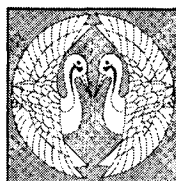


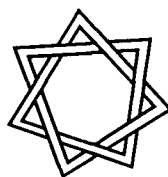
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## PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

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### A COPY OF THE “EARLY *DĪWĀN*” BY JĀMĪ IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Among the rich collection of Persian manuscripts held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, of special note is an illustrated copy of the “early *dīwān*” by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (call number C 1697) [1]. It was acquired in 1920 from M. F. Kostsov. The catalogue of Persian manuscripts published in 1964 [2] contains an extremely brief description of the copy, which boasts seven lovely miniatures [3]. The manuscript is of double interest, both as a fine example of the late-fifteenth-century school of Shīrāz manuscript books and as an exceptionally valuable copy of Jāmī’s *Dīwān*, with extensive addenda made after this early variant of the *Dīwān* had been drawn up. The miniatures which adorn the copy, most of which were executed significantly later, are also noteworthy.

The *Dīwān* opens with a foreword by the author which contains a dedication to Sultān Abū Sa‘īd and a *mathnawī* praising him [4]:

شاه سلطان ابو سعید که هست  
آسمان پیش قصر قدرش پست

“The Shāh Sultān Abū Sa‘īd, before  
The palace of whose might the heavens are [brought] low”.

From the viewpoint of the text’s history, this *Dīwān* by Jāmī is of great interest [5]. The foreword to the *Dīwān*, written by Jāmī himself (unfortunately partially lost in the copy under discussion), gives reason to date this collection of poetic works to 867/1462–63. Evidence for this is found in the following quatrains at the end of the foreword:

تا ده بودم بسی زبون افتاده  
تا بیست و سی ز ره برون افتاده  
در جهل و عما داده چهل سال ز دست  
در پنجه پنجه کنون افتاده

“Until ten years of age, I was very foolish,  
Until twenty and thirty, I wandered, not [knowing] the path,  
I squandered forty years in ignorance and blindness,  
[And] now [I am] in the palm of fifty [years]”. [6]

Consequently, one can state that this *Dīwān* was drawn up by the poet in 1462/63, long before the appearance of

his first well-known *Dīwān*, entitled the *Fatīhāt al-shabāb* and drawn up, as the poet wrote on numerous occasions, in 884/1479. Manuscript C 1697 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, dated to 1486/87, is an extremely early copy of this “early *dīwān*” by Jāmī made during the poet’s lifetime. True, it is not unique: numerous manuscripts of this poetic collection are found in many collections in Europe and Asia. Even a cursory glance at the catalogues reveals no fewer than 18 extant copies of this variant of Jāmī’s *Dīwān* [7], which testifies to its great popularity.

As has been noted, the *Dīwān* was dedicated to the famed Tīmūrid Sultān Abū Sa‘īd, who from 1451 to 1458 ruled only Maverannahr, but in November, 1458 brought Maverannahr and Khorasan together under his control and became the sole ruler of the Tīmūrid state with its capital in Herat. Jāmī drew up his *Dīwān* four years after Abū Sa‘īd had gained supreme power over the entire Tīmūrid state. At that time, its capital, Herat, was home the poets Jāmī and ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’i, the artist Bihzādī, and many famed calligraphers. Shīrāz, where the copy of the manuscript was made was yet another exquisite centre of the Tīmūrid state; a special school of manuscript books flourished there in the fifteenth century. Manuscript C 1697 is not only an example of this, but also poses researchers a number of riddles which will be discussed later.

In addition to the foreword, the manuscript contains the following sections:

1) *qaṣīdas*, including the famed *Lujjat al-asrār* (written in 880/1475–76), an ode eulogising the Sultān Ya‘qūb Aq-Qoyūnlū (r. 1478–1490), individual *qit‘as* and *na‘ts* in praise of Allah, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, his son Ḥusayn, and the family of the Prophet (*ahl-i bayt*), a *tarkībband*, a *tarjī‘band* in honour of the Prophet, as well as Ṣūfī secret prayers (*munājāt*). In all, this section contains 19 works (fols. 4a–23a);

2) 833 *ghazals*, which make up the major part of the *Dīwān* (fols. 23b–239b);

3) three *tarjī‘bands* (fols. 239b–247b);

4) two elegies (*marthiya*) on the death of Sa‘d al-Dīn and the poet’s brother (fols. 247b–251a);

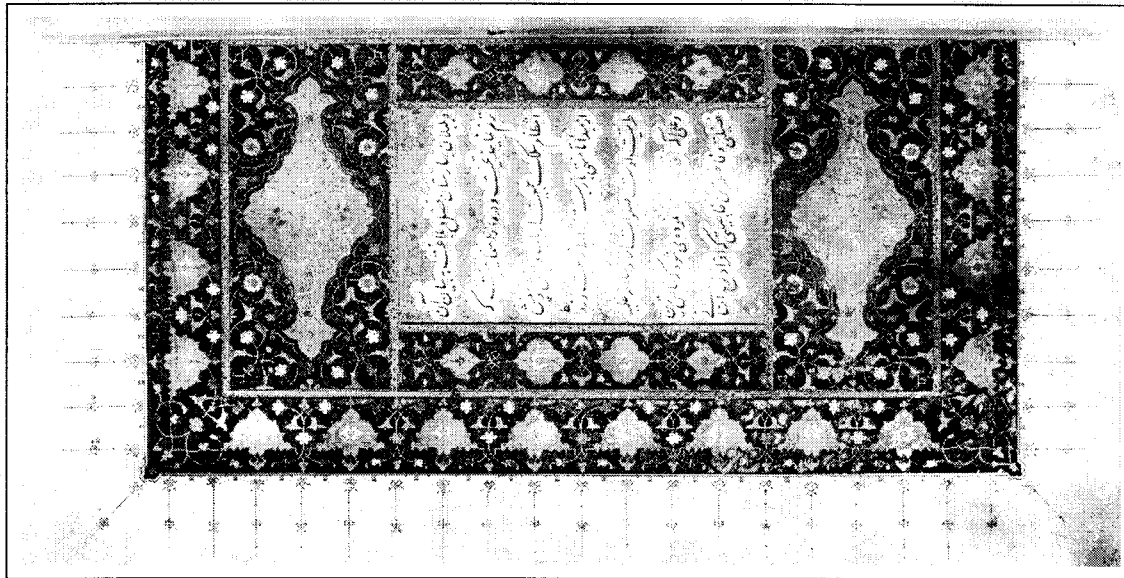


Fig. 1

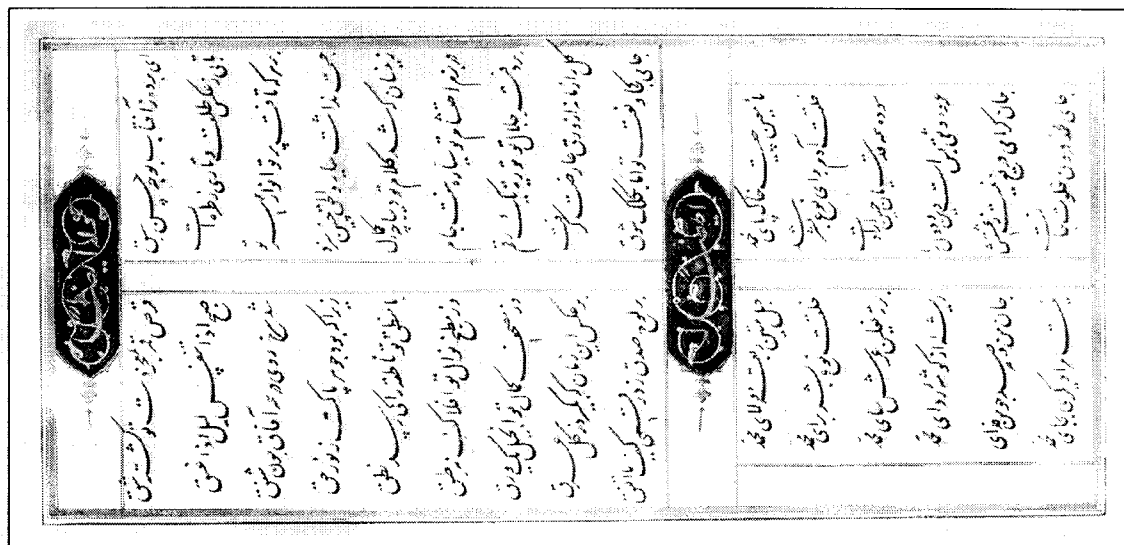


Fig. 2

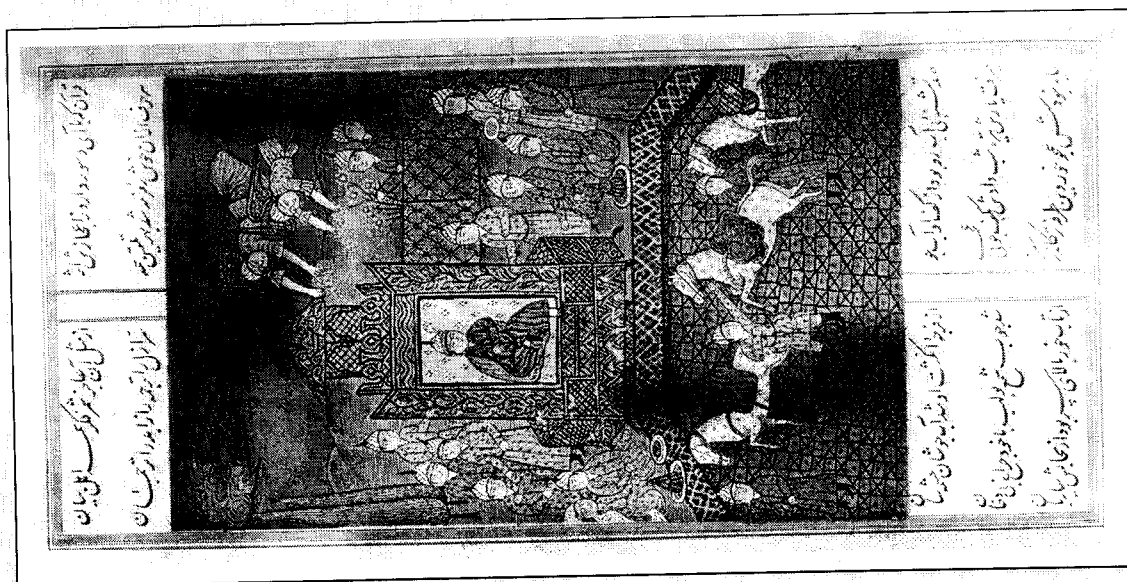


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

- 5) *muqāṭa'āt* — 32 *qit'as* (fols. 251a—255b);
- 6) *rubā'iyāt* — 119 quatrains (fols. 255b—266a);
- 7) *fardiyāt* — 29 individual *bayts* (fols. 265b—267a);
- 8) 73 logograph-*Rabī'ā* (fols. 267b—272a).

The manuscript contains 272 folios, each measuring 14.6×26.0 cm; the text (7.8×17.0 cm) is written in two columns of 17 lines each and is surrounded by a border of three thin lines (two gold and one blue). The columns are divided by vertical gold lines. The concluding *bayt* (*maqṭa'*) of each *ghazal* is highlighted with gold strips. Each *ghazal* and the smaller poetic works are introduced by a cartouche in which one finds the phrase (also in gold) — *ayḍan la-hu* ("also his").

The manuscript has a two-folio, full frontispiece (fols. 1b—2a), three-partite horizontally and vertically, framed by a broad, single border with notched cartouches (*shuraf*). Predominant is a muted blue; against this backdrop we find a flourish of *islīmī* adornment in gold and paints (flowers). Folio 23b presents an equally elegant and delicate *'unwān* executed in the same colours. The text on fol. 2a reveals gold patterns between the lines (*tarsī'*), although they are lacking an outline (*tahrīr*) in Indian ink.

The hand is an outstanding, fine, and elegant *nasta'liq* of the West Iranian school characteristic of Shīrāz from the end of the fifteenth century to the 1630s. The paper is thick, Eastern, produced locally (or in Baghdād), of excellent quality, glossed assiduously several times, with a creamish tint.

The binding is in well-worked, dark-brown leather with the embossed lines of a border around the edges of the chest lids' outer sides, with deeply imprinted vegetable ornamentation in the corners (one fourth of the central medallion). In the centre, we find an oval cartouche with deep imprints (*turunj*) and vegetable ornamentation. The inner sides of the binding's chest lids are adorned with cut corners; in the centre, again, we find an oval cartouche which is larger than that found on the outer chest lids. Leather tracery applique work is pasted against the dark-blue background of this inner central oval and a square, quadrangular Armenian cross is depicted.

The codicological features of the manuscript do not correspond to the style of the miniatures found in it. A study of them gives every reason to assume that they were executed much later. Their attribution was not an easy task, and the solving of the problem granted the author the feeling, familiar to all who study miniatures, of satisfaction one achieves by divining yet another of the small mysteries the Eastern manuscript book so often offers the researcher. The manuscript is adorned with seven miniatures which were pasted into this copy of the *Dīwān* some 200—250 years after it was copied:

These miniatures are:

- 1) "Portrait of some Moghol principal or influential grandee sitting in a chair (throne?) with a falcon on his right arm" (fol. 1b; 7.3×14.8 cm). The miniature is a well-executed copy from the mid-eighteenth century of an Indian miniature of the Moghol school of the 1740s.
- 2) "The exercising of the Sultan's horses in the presence of the ruler and his court" (fol. 12a; 7.5×11.7 cm). Most likely, the miniature was included as an illustration to the *qaṣīda* which Jāmī wrote in honour of Ya'qūb Aq-Qoyūnlū.
- 3) "Shāh's hunt" (fol. 66a; 7.8×7.7 cm), miniature unrelated to the content of the *ghazal*.

- 4) "Pupils in class at school" (fol. 131a; 7.8×9.5 cm), miniature unrelated to the content of the *ghazal*.

- 5) "A stop on the path to the *hāj*" (fol. 163b; 7.6×7.8 cm), miniature illustrating one of the *ghazals*.

- 6) "Feast in open air with musicians" (fol. 195b; 7.7×7.8 cm), miniature illustrating the *ghazal* found on fol. 196a.

- 7) "The Sultan's repose in nature" (fol. 243b; 7.7×7.7 cm), miniature unrelated to the content of the *ghazal*.

All of the miniatures, with the exception of the one on fol. 1b, are on individual sheets of paper pasted above the text within the latter's vertical border (the miniature on fol. 131a extends beyond the border). The miniatures on fols. 12a, 66a, 131a, 163b, 243b present copies of miniatures of the Shīrāz school of the 1520s—1540s; they were executed at the end of the eighteenth century. Only the miniature on fol. 195b was, in all likelihood, copied from examples of the Zand Shīrāz school of the 1780s. However, it may be original and could date from the same time as the manuscript. The miniature on fol. 1b is a special case; it is on an separate sheet pasted in to replace text which was cut out from the beginning of foreword to the *Dīwān*.

The calligrapher, who made the copy in the month of Rabī' II 892/March—April 1487, was Na'im al-Dīn al-Kātib b. al-Ḥāj (or Ḥājī) Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Mudhahhib (colophon, fol. 272a), a Shīrāz master popular at the time. I know of four other copies executed by him. These are:

- 1) The poem *Mihr wa-Mushtarī* by 'Aṣṣār-i Tabrīzī, dated to Ramaḍān 887/October—November 1483 [8];

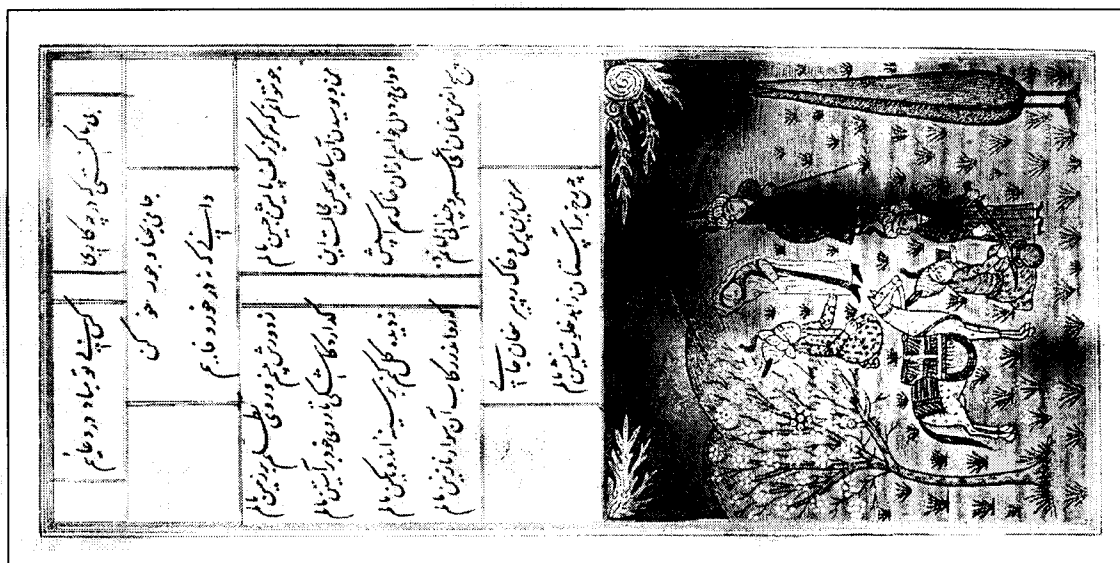
- 2) *Dīwān-i Jāmī*, completed on 1 Rabī' I 893/14 February 1488 [9];

- 3) *Dīwān-i Amīr Khusrāw-i Dikhlawī*, copied in Sha'bān 895/June—July 1490 [10];

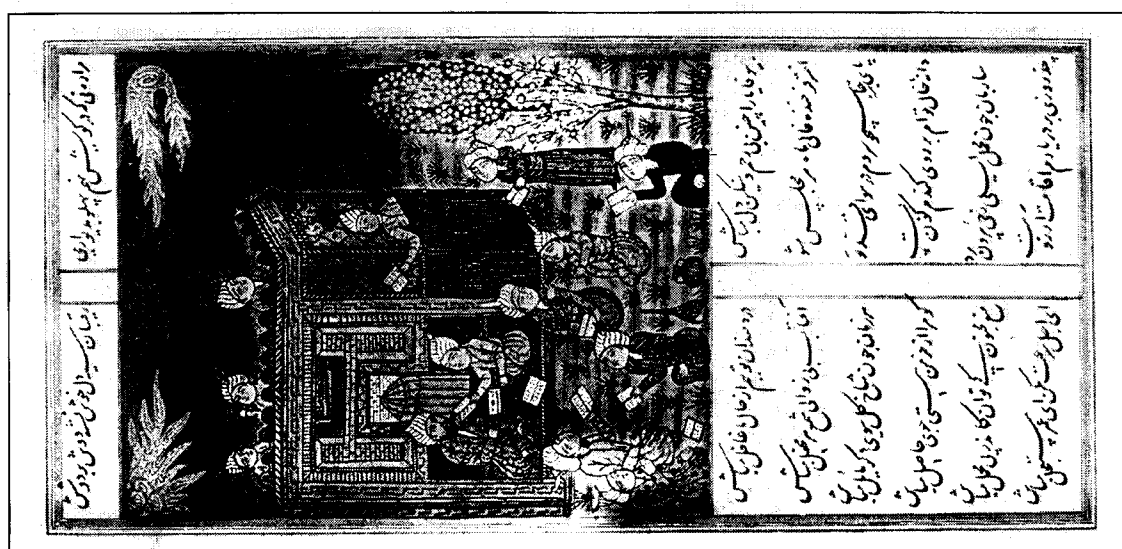
- 4) *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, completed in Rajab 904/February—March 1499 [11]. All of these manuscripts were undoubtedly made to order and are richly illustrated.

Thus, manuscript C 1697 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies presents us with an interesting example of the book art of in Shīrāz. The copy brings together periods separated by centuries: the late fifteenth century and the eighteenth century. The mastery of the manuscript's original creators finds later, but quite organic, artistic reflection in the form of miniatures which date to the modern era. The aesthetic sensitivity of the miniaturist is striking, for he adorned the old manuscript in such fashion that one perceives it as a single artistic whole, which it must have been to the rich man who ordered it. Especially impressive is the manuscript's initial miniature, which depicts an older man sitting in a high-backed chair (throne?) with a falcon on his right arm. The red colour of his cloak and the white of the bird produce an effect of special solemnity which is heightened by the static depiction of the figure. The choice of the colours and the manner in which the old man depicted are intended to stress the nobility of the individual portrayed.

One should note that the miniatures, which were later added to, only enhanced the beauty of an already perfect piece of the art of Shīrāz book production. One is struck by that deep concern with producing an aesthetically perfect manuscript book. It appears that it was precisely this



**Fig. 5**



**Fig. 6**

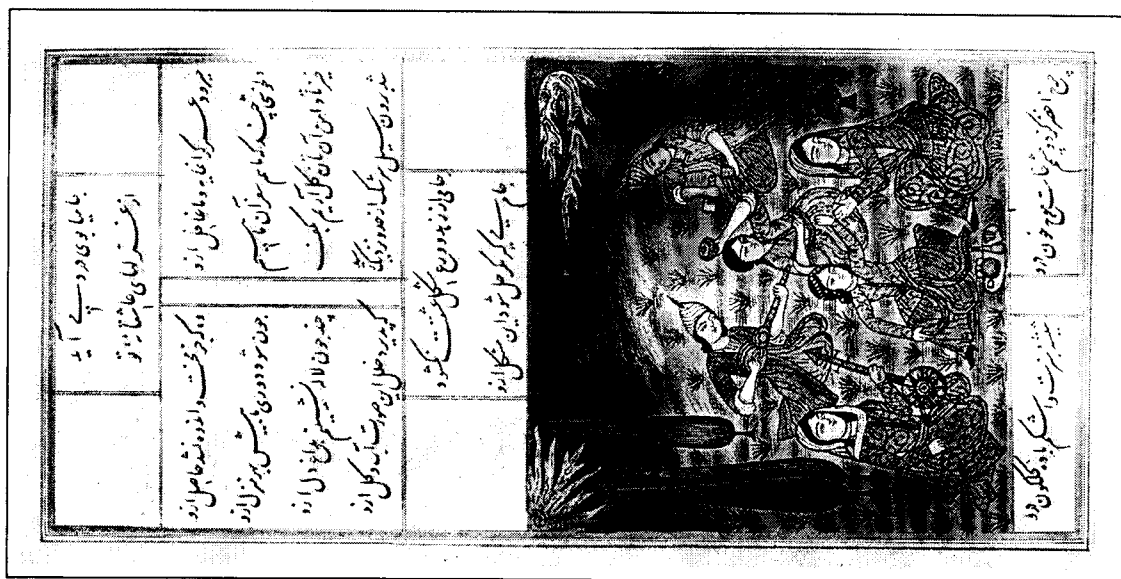


Fig. 7

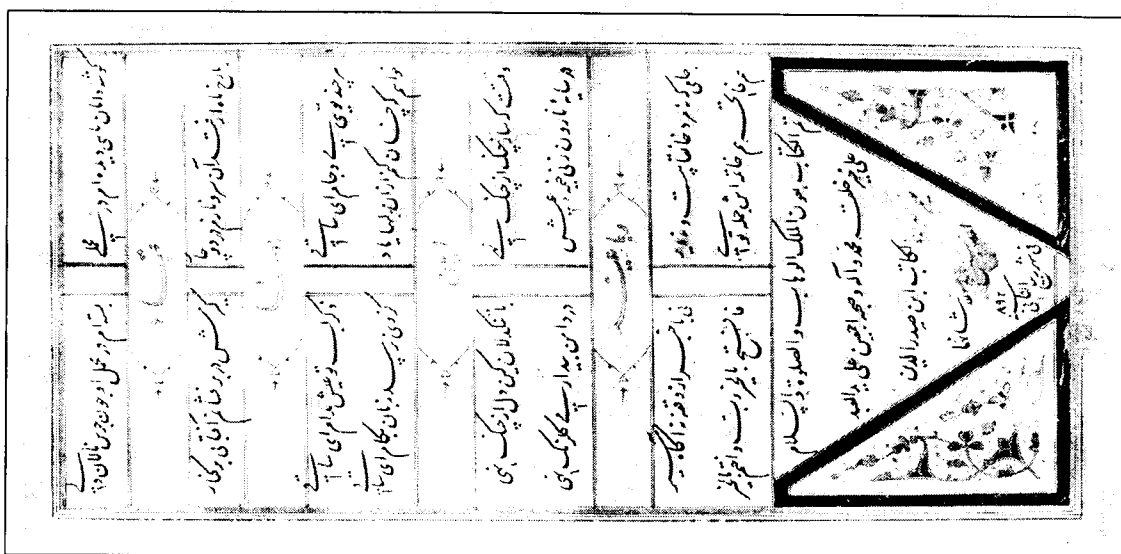


Fig. 8

aesthetic approach which helped the Muslim manuscript book to survive even at that late time when book-printing had become widespread in the East. It is notable that Persian lithographs printed in India already in the nineteenth century reproduce the familiar appearance of a manuscript with its arrangement of text and illustrations [12]. But illustrated manuscripts also survived, reflecting an aesthetic need for habitual miniature painting.

Apart from being a good example of Eastern book art, the manuscript draws attention because of its textual features, too. Strictly speaking, the copy does not contain the text of the *Dīwān*. As was noted above, Jāmī drew up his first *dīwān* only in 884/1479 under the Tīmūrid ruler Ḥusayn Bayqara (r. 1470—1506). Although in the verses which immediately follow the foreword Jāmī calls his collection a “*dīwān of ghazals*” [13], a comparison of various copies of this *dīwān* shows that they differ both in their content and in the number of poems included. In all of the collections we find *qaṣīdas*, *tarkībbaṇds*, *tarjī‘baṇds*, *qit‘as*, *rubā‘īs* and *mu‘ammās* which could not have been included in the early *dīwān* drawn up in 1462/63. They appeared only in the *Dīwān* by Jāmī codified in 1479. For instance, we know that the *qaṣīda* entitled *Lujjat al-asrār* was written only in 880/1475—76. Certain other *qaṣīdas* were written by the poet during his *hāj*j in 1472 (The examples can be continued). However, all of these pieces of poetry are present in the “early *dīwān*” of 1462/63.

Yet there is nothing mysterious about this; the particular way in which the poetic collections of noted poets circulated explains everything. It is likely that this first “*dīwān of ghazals*”, drawn up by Jāmī in 1462/63, when the poet

was already 50 years old and when his fame had spread far beyond the borders of Maverannahr and Khorasan, became extremely popular (evidence of this is found in the large number of surviving copies). Lovers and connoisseurs of poetry constantly augmented this collection with the verses that Jāmī continued to compose after 1462—63 for many years until the appearance of his first real *Dīwān* in 1479, which possessed the requisite structure and composition of a *dīwān*. Meanwhile, copies of those “augmented” collections continued to be copied, but with the obligatory inclusion of Jāmī’s foreword with the earlier date and the dedication to Sulṭān Abū Sa‘īd.

The reconstruction of the original content of this early “*dīwān*” would present a serious difficulty; the question could be resolved only if Jāmī’s autograph were discovered. Certainly, a possible solution could be the juxtaposition of the earliest extant copies of this early “*dīwān*” to make a critical edition of Jāmī’s *dīwāns*. But even this juxtaposition can hardly solve the problem wholly. It is only clear that the early *dīwān* could not include the overwhelming majority of the *qaṣīdas*, which are dated accurately on the basis of their thematic material and purpose. Jāmī himself calls this early poetic collection a “*Dīwān of Ghazals*”. Besides, the number of *ghazals*, *qit‘as*, and *rubā‘īs* should be less than that found in the codified *Dīwān* of 1479, while the number of *mu‘ammās* should be larger. In all likelihood, the composition and structure of the “early *dīwān*” represented in manuscript C 1679 should have been close to the text contained in the collection of Jāmī’s verses described in Muqṭadir’s catalogue [14].

## Notes

1. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
2. O. F. Akimushkin, V. V. Kushev, N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, A. M. Muginov, M. A. Salakhedinova, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkiĭ alfavitnyiĭ katalog)* (Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A Concise Alphabetical Catalogue), pt. I, ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ (Moscow, 1964), No. 1416, p. 203.
3. In the Catalogue, the number of miniatures is erroneously indicated as six.
4. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697, fols. 2a—4a.
5. Many years ago this *dīwān* attracted the attention of the author of the present paper, see O. F. Akimushkin, “K istorii redaktsii pervogo divana Dzhami” (“On the history of a version of Jāmī’s first *Dīwān*”), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 4 (1965), pp. 151—4.
6. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697, fol. 4a.
7. See Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
8. F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. Farsça yazmalar katalogu* (İstanbul, 1961), No. 618 (A 3563).
9. *Sale Catalogue*, Drout-Richelieu, Paris, 6—7 Apr. 1998, p. 71, lot 295.
10. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1881), p. 643 a (Or 1215).
11. Karatay, *op. cit.*, No. 512 (M. 504).
12. See O. P. Scheglova, “Lithograph versions of Persian manuscripts of Indian manufacture in the nineteenth century”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/1 (1999), pp. 12—22.
13. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697, fol. 4a.
14. See A. Muqṭadir, *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore* (Calcutta, 1910), ii, No. 185. As was shown by W. A. Ivanow, the copy described in the catalogue is not Jāmī’s autograph. Most likely, it is a carefully executed copy of the autograph. See W. Ivanow, “Genuineness of Jāmī’s autographs”, *JBBRAS*, X/1—2 (1934), pp. 1—7.

## Illustrations

### Front cover:

“The Sultan’s repose in nature”, miniature from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī’s *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (miniature unrelated to the content of the text), fol. 243b, 7.7×7.7 cm.



***Back cover:***

"Portrait of some Moghol principal or influential grandee sitting in a chair (throne?) with a falcon on his right arm", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 1b, 7.3×14.8 cm.

***Inside the text:***

- Fig. 1.** The same manuscript, left part of the frontispiece, fol. 2a.  
**Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, an example of colour cartouches, fol. 6a.  
**Fig. 3.** "The exercising of the Sultan's horses in the presence of the ruler and his court", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 12a, 7.5×11.7 cm.  
**Fig. 4.** "Shāh's hunt", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 66a, 7.8×7.7 cm.  
**Fig. 5.** "A stop on the path to the *hājī*" (miniature illustrating one of the *ghazals*), the same manuscript, fol. 163b, 7.6×7.8 cm.  
**Fig. 6.** "Pupils in class at school" (miniature unrelated to the content of the text), the same manuscript, fol. 131a, 7.8×9.5 cm.  
**Fig. 7.** "Feast in open air with musicians" (miniature illustrating the *ghazal* found on fol. 196a), the same manuscript, fol. 195b, 7.7×7.8 cm.  
**Fig. 8.** Colophon, the same manuscript, fol. 272a.
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