 135b–137a, and it is given a slightly different title, *Inshā'-yi muraqqa'-i Haẓrat Amūr Nīẓām al-Dīn 'Alī Shūr*. For a general description of H. 828, see Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları, 1961), no. 328. (2) The Süleymaniye Library (Hüsrev Paşa 515, titled *Majmū'a*, fols. 123b–260b). The preface is called *Inshā'-yi muraqqa'-i Haẓrat-i Mīr* (fols. 228b–230b) and varies only slightly from the other known recensions. The Persian text reproduced in Roemer's facsimile is in Istanbul, IUL F. 87 and is dated 958 (1551). Still other recensions are listed in Dānishpazhūh, "Dabīrī va nivīsandagī," no. 8, *Hunar va Mardum* 111 (January 1972): 48–56; 53.

KHVANDAMIR/AMINI'S PREFACE TO THE ALBUM COMPILED BY BIHZAD

Description. Khvandamir/Amini's preface, included in Khvandamir's *inshā'* manual called the *Nāma-yi nāmī*, is usually copied in black ink in *nasta'liq* with titles in red ink. The edition of the preface examined here is from the Paris manuscript of the *Nāma-yi nāmī* (Paris, BN, supp. persan 1842, fols. 118b–120a; 187 fols., 240 x 130 mm, ink on colored papers). Muhammad b. Malik Muhammad al-Ustadi finished copying it during the second ten-day period of the month of Sha'ban 1020 (19–28 October 1611).

Literature. A transcription and translation of Khvandamir/Amini's preface was first made available by Mirza Muhammad Qazwini and L. Bouvat ("Deux documents inédits relatifs à Behzād," *Revue du monde musulman* 26 [1914]: 146–61, pt. 1). A complete English translation with notes appeared shortly thereafter (Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 35–37). More recently, Ebadollah Bahari published an abridged English translation with the Persian text (*Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting*, pp. 181–84). All these authors used the Paris recension.

Recensions. Several manuscripts of the *inshā'* are referred to in published catalogues, but a

critical edition is still not available. One is the Paris recension (E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 4 vols. [Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1905–34], 4:279–81, no. 2337), which is dated 925 (1519). Blochet’s catalogue entry gives a summary of the contents of the *Nāma-yi nāmī*. A second recension of the manuscript is owned by the India Office Library, London: it bears the variant title, *Inshā’-yi Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn* (Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* [Oxford: Horace Hart, 1903], 1:1137–39, cat no. 2055, currently ms. no. DP434A). According to Ethé, the latest dated item in this defective recension is 929 (1522–23), a slightly later date than the manuscript in Paris. Ethé suggests that the *Nāma-yi nāmī* was compiled between 1526 and 1530. A third and fourth recension are listed by Bahari as London, BL Or. 11012, and Moscow, Inst. Navodov Azii ms. no. 2398. Additional recensions are listed in Dānishpazhūh, “Muraqqa’ sāzī va jung nivīsī,” p. 187, n. 22. Danishpazhuh contests the attribution of the preface to Khvandamir, suggesting that he copied it from Amini (p. 188). For other recensions, see Dānishpazhūh, “Dabīrī va nivīsandagī,” no. 6, *Hunar va Mardum* (November 1971): 46–52; esp. 47.

DUST MUHAMMAD’S PREFACE TO THE BAHRAM MIRZA ALBUM

The preface is a unicum and exists as an autograph in Istanbul, TSK H. 2154 (album, 149 fols., 484 x 345 mm; preface text, fols. 8b–17b). The album was probably assembled in Tabriz, and the preface is dated 951 (1544–45).

Description. The preface lies between fols. 8b and 17b of the album in an uninterrupted sequence. It is written in *nasta’līq* in black, gold, and colored inks (white, red, blue, light green, lapis-lazuli and pink), selected to contrast and harmonize with an equally wide variety of colored papers. The color of paper used is typically contrasted with that of the paper margin; each margin is in a single unmodulated color and is sprinkled with gold. The text pages are enlivened by the use of differently colored inks that highlight words, Koranic quotations, and the titles of rulers. Poetry is placed in intercolumnar rulings inscribed in black and gold to distinguish it from the prose. All of the preface folios are marked with catchwords to aid collation.

As in other album prefaces, an elaborate double-page illuminated frame marks the beginning. These first two pages (fols. 8b–9a) are sumptuous; written in blue and white inks on a solid gold ground, the text panels are enshrined in a double-page illuminated frame. These frames are ubiquitous in Islamic books and follow the structure and layout developed for both Korans and secular manuscripts, where they served either to magnify important points in the book or to signal their subdivisions.

In part because of preconceptions about the appropriate location of a preface, some scholars have suggested that the integrity of the beginning folio sequence (fols. 1b–7b) in the Bahram Mirza album has been compromised. A survey of the location of other sixteenth-century prefaces in the albums they accompany yields various possibilities. The Bahram Mirza album’s fourth folio (fol. 4a–b) is certainly not part of the original as demonstrated by its anomalous decorated paper margins and by the style of illumination used to decorate its calligraphic specimens. A codicological examination of the remaining folios in this sequence (fols. 1a–8a) reveals that in the unlikely event that some of them had been taken from later points in the album, the preface could never have followed immediately after the *ex libris*

on fol. 1a, a conclusion established principally from two fixed points in the sequence (fol. 1a–b and fol. 8a–b) and supported by auxiliary evidence.

The first point (fol. 1a–b) is the opening medallion; it is followed by facing pages (fols. 1b–2a) assembled from paintings and drawings. The second fixed point (fol. 8a–b) is a calligraphy by Princess Sultanum, followed by the first page of the album preface. Sultanum's calligraphy on fol. 8a faces another (fol. 7b) executed and signed by her. With only one exception (fol. 7a), the pages between these points—that is, fols. 2b–7a (fol. 4a–b is not included)—are composed of specimens by calligraphers who were either exact or near contemporaries of Bahram Mirza and were employed by Safavid patrons.

Facing the preface's epilogue (fol. 17b) is a page assembled from three calligraphies signed by Bahram Mirza, Baysunghur, and Khalil Allah. This calligraphic page is numbered fol. 17a (two folios were given the number 17 during the album's modern pagination). The reverse side of this page is composed of a painting depicting a falcon, which faces another painting of the same subject (on fol. 18a). The second falcon leads on to a calligraphic page with works by Muhammad Rahim and Nawruz Ahmad (fol. 18b), and a run of pages signed by the Uzbek ruler 'Abd al-'Aziz (fols. 19a–20a). The next two pages (fols. 20b–21a) pair a late-fourteenth-century Jalayirid painting ascribed by Dust Muhammad to the master 'Abd al-Hayy with a Chinese bird-and-flower painting on silk.

Literature. The first complete publication of Dust Muhammad's preface in Persian was undertaken by M. Abdullah Chaghtai (*A Treatise on Calligraphists and Miniaturists: Hālāt-i Hunarvarān* [Lahore: Chabuk Savaran, 1936]). The text has numerous errors but most are minor. Bayani's subsequent publication of the preface in Persian (Bayānī, *Ahvāl va āsār*, 1, 1, pp. 192–203, no. 317) is useful but it also contains errors, and he does not always indicate where he has omitted passages. A third transcription was published by Fikri Saljuqi (*Ẓikr-i barkhī az khushnivīsān va hunarmandān* [Kabul: Anjumān-i Tārīkh va Adab, 1349/1970], pp. 4–20). It is little more than a reiteration of Chaghtai, but without the preface's introductory remarks (not included are TSK H. 2154, fols. 8b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 10b, and 11a up to line 3). Saljuqi provides notes and a commentary. The most recent Persian transcription of the preface is Mayil Haravi ("Dībācha-yi Dūst Muḥammad Gavashānī Haravī," in *Kitāb ārāʾ dar tamuddan-i islāmī*, pp. 259–76). It is also incomplete and does not systematically indicate lacunae.

Dust Muhammad's preface attracted scholarly attention in the West after its abridged translation—which reads more like a summary in places—appeared in 1933 (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, pp. 183–88, app. 1). Thackston produced the first unabridged English translation (Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, pp. 335–49). Extensive notes accompany it and provide information on the historical personages cited by Dust Muhammad, the years when the artists and calligraphers were active (established from signed and dated manuscripts), and notes on art terminology.

SHAH QULI KHALIFA'S PREFACE TO THE SHAH TAHMASP ALBUM

The preface is a unicum and exists as an autograph in Istanbul, IUL, F. 1422 (album, 89 fols., 318 x 187 mm; preface text, fols. 1b–4b, 21b, 27b). The preface is undated but was probably completed before 1558.

Description. At present the Shah Tahmasp album preface runs from fol. 1b to fol. 4b; the

album begins with an ex libris on fol. 1a, and the preface opens with an illuminated heading on fol. 1b. The next two pages of the preface are located on fols. 21b and 27b and are integral to the folios to which they are attached. The *a* sides of fols. 21 and 27 are composed of paintings from a fourteenth-century *Kātīla wa Dimna* manuscript. Although the album opened with the preface (following immediately after an illuminated ex libris on fol. 1a) and ran until fol. 4b, fols. 21b and 27b indicate that it was not arranged in a continuous sequence when the album was compiled; rather, it was interspersed with folios on which paintings were attached.

The text is written in black ink in *nasta'liq* on smooth ivory paper with blue and gold inks highlighting transitional segments, names, and Arabic quotations. Small dots of gold serve as punctuation marks and to divide couplets of poetry (absent from fol. 21b). The margins are of different colors and are sprinkled with gold.

Literature. The preface is unpublished. Edhem and Stchoukine used it for their brief description of the album, noting that Shah Quli Khalifa assembled it for Shah Tahmasp (Fehmi Edhem and Ivan Stchoukine, *Manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque l'Université de Stamboul* [Paris: E. de Boccard, 1933], pp. 40–43, cat. no. 34). Based on his reading of the preface, Morton took issue with Shah Quli Khalifa's role in the album's formation, stating that it was made for him and not for Shah Tahmasp (Morton, "The Chūb-i Ṭarīq and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia," p. 228, n. 9).

MALIK DAYLAMI'S PREFACE TO THE AMIR HUSAYN BEG ALBUM

The preface is a unicum and exists as an autograph in Istanbul, TSK H. 2151 (album 104 fols., 506 x 345 mm; preface text fols. 1b, 2a–b, 74a–b, 25a–b, 23a–b, [lacuna] 98a–b, 33a–b, [lacuna?], and album H. 2161, fol. 2a). The preface was probably composed in Qazvin and is dated 968 (1560–61).

Description. The complexity of the Amir Husayn Beg album's codicology equals that of album H. 2156 and the Amir Ghayb Beg album (TSK, H. 2161). One of the folios from the Amir Husayn Beg album is misbound into the Amir Ghayb Beg album, and the latest dated calligraphy in the album (fol. 29a, 992/1584–85) was done 24 years after Malik Daylami's preface. This chronological discrepancy and the extremely wide variety of marginal schemes in the Amir Husayn Beg album indicate a misbinding of folios, which resulted from several albums being rebound and repaired, probably in Istanbul in the late nineteenth century.

The Amir Husayn Beg album is currently in a late-Aqqoyunlu-period binding which names Yusuf Bahadur, son of Uzun Hasan, in an inscription on its endcap (*ba-rasm-i kutubkhāna-yi ḥaẓrat shāh va shāhẓāda-yi 'ālamīyān Abū al-'Izz Yūsuf Bahādur khallada Allāhu mulkahu*, "By order of the library of his highness the king and son of the king of the world, Abū al-'Izz Yūsuf Bahadur, may God extend his dominion"). This binding, made decades before Amir Husayn Beg's album, was reused for the purposes of containing the album's folios at a later time, perhaps as late as the nineteenth century. Some of the album's folios may have been trimmed down to fit the binding. Several of the Safavid-period albums contemporary to that made for Amir Husayn Beg have lacquered covers, for example, the Shah Tahmasp album (IUL, F. 1422), the Amir Ghayb Beg album (TSK, H. 2161), and a second album

made for Bahram Mirza (TSK, B. 410). These three are examples of lacquered bindings for albums during the middle years of the sixteenth century. The Amir Husayn Beg album may once have been bound between such lacquered covers.

The current collation of folios in Amir Husayn Beg's album disperses the preface folios throughout; their original order of reading was first established by Bayani. Fols. 1b–2a are contained in illuminated frames with elaborate painted margins. It is not possible at present to say whether the remaining preface folios (after fol. 2b) followed in an unbroken sequence. If they did, the arrangement would have been like that in the Bahram Mirza album and the Amir Ghayb Beg album, where adjacent paper margins were not matched by color, but where the album preface's folios were gathered together as a unit and placed at the beginning.

The preface is written in a black ink in *nasta'liq*—some words (introductions to poetry, personal names, sayings in Arabic) are highlighted in colored pigments—over sheets of gold-sprinkled ivory paper. Occasional bands of gold and polychrome illumination are used to highlight poems that are also set off by gold rulings edged in black. In the dramatic opening pages the text is in illuminated frames, and the margins are extensively decorated in polychrome and gold. Washes in gold augment the sumptuousness of the pages done in inked line and fields of rich polychrome pigment. The margins are filled with a landscape of flowers, rocks and wispy trees, inhabited by groups of animals: lions and tigers attack deer, a lion attacks an ox, a dragon fights a bixie, pairs of deer and cloud bixies recline free from molestation. Also to be seen are plumed birds in the tree and a jackal. The animals are arranged in the margin around the double-page illuminated frames. Subsequent margins are equally elaborate but in different techniques. Several of them treat the margin as a landscape populated with animals and plants, rendered in gold line and wash over variously colored papers, and others pass over figural elements for a pattern of floral motifs. Contrasting the opening pages, polychrome elements in subsequent preface folios are restricted by and large to the color of the margin and to colored inks used for copying selected portions of the text. A few margins use colored pigments for their decoration: one shows a patterned arrangement of interconnected lozenges and cartouches, each containing animals rendered in gold against polychrome garlands of flowers. Intervening spaces are filled with subsidiary geometric shapes containing flowers, and the ground is completed by cloud bands reserved in the color of the margin surrounded by gold. The seam rulings concealing the join of the preface inset and the paper margin are done in gold guard stripes with variously colored lines.

In his preface to the album, Malik Daylami identifies three practitioners—Muzaffar 'Ali, Mulla Masih Allah, and Jalal Beg—as the ones who decorated, illuminated, and arranged the album's folios. Malik Daylami notes that some of the folios were decorated and illuminated by Muzaffar 'Ali and attributes the organization of the album and its elements to Mulla Masih Allah and Jalal Beg. Muzaffar 'Ali's handiwork can be associated directly with some of the margins of the album preface and others throughout the album.

Literature. Abridged editions of the preface were published and translated by Bayani (*Ahvāl va āsār*, 2, 3, pp. 601–7, no. 820) and Thackston (*A Century of Princes*, pp. 351–52). The preface is mentioned briefly in Dānishpazhūh, “Muraqqa' sāzī va jung nivīsī,” p. 195, no. 21.

MIR SAYYID AHMAD'S PREFACE TO ALBUM H. 2156

The preface exists as an autograph copy in Istanbul, TSK H. 2156 (album 100 fols., 459 x 305 mm; preface text fols. 1b, 44a, 44b, 30a, 30b) signed by Ahmad al-Husayni al-Mashhadi, who probably copied the preface in Qazvin. It is dated 971 (1563). The album's margins are inscribed with the years 980 and 982 (1572 and 1575).

Description. Although the preface is currently interspersed throughout the album, its five pages of text originally ran consecutively at the very beginning. Fol. 1b has an illuminated heading, and catchwords connect it to fol. 44a–b, followed by fol. 30a–b. The margins framing the album text pages are yellow and decorated with gold lotus-variant flowers and other floral motifs. Seam rulings inscribed around the text pages follow a standard pattern (lapis lazuli, gold outlined in black, light blue, purple, and green), and these were completed after the trimmed sheets of text had been positioned and glued in place over the bilaminate yellow folios. The album text pages are of a dark ivory color and the text is written in black *nasta'liq*. Gold ink is reserved for Arabic quotations. The decoration on some pages is augmented by painted gold floral motifs executed around and between the lines of script.

The identity of the patron and recipient is unknown; the chances of finding it out were hindered by the album's rebinding, when library seals or endpapers bearing notations were removed. The contents of album H. 2156 and therefore its shape as a collection result from the rebinding sometime in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century under the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid II. At that time folios from three separate albums, and possibly a fourth, were rearranged and bound. Album H. 2156 was bound in a new Hamidian-period binding (red leather with "Victorian"-style gold stamping).

Originally fol. 1b was located at the album's opening and this placement survived the rebinding; however, its *a* side bears no traces of an illuminated ex libris in which a patron might have been named, as is the case in other albums. There is only a brief notation describing the album's contents added by a librarian during the Ottoman period and four Ottoman seal impressions, two identifiable as seals of Ahmed I (r. 1603–17), and Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), and the other two not identified. Mir Sayyid Ahmad's preface is almost certainly one of the stenciled folios decorated with cartouches that contain poems and dates because the composite seam ruling inscribed on the folios of both groups is identical. The preface margins are much simpler than the stenciled ones. All are of yellow paper decorated with gold lotuses, rosettes, buds, and leaves on stalks.

MIR SAYYID AHMAD'S PREFACE TO THE AMIR GHAYB BEG ALBUM

The preface is a unicum and exists as an autograph in Istanbul, TSK H. 2161 (album 192 fols., 461 x 344 mm; preface text fols. 7a–16b; chronogram fols. 186b–190a), signed by Ahmad al-Husayni al-Mashhadi (his signature appears at the conclusion of the preface and the chronogram). The preface is dated 972 (1564–65) and the chronogram was completed in Herat in 973 (1565–66).

Description. The preface runs continuously between fols. 7a and 16b. The text is written in black ink in *nasta'liq* on ivory paper decorated with interlinear gold lotus-like flowers. Other colors are used to highlight key phrases, words, and transitional passages. The catchphrases

found on some of the album preface's text pages indicate that an attempt was made to maintain the correct textual sequence in the process of transforming loose, single sheets into finished album folios. The margins, stunning examples of stenciled ornament superimposed with drawing in gold, exhibit great variety, but they were not arranged so that facing pages would match.

The chronogram has features that make it consistent with those of the preface (its calligraphy and paper). However, these folios remain incomplete. All of the margins have only the first application of pigment, for which a stencil was used, without any of the drawing in gold or the addition of secondary colors characteristic of the preface's other folios. Furthermore, the chronogram text pages lack the gold flowers (lotus variant) found on the preface's pages. This characteristic treatment of interlinear decoration is also found in some of the album's arrangements of calligraphies and paintings. The incompleteness of the chronogram pages, dated one year after the preface, suggests that the album may never have been completed.

In the analysis of album H. 2156 and the Amir Husayn Beg album, it became clear that their codicology had been disrupted and altered by rebinding and the rearrangement of groups of folios. The same is also true of Amir Ghayb Beg's album. In its present incarnation, it too would appear to be a late-nineteenth-century recombination of two separate albums plus some folios added from others. Analysis of its Safavid-period lacquer binding shows that its envelope flap was widened sometime in the late nineteenth century, probably during the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), and a new leather endcap was attached to the binding's upper and lower covers. In the process, the Safavid fore-edge flap was disassembled and its lacquered inner and outer surfaces removed and reattached to a wider pasteboard strip. This made it some two centimeters wider, allowing the binding to hold about forty folios more than the original Safavid one. The current block of folios combines the original Amir Ghayb Beg album with folios from the Amir Husayn Beg album, four folios from the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album, and others from still other albums. The most plausible explanation is that the folios now in the Amir Ghayb Beg album were put together during a massive album and manuscript rebinding in the reign of Abdülhamid II.

It is possible, however, to make some preliminary observations about the preface's location in the Amir Ghayb Beg album. The current sequence (fols. 7a–16b) is continuous, and there are no lacunae in the text. The first page of the album's preface is on the *a* side of fol. 7, and it is placed in an illuminated frame. Usually prefaces begin on the *b* side of a folio, and are thus arranged as two facing pages (*b* side facing *a* side of the next folio). By beginning a preface on the *a* side, the Amir Ghayb Beg album departed from the practice of other examples, a feature that shows that it must have been preceded by at least one folio. Thus, although the beginning sequence of the Amir Ghayb Beg album folios still needs to be reconstructed, it is unlikely that it began with the preface. Instead, a series of large illuminated rosettes, circles, and panels in the album (some of them are on fols. 29a–b, 30a–b), may originally have formed the opening folios. The illuminated pages correspond to each other by establishing relationships of composition—playing on symmetry—design and palette, and it is not inconceivable that they were matched on facing pages. If this was the case, the album's beginning sequence developed a standard feature of the luxury book, namely the illuminated frame (used to mark beginnings and subdivisions), and/or *ex libris*.

But they indicate changes when compared to the luxury book through the magnification of scale and decoration and the removal of textual elements that tied such features to a specific function. The mirroring relationships—which are always denied perfect symmetry through the alteration of some small element of structure or a change in palette—referred to the practice of double-page compositions and played on the wider cultural allusion of the mirror.

Literature. Scholarly references to Qutb al-Din Muhammad's album preface are included here because Mir Sayyid Ahmad excerpted segments from it as well as reorganizing the sequence of its parts. Persian editions of Qutb al-Din Muhammad's preface were published by Ḥusayn Khadīr Jam, "Risāla-ī dar tārikh-i khaṭṭ va naqqāshī az Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Qiṣṣa-Khvān," *Sukhan* 1716–17 (1346/1967): 666–76; Mahdī Bayānī, *Ahvāl va āsār*, 1:50–54; and Māyil Harāvī, "Dībācha-yi Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Qiṣṣa Khvān," in *Kitāb ārāʾī dar tamuddan-i islāmī*, pp. 278–88. Their notes refer to other manuscript recensions. Dickson and Welch noted the relationship between Qutb al-Din Muhammad's preface and Mir Sayyid Ahmad's, describing the latter as a "plagiarized version" (Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:281). The preface is mentioned briefly in Dānishpazhūh, "Muraqqa' sāzī va jung nivīsī," p. 195, no. 20, with notes on other recensions.

SHAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD VASFI'S PREFACE TO THE SHAH ISMA'IL II ALBUM

The preface is a unicum and exists as an autograph in Istanbul, TSK H. 2138 (album 68 fols., 357 x 235 mm; preface text fols. 2b–8b). The album was begun in Mashhad and the preface is dated 976–84 (1568–77).

Description. The preface is arranged as an uninterrupted block of text pages at the front of the album. The album's first two pages (fols. 2b–3a) are enclosed by a symmetrical illuminated frame executed in lapis lazuli, gold, pale blue and orange, with additional colors used for the florals. Small gold cartouches arranged at the upper and lower center of each illuminated page contain inscriptions in a white *thuluth* script. The *thuluth* text records the dates of the album's inception and completion and identifies the current ruler as Shah Isma'īl al-Safavī al-Husaynī.

The preface is written in a black ink in *riqā'* on ivory paper; red, gold, pink, magenta, and blue pigments are used to highlight names, Koranic verses, poetry, and transitional segments. The text pages are framed by tinted borders, gold seam rulings, and colored margins decorated with gold floral designs and medallions arranged along the outer edges of the page. Like numerous folios throughout the album, some of the preface's margins are stenciled (e.g., with a lotus-variant pattern).

Literature. Unpublished. The preface is included in the list of Safavid sources compiled by Ḥabībī, "Literary Sources for the History of the Arts," Safavid Sources, no. 46; and mentioned in Dānishpazhūh, "Muraqqa' sāzī va jung nivīsī," p. 182, no. 15.

MUHAMMAD MUHSIN'S PREFACE TO ALBUM H. 2157

The preface is a unicum and exists as an autograph in Istanbul, TSK H. 2157 (album 71 fols., 349 x 232 mm; preface text fols. 2b–8b, 19a, 65a–68b, 69b–71a), signed by Muhammad Muhsin. The preface was copied in Herat and is dated 990 (1582–83).

Description. The preface is written in black ink in *nasta'liq* on sheets of ivory paper. Some of the lines of text are punctuated by gold circles outlined in blue and peppered with black dots. The first two album pages are contained in an illuminated frame executed in lapis lazuli, gold, black, red, and other pigments. Gold cartouches outlined in white at the upper and lower center areas of each page have no text. The ivory margins are decorated with gold florals; the text pages have a vibrant interlinear decoration of gold floral sprays of lotus variants. The seam rulings are a standard type; only the color of the ruling's outermost line has been varied. The margins are of a single color decorated with a simple sprinkling of gold. Adjacent pages are contrasted by color. Some pages have blocks of illumination executed on them, filling spaces left over by sections of poetic text, giving visual emphasis to the text's staggered relationship to the page.

As in some other examples, the preface was arranged across the album's folios. Most of its pages are clustered in two principal sequences, fols. 2b–8b and 65a–71a, with three folios having preface text attached only to one side (fols. 19a, 69b, and 71a), and paintings or calligraphies attached to the reverse. Thus, the preface is integrated into the album, with two main sequences bracketing the collection at the beginning and end.

Literature. The preface is included in the lists of Safavid sources compiled by Danishpazhuh and Habibi (Dānishpazhūh, "Sar guzasht nāmahā-yi khushnivīsān va hunarmandān"; Ḥabībī, "Literary Sources for the History of the Arts," Safavid Sources, no. 29), and mentioned in passing in Dānishpazhūh, "Muraqqa' sāzī va jung nivīsī," p. 200, no. 27. For an abridged version of the preface, see Bayānī, *Aḥvāl va āsār*, 2, 3, pp. 834–35, no. 1234.

MUHAMMAD SALIH'S PREFACE TO THE VALI MUHAMMAD KHAN ALBUM

The preface is a unicum and exists as an autograph in Istanbul, TSK H. 2137 (album 39 fols., 388 x 285 mm; preface text fols. 1b–5a), signed by Muhammad Salih. The preface was possibly copied in Bukhara and is dated 1018 (1609).

Description. The preface is arranged as an uninterrupted block of text pages at the front of the album. The album's first two pages (fols. 1b–2a) are enclosed by a lavish illuminated frame executed mainly in a palette of lapis lazuli and gold, with numerous pastel and primary colors used for florals, cloud bands, palmettes, and to accent internal divisions and borders. Small gold cartouches arranged at the upper and lower center of each illuminated page contain inscriptions written in *nasta'liq* in white. The outer edges of the illuminated frame are punctuated by large complex medallions that break into the decorated margin. The ivory-colored paper is painted with a dense pattern of lotus-variant flowers, *sāz* leaves, and cloud bands.

The text is written in black ink in *nasta'liq* on ivory paper, with blue, red, and gold used to highlight key words and Arabic quotations. The text pages are often decorated with illumination, around and between the lines of text, as well as elaborate illuminated frames

marking the transition from text to margin. The margins exhibit a wide variety of decoration, mainly effected through color harmony, within an essentially circumscribed repertoire of ornament and composition. Their colored surfaces are either painted with dense patterns of animals and birds, flowers, or pairs of animals in combat (lions, deer, qilins, dragons, simurghs), all done in gold. Some have medallions arranged along the page's outer edges, painted in polychrome or illuminated.

Literature. Unpublished. The preface is included in the list of Safavid sources compiled by Danishpazhuh and Habibi (Dānishpazhūh, "Sar guzasht nāmāhā-yi khushnivīsān va hunarmandān"; Ḥabībī, "Literary Sources for the History of the Arts," Safavid Sources, no. 30), and is mentioned in passing by Dānishpazhūh, "Muraqqa' sāzī va jung nivīsī," p. 204, no. 36. Bayani briefly mentions the album and preface, and discusses their dates in his biographical entry on the calligrapher Muhammad al-Salih (Bayānī, *Aḥwāl va āsār*, 2, 3, p. 777, no. 1117).