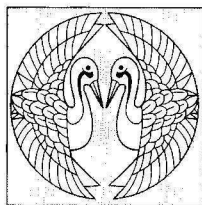


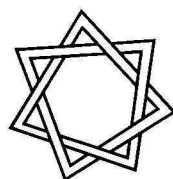
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THE LIBRARY-WORKSHOP (*KITĀBKHĀNA*) OF BĀYSUNGHUR-MĪRZĀ IN HERAT

It is hardly possible in our days to find a scholarly work dedicated to the history of culture, calligraphy, miniature painting or manuscript production in general in Iran, Afghanistan, and Mawarannahr of the fifteenth century, not mentioning about the remarkable library-workshop founded in Herat by the famous grandson of Tīmūr, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bāysunghur-mīrzā (21 Dhū'l-hijja 799—7 Jumādā I 837/15 September 1397—20 December 1433) [1].

There is no doubt that the *kitābkhāna* already functioned at the court of Bāysunghur-mīrzā by 823/1420, because calligrapher Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'far Tabrīzī and miniaturist Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh [2] already worked there at that time. That, however, was the year when Bāysunghur-mīrzā brought from Tabrīz to Herat several masters of manuscripts. Among them Dūst-Muḥammad al-Kātib names Sīdī Aḥmad Naqqāsh, Khwāja 'Alī Muṣawwir and *ustād* Qawām al-Dīn Mujallid Tabrīzī [3], i. e. an illuminator, a painter and a book-binder. That was the beginning of the most brilliant period in the history of the library-workshop assembling within its walls the best masters of book art, who created unique illuminated manuscripts for their patron. The point is that Bāysunghur-mīrzā created the *kitābkhāna* exclusively for his private use, to satisfy his personal demands.

Like a magnet the workshop attracted gifted artists from all over the Middle East. It became a real centre of book production, making illuminated manuscripts on request. Moreover, it had soon developed into a centre of arts and crafts. F. Martin, a Swedish diplomat and one of the pioneers in the field of medieval Persian manuscript study, even surnamed the *kitābkhāna* “the Bāysunghur Academy” (1912). This name was accepted and became popular both in European and in Russian scholarly literature. Although it sounds attractive and striking, it is not quite correct.

Dawlatshāh Samarqandī calls the workshop *kitābkhāna* [4]. It was a library of Oriental type along with a workshop (atelier) where, under the supervision of a management-director — *kitābdār*, masterpieces of manuscript art were specially created for the patron. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr [5], Dūst-Muḥammad al-Harawī [6] and Abū Naṣr Sām-mīrzā [7] define it in the same way in their works — in the *kitābkhāna* they saw only an atelier performing the functions enumerated above. At the same time a junior contemporary of Bāysunghur, historian 'Abd

al-Razzāq b. Iṣḥāq al-Samarqandī (1413—1482), who marked Bāysunghur's profound interest in the art of book and applied arts (combined with really professional attitude), gives no definition to the workshop. He mentions only that along with “masters of book” (calligraphers, illuminators, miniaturists, book-binders, etc.) there worked goldsmiths (*zargarān*), joiners (*najjār*), masters of inlay work (*khātambandān*) and mosaic (*kāshītārāshān*), specialists in chasing, engraving and other kinds of metalwork (*ḥaddādī*) [8]. It is only natural that the authors of special treatises on the art of calligraphy and book art regarded some of the craftsmen of the *kitābkhāna* as the members of the elite, especially those whom the tradition had already made models for imitation, surrounding their names with an aura of wonderful legends where reality was so closely mixed with fantasy that often it is just impossible to separate them.

The evidence of the sources as to what kind of craftsmen worked in the *kitābkhāna* is different. 'Abd al-Razzāq names several calligraphers: Mawlānā Ṣāḥir al-Dīn al-Harawī, Mawlānā Ja'far Tabrīzī, Mawlānā Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Aẓhar, Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abdallāh and Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Shaykh Maḥmūd, one illuminator (*naqqāsh*) Sayf al-Dīn Waḥīdī, and one miniaturist (*naqqāsh*) Ghiyāth al-Dīn of whom we spoke above [9].

Dawlatshāh names Ja'far Tabrīzī, titling him *sarāmad-i kuttāb* (“the leader of calligraphers”), and artist Mawlānā Khalīl Musawwir, who was “the second Mani” [10]. At the same time, according to his words, there were forty masters working in the *kitābkhāna*.

Dūst-Muḥammad al-Kātib confirms the evidence of 'Abd al-Razzāq and Dawlatshāh, adding to their lists 'Alī Musawwir (an artist), illuminator Sīdī Aḥmad and book-binder Qawām al-Dīn Tabrīzī [11].

In 1587 Turkish writer, historian and biographer 'Ālī Chelebī Efendī in his work *Manāqib-i humarwarān* (“Lives of the Men of Art”) named twenty five persons who worked in the *kitābkhāna* of Bāysunghur. The list is full of obvious errors. It contains the names of five artists not yet born at the time when the *kitābkhāna* already functioned. Besides that, there are names of the men of letters and *naḏīms* from Bāysunghur's closest retinue, such as Amīr Aq-Malik Shāhī Sabzawārī (d. 1453), Muḥammad Kātibī Turshīzī (d. 1436), Yaḥyā Sibak Nishābūrī (d. 1448), and others [12].

The evidence mentioned above (but for the list of ‘Alī Chelebī Efendī, which we do not take into account as evidently incorrect) allows to suggest that the *kitābkhāna* of Bāysunghur was not just an atelier producing illuminated books. It looks more like a network of royal workshops specialising in different arts and crafts (*kārkhāna*, *buyūtāt*) employing a considerable number of highly qualified specialists. Today, 563 years after the death of its founder, we are fortunate to be able to gain insight into the life of the *kitābkhāna*. This opportunity is provided by a unique document having survived from that time [13]. It is a kind of official report (something like modern formal account), ‘*ardādāsh*t, submitted to Bāysunghur by the director of the workshops (in the text they are called *kitābkhāna*), most probably by Kamāl al-Dīn Ja‘far Bāysunghurī Tabrizī, approximately between the end of 1427 and the beginning of 1431. This document was discovered by Prof. Zeki Veleđi Toğan in *Jung-i Ya‘qūbī* (its other name is “Fātiḥ Album”) in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (Istanbul, MS H. 2153, fol. 98a). He reported of his find in 1948. Over a quarter of a century had passed, however, before the document was published in Turkey [14].

The contents of the document leaves no doubts that the *kitābkhāna*, by the standards of that time, was a grand enterprise. It was organised on a scale worthy of Timūr himself, the grandfather of its founder and creator. People of different professions connected with arts, artistic crafts and architecture worked there. In this respect the information provided by ‘Abd al-Razzāq is correct. At present we are concerned mainly with those masters whose professions were connected with the production of illuminated manuscripts, since a detailed analysis of the whole document goes beyond the frames of this article.

So, the director-manager of the *kitābkhāna* (that person could only be Ja‘far Bāysunghurī, because, as stated in all sources, it was he who held this office under Bāysunghur-mīrzā) reports on the work done by all craftsmen of the *kitābkhāna* (who and how is occupied with what kind of work) towards the day when the document was written. He enumerates 25 members of the staff, including himself and gives a brief account of their work on manuscripts. The following masters of “book craft” are mentioned:

1. Five calligraphers — Mawlānā Shams, Mawlānā Quṭb, Mawlānā Sa‘d al-Dīn, Mawlānā Muḥammad-i Muṭahhar and the author of the “Report” (‘*ardādāsh*t). Since these people are well-known, their names can be easily identified.

2. Two artists — Amīr Khalīl and Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh. Their names also present no difficulties. More problems arise with the identifying of other masters of the *kitābkhāna*.

3. Thirteen illuminators and decorators of manuscripts (*naqqāsh*, *mudhahhib*, *jadwalkash*) — Mawlānā ‘Alī, Mawlānā Shihāb, Maḥmūd, Khwāja ‘Aṭā, Ḥājji, Khatāy, ‘Abd al-Salām, *ustād* Sayf al-Dīn, Khwāja Mīr Ḥasan, Mīr Shams al-Dīn b. Khwāja Mīr Ḥasan, Mawlānā Shams, *ustād* Dawlat-khwāja, Khwāja ‘Aṭāy Jadwalkash.

4. Three book-binders (*mujallid*) — Mawlānā Qawām al-Dīn, Ḥājji Maḥmūd and Khwāja Maḥmūd.

5. Two artists working on patterns (*tarrāḥ*) — Khwāja ‘Abd al-Raḥīm and Mīr Dawlatyār. These artists were de-

veloping patterns further applied to objects of different materials (leather, textiles, carpets, faience, tiles, etc.)

Speaking about the books which at that time were “in work”, the author mentions nine manuscripts and names those masters working on them: five calligraphers, three binders, two artists, one decorator of coloured bands framing the text and five illuminators, all together sixteen persons. These manuscripts are the following:

1. *Gulistān* by Sa‘dī. Artists — Amīr Khalīl and Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn, illuminators — Mawlānā Shihāb and Khwāja ‘Aṭā.

2. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī. Calligrapher — the author of the “Report” Ja‘far al-Bāysunghurī, illuminator — Mawlānā ‘Alī, decorator of coloured frames — Khwāja ‘Aṭāy, binder — Mawlānā Qawām al-Dīn.

3. *Rasā‘il*. Calligrapher — Mawlānā Shams, artist — Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn, binder — Ḥājji Maḥmūd.

4. *Rasā‘il-i khaṭṭ-i Khwāja*. Binder — Khwāja Maḥmūd.

5. *Dīwān-i Khwāju [-yi Kirmānī]*. Illuminators — Maḥmūd and Mawlānā Shams, decorator of frames — Khwāja ‘Aṭāy.

6. *Tārīkh [-i Jahāngushā-yi Juwaynī]*. Calligrapher — Mawlānā Sa‘d al-Dīn, illuminator — Khwāja ‘Aṭā, decorator of frames — Khwāja ‘Aṭāy.

7. *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*. Calligrapher — Mawlānā Quṭb.

8. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī. Calligrapher — Mawlānā Muḥammad-i Muṭahhar.

9. *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* [by Mīr Fakhr al-Sādāt]. Calligrapher — the author of the “Report” Ja‘far al-Bāysunghurī.

Besides that two accomplished albums of verse (*kishtī*) are mentioned, on which had worked correspondingly illuminators Mawlānā Shams and ‘Abd al-Salām, while illuminators Ḥājji and Khaṭāy still worked on two other similar albums.

As far as it is known, 19 manuscripts from the library of Bāysunghur have survived to the present day. On fol. 1a they bear *shamsa*-exlibris: “*ba rasm-i khazānat al-kutub (or kitābkhāna) al-Sultān al-a‘zam al-a‘dal al-akram Ghiyāth al-saltānat wa‘l-Dīn Bāysunghur Bahādur khān ...*”. Of this number two manuscripts were sent to Bāysunghur as a gift, they have nothing to do with his workshop [15], but the other seventeen were executed in his atelier. The first list of the survived manuscripts was made by a well-known British expert in Persian miniatures B. Robinson [16]. It enumerates 12 manuscripts (including the two mentioned above), the other seven were identified by the author of this article. These manuscripts are the following:

1. *Tāj al-mā‘athir* by Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nishāburī (Library of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University, No. 578), calligrapher — Quṭb al-Dīn b. Ḥasan-shāh al-Kirmānī, 25 Shawwāl 829/31 August 1426 (fol. 289b). Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrzā.

2. *Tarjuma-yi tārikh-i Ṭabarī* by Bal‘amī (St. Petersburg, the National Library of Russia, PNS 49), calligrapher — Quṭb al-Dīn b. Ḥasan-shāh al-Kirmānī, Herat, 20 Jumādā II 833/16 March 1430 (fol. 497a). Fol. 1a — *shamsa*-exlibris with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrzā.

3. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī (Tehran, Malik Library, No. 6531), calligrapher — Muḥammad [b.] Muṭahhar Nishāburī, Herat, Sha‘bān 833/May 1430 (fol. 438b).



Fig. 1

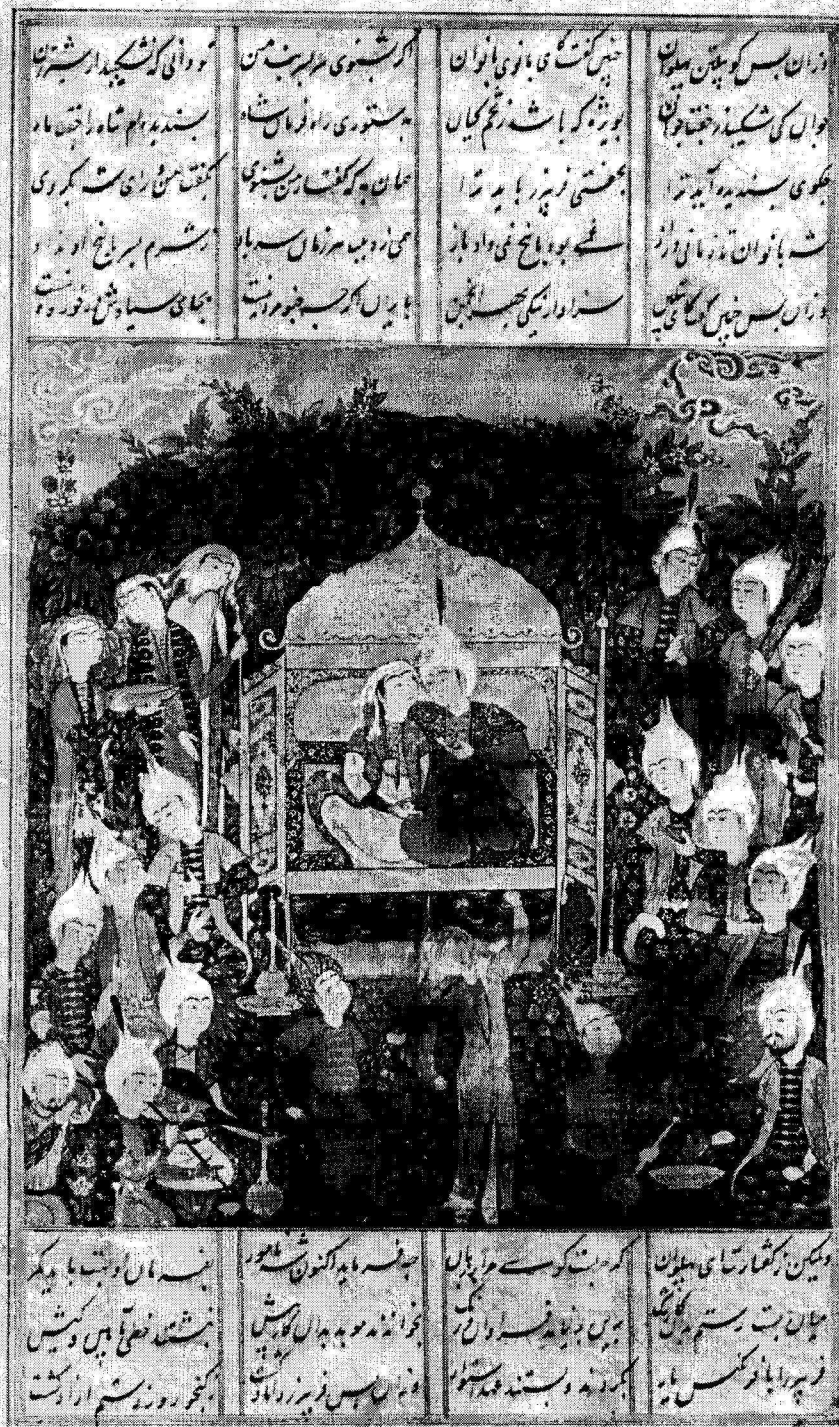


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Fol. 1a — *shamsa-exlibris* with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

4. *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* by Juwaynī (St. Petersburg, the National Library of Russia, PNS 233), calligrapher — Sa'd [al-Dīn] al-Mashhadī, Herat, the late Rabī' I 834/December 1430 (fol. 279a). Fol. 1a — *shamsa-exlibris* with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

5. *Tārīkh-i Isfahān* by Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (London, the British Library, Or. 2773); calligrapher — Ja'far Bāysunghurī, the late Sha'bān 834/early May 1431. Fol. 2a — *shamsa-exlibris* with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

6. *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣrallāh (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 362), calligrapher — Ja'far, Herat, 834/1430—31 (fol. 172a). Fol. 1a — *shamsa-exlibris* with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

7. *Majma' al-tawārīkh* by Ḥāfiz-i Abrū (St. Petersburg, the National Library of Russia, Dorn 268). Only the first two parts (*rukṅ*) of the work. Fol. 1a — *shamsa-exlibris* with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

It is amazing that of the nine manuscripts “in work”, mentioned in the “Report” by their titles, at least five have survived. These are:

1. *Gulistān* by Sa'dī (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, No. 119), calligrapher — Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī, Herat, 830/1427. Fol. 1a — *shamsa-exlibris* with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā.

2. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī (Tehran, Saḷṭanatī Library, No. 716), calligrapher — Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī, 5 Jumādā I 833/30 January 1430 (fol. 350b). Fol. 1a — *shamsa-exlibris* with the name of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā. It is mentioned in the colophon that the copy was made by his order [17].

3—5. *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā-yi Juwaynī* and *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī were mentioned above (see Nos. 2, 4, 3 correspondingly) [18].

The death of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā was taken by the masters of the *kitābkhāna* as their private loss. Some of them, jointly with their patron's *nadīms* and men of letters belonging to the narrow circle of his confidants, composed a collection of mourning elegies conventionally titled *Bāysunghur-nāma* (Tebriz, Millī Library, No. 2967). It was copied by the famous Ḥāhīr al-Dīn Aẓhar in 837/1434 (*tārīkh* in the colophon, fol. 26b, written by one Mawlānā Muḥammad). Fol. 1a — *shamsa-exlibris* with the name of Rukn al-Dīn 'Alā al-Dawla, the son of Bāysunghur [19].

After the death of Bāysunghur-mīrẓā the whole workshop passed into the hands of his elder son and successor 'Alā al-Dawla [20]. After the turmoils caused by the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447 the atelier partly suffered disintegration, partly was transferred to Samarqand by Ulughbek-mīrẓā. After his death in 853/1449 it finally ceased to exist [21]. Most of the craftsmen left Mawarannahr and moved to Iran or to Herat (like calligraphers Aẓhar and Ṭabbākh) [22]. Such was the end of that wonderful community of masters, creators of the masterpieces of manuscript art. We still admire their works, of which the peoples now inhabiting that whole region can be duly proud. Originally being just an artificial union of representatives of different Iranian schools of calligraphy and miniature painting, the *kitābkhāna* developed in the course of their joint

work a special school of pre-Bihzad painting in Herat and laid the foundation of the Khurāsān tradition in calligraphy. The flourishing art of illuminated manuscripts, which we find in Herat half a century later, at the end of the fifteenth—early sixteenth century, was basing upon this tradition.

Taking into account most precious information on the work of Bāysunghur's atelier, which the “Report” comprises, it would be worthy to pay special attention to this document. The question arises if there were the names of the sender and the receiver in the text of the *'arḍadāshī*? What immediately attracts attention when one carefully studies the document, first published in facsimile by T. Lentz and M. Lowry along with its formal description, is its unusual size — 46 cm (by the vertical axis) and the absence of *basmla* at the beginning of the “Report”. The last one is most unusual. It could be explained, of course, by its upper edge becoming so worn out in the course of time that they had to trim it neatly. For this reason the first lines of the “Report” happen to be written very close to the upper edge of the document.

In our opinion, it is obvious that the document must have comprised the names of the sender and the receiver, as well as *basmla*. There were strict rules of conducting official correspondence at that time. The sender, well aware of all particulars of these rules, could not even dare to think about any frivolity when addressing a person of a high rank, even if he belonged to the closest retinue of his patron. Besides, before the middle of the fifteenth century the following expediting practice was widely employed in the east of the Iranian world: the final copy of an official document was, starting from its end, wrapped into a scroll (*tūmār*), so that the outer edge of the scroll coincided with the beginning of the document itself. On the other side of this edge they indicated the names of the one, to whom it was addressed, and of the sender. Sometimes even the name of the messenger-courier was written, if the contents of the document was of special importance. Then the scroll was placed in a special wooden case with a hinged cover (*'arḍchūba*), which was neatly tied with a ribbon, usually up to nine circuits, its ends fastened with a wax or wafer seal. After that it was entrusted to the messenger to be delivered [24].

In case of our document, the absence of *basmla* and the arrangement of the text close to the upper edge makes one think that initially it was written on a longer sheet of paper. It is known that the higher was the status of the receiver, the longer was the scroll chosen to write to such a person — it was an established sign of respect towards his high position. The “Report” was most probably written on a sheet of paper one canonical cubit long (*dhar'* = 49.875 cm), though at present its length is 46 cm. If this suggestion is correct, it means that almost 4 cm of the document are missing, whence the absence of *basmla* at the beginning of the document and of the names of the addressee and the sender on its other side, written by its upper edge. One should bear in mind that this part contained a sample of handwriting and the signature of the famous calligrapher — Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī, therefore it could be cut to be set into a *qit'a* for some collector or connoisseur of calligraphy. The *qit'a* could also come to some album where it possibly remains till the present day.

Notes

1. For more information on this enlightened and gifted Tīmūrīd see my article “Bāysunghur-mīrzā i ego rol' v kul'turnoi i politicheskoi zhizni Khorasanskogo sultanata Timuridov v pervoi treti XV veka” (“Bāysunghur-mīrzā and his role in the cultural and political life of the Khorasan sultanate of the Tīmūrīds in the first third of the fifteenth century”), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, fasc. 5 (1994), pp. 143–68, with bibliography.

2. Calligrapher Ja'far Tabrīzī appeared in Herat even earlier: he came to the court from Shīrāz through Yazd. On 16 Dhū'l-Qa'da 822/4 December 1419 Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naqqāsh, as a representative of Bāysunghur-mīrzā, left Herat as a member of the embassy sent by Shāhrukh (d. on 25 Dhū'l-Hijja 850/13 March 1447) to the court of China. He was ordered to keep a diary of the whole journey recording everything worthy of attention. This diary is known in two versions. The first is cited in *Majma' al-tawārīkh* (rukn 4) by historian Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, see K. M. Maitra, *The Persian Embassy to China* (Lahore, 1934), text and English translation; see also *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. Tālif-i Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, ba taṣṣīḥ-i sayyid Kamāl-i Ḥājj sayyid Jawādī (Tīhrān, 1372/1993), ii, pp. 792–3, 817–65. In the last edition the date of the departure of the embassy — 6 Dhū'l-Qa'da 822. The second version is given by 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī in his *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*. The text and its French translation see in E. Quatremere's *Notice et extraits des Mss. de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, xiv (Paris, 1843), pp. 308–41, 387–426.

3. O. F. Akimushkin, A. A. Ivanov, *Persidskie miniatury XIV–XVII vv.* (Persian Miniatures of the 14th–17th centuries) (Moscow, 1968), p. 9, No. 17.

4. *The Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā' ("Memoirs of the Poets") of Dawlatshāh bin 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Bakhtīshāh al-Ghāzi of Samarqand*, ed. E. G. Browne (London—Leyden, 1901), p. 350.

5. Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyyar fī akhbār afrād bashar*. Ba ihtimām-i Jalāl Humā'ī (Tīhrān, 1333/1954), iv, pp. 47, 57, 59, 160.

6. Dūst-Muḥammad al-Kātib Harawī, *Muqaddima*, manuscript H. 2154 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı), fols. 15b–16a.

7. Sām-mīrzā Ṣafawī, *Tadhkira-yi tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*. Ba taṣṣīḥ wa muqaddima az Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūnfarrukh (Tīhrān, 1355/1976).

8. *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn wa majma' al-bahrayn*. Tālif-i mawlāwī Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī. Chāp-i duwwum. Jild-i duwwum. Ba taṣṣīḥ-i Muḥammad Shafī' (Lahore, 1368/1949), pp. 2–3, 654–5. At the same time his interest in art and calligraphy did not prevent him from harshly treating the famous master Ma'rūf Khaṭṭāt Baghdādī, the teacher of his favorite Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Harawī, from 818/1415 staff member of the court library of Shāhrukh. Bāysunghur-mīrzā ordered to imprison the artist in the basement of the Ikhtiyār al-Dīn fortress in Herat. Before that he was several times taken to scaffold, as if to be executed, though no direct evidence of his participation in the conspiracy against Shāhrukh of 830/1427 had been found (but for the fact of his acquaintance with Aḥmad-i Lūr). Probably, the whole episode was due mainly to the private animosity of Bāysunghur towards the calligrapher, who had dared, after keeping “good paper” sent to him by Bāysunghur for making a copy of *Khamsa* by Niẓāmī for over a year, to send it back, thus refusing to carry out the “high commission”. For more details see 'Abd al-Razzāq, ed. Shafī', ii, Pt. 1, pp. 589–90. Khwāndamīr (see ed. Humā'ī, iii, pp. 616–7) and Qādī Aḥmad, see *Kāzi Ahmad. Traktat o kalligrafakh i khudozhnikakh. 1596–97/1005* (A Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters. 1595–97/1005), introduction, translation and commentary by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, 1947), p. 71. borrowed this passage from 'Abd al-Razzāq, slightly “embellishing” it. Cf. also *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, from sayyid Jawādī, ii, p. 915 ff.

9. Ed. Shafī', ii, Pt. 2–3, pp. 654–5, 660.

10. Ed. Browne, pp. 350, 340; Dawlatshāh marks him among the four extraordinary talents living in Herat under Shāhrukh. According to Dawlatshāh, “at that time there was no one equal to them in the inhabited part of the world”.

11. Dūst-Muḥammad, fols. 5a–5b, 8a–8b.

12. Mahdī Bayānī, *Athār wa aḥwāl-i khūshnawīsān. Nasta'liḡnawīsān*, i (Tīhrān, 1345/1966), pp. 117–8.

13. Doubts in the authenticity of the “Report” were expressed by Prof. P. Souček. In her paper, delivered at the international conference of 1977 in Edinburgh, she suggested that the “Report” had been written in Samarqand after the death of Bāysunghur (see P. A. Andrews, “The tents of Timur. An examination of reports on Qurultay at Samarkand, 1404”, *Art of Eurasian Steppelands* (University of London, 1978), pp. 167, 179; E. Grube, “School of Herat, 1400–1450”, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia* (London, 1979), p. 177). I do not know what actually led Prof. Souček to this conclusion. The very fact that five of the nine manuscripts mentioned in the “Report” have survived to the present time (I worked on four of them myself — they all have the *shamsa*-exlibris of Bāysunghur-mīrzā on the first page and they all had been copied exactly by those calligraphers who are indicated in the document) makes me disagree with her opinion.

14. The *'arḡadāsh*t text with a translation and commentary (not always precise) was published in Turkey in 1976 (see M. Kemal Özergin, “Temürlü sanatına ait eski bir belge. Tebrizli Dja'far'ın bir Arzi”, *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, VI (1976), pp. 471–518); in Iran in 1977 (see Aḥmad Pārsā-yi Quds, “Sanadī marbūt ba fa'āliyathā-yi hunarī-yi dawra-yi Tīmūrī dar kitābkhāna-yi Bāysunghurī-yi Harāt”, *Hunar wa mardum*, No. 75 (1977), pp. 42–50; the text of the document (on p. 43) is reproduced from the Turkish publication; the typed text is on pp. 49–50) and in USA in 1989 (see Thomas W. Lentz and Glen Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision. Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington—Los Angeles, 1989), p. 160). In the same edition (pp. 364–5, Appendix I), the English translation of the “Report” by W. Thackston is published. See also *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art*, selected and translated by W. M. Thackston (Cambridge, Mass. 1989), pp. 323–8. The information provided by the “Report” was used (concerning the construction of the “sovereign's tent”), translated and commented by P. A. Andrews in his “The tents of Timur. An examination of Reports on Qurultay at Samarkand, 1404”, pp. 167–9; also by Oktay Aslanapa, “The art of bookbinding”, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia* (London, 1979), p. 59, where Aslanapa enumerated all masters of bookbinding mentioned in the “Report” and narrated the contents of those parts of the document dealing with their work. Finally, T. W. Lentz suggested his own translation of the “Report” into English, supplementing it with a brief commentary, see Thomas W. Lentz, *Painting at Herat under Bāysunghur ibn Shahrukh*, PhD thesis of 1985 (Ann-Arbor, 1986), pp. 147–54, 481–8.

15. Those are: *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī* by Jūzjānī (MS, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. Petermann I. 386), calligrapher — Aḥmad b. Mas'ūd al-Rūmī, Herat, 814/1411–12. The name of Bāysunghur is written in gold in the colophon (fol. 155b); “The Anthology of Persian Poets”

(MS, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum Islamische Kunstabteilung, J 4628), calligrapher — Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī, Shīrāz, 823/1420. The name of Bāysunghur is in the *shamsa*-exlibris (fol. 1a).

16. B. W. Robinson, "Prince Baysonghor's Nizami: a speculation", *Ars Orientalis*, No. 2 (1957), pp. 383—91 (list on pp. 384—5).

17. A facsimile reproduction of the "Bāysunghur's" foreword, colophon, 22 miniatures and illuminations of the manuscript was made in Tehran in 1971, see *The Shah-nameh of Firdawsī. The Baysonghor Manuscript: An Album of Miniatures and Illuminations Completed in 833 A.H./1430 A.D. and Preserved in the Imperial Library* (Tehran, 1971). This edition was prepared by B. Grey.

18. I was lucky to work on four of the five listed manuscripts in Tehran (Nos. 2—3) and in St. Petersburg (Nos. 4—5).

19. Persian elegies by the following authors were included into the anthology: 1. Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ja'far known as Khaṭṭāt (fol. 2a); 2. Mawlānā Zāhidī (fol. 5a); 3. Jalāl Kirmānī (fol. 66); 4. Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn Yūsuf known as Amīrī (fol. 8b); 5. Mawlānā Luṭfī (fol. 10a); 6. Mawlānā Walī (fol. 12b); 7. Mawlānā Āṣafī (fol. 13b); 8. Wāhidī (fol. 18a); 9. Munshī (fol. 22a); 10. Mawlānā Muḥammad (fol. 28b), who wrote *tārīkh* with the date of making the copy: *raḥmatu Allāhi 'alayhi abad* (= 648 + 67 + 115 + 7 = 837).

20. Dūst-Muḥammad, fol. 8b.

21. *Ibid.*, fol. 9a.

22. 'Abd al-Razzāq, ed. Shaḫī', ii, 2—3, pp. 655, 660.

23. Lentz and Lowry, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

24. See my article "Fragments of documents from the East Pamirs" ("Fragments of documents from the East Pamirs"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. 1972* (Moscow, 1977), p. 131.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. "Siyāwūsh Playing Polo with Afrāsiyāb". A miniature from *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī (fol. 140a), manuscript D 184 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, dated by 5 Muḥarram 931/2 November 1524 and copied in Tabrīz by calligrapher Muḥammad al-Harawī. The miniature is attributed to Sulṭān-Muḥammad Tabrīzī, 21.8 × 18.3 cm.

Fig. 2. "The Joint Feast of Farīburz and Farangīs". A miniature from the same manuscript (fol. 195b). The miniature is attributed to Sulṭān-Muḥammad Tabrīzī, 15.7 × 14.7 cm.

Fig. 3. "Polo Game". A miniature from *Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ* (fol. 140a), manuscript B 1200 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, dated by 939/1532—33 and copied by calligrapher Muḥammad [b.] Qawām al-Dīn Shīrāzī, Shīrāz commercial style, 13.6 × 7.9 cm.

Fig. 4. "A Scene of Hunting". A miniature from the same manuscript (fol. 81a), Shīrāz commercial style, 13.5 × 7.8 cm.

Fig. 5. "The Fight of Rakhsh with a Lion Guarding Rustām". A miniature from *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī (fol. 46b), manuscript C 1654 of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, dated by Ramaḍān 849/December 1445 and copied by calligrapher Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn, Shīrāz—Yazd painting school, 11.2 × 12.1 cm.

Fig. 6. "The Battle of Bārzū against Iranians". A miniature from the same manuscript (fol. 143a), Shīrāz—Yazd painting school, 18.0 × 15.5 cm.