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# *Hidden from Scholarly Eyes for a Century: An unknown*

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## *Bāysunghurī manuscript sheds new light on his court*

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### *and library*

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#### **Abstract**

*Persian arts of the book reached new heights under the patronage of the Timurids, in particular in the atelier of prince Bāysunghur (1399–1433) in Herat. This paper introduces a dual-text manuscript produced there in 833/1430, now held in the Suleymaniye Library in Istanbul, which has previously escaped scholarly attention. Up until now its scribe, Sa‘d Mashhadī, has been known only for his copy of the Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy of ‘Atā-Malik Juvaynī (834/1431). He has been identified with Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīn named in the ‘Arza-dāshī, the report written by Bāysunghur’s chief librarian, Ja‘far Tabrīzī. On the basis of the report and a study of the calligraphy, I argue Sa‘d Mashhadī penned a third manuscript for Bāysunghur, an early copy of the Zubdat al-tawārīkh, c.829/1426. This article attempts to provide a fuller picture of the calligrapher. A number of biographical dictionaries mention a contemporary called Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d, a follower of Qāsim Anwār, who was a prominent poet and riddle writer. Beginning with a poetic connection between the two names in a biographical work, and pursuing an in-depth study of his Dīvān, which, through riddles, reveals an association with Bāysunghur’s atelier, I suggest that Sa‘d Mashhadī and Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d could be the same person. Whether or not this is the case, this study sheds new light on an important but little known court poet and Sufi and a calligrapher in the royal atelier.*

**Key words:** Timurid manuscripts; Bāysunghur; Sa‘d Mashhadī; Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d; ‘Arza-dāshī; Kunūz al-wadī‘a; al-Faraj ba‘d al-shidda; riddles

#### **I. Yeni Cami 937**

Manuscript production in the celebrated library of the Timurid prince, Bāysunghur Mīrẓā (1399–1433), has attracted ample scholarly attention for more than a century.<sup>1</sup> However,

<sup>1</sup>Among the earliest studies in the 20th century is Fredrik Martin’s, F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1912), in which he refers to the *kitābkhāna* as ‘Bāysunghur’s Academy’. Other scholarly works concerned with Bāysunghur’s library include the

there are still several examples of the Herat School that have not been properly identified or introduced. One such manuscript is preserved in Istanbul, Suleymaniye, Yeni Cami, no. 937.<sup>2</sup> I will describe some significant codicological features of the codex before turning to the identity of the scribe, Sa'd Mashhadī, and his association with Prince Bāysunghur's court.<sup>3</sup>

This previously neglected codex, containing the *Kunūz al-wadī'a min numūz al-zarī'a ilā makārim al-sharī'a* and a translation of *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda wa al-zīqa*, was copied by Sa'd al-Mashhadī in a neatly-written early *nasta'liq* script and is dated 833/1430.

It is unillustrated and contains 475 ruled folios, each with 25 lines per page. The codex is decorated with Bāysunghur's *ex libris* inscribed within two illuminated medallions (*shamsas*), one at the beginning of each work, on f. 1r and f. 185r. It also includes four sumptuous illuminated headings (*sarlahs*), on ff. 1v, 9v, 185v and 195v.

### The binding

The 600-year history behind the codices produced at Bāysunghur's atelier that have survived to our time is sufficient to explain why they are seldom found in their original bindings, especially considering the fact that the output of the royal atelier was moved and plundered several times after the prince's death. Thomas Lentz believed that at least five original bindings executed for Bāysunghur are still extant: *Kalīla-u Dimna* (833), *Kalīla-u Dimna* (834), *Tārīkh-i Isfahānī* (834), *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* (833), and *Chahār maqāla* (835). Although I have argued elsewhere that the binding of the *Tārīkh-i Isfahānī* (*Tārīkh sinī al-mulūk al-'arż wa'l-anbiyā'* of Ḥamza Isfahānī) is from a later period,<sup>4</sup> I would add two further original bindings to Lentz's list, including that of our manuscript.

The binding of the Yeni Cami codex is in medium and light brown leather with an envelope flap and has been restored at some point. Although not in pristine condition, I believe the binding includes much of the Bāysunghurī original. The binding was evidently damaged along the spine and edges, and during the course of restoration the cover was carefully remounted and the main spine replaced. The doublures and the inside of the flap show limited tooling, but the cover is decorated with very fine patterns tooled on a border, framing a decorated cusped oval (*turanj*) with two small pendants and four corner pieces. The outer spine of the flap is similarly tooled with the same decorative motifs, and is exceptional in that it encompasses an inscription in *thulth* script, which reads:

«اللهم خذ دولة السلطان الاعظم \* بايسنغر بهادرخان خذ الله مملكته»<sup>5</sup>

comprehensive study by Thomas Lentz: T. W. Lentz, "Painting at Herat under Baysunghur ibn Shah Rukh" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1985), Oleg Akimushkin: O. F. Akimushkin, "The library-workshop (*kitabkhāna*) of Bāysunghur-Mirzā in Herat", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 3:1 (1997), pp. 14–24, and a number of studies by David Roxburgh, including D. J. Roxburgh, "Our Works Point to Us: Album making, collecting, and art (1427–1465) under the Timurids and Safavids" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1996) and "Baysunghur's library: questions related to its chronology and production", *Journal of Social Affairs*, 18:72 (2001), pp. 11–41.

<sup>2</sup>For a recent reassessment of the manuscripts produced at the royal library of Prince Bāysunghur, see S. Mihan, "Timurid Manuscript Production: The Scholarship and Aesthetics of Prince Bāysunghur's Royal Atelier (1420–1435)" (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2018b).

<sup>3</sup>I refer to the scribe as Sa'd al-Mashhadī when discussing his signature and copying; in other cases I follow the primary sources where his name appears without 'al'.

<sup>4</sup>Mihan 2018b, pp. 152–153.

<sup>5</sup>Translation: O God, perpetuate the kingship of the magnificent Sultan, Bāysunghur Bahādur Khān, may God perpetuate his kingdom.

The apparent age of the leather, the delicate tooling, decorative motifs and design all indicate that the cover at least is a Bāysunghurī production, and the inscription with the name of Bāysunghur further suggests that much of the original binding has survived (Fig. 1). Among productions of the prince's atelier, the only other manuscript that now carries the name of Bāysunghur on its binding is the *Kalīla-u Dimna* (834/1430–31), in the Topkapı Palace Library (H. 362), where his name appears in *kufic* on the decorated cartouches on the upper and lower doublures.

#### Yet another contemporary binding

The second binding I would add to the list of extant original bindings is that of the *Naṣā'ih-i Iskandar*, preserved in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ar. 4183. That manuscript was copied by Ja'far Bāysunghurī in 829/1425–26, and its binding is close to the Yeni Cami's in materials, technique and design (Fig. 2). In much the same way, components of the original were saved and remounted during restoration. However, in this case, the flap spine was replaced and there is no sign of an inscription. The binding is of medium brown leather of the finest quality with very similar decorative motifs and the same subtle technique of tooling and pressure molding. These similarities support the argument that the binding of the *Naṣā'ih-i Iskandar* is likewise contemporary to the manuscript (i.e. 829H) despite its remarkably good condition (Fig. 3).<sup>6</sup>

#### The texts

The first text in the Yeni Cami codex is the *Kunūz al-wadī'a min rumūz al-zarī'a ilā makārim al-sharī'a* which is a Persian translation of the Arabic book, *al-Zarī'a ilā makārim al-sharī'a* ("The Path to Virtue") by Abu'l-Qāsim Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Mufazzāl, known as Rāghib Iṣfahānī (d. c. 402/1008–9), written in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> It was first translated into Persian by Ibn Zāfir (b. Shams al-Dīn Ḥasan) in 768/1367.<sup>8</sup> The main subjects of the book are ethics and mysticism. It is divided into seven chapters on taming carnality, particularly by controlling lust and anger. The author employs Qur'anic verses and *hadīth* as well as poems and proverbs.<sup>9</sup> A number of scholars have favourably compared *al-Zarī'a* to the

<sup>6</sup>In a 2015 lecture series, David Roxburgh indicated on a list of Bāysunghurī productions that the binding for this manuscript might be original ("Modeling Artistic Process: The *Kitābkhāna* and *Arzadāshī*", Yarshater Lecture Series, SOAS, London, 19.01.2015). However, he has not mentioned this in his publications, in particular in D. J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: from dispersal to collection* (New Haven, 2005). Elaine Wright has in conversation (personal communication, April 2015) suggested that the binding might be an Ottoman production, directing me to her published comment regarding the green silk, where she did not commit either way. See E. J. Wright, *The Look of the Book: manuscript production in Shiraz, 1303–1452*, (Washington, D. C., Seattle, Dublin, 2012), p. 374, n. 47.

<sup>7</sup>For a complete account of Rāghib Iṣfahānī, see E. K. Rowson, "al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, (eds) P. Bearman et al. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_6188](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6188) (last accessed on 1 August 2018).

<sup>8</sup>The date Jumādā I, 768 is based on the colophon of a copy in the Mar'ashi Najafi Library in Qom.

<sup>9</sup>For an English translation of the book, see Y. Mohamed, *The Path to Virtue: the ethical philosophy of al-Raghib al-Iṣfahani, an annotated translation with critical introduction* (Malaysia, 2006).



Fig. 1. (Colour online) Binding. *Kunūz al-wadī'a* & (tr.) *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*, no. 937, Yeni Cami, Suleymaniye Library Istanbul.

*Akhlāq-i Nāshirī*.<sup>10</sup> According to the *Kashf al-zunūn*, al-Ghazālī praised *al-Zarī'a* and carried it with him always.<sup>11</sup>

The *Kunūz al-wadī'a* begins on f. iv, following (on the reverse) the first *shamsa*, which is decorated with palmettes and arabesque vines and bears the inscription of Bāysunghur's *ex libris* in *riqā'* script, which reads:

«برسم خزانه الكتب السلطان الاعظم و الخاقان الاعدل الاكرم بابسنغر بهادر خان خلد الله ملكه»<sup>12</sup>

The text begins with a preface following an illuminated *sarlauḥ* with a white *kufic bismillah* on an ultramarine blue (lapis) ground, decorated with delicate arabesque vines (Fig. 4). The body of the work begins with a table of contents (seven chapters) following a second illuminated *sarlauḥ* on f. 9v. The *kufic* inscription here reads:

«بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به نستعين»

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, M. B. Khwānsārī, *Rauẓāt al-jannāt fi ahvāl al-'ulamā' wa al-sādāt* (Tehran, 1390/2011), vol. 3, p. 198.

<sup>11</sup>Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn* (Istanbul, 1360/1940), vol. 1, col. 827. For a comparison of *al-Zarī'a* with *Mīzān al-'amal* of Ghazālī, see S. 'A. Nāhī, *al-khawālid min āwā' al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī fī falsafat al-akhlāq wa'l-tashrī' wa'l-taṣawwuf* (Amman, 1407/1987).

<sup>12</sup>Translation: For the treasury of the books of the most magnificent Sultan and the most just and noble Khāqān, Bāysunghur Bahādūr Khān, may God perpetuate his kingdom.



Fig. 2. (Colour online) Binding. *Naṣā'ih-i Iskandar*, Ar. 4183 (829/1426) © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

The *Kunūz al-wadī'a* concludes on f. 184r where the colophon provides the completion date of late Shawwāl 833/July 1430.<sup>13</sup>

The second work, *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda wa al-ẓīqa* ("Relief after Difficulty and Distress"), was once again originally a 10<sup>th</sup> century Arabic work, in this case by Qāzī Abū 'Alī Muḥas-san b. 'Alī Tanūkhī. It contains anecdotes of the heroic and moral behaviour of people suffering hardships who finally find relief and wellbeing.<sup>14</sup> According to the scribe, the book was copied from a copy of the second Persian translation, composed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Ḥusayn b. As'ad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dihistānī.<sup>15</sup> The text begins on f. 185r, where the second *ex libris* appears within another exquisite illuminated *shamsa*. It reads:

<sup>13</sup>«تم كتاب كنوز الوديعه من رموز النريعه الى مكارم الشريعة في اواخر شوال ختم بالخير و الإقبال بعام ثلث و ثلثين و ثمان مائه»

<sup>14</sup>For a discussion of the author and the work, see E. Franssen, "A *mağribī* copy of the *Kitāb al-faraj ba'd al-shidda*, by the 'Irāqī *qādī* al-Tanūḥī. Study of a manuscript of Liège University (Belgium)", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 1:1 (2010), pp. 64–66.

<sup>15</sup>No record of the first translation by Muḥammad 'Aufī has survived to our time.





Fig. 3. (Colour online) Details of the flaps. No. 937 (833/1430), Yeni Cami (right) and Ar. 4183 (829/1426), CBL (left) © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

«برسم خزانة الكتب السلطان الاعظم الاعدل الاكرم غياث الحق و السلطنة و الدنيا و الدين بايسنغر بهادر خان خلد ملكه»<sup>16</sup>

Folio 185v is adorned with an illuminated *sarlawh* with a white *kufic* inscription<sup>17</sup> followed by the preface to the second text. That includes a table of contents with a list of chapters and anecdotes (*hikāya*). The body of the text of *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda wa al-ẓīqa* is marked by another illuminated *sarlawh* of the same style on f. 195v.

The second text concludes on f. 472v where the second colophon appears. It provides the date of completion as 28 Rabī' al-ākhir 833/24 January 1430, and the name of the scribe as Sa'd al-Mashhadī.<sup>18</sup>

According to the colophons' dates, the second text was copied prior to the first. But there is no reason to believe these two were rebound in the current order. On the contrary, the fact that the scribe signs his name only at the end of the text with an earlier date (within a separately ruled frame) suggests that the current order is the original.

<sup>16</sup>Translation: For the treasury of the books of the most magnificent, the most just and noble Sultan, the succour of the truth, rulership, world and religion, Bāysunghur Bahādūr Khān, [may God] perpetuate his kingdom.

<sup>17</sup>«ذكر الله اعلى و بالتقديم اولي»

<sup>18</sup>«تم الكتاب الموسوم بفرج بعد الشدة بعون الله و حسن توفيقه في الثامن و العشرين ربيع آخر حجة ثلث و ثلثين و ثمان مائة على يد العبد الضعيف النحيف اقل عبيد السلطاني سعد المشهدي غفر الله ذنوبه و ستر عيوبه امين»

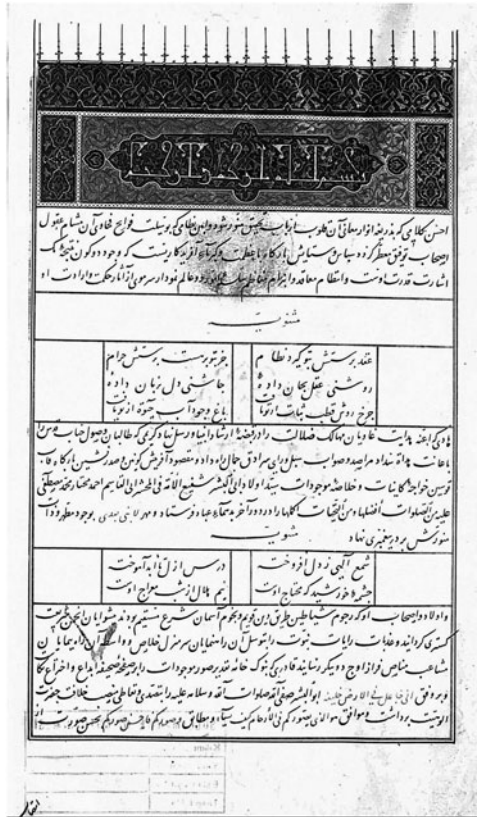


Fig. 4. Sarlauḥ. *Kunūz al-wadī‘a*, f. IV, no. 937, Yeni Cami library

Visual features

The codex comprises two mystic-didactic works, both written in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. They did not lend themselves to illustration, but the care given to producing them in such a lavish manner is an indication of the importance attached to their content.

Bound in one volume, the beginning of each work carries an elaborate *shamsa*, as described above. By the year 1426, *shamsas* with the prince’s *ex libris* began to serve as the emblem of Bāysunghurī manuscripts and were a mark of a distinctive royal quality. The first dated example of such an *ex libris* is seen at the opening of the *Tāj al-ma‘āthir*, completed on 25 Shawwāl 829/1426 (St Petersburg, State University, no. 578).<sup>19</sup> The Bāysunghurī style of illumination – characterised by high precision and meticulous rendering of palmette motifs and fine arabesques vines – is seen in the decorations of the Yeni Cami dual-text codex. The first *shamsa* of our manuscript resembles several examples found in Bāysunghurī

<sup>19</sup>The *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* (vols. 1 & 2), now in St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Dorn 268, carries Bāysunghur’s *ex libris* and was very likely completed earlier in the same year as the *Tāj al-ma‘āthir*. The design of the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*’s *shamsa* is similar to that of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī completed in 823/1420, housed at the British Library, Or. 12087, which had been penned by Ja‘far Tabrīzī (signed: Ja‘far al-Ḥāfīz).

productions, with regard to the script, design and pattern, such as the *shamsa* of the *Gulistān* of Sa‘dī (830/1427),<sup>20</sup> and those of the *Kulliyyāt* of ‘Imād al-Dīn Faqīh Kirmānī (834/1431),<sup>21</sup> the *Tārīkh-i Isfahānī* (834/1431),<sup>22</sup> and the translation of *Tārīkh-i Tabarī* (20 Jumādā II, 833/16 March 1430).<sup>23</sup> A chain of palmettes on a lapis band enclosing the *ex libris* inscription in *riqā‘* is usually set upon a gold ground with green arabesque vines. However, there are always minor differences in the colour scheme and the complexity of the patterns. The second *shamsa* of the Yeni Cami manuscript is similar to that of the *Chahār maqāla* (834/1431),<sup>24</sup> which boasts the same composition and complexity (Fig. 5).

The patterns, design and the characteristics of the *kufic* script used in the ornamentation of the *sarlawḥs* are closest to the Bāysunghurī manuscript of the Malek Library (no. 6031) produced in the same year 833/1430, which contains the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī and the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, copied by Muḥammad Muṭahhar (Fig. 6).<sup>25</sup>

Beyond the initial ornamentation of *shamsas* and *sarlawḥs*, the remaining folios are enlivened only by changes in the ink colour used for Qur’anic verses or rubrics.

## II. The scribe Sa‘d Mashhadī

As noted above, the colophon of our manuscript gives the name of the scribe as Sa‘d al-Mashhadī. He was also responsible for copying the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* of ‘Atā-Malik Juvaynī, which he signed and dated Rabī‘ I 834/December 1430.<sup>26</sup> That is, he completed the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* less than six months after the *Kunūz al-wadī‘a*. Given the size of the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* (279 folios) it is likely he worked on both manuscripts in parallel, after completing a different *Tārīkh*, which is yet another manuscript not previously recognised as a work in Sa‘d’s hand.

### *The ‘Arza-dāshṭ and a Tārīkh by Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīn*

When Ja‘far Tabrīzī was appointed as head of the royal atelier (*kitābkhāna*) he was responsible not only for supervising courtly projects, but also for reporting the progress of the workshop’s activities to the prince. One extant folio of such a report is a document, originally written in the form of a scroll, widely known as the *‘Arza-dāshṭ*, in which Ja‘far itemises the manuscripts in production at the time of writing and the artists or scribes working on them.<sup>27</sup> He does not mention anyone by the name of Sa‘d Mashhadī. However, Ja‘far refers to the activities of a Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīn under three items:

<sup>20</sup>Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Per. 119. The *shamsa* is reproduced in Wright 2012, p. 114, Fig. 71.

<sup>21</sup>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Elliott 210.

<sup>22</sup>London, British Library, Or. 2773.

<sup>23</sup>St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, PNS 49.

<sup>24</sup>Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum (TIEM), no. 1954.

<sup>25</sup>For a study of the codex, see S. Mihan, “The Baysunghuri manuscript in the Malek Library”, *Shahnama Studies III: The reception of the Shahnama*, (eds) C. Melville and G. van den Berg (Leiden, Boston, 2018a), pp. 373–419.

<sup>26</sup>St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, PNS. 233, fol. 279v.

<sup>27</sup>Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 2154, fol. 98r. Akimushkin 1997, p. 22, discussed the original form of this document before it was pasted into the Topkapi album. For a thorough reassessment of the *‘Arza-dāshṭ*, its date and contents in relation to the Bāysunghurī corpus, see Mihan 2018b, Chapter II. For information on some technical terms used in this document, see S. Mihan, ‘On the meaning of a fifteenth century technical term in a Timurid document associated with prince Baysonghor’s library in Herat’, *Iran*, 54:2 (2016), pp. 15–20.



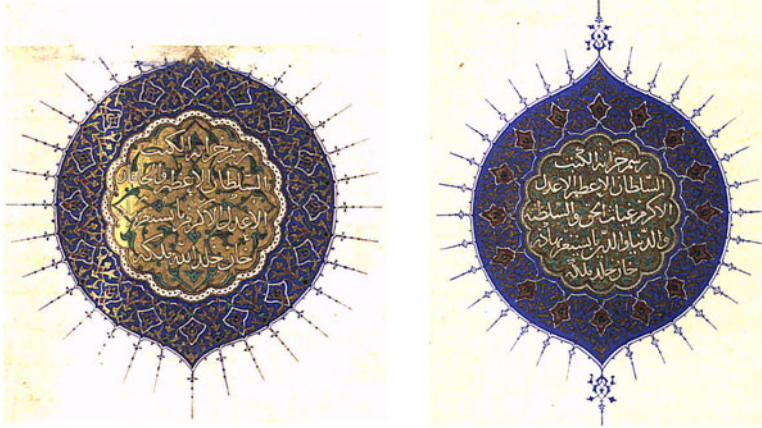


Fig. 5. (Colour online) *Shamsas*. *Kunūz al-wadī'a*, f. 1r (left) and (tr.) *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*, f. 185r (right), no. 937, Yeni Cami

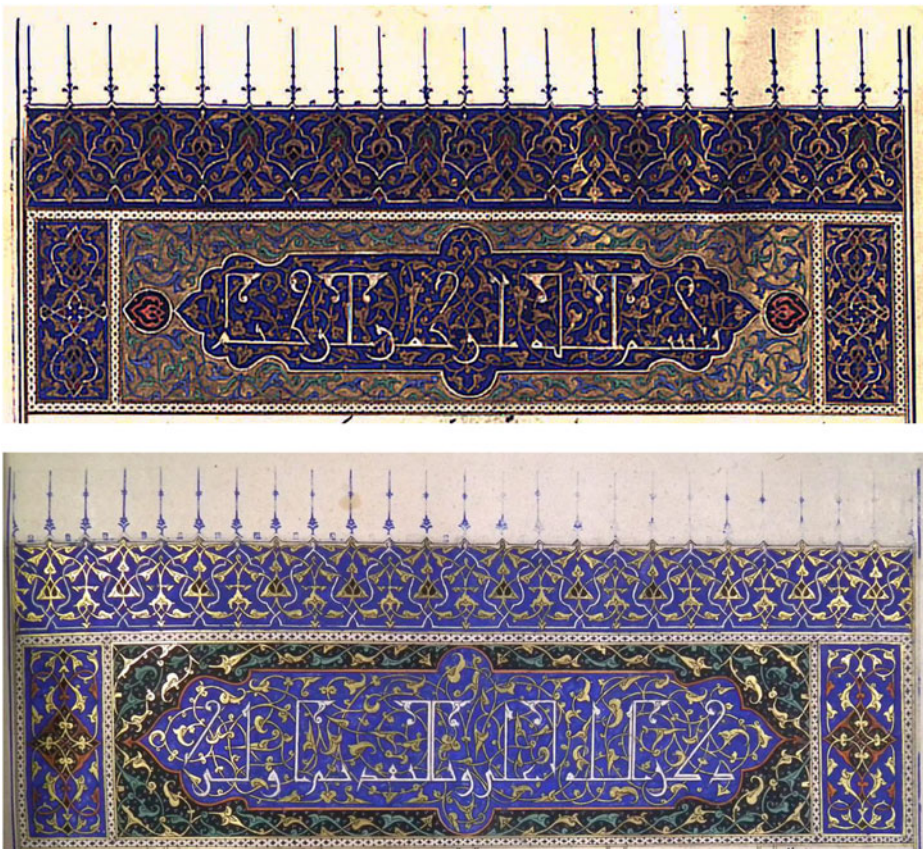


Fig. 6. (Colour online) *Sarlawhs*. *Kunūz al-wadī'a*, f. 1v (above), no. 937, Yeni Cami; and *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, 833/1430, p. 893 (below), no. 6031, Malek National Library, Tehran

Khwāja ‘Atā, the ruling maker, has finished Maulānā Sa’d al-Dīn’s *Tārīkh* and the *Dīvān* of Khwājū, and is busy with the *Shahnāma*.

Khwāja ‘Atā has finished the [decorative] elements of the *Gulistān*, and has done the ground-work for two out of the three *lahṡs* in the *Tārīkh* that Maulānā Sa’d al-Dīn has copied.

Maulānā Sa’d al-Dīn has finished the lid of the Begum’s chest and one side of it is ready for the final touches, and the door panel that had remained will be completed in fifteen days.

Thomas Lentz considered two possibilities for the ‘*Tārīkh-i* Maulānā Sa’d al-Dīn’. First, it might refer to an “unknown” *Tārīkh* copied by a scribe named Maulānā Sa’d al-Dīn and Lentz noted (erroneously) that Dūst Muḥammad had stated that a Maulānā Sa’d al-Dīn Tabrīzī was a Bāysunghurī calligrapher. It would appear that Lentz was unaware of the 834 *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*. Second, Lentz wondered whether Sa’d al-Dīn could have been the name of the author rather than the scribe. He suggested a few possible authors, none of whom are known to have written a *Tārīkh*.<sup>28</sup> By contrast, Thackston, did suggest that the *tārīkh* mentioned by Ja‘far must be the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* copied by Sa’d al-Mashhadī and dated 834.<sup>29</sup>

However, it is unlikely that the *Tārīkh* referred to by Ja‘far was that suggested by Thackston, as the *Tārīkh* Ja‘far mentioned had been copied in its entirety at the time the ‘*Arṣa-dāsh*t was written, which I argue is 830.<sup>30</sup> We also know that the scribe went on to copy the dual-text Yeni Cami manuscript which he completed in 833, yet that codex is not mentioned in the ‘*Arṣa-dāsh*t. I argue that the *Tārīkh* mentioned by Ja‘far in 830 was very likely the initial copy of the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, a work that was composed by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, in four quarters from 826 to 830, at the command of Prince Bāysunghur. The first two quarters are extant and bound together in St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Dorn 268. Although undated and unsigned the manuscript was probably completed in 829/1426.<sup>31</sup> A comparison of the hand, the orthography of individual letters and their composition convince me that the manuscript was penned by the scribe of Yeni Cami 937, Sa’d

<sup>28</sup>Lentz 1985, p. 142 and pp. 150–151. He does not mention the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*, dated 834/1430, among Bāysunghurī productions: it does not appear in his catalogue although it was later listed in T. W. Lentz and G. D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian art and culture in the fifteenth century* (Los Angeles, 1989), p. 368 (with errors in the date and the scribe’s name). It is worth mentioning that Lentz refers elsewhere (pp. 129–130; cat. no. 111) to the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* in relation to a manuscript dated 835/1431–32 in the Keir collection, which contains Bāysunghur’s *ex libris*, but no scribe’s name. See also B. W. Robinson *et al.* *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book: the Keir Collection* (London, 1976), pp. 296, VII. 62 and plate 42. I have found that this is a misidentification and the manuscript in the Keir Collection in fact contains the *Tajziyat al-amṣār wa tazjiyat al-a‘ṣār* (“The Allotment of Lands and Propulsion of the Ages”), widely known as the *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, which was composed by ‘Abd Allāh b. Faḏl Allāh Shīrāzī (663–730/1264–1330) as a continuation of the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*. See my forthcoming article (in Persian) in the Journal of Baysunghur Research Foundation: S. Mihan, “*Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*: A misidentified manuscript from Prince Bāysunghur’s *kitābkhāna*”, *Nāma-yi Bāysunghur*, no. 1 (Herat, 1397/2018c). This manuscript is not listed in Judith Pfeiffer’s survey article, J. Pfeiffer, “A turgid history of the Mongol empire in Persia’: Epistemological reflections concerning a critical edition of Vassāf’s *Tajziyat al-amṣār wa tazjiyat al-a‘ṣār*”, *Theoretical approaches to the transmission and edition of Oriental manuscripts*, (eds) J. Pfeiffer and M. Kropp (Beirut, 2007), pp. 107–129.

<sup>29</sup>St Petersburg, PNS. 233. See W. M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne, 2001), p. 44.

<sup>30</sup>For a discussion of the dating of the ‘*Arṣa-dāsh*t see Mihan 2018b, pp. 32–38. Thackston believed it was written a number of years later than 830.

<sup>31</sup>For further discussion of Dorn 268 and introduction of yet another early copy of the second quarter of *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* (829) see Mihan 2018b, p.78 and p.84.

al-Mashhadī.<sup>32</sup> Everything points to him being the scribe of the *Tārīkh* whom Ja‘far names as Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīn.

Having established the identity of the scribe(s) Sa‘d al-Mashhadī and Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīn, what else can be known about his involvement in the court and *kitābkhāna* of Bāysunghur Mīrzā?

*Sa‘d Mashhadī little remembered as a scribe*

Sa‘d Mashhadī does not figure in either contemporary or later sources as a prominent calligrapher. There is only indirect evidence of a homonymous figure. In the famous preface to the Safavid album prepared for Bahrām Mīrzā, Dūst Muḥammad refers to two Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīns in the lineages of prominent calligraphers:

Khawāja ‘Abd Allāh Ṣayrafī instructed his nephew Shaykh Muḥammad Bandgīr, who instructed Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīn Tabrīzī, [who instructed] Maulānā Shams al-Dīn Qaṭṭābī, who inscribed himself as Shams Sūfī. He [instructed] the Unique Master of the Age, Maulānā Farīd al-Dīn Ja‘far Tabrīzī, who, in the time of his late majesty Bāysunghur Mīrzā, the son of the late emperor Shāhrukh Bahādūr, was held in the greatest of respect, and because of his calligraphy, acquired indescribable fame.

Maulānā Ma‘rūf was a student of Maulānā Sa‘d al-Dīn ‘Irāqī, who was a student of Pīr Yaḥyā Sūfī.<sup>33</sup>

In his book on calligrapher and painters, *Gulistān-i humar*, Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī does not mention any Sa‘d or Sa‘d al-Dīn in any lineage, but taking into consideration his account of Pīr Yaḥyā<sup>34</sup> and the date of Ṣayrafī’s death (d. after 1345–46)<sup>35</sup>, neither of the two Sa‘d al-Dīns in Dūst Muḥammad’s preface could be contemporary with Bāysunghur, even disregarding the discrepancies in their places of origin: ‘Irāqī or Tabrīzī, rather than Mashhadī.

David Roxburgh mentions a scribe named Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d Shīrvānī to whom a specimen of calligraphy is ascribed in the first part of the calligraphy album prepared for Bāysunghur (Topkapı Palace Library, B. 411), which includes specimens by other well-known calligraphers who worked in the prince’s atelier. I will return to this having demonstrated a link between Sa‘d Mashhadī and a poet named Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d who is known by various *nisbas* (none of which is Shīrvānī).<sup>36</sup>

*A poet by the name of Sa‘d Mashhadī*

While searching for information on the calligrapher Sa‘d Mashhadī in art historical sources, I came across a very brief reference to a poet named Sa‘d Mashhadī, with two verses attributed to him, who was remembered as “one of the well-natured men (*khush-ṭab ‘ān*)”.<sup>37</sup> This I found in the *Tazkīra-yi ‘arafāt al-‘āshiqīn va ‘arāṣāt al-‘arīfīn* of Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad

<sup>32</sup>See Mihan 2018b, p. 84 and Figs. 3.29 and 3.30 on pp. 446–449.

<sup>33</sup>Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, H. 2154, Bahrām Mīrzā’s Album, preface. The preface is translated in its entirety in Thackston 2001, pp. 4–17.

<sup>34</sup>Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī, *Gulistān-i humar*, (ed.) A. Suhaylī Khwānsārī (Tehran, 1383/2004), pp. 23–24.

<sup>35</sup>P. P. Soucek, “‘Abdallāh Ṣayrafī”, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 1 (fasc. 2) (London, 1982), pp. 203–205.

<sup>36</sup>Roxburgh 2005, p. 107. The folio reference is given as f. 35b in Roxburgh 1996, pp. 494 and 538.

<sup>37</sup>T. Auḥadī Balyānī, *Tazkīra-yi ‘arafāt al-‘āshiqīn va ‘arāṣāt al-‘arīfīn*, (ed.) Z. Ṣāhibkār, Ā. Fakhr Aḥmad & M. Qahramān, 8 vols. (Tehran, 1389/2010), vol. 3, p. 1839. Auḥadī adds that some people call him Sa‘d Mashhadī.

Auḥādī Balyānī (973–1040/1565–1630), a work completed in 1024/1615 which contains information on almost 3,500 poets.<sup>38</sup>

It is striking that in the significantly longer entry immediately prior to that on Sa‘d Mashhadī, one of these two verses is also attributed to a poet by the name of Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d.<sup>39</sup> Although Auḥādī did not identify the two men (or provide all his sources), it seems quite possible they were the same person and that the poet Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d was also known under the name of Sa‘d Mashhadī. This presents an intriguing possibility: could it be that the poet Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d is one and the same person as the Bāysunghurī scribe, Sa‘d Mashhadī?

### III. Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d

In the words of Auḥādī, Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d was “a star in the heavens of eloquence and oratory”.<sup>40</sup> Auḥādī refers to ‘the author of the *Majālis*’ and repeats Amīr ‘Alīshīr Navā‘ī’s account in the *Majālis al-naḡāyis* (completed in 1491), which is the earliest *tazkīra* to mention Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d. After describing the intense relationship of Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d with Qāsim Anvār, a famous Sufi in Herat who died in 837/1433, Navā‘ī quotes the same verse Auḥādī will attribute to both Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d and Sa‘d Mashhadī, and five other verses, including a riddle. In his account of Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d, Auḥādī adds nine verses to five of the six found in Navā‘ī’s work.<sup>41</sup>

In *Tazkīra-yi Haft Iqlīm*, written in 1018/1609, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī presents Sa‘d Gul, a poet from Shiraz, whose poems are “fresh like Kashmir’s waters”. Rāzī attributes to Sa‘d Gul five verses, four of which we find Navā‘ī attributing to Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d.<sup>42</sup> With minor variations, the same information about Sa‘d Gul is repeated in *Safīna-yi Khushgū* (1734). Later, Ḥusaynī Sunbuhlī in *Tazkīra-yi Ḥusaynī* (1875) and Muḥammad Ṣādiq Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān in *Sham‘i anjuman* (1876) each have an entry for Sa‘d Gul with two verses not found in Rāzī.<sup>43</sup> None of these later authors equate Sa‘d Gul with Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d, but on the basis of the *ghazal* attributed to both men in different sources we can speculate that they were the same person.

Other *tazkīras* further complicate the picture. *Tazkīra-yi Rūz-i Raushan* (1880) by Muḥammad Muẓaffar Ḥusaynī Ṣabā and *Dānishmandān-i Āzārbāyjān* (1935) by Muḥammad ‘Alī Tarbiyat, quote some verses and biographical information found in Navā‘ī and Auḥādī but use different names for the poet: Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d Allāh Tabrīzī and Maulānā Jalāl

<sup>38</sup>On the poet Auḥādī Balyānī and his works, see S. ‘A. Āl-i Dāvūd, “‘*Araḡāt al-‘āshiqīn*: Sayrī dar aḡvāl va āthār-i mu‘allif-i ān”, *Nāma-yi Farhangistān*, no. 3 (1374/1995), pp. 33–53.

<sup>39</sup>The key verse reads:

دلَم بردی و جانم را ندیم صد ندَم کردی \* مرا در عالم رندی و رسوایی عَلم کردی

<sup>40</sup>Auḥādī Balyānī 1389/2010, vol. 3, p. 1838.

<sup>41</sup>‘Alīshīr Navā‘ī, *Majālis al-naḡāyis*, (ed.) ‘A. A. Ḥekmat (Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 8–9 and 184–185. For a pioneering study of ‘Alīshīr Navā‘ī see M. E. Subtelny, “Alī Shīr Navā‘ī: *Bakhsī* and *Beg*”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, nos. 3–4 (1979–1980), pp. 797–807. A more recent study in Persian discusses the political life of Navā‘ī and his cultural, scientific, social and economic activities; see A. Ni‘matī Līmā‘ī, *Barnāsī-i zindigī-i sīyāsī va vākāvī-i kārnāma-yi ‘ilmī, farhangī, ijtimā‘ī va iqtisādī-i Amūr ‘Alīshīr Navā‘ī* (Mashhad, 1993/2015).

<sup>42</sup>Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Tazkīra-yi Haft Iqlīm*, (ed.) J. Fāzil, 3 vols. (Tehran, 1378/1999), vol. 1, p. 215. He adds a verse not mentioned by either Navā‘ī or Auḥādī. Rāzī does not include the key verse attributed by Navā‘ī to Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d and attributed by Auḥādī to both Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d and Sa‘d Mashhadī.

<sup>43</sup>B. D. Khushgū, *Safīna-yi Khushgū*, (ed.) S. K. Aṣghar (Tehran, 1389/2010), p. 306; M. Ḥ. D. Ḥusaynī Sunbuhlī, *Tazkīra-yi Ḥusaynī* (Lucknow, 1292/1875), p. 152; and M. Ṣ. Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān, *Sham‘i anjuman*, (ed.) M. ‘A. Khān (Bombay, 1293/1876), pp. 194–195.



al-dīn Ḥāfiẓ Tabrīzī, known as Sa'd Allāh, respectively. Ṣabā only quotes the common *ghazal*, but Tarbiyat lists the key verse (see note 38) as well as two verses from the common *ghazal*. Later in this article, I will mention yet another variant name, Maulānā Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd Bukhārī. In his *tazkira*, Naṣrābādī uses that name and quotes two riddles, which I find in manuscripts of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd.<sup>44</sup>

Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd seems to be the best known of all the various names for this poet and the simplest, least problematic way of referring to him.

#### *Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd and Qāsim Anvār*

Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd certainly lived in the same time and place, as the Bāysunghurī scribe, Sa'd Mashhadī. In *Majālis al-naḡāyis*, 'Alīshīr Navā'ī (1441–1501) reports that at one time Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd was one of the followers of Qāsim Anvār (757–837/1356–1433): "Sa'd's behaviour caused his expulsion from Anvār's circle of intimates. That brought him immense affliction and torment, and he died in that state".<sup>45</sup> According to Navā'ī, Qāsim Anvār ordered the destruction of Sa'd's chamber and even the removal of its soil. If Sa'd's expulsion took place in Herat this must have occurred in 830/1427 or earlier. For after Aḥmad Lur's unsuccessful attempt on Shāhrukh's life in that year, Shāhrukh who was already wary of Qāsim Anvār's fame and the large number of followers he had in Herat, had a pretext for executing or exiling many intellectuals and Sufis.<sup>46</sup> Either he or Bāysunghur exiled Qāsim Anvār from Herat later that year.<sup>47</sup>

Sa'd's *Dīvān* is dominated by poems expressing his love of the now departed Qāsim Anvār, so it quite plausible to conjecture that Sa'd stayed on in Herat and lived a productive life there before dying tormented by the absence of his beloved as Navā'ī has it. As I discuss below, there is strong evidence in his *Dīvān* that Sa'd enjoyed a close relationship with Bāysunghur's court and atelier, and he may have been exchanging riddles with 'Alī Yazdī in 832/1429.<sup>48</sup> I find nothing to contradict the hypothesis that the poet Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd was the scribe Sa'd Mashhadī who penned three manuscripts for Bāysunghur, the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* in 829, the dual-text Yeni Cami manuscript in 833, and the *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy* in 834.

#### *The Dīvān of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd*

In search of confirmation of the verses *tazkira* writers have attributed to Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd, I turned to the latter's *Dīvān*. There is no edition of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd but I was able to consult three manuscripts. One *Dīvān* was certainly made in Shiraz for Pīr Budāq, and it seems

<sup>44</sup>M. M. Ṣabā, *Tazkira-yi Rūz-i Raushan* (Kolkata, 1297/1880), pp. 291–292. M. 'A. Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Āzarbāyjān* (Tabriz, n.d.), pp. 181–182. T. Naṣrābādī Iṣfahanī, *Tazkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, (ed.) M. Nāji Naṣrābādī (Tehran, 1378/1999), p. 756.

<sup>45</sup>'Alīshīr Navā'ī 1363/1984, pp. 8–9.

<sup>46</sup>See A. Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥ*, (ed.) S. M. Nāji Naṣrābādī (Tehran, 1386/2007), vol. 2, p. 86 and Khwāndamīr 1353/1974, vol. 3, p. 617 and vol. 4, pp. 10–11.

<sup>47</sup>For more information about his life and shrine, see Daulatshāh Samarqandī, *Tazkirat al-shu'arā'*, (ed.) E. G. Browne (Tehran, 1382/2003), pp. 346–352. His attraction to the Ḥurūfī doctrine is discussed in Z. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt dar Irān* (Tehran, 1369/1990), vol. 4, pp. 252–264. For a thorough investigation of the attempt on Shāhrukh's life, see İ. E. Binbağ, "The anatomy of a regicide attempt: Shāhrukh, the Ḥurūfīs, and the Timurid intellectuals in 830/1426–27", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 23:3 (2013), pp. 391–428, esp. pp. 403–405.

<sup>48</sup>See note 66 for a chronogram for the year 832 in Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd's *Dīvān*.



evident that this is true of a second also. The earlier of the two is housed in the British Library, Or. 11846 (henceforth, BL) and is beautifully illuminated. The colophon states that the manuscript was copied by Shaykh Maḥmūd Pīr Budāqī, in Ṣafar 864 (December 1459) in Shiraz. It bears the *ex libris* of Pīr Budāq (d. 870/1466) which appears in an illuminated *shamsa*. The inscription reads: “For the treasury of the Shadow of God the Beneficent, refuge of the Khaqans of the age, Abu’l-Faṭḥ Pīr Budāq Bahādur Khān, may God support him with victory and favour”.

«برسم خزانه ظل الله المنان ملاذ خواقين الزمان ابوالفتح پير بوداق بهادر خان ايدہ الله بالنصر و الاحسان»

The manuscript includes an illustration on f. 148r, portraying Pīr Būdāq and his courtiers in a *bazm*, celebrating the reception of the completed manuscript.<sup>49</sup> This was added subsequently (probably in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) at the end of Sa’d’s *rubā’iyyāt* (quatrains).<sup>50</sup>

I find evidence that the scribe Maḥmūd had been attached to Bāysunghur’s atelier early in his career, signing his name as Maḥmūd Ja’farī. This occurs in Astan Quds Library, no. 10399, which is an anthology of poetry, dated 833/1430, which includes poems by Bāysunghur’s court poets, among them Ḥāfiẓ Sa’d.<sup>51</sup>

The second copy of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa’d, is kept in the Tehran Majles Library (no. 13159), copied by Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Khumārī, dated Shawwāl 864/July 1460 (henceforth, ML).<sup>52</sup> The inscription on the *shamsa* (f. 1r) is damaged and illegible, but on f. 1v, the inscription of the *sarlah* reads: *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Sa’d*, with no *nisba* or indication of his origin. Although the colophon provides no reference to the location, and the patron is not named, it seems certain that this also was made for Pīr Budāq, on account of the date and the scribe. According to Bayānī, Khumārī worked as a copyist at the court of Pīr Budāq Qara-Qoyunlu, in Shiraz.<sup>53</sup> I know of another manuscript penned by him in the same year, 864, which bears an intact *ex libris* for Pīr Budāq, namely Suleymaniye, Fatih 3777.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup>For the patron and the scribe, see B. W. Robinson, *Fifteenth-century Persian Painting: problems and issues* (New York, 1991), pp. 29–34. For a comprehensive account of Shaykh Maḥmūd see Y. Seki, “Shaykh Maḥmūd Haravī”, *Nāma-yi Bahārīstān*, 11:16 (1389), pp. 45–60. David Roxburgh discusses the patron extensively and refers to this manuscript in D. J. Roxburgh, “‘Many a wish has turned to dust’: Pīr Budaq and the formation of Turkmen arts of the book”, *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture: essays in honor of Renata Holod* (Leiden, Boston, 2014), pp. 175–222.

<sup>50</sup>For a comprehensive study of this manuscript, see B. Brend, “Illumination and a problematic picture in a *Divan* of Hafiz-i Sa’d for Pīr Budaq Qara Quyunlu”, *Festschrift Zeren Tanindi: Art and Culture of Books in the Islamic World* (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr Barbara Brend for sharing her unpublished article and also for her feedback on this paper.

<sup>51</sup>More information can be found in Mihan 2018b, p. 120 and pp. 332–333.

<sup>52</sup>In the label in the Majles Library manuscript, the author is wrongly identified as Jalāl al-Dīn Sa’d-Allāh Tabrīzī. This is probably what led Ṣidāqat Ḥusaynī [SH], in his article on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa’d, to examine the entry for ‘Jalāl [SH: Jamāl] al-Dīn Ḥāfiẓ [SH: Sa’d] Tabrīzī, known as Sa’d-Allāh’ in *Tarbīyat*, pp. 181–182. See S. R. Ṣidāqat Ḥusaynī, “Ḥāfiẓ Sa’d Tabrīzī”, *Payām-i Bahārīstān*, no. 19 (Tehran, 1392/2013), pp. 161–178. Āqā Buzurg Tihirānī points out *Tarbīyat*’s misidentification in *al-Zarī’a ila taṣānūf al-shī’a*, 26 vols. (Beirut, 1403/1983), vol. 9, part 2, p. 446.

<sup>53</sup>For other works copied by Khumārī, see M. Bayānī, *Aḥwāl va āthār-i khushniwīsān* (Tehran, 1363/1984), pp. 873–874.

<sup>54</sup>See H. Ritter and B. Reinert, “Die persischen Dichterhandschriften der Fatih-Bibliothek in Istanbul”, *Oriens* 29–30 (1986), p. 205. Roxburgh does not mention the scribe Khumārī in his extensive survey of Pīr Budāqī manuscripts, Roxburgh 2014.



Fig. 7. (Colour online) *Sarlauḥ. Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd, 864/1460, f. 2v, no. 13159, Majles Library, Tehran

Both manuscripts of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd contain 185 folios and both were completed in the same year (864) and very probably in the same place. Comparing their frontispieces, they also share a similar page layout, illumination motifs and colour scheme in the *sarlauḥs* (Fig. 7).<sup>55</sup> Although BL is more elaborately illuminated, the vacant spaces in ML corroborate the idea that it was intended to be decorated in a similar fashion, but was left incomplete for some reason. All these details point to the fact that they were commissioned by the same patron, Pīr Būdāq, who probably encountered Sa'd's *Dīvān* while in Herat at the time of the Qara-Qoyunlu capture of city in 1458.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup>The digital images of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd (Or. 11846, British Library, London) are accessible online: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or\\_11846\\_fso011#](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_11846_fso011#) (last accessed 1 August 2018).

<sup>56</sup>See N. Jalālī, "Pīr Budāq", *Dāyirat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i Islāmī* (Tehran, 1385/2004), vol. 14, pp. 119–121, for a concise discussion of Pīr Budāq.

Pīr Būdāq was the eldest son of Jahānshāh Qara-Qoyunlu, who came back to Shiraz in 864/1460 after helping his father to quash his brother's rebellion in Azarbayjan.<sup>57</sup> He then ordered the repair and fortification of the city walls, before rebelling against his father. Eventually, he had to escape to Shūshtar, when Jahānshāh sent an army to repel him in the spring of 865/1461, and then sent him to Baghdad the following year.<sup>58</sup> Jahānshāh appointed Pīr Budāq's brother, Mīrzā Yūsuf, to the governorship of Shiraz.<sup>59</sup> This would probably explain the incomplete decoration of the Majles manuscript, which was transcribed around seven months after the BL manuscript and on the eve of Pīr Budāq's revolt.

I located a third *Dīvān* manuscript (undated, c. 16<sup>th</sup> century) in the Central Library of the University of Tehran (no. 225/2). This copy includes only 360 verses of Sa'd poems in 61 *ghazals* (of his total 426 *ghazals*), while the other two codices include more than 4,700 verses.<sup>60</sup> Intriguingly, the poet is named in this manuscript as Sa'd Bukhārī. Šidāqat Ḥusaynī found that the poetry in this manuscript is all found in the Majles *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd.<sup>61</sup> The only *tazkira* I know of with an account of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd Bukhārī is the *Tazkira-yi Naṣrābādī* (1072/1662), which attributes two riddles to him, both of which I find in the BL/ML copies of the *Dīvān*.<sup>62</sup>

To summarise, I have located in manuscripts of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd nearly all the verses and riddles attributed to 'Sa'd' in the scattered biographical dictionaries. This further indicates that they were all referring to the same poet, Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd. The content of the *Dīvān*, makes clear not only that he was once an intimate of Qāsim Anvār (as recorded in the *tazkiras*) but also that he was familiar with many members of Bāysunghur's court and atelier. The evidence for this lies in a remarkable collection of riddles.

### Riddles

Writing riddles became very popular in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>63</sup> The *Risāla-yi mufradāt dar fann-i mu'ammā* is a treatise by 'Alīshīr Navā'ī with instructions on writing and decoding riddles. Navā'ī records a number of riddle-writers in his *tazkira*, among whom Maulānā Badī'ī, 'Alī Yazdī and Jāmī wrote their own treatises on the principles of riddles.<sup>64</sup> Here is an example from 'Alī Yazdī's *Ḥulal-i muṭarraz* on how to interpret and decode a riddle. The riddle reads:

<sup>57</sup> Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-sīyar*, (ed.) M. Dabīr Sīyāqī, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1353/1974), vol. 4, p. 75.

<sup>58</sup> Budāq Munshī, *Jawāhir al-akhbār*, (ed.) M. Bahrām-nīzhād (Tehran, 1378/1999), pp. 67–68; and Vālih Iṣfahānī, *Khuld-i Barīn*, (ed.) H. Muḥaddith (Tehran, 1379/2000), p. 710.

<sup>59</sup> Khwāndamīr 1353/1974, vol. 4, p. 85.

<sup>60</sup> Āqā Buzurg Tīhrānī 1403/1983, vol. 9, part 2, p. 446 when referring to this manuscript, naturally assumes Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd was from Bukhara, and draws attention to the confusion between this Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd and the Sa'd-Allāh Tabrīzī mentioned by Šabā 1297/1880, pp. 291–292 and by Tarbiyat 1234/1845, p. 181. See note 51, above.

<sup>61</sup> Šidāqat Ḥusaynī 1392/2013, p. 163.

<sup>62</sup> Naṣrābādī Iṣfahānī 1378/1999, p. 756.

<sup>63</sup> For a discussion of riddle-writing in the 15<sup>th</sup> century see I. Yārshātīr, *Shī'r-i Fārsī dar 'ahd-i Shāhrukh* (Tehran, 1383/2004), pp. 239–243.

<sup>64</sup> Šām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'īl Šafāvī, mentions at least two works by Jāmī on riddle-writing: *Risāla-yi kabīr dar mu'ammā* and *Risāla-yi asghar dar mu'ammā*. A. Šām Mīrzā Šafāvī, *Tazkira-yi tulḥā-yi Sāmī*, (ed.) V. Dastjirdī (Tehran, 1314/1925), p. 86. He also provides accounts of other poets who were masters of riddles, such as Maulānā Nīẓām mu'ammā'ī.

در شصت عدد کار تمام است ولی  
یک با سی اگر در آن بین باشد

With the number ('*adad*) 60, the work is complete, but  
only if 1 and 30 come in between

The decoder of the riddle needs to know that in the *abjad* system each letter is associated with a numerical value:

60 stands for س  
1 stands for الف  
30 stands for ل

Thus, according to the riddle, placing 60 = س beside عدد will give the answer, provided that ل is put in between. The encoded sequence of letters is: س عد ل د. So the name behind the riddle must be Sa'd al-Dīn.<sup>65</sup>

#### IV. Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd's association with Bāysunghur's court and atelier

The final chapter of Sa'd's *Dīvān* is devoted to *Mu'ammīyyāt* (riddles). It comprises ff. 148r–185r in ML and ff. 148v–185v in BL. In this section, each title name (the solution) is followed by a single verse riddle containing clues to the person's identity. The title names are very similar in both manuscripts, with only minor variations.

The names featuring in this chapter reveal the extent of Sa'd's connection to Bāysunghur's court. The personages from the house of Timur who have at least one riddle written for them are indicated in the following table (the names are given as they appear in BL).

Royal figure	Riddle title in <i>Dīvān</i> of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd	ML	BL
Shāhrukh	Shāhrukh Bahādūr Khan	176v	177r
Bāysunghur	Bāysunghur Bahādūr	168v	–
	Bāysunghur	175r	–
	Bāysunghur Khusrau	–	176r
Ulugh Beg	Ulugh Beg Bahādūr	183r	183v
'Alā' al-Daula (Bāysunghur's son)	'Alā' al-Daula	148r, 175v, 183v	148v, 176v, 184r
	Mīr 'Alā' al-Daula	182v	183r
	Rukn al-Dīn	157v	158r–v
Sulṭān Muḥammad (Bāysunghur's son)	Sulṭān Muḥammad	165v	166r
	Sūrghatmīsh Khān (Shāhrukh's son)	Sūrghatmīsh Khān	150v, 166v

There are many other names that cannot be definitively identified, and may or may not be connected to Bāysunghur's court. But a significant number correspond to the artists named in the '*Arẓa-dāsh*t as staff active in Bāysunghur's atelier. The table below lists all the names in the '*Arẓa-dāsh*t indicating where parallels occur among the riddle names in the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd.

<sup>65</sup>Not every riddle uses the *abjad* system to encode letters. Other codes are used, for example, using words beginning with a particular letter or words in another language (e.g. the Persian word *chashm* stands for Arabic '*ayn*', since both mean eye, and that means the letter '*ayn*', ع) or even words associated with the shape of a letter (for example, *zulf*, meaning hair is often associated with the shape of the letter *lām*, ل).

Name in 'Arza-dāsht	Riddle title in Dīwān of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd	ML folio	BL folio
Amīr Khalīl	Khawāja Khalīl	149r	149v
	Khalīl Darvīsh	175r, 177r	175v
Maulānā 'Alī	'Alī	148r, 172r, 179r	148r, 156r, 172v
	Mīr 'Alī	167r, 160r, 157r, 150r	150v, 157v, 167v,
Khawāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn	Ghiyāth al-Dīn	155r	155v
	Ghiyāth	161r	161v
	Mīr Ghiyāth	164v	165r
Maulānā Shihāb	Shihāb	165v	166r
Maulānā Qavām al-Dīn	Qavām al-Dīn	158v	159v
	Ustād Qavām al-Dīn	180r	Missing
Maulānā Shams	Shams	171r, 182v, 151r, 158v	171v, 183r, 151v, 159r
Ḥājji Maḥmūd	Mīr Maḥmūd	181v, 155r	182r, 155v
Khawāja Maḥmūd	Khawāja Maḥmūd	173r	174r
Khawāja 'Atā	'Atā	151v, 165r, 175v	152r, 165v, 176r
	Khawāja 'Atā	161r	162r
Maulānā Sa'd al-Dīn	Sa'd	158r, 177r, 178r,	158v, 177v, 178v
	Sa'd al-Dīn	173v, 159v (twice), 172v	160v, 173r, 174r
	Maulānā Sa'd al-Dīn	174v	175r
Maulānā Quṭb	Quṭb	165r, 164r, 175v, 166v	165v, 164v, 176v, 167r
Maulānā Muḥammad	Muṭahhar	163r, 175v	164r, 176r
	Mīr Muṭahhar	174v, 172r	172v, 175v
Khawāja 'Abd al-Raḥīm	'Abd al-Raḥīm	181r, 152v	181v, 153r
Ḥājji	Ḥājji	163r, 161r	163v, 161v
Khatā'ī	----	----	----
'Abd al-Salām	'Abd al-Salām	151r, 160v	151v, 161v
Ustād Sayf al-Dīn	Sayf al-Dīn	—	161r
Mīr Daulatyār	----	----	----
Khawāja Mīr Ḥasan	Mīr Ḥasan	153r, 163r	163v, 153v
Mīr Shams al-Dīn	Shams al-Dīn	155r, 179r	156r, 180r
Ustād Daulat Khawāja	-----	-----	-----
Ja'far	Mīr Ja'far	157r, 168v	157v, 169v

As this table shows, only 3 of the 22 names of the 'Arza-dāsht are without a parallel in the *Mu'ammīyyāt*. Although some names were very common, like 'Alī and Ḥājji, others such as Ustād Qavām al-Dīn strongly support our argument. The data presented in these tables leaves little doubt about Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd's presence at Bāysunghur's court and his familiarity with the atelier personnel.

There are also riddles on the names of other known court characters, such as: Faṣīḥ al-Dīn (the name of Bāysunghur's historian, Faṣīḥ Khwāfi), 'Abd al-Qādir (the name of his famous musician and singer 'Abd al-Qādir Marāghī), Luṭf Allāh, Valī and Shāhī (the names of three court poets, Maulānā Luṭfī Nishābūrī, Maulānā Valī, who both contributed to the *Jung-i Marāthī*, and Amīr Shāhī Sabzavārī), Shihāb al-Dīn (the name of his famous chronicler, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū) and Maulānā 'Abd al-Raḥmān (perhaps the poet 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī who would have been young in the time of Bāysunghur).<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd praises Jāmī in a *ghazal* (BL, f. 71v–72r). They both followed the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* derived from the school of Ibn 'Arabi. Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd's *Dīwān* is replete with references to his poetic forebears and contemporaries, such as 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī, Sa'dī, Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Auḥādī Marāghī, Khwājū Kirmānī, Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, Kamāl Khujandī, Qāsim Anvār. For an extensive discussion of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd's influences, see M. Hāj Aḥmadīpūr



Hāj Aḥmadīpūr Rafsanjānī has studied the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd and identified references to royal and court personages in other sections of the *Dīvān*. For example, among the *rubā'īyyāt* there is a chronogram for the taking up of office by Abū Sa'īd on Monday, 5th Sha'bān 832/10th May 1429.<sup>67</sup> This surely refers to the son of Qarā Yūsuf (Qarā Quyūnlū) who was appointed by Shāhrukh as governor of Āzarbāyjān in that year, and ruled there until 835. There is also a reference to 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī in a *ghazal* (and similar names in several riddles) which I agree is likely to be 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī Shaghānī, Shāhrukh's vizier. Another *ghazal* mentions Firūzshāh who could be Shāhrukh's senior commander (until 848/1444), Jalāl al-dīn Firūzshāh b. Arghūnshāh. Similarly, Ghiyāth al-Dīn (in a *qaṭ'a* and a riddle) could be Pīr Aḥmad Khwāfi (d. 857/1453), who was vizier for Shāhrukh from 820 (and there is also a riddle on the name Khwāja Pīr Aḥmad). A famous Bāysunghurī musician is celebrated in a *qaṭ'a*: Yūsuf Andakānī under the name of Khwāja Yūsuf. In this case we can be certain about the identification since the poet praises Yūsuf's song compositions (*taṣnīf*).

#### *Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd and 'Alī Yazdī*

As mentioned above, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 1454), the author of the *Zafarnāma*, was another prominent riddle-writer. He completed his treatise, *al-Ḥulal al-muṭarraz fi al-mu'ammā wa al-lughaz*, in 832/1429 and dedicated it to Abu'l-Faṭḥ Ibrāhīm Sulṭān.<sup>68</sup> It is a comprehensive treatise on the subject, with riddles on many different names, some of which can be connected to contemporary figures (Fig. 8). Apart from his own name, Sharaf, which is used both as his *takhalluṣ* (pen name) and the subject for many riddles, he has verses for the names of both Sa'd and Sa'd al-Dīn, one of which I presented above.

Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd's *mu'ammīyyāt* include riddles for his own name, too: Sa'd and Sa'd al-Dīn. Although it is debatable whether Sa'd and Sa'd al-Dīn both refer to the author (Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd) —after all, the name Sa'd al-Dīn was not rare —we can be more certain about less common names. Surely it is significant that he composed several riddles on 'Alī Yazdī's name: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī, Sharaf al-Dīn, and Sharaf. It is even possible that an exchange was taking place between the two outstanding riddle-writers of the time, or even that there was a kind of intellectual competition between the courts of the two Timurid brothers.<sup>69</sup>

Rafsanjānī, "Taṣḥīḥ va taḥqīq dar *Dīvān-i Sa'd Ḥāfiẓ Tabrīzī*" (M.A. dissertation, Rafsanjān Valī 'Asr University, 1388/2009)."

<sup>67</sup>Hāj Aḥmadīpūr Rafsanjānī 1388/2009, p.3. This is also mentioned in the preface to her forthcoming book *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd Tabrīzī (Sa'd Allāh)* (Tehran, 1397/2018?): p. xxxi. I wish to thank the author for very kindly sending me a draft section from her book.

<sup>68</sup>Shamīlpūr and others recently published a study on the stylistic and literary aspects of the *Ḥulal-i muṭarraz dar mu'ammā va lughaz*. See H. Shamīlpūr et al. "Barrasī-yi muḥtavā'ī va sabkī-yi nuskhā khaṭṭī-yi *Ḥulal-i muṭarraz dar mu'ammā va lughaz*", *Sabk-shināstī-yi nazm-u nathr-i Fārsī (Bahār-i Adab)*, no. 24 (1394/2015), pp. 113–128.

<sup>69</sup>Among Shāhrukh's sons, Bāysunghur and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān competed for the service of the top artists, poets and musicians. The story of Yūsuf Andakānī provides an obvious example. See Daulatshāh Samarqandī 1382/2003, pp. 350–351.

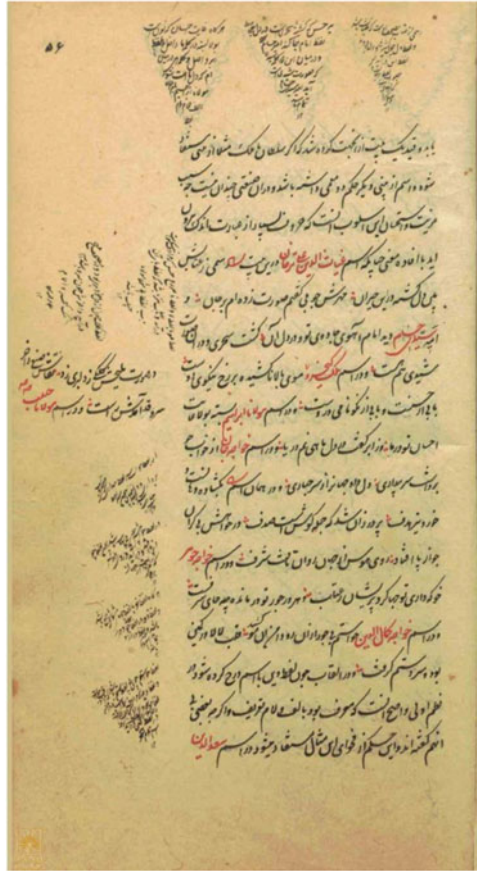


Fig. 8. (Colour online) Riddles. *al-Hulal al-muṭarraz*, 1068/1658, f. 56r, F. 2612/1, Majles Library, Tehran

### V. Conclusion

This paper has identified a previously neglected manuscript issuing from the atelier of Bāysunghur Mīrzā, significant partly for the evidence of its original binding bearing a dedication to the prince, and partly for providing another example of the calligraphy of the enigmatic scribe, Sa’d Mashhadī.

Already known for the *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy* in St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, PNS. 233, and now for the *Yeni Cami* codex, I have also identified a third large manuscript in his hand. This I believe to be the *Tārīkh* mentioned by Ja’far in the *‘Arẓa-dāsht* as having been copied by Maulānā Sa’d al-Dīn, namely the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* in St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Dorn 268. So we now know Sa’d Mashhadī was active as a scribe in Bāysunghur’s atelier in the period 829–834/1426–1431.

In this paper, I have also situated a poet by the name of Ḥāfiẓ Sa’d in the same period and milieu. Ḥāfiẓ Sa’d was a Sufi devotee of Qāsim Anvār as his *Dīvān* makes very clear, as do the brief accounts found in biographical dictionaries. There is no edition of the *Dīvān*, and it

has been little studied, although two early royal manuscripts are extant.<sup>70</sup> Yet the *Dīvān* contains a collection of over 600 riddles which I have found to be of great historical interest.

There is much confusion in the biographical dictionaries over the identity of Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d. What led me to investigate him in the first place was a pair of entries in Auḥādī’s *Tazkira-yi ‘arafāt al-‘āshiqīn* in which a single verse is attributed both to Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d and to a poet by the name of Sa‘d Mashhadī. The poet and the scribe are significant in their own right but I have uncovered further evidence that they might even be the same person. The strongest evidence in favour of that hypothesis is the set of riddles in Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d’s *Dīvān* which, when viewed alongside the list of names mentioned in the atelier report known as the *‘Arẓa-dāsh*t, reveals the poet’s familiarity with the personnel of Bāysunghur’s atelier.

The title ‘Ḥāfiẓ’, was a common epithet for people who had learned the Qur’an by heart. In the case of Sa‘d, this can be verified from the opening *shamsa* of the British Library *Dīvān* where the inscription describes him as: ‘*ṣāhib al-furqān*’ (master in the Qur’an) *al-mushtahar bi* (known as) Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d. When serving as a scribe he would not necessarily use that in his colophons. A convenient example of this is Ja‘far Tabrīzī who only used the title Ḥāfiẓ in manuscripts he transcribed before joining Bāysunghur’s *kitābkhāna*.<sup>71</sup>

Being an accomplished poet and a memoriser of the Qur’an, we would expect Ḥāfiẓ to be well versed in calligraphy as well. It is hardly necessary to recall that poets were often adept in calligraphy and that many calligraphers also wrote poetry. The *Jung-i marāthī*, which contains elegies on Bāysunghur’s death, is a good example: it shows that not only court poets, but also artists who were involved in royal projects in the *kitābkhāna* could express their loss through poetry.<sup>72</sup>

We have evidence the poet was active in 832 and the scribe in 834. The fact that Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d does not feature in the list of contributors to the *Jung-i marāthī* could be a weak indication that he may have died before 837 and the lack of rulers after the Timurids in the riddle names in his *Dīvān* makes it unlikely he survived much beyond 850/1446.<sup>73</sup>

Finally, I mentioned earlier a specimen of calligraphy in the album Topkapi Palace Library B. 411 ascribed to Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d Shīrvānī. If the calligrapher were one and the same as the scribe Sa‘d Mashhadī and the poet Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘d, then the *nisba* Shīrvānī further underlines the remarkable uncertainty there has been over Sa‘d’s origin—variously Mashhadī, Shīrāzī, Bukhārī, Tabrīzī and perhaps even Shīrvānī. <Shiva.mihan@gmail.com>

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<sup>70</sup>Unpublished editions of the *Dīvān* exist in two master theses: N. Rajabī, “Muqaddama, taṣṣīḥ va ta‘līq bar nuskha khaṭṭī-i *Dīvān*-i Jalāl al-Dīn Sa‘d Allāh Tabrīzī” (M.A. dissertation, Central Tehran Azad University, 1393/2014) and Hāj Aḥmadīpūr Rafsanjānī 1388/2009.

<sup>71</sup>See Mihan 2018b pp. 272–273.

<sup>72</sup>Tabriz, National Library, no. 2967, *Jung-i marāthī*, copied by Azhar in 837/1434. The *Jung-i marāthī* begins with seven pages of lament by Ja‘far. This is an indication of his superior position as the head of the library as well as being a testimony to his knowledge of literature and mastery in poetry (in addition to calligraphy).

<sup>73</sup>For a list of contributors to the *Jung-i marāthī* see Akimushkin 1997, p. 24, n. 19.

- ‘Alīshīr Navā’ī, *Majālis al-naḡāyis*, ed. ‘A. A. Ḥekmat (Tehran, 1363/1984).
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- M. Ḥ. D. Ḥusaynī Sunbuhlī, *Tazkīra-yi Ḥusaynī* (Lucknow, 1292/1875).
- N. Jalālī, “Pīr Budāq”, *Dāyirat al-ma‘arīf-i buzurg-i Islāmī* (Tehran, 1385/2004), vol. 14, pp. 119–121.
- B. D. Khushḡū, *Saḡīna-yi Khushḡū*, ed. S. K. Aṣḡhar (Tehran, 1389/2010).
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