

ON MAHMUD B. ISHAQ AL-SHIHABI'S MANUSCRIPT OF *YŪSUF VA ZULAYKHĀ* OF 964 (1557)

To many connoisseurs of the art of the book, the Sarre manuscript of *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* of Jami is already well known from the numerous publications of parts of it in the twentieth century.¹ With its fine *‘unwān* (fig. 1), masterly *nasta‘līq* writing (figs. 1–10), and superb margin paintings (figs. 2–10) and binding (fig. 11), the manuscript has always been considered to be of Persian origin due to its dated colophon of 964 (1557), published here for the first time (fig. 3). Usually, folios of the manuscript were published singly because of the quality of their margin paintings.² This paper attempts to discuss the much more complicated nature of this manuscript.

HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Friedrich Sarre acquired the manuscript early in July 1906 from the book dealer and antiquarian Rudolf Haupt, of Halle an der Saale, for the sum of 1,200 marks.³ It is not certain whether the manuscript was complete, as it was already in single folios when acquired, probably due to the deterioration of the paper, which had loosened from the spine in earlier days; nevertheless, the folios were still with the binding (fig. 11). Martin Hartmann first published a note on it after its appearance at the Halle bookdealer.⁴

The manuscript was first mentioned by Sarre in the catalogue of an exhibition on the art of the book at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin in the spring of 1910. Seventy-two single folios were exhibited at that time. The Berlin catalogue entry gives the complete number of folios as 139.⁵ Later in 1910 some folios were also shown in the Munich exhibition “Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst.” The catalogue entry this time gave the number of folios as 360, which is in marked contrast to folio counts in all earlier and later entries and thus must have been a printing mistake.⁶ Two folios and part of the binding of the manuscript were reproduced in another publication related to the Munich exhibition.⁷

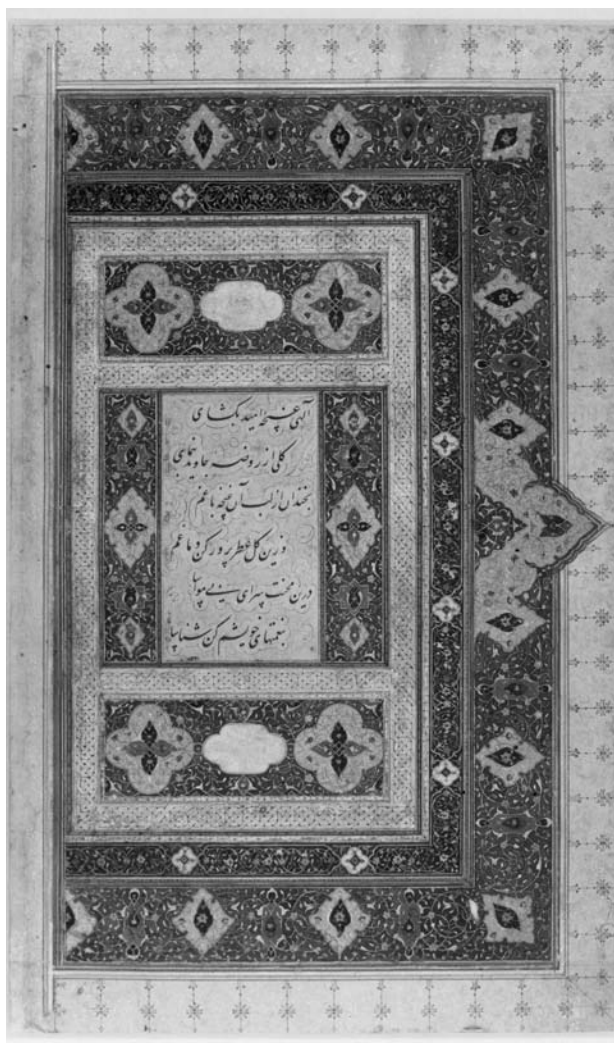


Fig. 1. *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā*, illuminated *‘unwān* (folio 1 verso) with the beginning of the text. Central Asia, probably Bukhara 964 (1557). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1986.105). (Photo: courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Following this, the manuscript and binding were exhibited in Frankfurt in 1932 along with other works of art from the Sarre Collection,⁸ and, for a last time before World War II, thirty folios and the binding were included in 1938 in a small exhibition of Islamic art of the book from the Sarre Collection in the Islamische Abteilung in Berlin.⁹ In the war years until 1945 the manuscript remained intact. Ernst Kühnel tried to acquire the portion of the Sarre Collection comprising the arts of the book for the Islamische Abteilung, but Friedrich Sarre was reluctant to sell under the difficult war conditions.¹⁰ Before Sarre died in Neubabelsberg in 1945, this part of the collection had already been transferred to southern Germany and later to Switzerland and thus survived the Second World War. The manuscript later on had to be dispersed by Maria and Marie-Luise Sarre to finance their life in exile in Switzerland. Numerous single folios are now in different collections, and the manuscript thus is one of the large number of books dispersed in the twentieth century. Under these circumstances it is impossible to give the exact number of single folios or the complete list of collections with single or multiple leaves in their charge.

In 1986 the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin was able to acquire fifty-four folios of the manuscript from the Sarre Collection, including both title pages.¹¹ In 1988 the museum received the colophon folio (figs. 2–3) as a gift from Irene Kühnel-Kunze, wife of the late Ernst Kühnel. It had been presented to Kühnel by Maria Sarre on the occasion of his eightieth birthday in 1962.¹² The Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin thus now houses fifty-five folios of this manuscript. At least twenty-five are known at present to exist in other collections;¹³ many more are still unaccounted for.¹⁴ A representative number of the folios in Berlin were shown in a studio exhibition, “Randmalereien in der islamischen Buchkunst,” in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin in 1995.¹⁵

THE MANUSCRIPT *YŪSUF VA ZULAYKHĀ*

The manuscript seems to have consisted of 139 folios when acquired by Friedrich Sarre in 1906.¹⁶ The folios measure 26.3 cm x 15.4 cm. The ‘*unwān*’ folios, of which one is illustrated here (fig. 1), have rather small ansas projecting from the outer, dark blue border filled with lozenges. A thin border with cartouches encloses five rectangles partly framed by a gold border. The two horizontal rectangles contain golden cartouches, which were not inscribed with the title of the book.



Fig. 2. Recto of colophon folio: margin painting with animals in a landscape setting. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1988.18). (Photo: Georg Niedermeiser, courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Blue sprays alternate with gold scrolls on the outer border. The ground colors are black, dark blue, and gold, and these have black, dark blue, dark red, and gilded details. The overall ‘*unwān*’ design, including the color scheme, is related to the *Jami Tuhfat al-ahvār* manuscript copied by Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shihabi in Bukhara in 971 (1563–64). It is thus very tempting to assume that the Sarre *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* manuscript was also copied in Bukhara.¹⁷

The center vertical rectangle of the *‘unwān* on folio 1 verso (fig. 1) has six lines in *nasta‘līq*, which are here quoted from the translation by David Pendlebury:¹⁸

Lord, let a rosebud of hope blossom forth from eternal gardens, [lines 1–2]
to grace my garden with its smile [line 3]
and send with its scent my senses into raptures. [line 4]
In this abode of unceasing affliction, let me be ever mindful of your mercies. [lines 5–6]

The text continues on fol. 2a of the *‘unwān*:

No thoughts in my heart but gratitude to you, no work for my tongue but uttering your praise. [lines 1–2]
Split open the musk pod of my genius and spread its fragrance from east to west! [lines 3–4]
You have made my heart a vast treasure-house of word-gems for my tongue to weigh. [lines 5–6]

The Persian text that follows is written with black ink in *nasta‘līq*, in two columns of fourteen lines each on burnished paper of superb quality, which has a brownish tint and gilded sprinkling. The text columns measure 14.3 cm x 6.7 cm. Headings are most often in two lines set in the center, and are written in gold, black, blue, or, most commonly, red ink. Besides two-line headings, those with one or three lines also occur. With the usual two-line headings, the folios have twelve lines of text. Around the text of the two *‘unwān* folios and the following two folios, there is delicate *abri* painting in cloud form, including diagonal lines together with small spirals.¹⁹

THE CALLIGRAPHER

On the last folio (fig. 3) of the text, one line in Persian appears in each column: “Take your pen from the desolate plain of the page, and close your book on the melancholy business of writing.” Within the colophon triangle, two further lines follow: “Bid your tongue be silent, for silence is worth more than anything you could ever say” (lines 2–3). The following lines (4–7) are in Arabic and read “This copy has been penned by the noble servant, the sinner Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shihabi in the year 964.”²⁰

Fortunately the calligrapher Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shihabi is one of those mentioned by the biographer Qadi Ahmad because his *nasta‘līq* script was highly prized not only among the Shaybanid Uzbek rulers but also in Iran among the Safavid rulers and, as will be seen later, in India.²¹ According to Qadi Ahmad, Mahmud b. Ishaq came from a village near Herat and may have



Fig. 3. Verso of colophon folio, with the name of the calligrapher and the date. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1988.18). (Photo: Georg Niedermeiser, courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

been born there between 1510 and 1520. His father, Khwaja Ishaq, became mayor of Herat but was forced to leave with his family and children in 1528, when the city was seized by the Shaybanid ruler ‘Ubayd Khan Uzbek. The famous calligrapher Mawlana Mir ‘Ali was traveling with the same group of captives from Herat to Bukhara and took as his pupil Khwaja Mahmud, who received education and made such progress in Bukhara that his writing was preferred by some to that of his master, Mir

‘Ali, who may have died around 1533–35. By 1530–31, Mahmud b. Ishaq had already written a major work, *The Collection of Wise Sayings of ‘Ali*.²² Khwaja Mahmud spent some time in Bukhara but after the death of Ubayd Khan in 1539 evidently took up residence in Balkh, where he is said to have joined the service of Shah Husayn Balkhi Shihabi and thus added the title Shihabi to his own name. Qadi Ahmad writes, “Many people assembled round him and he had no need of making inscriptions and producing specimens; therefore his writing is scarce.”

However, apart from the *Collection of the Wise Sayings of ‘Ali* of 937 (1530–31) and the *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* manuscript of 964 (1557) upon which we focus here, he wrote a further manuscript after having returned from Balkh to Bukhara to work for the Shaybanid ruler Abu’l Ghazi ‘Abdullah b. Iskandar (1557–98).²³ Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shihabi thus seems to have been rather productive, since he also wrote numerous single calligraphic specimens. He may have died in 991 (1583), when he was in his late sixties or early seventies.²⁴

The paper on which the text of the *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* is written is in marked contrast to that on which the margins have been painted. The *nasta‘līq* text of Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shihabi, including the *‘unwān* folios, seems to have been written in Bukhara in 964 (1557) and must have been remargined at a later date.²⁵

The *‘unwān* folio, 1b (fig. 1), consists of two folios glued together, as it has been covered on the back by the same tan-colored paper as was used for the margin paintings. On all following folios, remargination was achieved by inserting the written text into new folios of a different color. The lines framing the text were ruled in gold, green, or red. The recto side of the colophon folio (fig. 2) has a margin painting of a landscape with animals on gray paper. The verso (fig. 3), shows a deliberate alteration of the folio paper. The upper third still has part of the original gray paper with scrollwork painting common throughout the manuscript and to be expected on this folio. The lower third of the folio, however, has been covered by light brown paper with landscape and animal painting. As a complete folio was used for this operation, without space for a text column, it could originally have come from either the beginning or the end folios of the manuscript. The purpose for covering the colophon folio was to hide numerous stamps and inscriptions, the text of which is given in the Appendix.²⁶

The margin paintings, in gold on folios of different colors, have always been considered to be of Persian origin, and the date of 964 (1557) has likewise been accepted for them. There is universal agreement on their exceptionally fine quality. In 1910 Sarre viewed them as highlights of Persian painting;²⁷ for Schulz in 1914, they belonged to the best of Persian painting;²⁸ for B. W. Robinson they were “the work of an artist of the first rank,”²⁹ and he believed them to have been executed in Qazwin. This was refuted in 1978 by A. Welch, who believed their artist to be “an unsigned master of great talent” and thought Bukhara to be their place of manufacture.³⁰ In 1986 S. C. Welch called them “borders of royal quality.”³¹ As far as I can see, ever since Sarre professed the opinion in 1910, the margin paintings have been believed to be by one hand, namely, that of the calligrapher, Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shihabi.³² Succeeding writers did not propose other artists’ names, nor did they consider a provenance differing from that of the text.

A number of folios of the ornamental group show sketch lines of a preliminary design that was not followed later on. This seems to hint at a fairly fast process of drawing the margins. As a result there can be little doubt that the margin painting of the folios was completed within a short time by an artist well acquainted with this sort of work.

Despite the numerous observations on the outstanding quality of the margin paintings, the general topic of margin or border paintings has been considered less important than others. In 1938, in his article “Manuscript Illumination,” Ettinghausen named a certain type of marginal drawing “a specially Safawid contribution” and called the repertoire of the Sarre Jami manuscript “wide.” Knowing the complete manuscript, he already saw the importance of its ornamental folios in comparison to art forms with similar designs, such as carpets, and he referred to almost all other important manuscripts with extraordinary border paintings.³³ In 1979 S. C. Welch called attention to the extraordinary quality of the border drawings of a Sa’di *Gulistān* of 1525–30 and also to those of a *Khamsa* of Nizami of around 1540, which were thus the Persian ancestors of the Sarre Jami margin paintings.³⁴ Mughal artists must have known these and similar margin paintings.³⁵ In 1983 Norah Titley gave a well-balanced introduction to both Persian and Mughal border paintings.³⁶ Milo C. Beach has written on both late Akbar- and early Ja-

hangir-period border paintings and thus has shown the best parallels for the Sarre Jami *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā*.³⁷ In 1987 Marie L. Swietochowski wrote on the decorative borders of the Kevorkian album of the Jahangir and Shah Jahan period, which due to its overwhelming use of flowers and its stylistic differences is of a later period than the Sarre Jami.³⁸

The paper used for the gilded margin paintings of the *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* manuscript was tinted in different shades. Besides light and dark brown, shades of light and dark blue, light and dark gray, greenish,³⁹ pink, ochre or tan, and whitish paper occur. Due to the process of discoloration, perhaps because of aging and exposure to light, the original appearance is at times difficult to reconstruct. The gold painting definitely looks more attractive on the darker shades such as dark brown or dark blue than on the lighter tones. The sequence of paper shades cannot be determined until a complete reconstruction of the manuscript is possible. As already noted by Sarre in 1910, the general layout of the manuscript was such that the folios confronting each other were designed as pairs.

Besides landscapes with various animals, there are arabesque decorations, but human beings are absent. The landscape drawings with animals thus can be seen as rectangular compositions enclosing two text panels. The artist was careful to set the landscape and animals on facing folios into a dramatic exchange around the two panels. On the ornamental folios, the pattern of scrolls and arabesques or vine leaves was complete only when the manuscript was opened and two adjoining folios made a symmetrical design. This compositional principle has unfortunately been destroyed due to the dispersal of the folios.

MARGIN PAINTINGS WITH ORNAMENTAL COMPOSITIONS

A first group of compositions consists of stylized flowering plants with additional arabesque designs. This is one of the main compositional groups in the manuscript, related to some details in the Jahangir album in Berlin⁴⁰ and to folios from a Sa'di *Gulistān* published by Schulz,⁴¹ and showing more distant similarities to some folios of the Kevorkian album,⁴² which are of a different style and use other types of flowers. Carpet designs must also be seen in this context, as "the artists of the book atelier...developed the patterns of ornamentation that were then adapted for use in all other

media...."⁴³ Three different types from this group are illustrated here.

Ornamental symmetrical composition with flowers (fig. 4)

The folio has a composition of single-spiral S-scrolls set with rosettes and single leaves. Each scroll is intertwined with an adjacent one. While the spirals have ample space on three sides of the page, they are smaller in the narrow border near the spine. The meeting points of the scrolls are set with large, palmette-like flowers alternating in direction and framed by additional cartouche forms made of arabesque leaves, which are placed atop the scrolls. Each cartouche is crowned by a fleur-de-lis leaf. The cartouches thus point in the same direction as the palmettes—either diagonally outward toward the corners, or inward toward the text panel. In the narrower inside margin of this verso folio are three half-cartouches with half-flowers that would have been completed on the adjoining recto folio. The place where the scroll changes direction is set with twin rosettes with an additional lanceolate leaf on top. Depending on the color of the adjacent page, the composition would be more or less impressive.

Ornamental symmetrical composition with fish (fig. 5)

A second group of ornamental compositions of different designs has additional animals set into symmetrical compositions. This group seems to have been extremely popular; birds and fish especially are typical.⁴⁴ One example has been chosen to represent this group. The composition of this folio consists of two systems of scrolls, one on top of the other. The secondary system uses spiral scrolls similar to those of fig. 4 but reversed in direction and with additional leaves, creating a different sense of space. On top of this scroll system is placed a second scroll made up of lanceolate leaves and arabesque tendrils. Atop the lanceolate leaves are fish that seem to swim into the leaf stems. The composition of this folio gains its tension from its combination of two different scrolls, which make up a harmoniously filled space. Fish are a common motif on these folios, either as parts of tendrils or as whorls. Fish of a larger shape occur on borders of the Berlin Jahangir Album.⁴⁵



Fig. 4. Margin painting, ornamental composition with flowers. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1986.111). (Photo: J. Liepe, courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

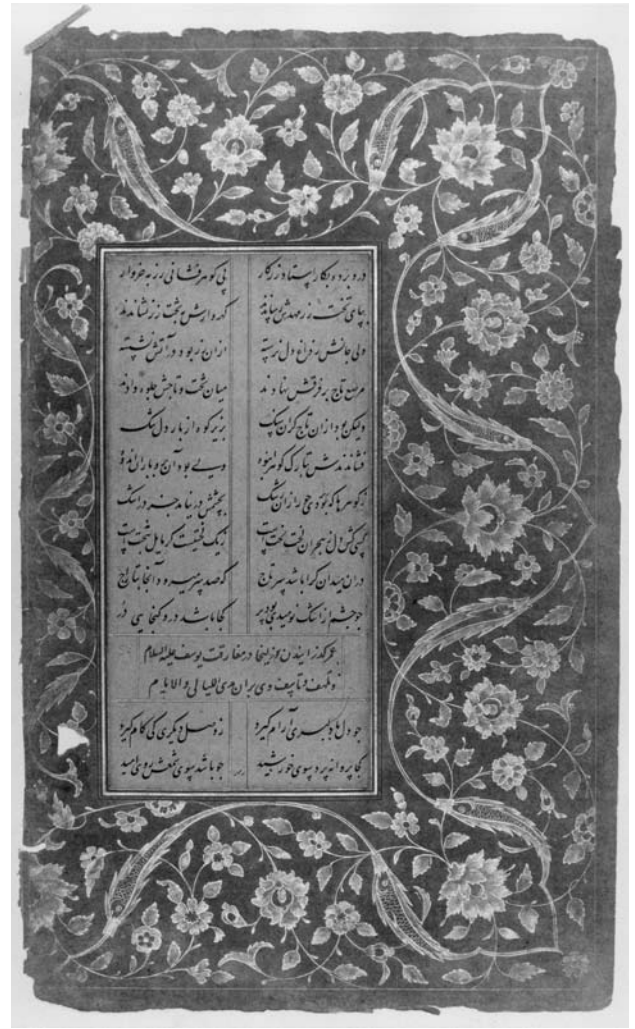


Fig. 5. Margin painting, ornamental composition with fish. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1986.126). (Photo: courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Ornamental symmetrical composition with animals and mythical creatures (fig. 6)

A third group of ornamental compositions consists of scroll designs set with animals, birds, and mythical creatures. One of the best examples of the compositions of this group is the verso of a folio in the David Collection (fig. 5).⁴⁶ Two scroll systems cross each other. Points where they intersect are set with the heads of

animals (bears) or beasts (kilins) swallowing palmette flowers. Single tendrils end in dragon heads that bite into other tendrils and in white-dotted animal heads swallowing fleeing birds. The repertoire of this folio is, of course, well known from both Persian and Mughal miniatures⁴⁷ and carpets with fantastic beasts.⁴⁸ The creatures whose heads are represented here also occur in complete form on many of the pages with animals and mythical beasts (fig. 9).

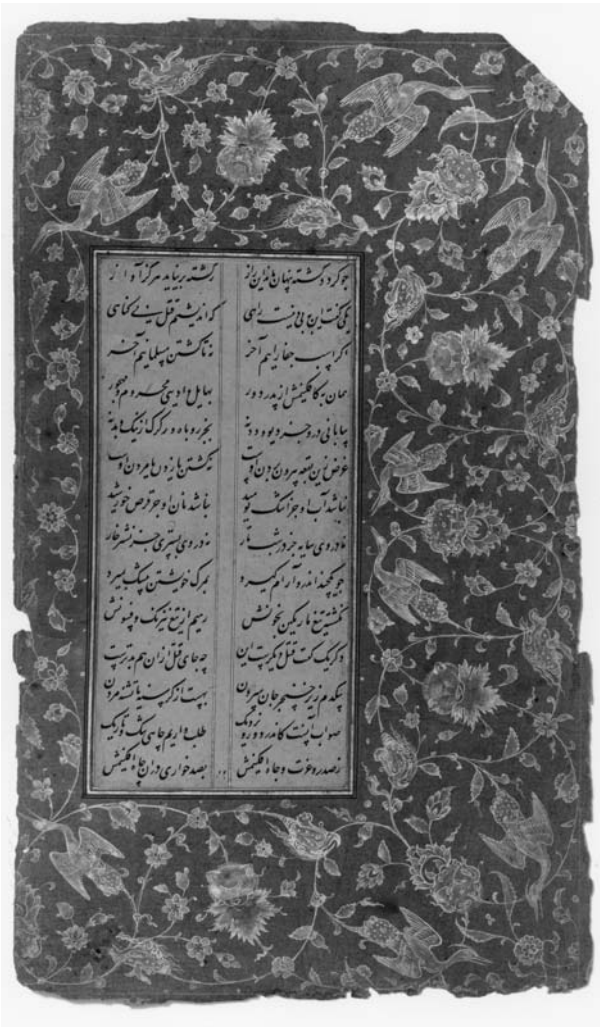


Fig. 6. Margin painting, ornamental composition with animals and mythical creatures. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. The David Collection, Copenhagen (32b/1987). (Photo: courtesy of the David Collection)

MARGIN PAINTINGS WITH ANIMALS AND MYTHICAL BEASTS IN LANDSCAPE SETTINGS

Landscape settings follow a common pattern. Trees with very different kinds of leaves grow from rocky grounds. Large single trees have straight trunks; small ones on hills are perhaps meant to be far away. Consistent perspective is absent, however, because “faraway” details can be found anywhere on the margins. Plants are diverse, with different types of blossoms or none

at all. Numerous trees with bush-like leaves have parallels in Mughal miniatures painted in Lahore in the late Akbar years.⁴⁹ Clouds are always the highly stylized cloudbands of Chinese origin.⁵⁰

Typically in very small scale at the top corner of certain folios are inserted small architectural images, such as domed buildings partly hidden behind trees, which have at times been called “hermitages of shaykhs”⁵¹—perhaps an indication that these landscapes were seen as real. Small-scale architectural images can be found in both Safavid and Mughal paintings and seem to hint at European influence.⁵² The best parallels can be found in Mughal paintings of the late sixteenth century.⁵³

Animals on a single page are usually rendered in pairs or even as small families. Their motion within the natural surroundings shows the artist’s extremely fine eye for detailed life studies. This is lively painting at its finest, and in a way it can be called an encyclopedia of its time for animal representation and ornamental pattern.

Usually the atmosphere is one of calm, but on many pages one can find animals either chasing each other or in combat, while others simply look on or rest (see, for example, fig. 2). If a bird is shown attacking a hare, a second hare appears running away but looking back at what is happening. Details exhibit wit and humor, as when a duck or heron hisses at a phoenix chasing it or a dragon in a tree snarls at the phoenix above while two young birds remain oblivious in their nest. An especially successful folio depicting a fight between dragon and phoenix is in the David Collection.⁵⁴ Its virtuosity bears witness to a great artist, and it should be compared with an identical but less successful illustration on a page of an illuminated *Shāhnāma* in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.⁵⁵ The animals can be grouped into mammals, birds, snakes—specifically the cobra (*Naja naja*)—fish, and insects.⁵⁶ Among the mammals numerous different species can be identified,⁵⁷ of which the hare is the most frequent and the caracal, wild goat, antelope, and deer are also common. Among the larger animals the lion, tiger, hunting-leopard, moufflon, and zebu are also frequent. Birds are very common, especially herons, snake-birds, ducks, and parrots, among many others.⁵⁸

Folio with a reclining lion (fig. 7)

This folio belongs to those with a typical mixture of animals resting or running. In the center of the left margin a lion has killed a wild goat while a second

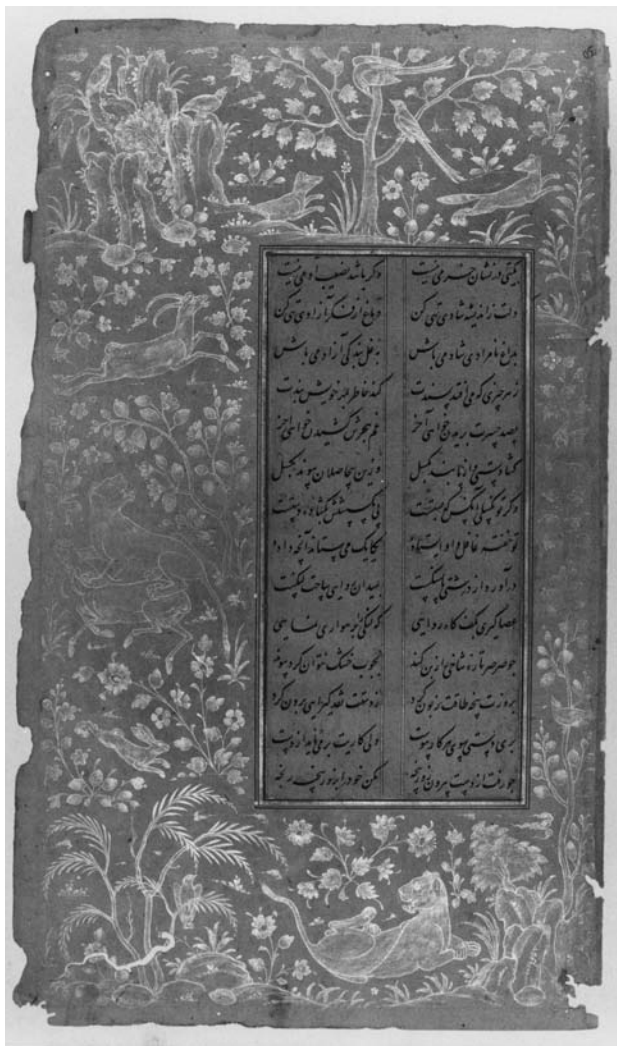


Fig. 7. Margin painting with reclining lion. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1986.153). (Photo: courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

goat is fleeing. A second lion rests in very typical fashion, its head turned back and one front paw across the other. In certain details such as the paws this lion corresponds with a resting lion on a single folio of Mughal Indian art dated by S. C. Welch to the early Akbar period, around 1585.⁵⁹ On other folios of the Berlin manuscript lions are shown attacking or killing zebu or buffalo, chasing other animals, or resting in seemingly calm pairs.



Fig. 8. Margin painting with turkey cock and two turkey hens. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1986.125). (Photo: courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Folio with a turkey cock and two turkey hens (fig. 8)

The turkey cock and two hens are drawn on the lower half of a verso folio. The cock is advancing from the right towards an alerted hen, while a second hen watches the action. It seems that this scene could only have been drawn by someone who had actually seen these animals. The artist must have been proud of it, as it recurs in mirror image on a recto folio.⁶⁰ The scene immediately suggests the famous turkey cock of 1612



Fig. 9. Margin painting with two rhinoceros. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1986.127). (Photo: courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

painted by Ustad Mansur for Emperor Jahangir. It is known that this animal reached Akbar's court in 1577; therefore the margins could not have been painted before that date.⁶¹

Folio with two rhinoceros (fig. 9)

Another indication for the Mughal origin of these paintings can be seen in the inclusion of two rhino-

ceros at the top of a recto page.⁶² The animals are shown in side view facing left; one of them is grazing while the other looks backward. They have identical features, namely one small curving horn apiece and a sort of saddle cloth with a square grid pattern meant to indicate the mail of their hide. Their rendering is thus very similar to that of two Indian rhinoceros on a painting of around 1590 in the *Bāburnāma* in the British Museum⁶³ and very different from those in a Persian *Shāhnāma* of 1605.⁶⁴

Although this has never been discussed in earlier publications, the types of animals that appear in the Berlin folio margin paintings—for example, the turkey cocks and hens (fig. 8), which appear twice, the two rhinoceros (fig. 9), and the cobra—and the way in which the resting lion (fig. 7) is depicted, both find their closest parallels in Mughal miniature painting of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century. In addition, the lively nature of the drawing reflects the Indian artist's preference for more naturalistic, less conventionalized representation.⁶⁵

Folio with mythical animals (fig. 10)

Appearing in company with real animals are those from the mythical world, such as dragons, phoenixes, kilins and winged lions. These creatures appear in combat both with other mythical animals and with real animals and thus belong to the same world. Phoenixes are shown in close combat with kilins or dragons and also attack ducks or carry antelope away (fig. 10); kilins attack wild goats and dragons; lion-kilins attack deer-kilins; and tiny lion-kilins chase birds. As already mentioned, dragon heads also appear at the end of scrolls (fig. 6) in inhabited foliage.⁶⁶ In comparison with Safavid border paintings, however, mythical animals play a less prominent role here, which probably is a further indication of the Mughal origin of these margins.⁶⁷

THE BINDING

The binding of the manuscript was first published by Sarre in 1923.⁶⁸ In 1949 it was acquired by the Islamic Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶⁹ The exterior consists of varnished painting on a paper-maché ground; front and back covers both have central rectangular panels, each with a different landscape-and-animal scene surrounded by a border of elongated, lobed cartouches filled with symmetrical scrolls in gold

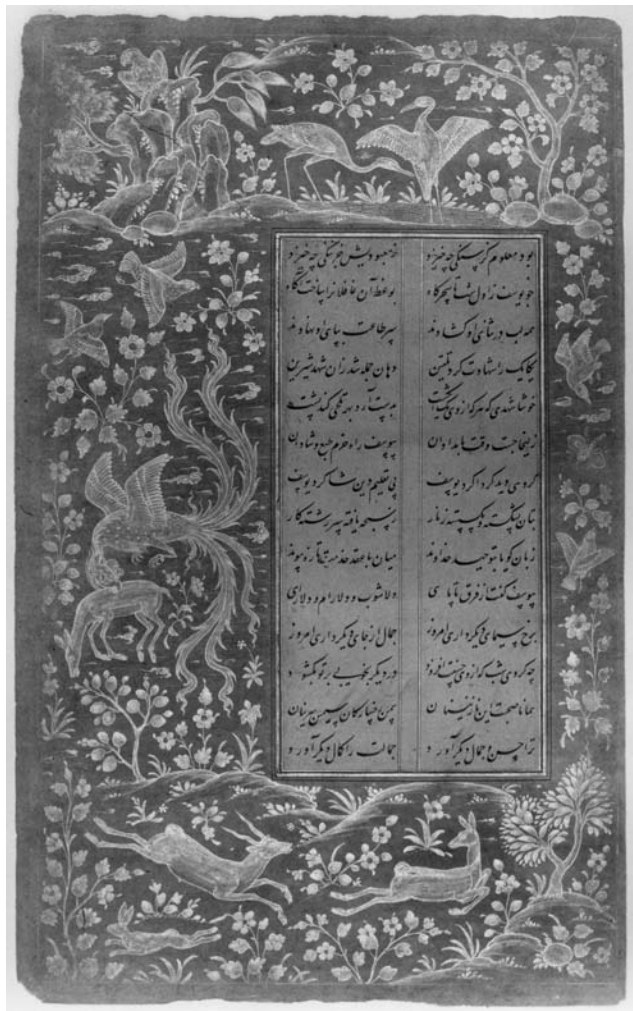


Fig. 10. Margin painting with phoenix. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst (I. 1986.133). (Photo: courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

on a red ground. The ground color of the panels is dark red, against which most animals appear in white. Plants have dark leaves, and blossoms are rendered in red. The interior of the binding is red leather with a gilded floral design.

At the center of the front cover (fig. 11) appears an animal combat in which a lion attacks a nilgai. Disturbed by the combat, two lynx run in opposite directions, while in the top register another nilgai, the mate of the lion's prey, is also fleeing. In both the upper and lower registers, birds chase each other, while the lower lion seems to be annoyed by a pair of herons.



Fig. 11. Front cover of the binding. India, Mughal, ca. 1590–1610. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (49.140). (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

As Sarre noted, the design of the binding—both front and back—is closely linked to that of the margin paintings of the manuscript. The zigzag movement on both covers is typical of the composition of the margin paintings in general, and the animals' liveliness is also characteristic.

Although limited in number, the animals shown on the covers seem intended to suggest to the reader what was to follow on the manuscript folios. Thus the reclining lion (fig. 11) resembles the resting lion on one of the margin paintings (fig. 7), and the two cranes appear in nearly identical form on another of the folios.

However, the mythical animals that feature prominently in the manuscript are absent from either cover of the binding.

In addition to pictorial elements that link it closely to the margin paintings, the binding shows marks of deterioration, such as worm holes and missing parts at the sides, that are consistent with damage to the folios. The binding thus can be considered original to the re-margined manuscript, and this in turn would hint at a *kitāb-khāna* in which both it and the paintings were produced.

All aspects of this manuscript so far described would seem to indicate that the text written by Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shihabi was transferred from Bukhara sometime after its completion in 1557 and remargined somewhere in Mughal India—probably in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, during the late years of Akbar's reign, or in the first decade of the seventeenth century, during the early reign of Jahangir. At the same time a binding was also made.⁷⁰ Since the state of the manuscript before it reached Mughal India is not known, one can only speculate that it had margins that were not accepted by the new patron. According to the seals and inscriptions on the colophon folio verso, remargination and binding must have been completed before 1642 (see Appendix, below).

The artist who painted the margins is presently unknown, but he must have belonged to a generation trained by Iranian artists at the Mughal court or by the pupils of this generation. The margin paintings suggest that the manuscript, highly esteemed due to the calligraphy of the famous Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shihabi, was remargined for a high-ranking patron in Mughal India in the fascinating period when Safavid artists had already laid the foundation of the Mughal school and the work of Iranian artists was newly appreciated and blended into the Mughal style. Due to the numerous parallels of these margin paintings not only with manuscript painting but also with Mughal carpets of this period, one wonders whether there was not a *kitāb-khāna* in which designers worked in the arts of the book and other media as well.

APPENDIX

By Claus-Peter Haase

There are seal prints and reading notations under the illuminated paper pasted over the lower part of the colophon folio verso (fig. 3) so as to leave free only the triangular colophon of the manuscript.

Special infra-red photography makes visible not only the part of the verso side of the colophon page that is now covered, but also—in reverse—the text on the other (recto) side of the page, which shows through (an effect less pronounced in the colophon area), thus complicating the reading of what is covered. The painted illumination on the paper used to cover the seals and inscriptions also makes deciphering them more difficult.

Of eight (?) round and two (?) oval seal prints on the margin as well as on the original text folio the following are readable:

1. Seal in the margin, lower middle: *banda-yi Shāh Jahān / I'timād-i Jahān*, “servant of the King of the World [Shah Jahan], I'timad-i Jahan” [title of courtier], to which belong at least the following two notations:

a) seven lines, pointed: *sana 31 / bist ū hashtum-i shahr-i / Muḥarram-i ḥarām / Ibrāhīm Khān [?] / 31 arḥaṣ al-'ibād / ...khavāṣṣ-i sulṭān ...* (the year 31 [of the rule of Shah Jahan], 28 Muharram, Ibrahim Khan, the lowest of the servants [of God], courtier to the Sultan...).

b) to the left of this, in *nasta'liq* script: *28 Zī Hījja sana-yi 27 / az vujūh-i Hasan Khān [?]...khavāṣṣ-i sulṭān... / qīmat 1 Lek* (28 Zi l-Hijja of the year 27 [of the rule of Shah Jahan], what lay before Hasan Khan[?], courtier to the Sultan...worth one lek). The year 27 of Shah Jahan corresponds to 1064 (hence Nov. 8, 1654) but since the date is the twenty-eighth day of the last month (Zu l-Hijja), this could well mean the year 1063 (hence Nov. 19, 1653).

2. Below, in *nasta'liq* script: *bist ū shishum-i Zī Qā'da az nazar-i...*, with oval seal print *Fazlak*. Seal print no.1 is repeated above to the right, with the reading notation above it in Diwani script: *sana 31 / al-faqīr / 25 [?] Rabī' / 'arz-i dīda shuda* (year 31 [1068/1657–58], it has been viewed).

3. Two older seal prints have been set close to the point of the colophon. The lower one is legible: *jānim [?] Šālīh Khān /.../ sana 1052 [?]* (1642?). Reading note to the left in Diwani: *Sāli [?] 7 shahr-i Muḥarram sana-yi 32 'arz shuda...2* (7 Muharram of the year 32 [1069, i.e., Oct. 4, 1658], it has been looked at).

Below this, crossing over towards the added margin paper, in *nasta'liq* script: *wāqī' a-yi sīzdaḥ [?]-i Rabī' ul-avval sana 31 / 'arz-i dīda-i tajvīd... / Maḥmūd...* (happened 13[?] Rabī' I, year 31 [Dec. 19, 1657], Mahmud...viewed the well-done [copy]).

Small note to the right of the point of the colophon: *bīstum-i shahr-i Rabī' ul-avval sana-yi 31 az vujūh...*and

right next to it: *shishum-i shahr-i Rabī' ul-avval / taḥvīl-i Muḥammad banda-i kamtarīn-i Khānazādān-i / Muḥammad rasīd [?]* (20th Rabi' I of year 31 [Dec. 26, 1657], what lay before ...) and (6th Rabi' I, the altering by Muhammad, the humblest of the offspring of [the Prophet] Muhammad).

4. Next to an illegible seal print, in the middle margin, a note in Diwani: *hizdah 18 shahr-i Zī l-Qa'da sana-yi 14 / 'arḡ-i dāda shud* (it was viewed on 18th Zu l-Qa'da, year 14 [?], [i.e., Feb. 14, 1642?]).

Further below, there are more dates, in the system corresponding to the years of Shah Jahan's rule, and names of courtiers, e.g., Muhafiz Khan, with the note *banda-yi 'amm-i pādshāhī 'Abdulkhāliq Khān...7*.

The quality of the Diwani script reveals the hand of a scribe of the chancellery, and for the other notations, scribes of this rank are well imaginable. Therefore we believe that these notes represent reading notations for this manuscript by courtiers of Shah Jahan. The meaning of the indication *taḥvīl* (alteration, change) is too unclear to bear theories on what aspect of manuscript production it refers to.

*Museum für Islamische Kunst
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*

NOTES

1. The calligraphy, history of the manuscript, margin painting, and binding are considered here in grateful recognition of Michael Rogers's numerous contributions towards the knowledge and understanding of Islamic art, of which I became aware during his frequent visits to Berlin, and in remembrance of his friendship with Klaus Brisch, who was able to acquire many of the pages of this outstanding Sarre manuscript during his tenure as head of the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art in 1986. I gratefully acknowledge the help of two individuals on questions about this manuscript since its acquisition in 1986: Joachim Bautze first mentioned the idea of a Mughal origin of the margin paintings to me in 1986–87. It is to his credit that I followed this path, and I thank him for his help. Elke Niewöhner discussed, read, and translated all relevant text passages, for which I am also extremely thankful. The help of Claus-Peter Haase is gratefully acknowledged as well, since it is to his credit that the stamps and inscriptions were deciphered and could be integrated at the very last stage into the Appendix, above. Numerous further individuals in museums or private collections helped me to obtain a better knowledge of this dispersed manuscript, and I thank them all.
2. F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhamedanischer Kunst in München 1910*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1912), vol. 1, pl. 31 (no. 693, vine-leaf decoration), and pl. 32 (no. 693, erroneously ascribed bookbinding), and vol. 4 (Supplement), no. 693, title folio and page with margin painting with animals. Ph. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), pl. 124 (title folio) with exchanged captions, and pl. 125 (two folios). Pl. 125 right has a margin painting that was drawn by a different hand than were the others. E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 1922), fig. 71. E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1942), fig. 67. B. W. Robinson et al., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book* (London, 1976), p. 183, pls. 55–56. A. Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art* (cat. of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection), 4 vols. (Geneva, 1978), vol. 3, pp. 184–87 (calligraphy 8–8C).
3. A card file by Sarre noting the place of acquisition and price of his illuminated and illustrated books does not include this manuscript. The bill for the manuscript and a further item, a Persian saddlecloth, was sent by R. Haupt to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum on May 31, 1906 (Erwerbungsakten F. No. 81/1906, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin). On May 23, 1906, these objects had already arrived by courier. On June 23, 1906, R. Haupt was keen to know the decision of the museum, as he had another interested customer in Berlin. On July 9, 1906, the saddlecloth was returned, and Sarre was asked about the manuscript by the museum administration; by this date he must have made up his mind to acquire it.
4. After its appearance in Halle, the manuscript was dealt with in May 1906 in a short paper by Martin Hartmann, "Eine persische Miniaturenhandschrift," in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 9 (1906): 281–83. Hartmann read the colophon correctly and stated that the manuscript had been in complete disarray when he first saw it. Therefore he restored it to its original order. A remark written on the inside of the binding is said to have stated that there originally were more than 136 folios. As the original count could not be read with complete certainty, however, some pages may have been missing, according to Hartmann: he was of the opinion that pages 88.17 to 98.6 in the Bombay edition of 1893 were missing. However, he also noted that this lacuna could not be detected on the basis of any evident asymmetry of the margin paintings. The Berlin newspaper *Berliner Lokalanzeiger* of June 3, 1906 (no. 278) included a short note on the appearance of the important manuscript and of Hartmann's research.
5. Königliche Museen, Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum, *Katalog der Sonderausstellung orientalischer Buchkunst, Handschriften, und Miniaturen aus den Ländern des Islam und aus Ost-Turkestan* (Berlin, 1910), no. 145. The count of 139 folios was written on a torn and stained page of the binding now in the Department of Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (49.140). The page was detached from the binding and could not be located in October 2003. However, the information from which I am quoting was written on a file card: "Sarre 11...Text auf 139 Blättern Zier- und Pflanzenmotive in Goldzeichnung umrahmt..." This also shows that the manuscript had the number "Sa 11" in the Sarre manuscript collection. I am extremely grateful to Marilyn Jenkins-Madina and Navina Haidar for their help in this matter.
6. Ausstellung München 1910, *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhamedanischer Kunst*, Amtlicher Katalog (Munich, 1910), no. 693.

7. Sarre and Martin, *Meisterwerke*, no. 693, pl. 31. In pl. 32, no. 693, a binding is erroneously shown as belonging to the manuscript.
8. *Sammlung F. u. M. Sarre: Katalog der Ausstellung im Städtischen Kunstinstitut* (Frankfurt am Main, 1932) nos. 315 (folios) and 394 (binding).
9. Staatliche Museen in Berlin, *Islamische Abteilung: Sonderausstellung Islamische Buchkunst aus Privatbesitz, August bis November 1938*, p. 4. According to a loan list dated June 30, 1938, all items included in this exhibition were from the Sarre Collection. Thirty folios were loaned by Sarre, including the binding, numbered KF 315. At that time the single folios were sandwiched between glass panels in boxes. Apparently thirty folios made up one box. This method of conservation was still the one seen by the author in 1986 on acquisition of the Berlin folios.
10. The details are to be found in the correspondence between Ernst Kühnel and Friedrich Sarre in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin.
11. The folios from the manuscript were assigned the inventory numbers I. 1986.105–I. 1986.158. A single folio (I. 1986.129) was published in J. Gierlichs, *Drache-Phönix-Doppeladler* (Berlin, 1994), cat. no. 24. A detail of the folio I. 1986.125 with the turkeys was published on the leaflet for the exhibition in 1995 mentioned in note 15, below.
12. A letter by Maria Sarre has the details of this gift, which was one of at least two miniatures presented to Ernst Kühnel on this special occasion. The folio was inventoried as I. 1988.18. It had been transferred to the Museum für Islamische Kunst in 1986. Maria Sarre and Ernst Kühnel had known each other at least as early as 1910, when both Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Kühnel were involved in the preparation of the exhibition in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin mentioned in n. 5, above.
13. These collections include the following: the David Collection, Copenhagen (see K. v. Folsach, *Art from the World of Islam in The David Collection* [Copenhagen, 2001], cat. no. 17 [32b/1987]). The David Collection owns two further folios (32a/1987 and 32c/1987). The help of Kjeld von Folsach in this matter is much acknowledged. The Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, Geneva (see Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 3, pp. 184–87, calligraphy 8–8C), acquired at Christie's London, Dec. 4, 1975, lots 99 and 102. The Keir Collection, London (see Robinson, *Keir Collection*, vol. 3, pp. 228–31, pls. 55–56). Of the four folios in the Keir Collection, only two are shown in the plates. I am extremely thankful to Edmund de Unger for the help he provided in a letter of May 17, 1995, in which he stated that he had acquired the folios from Maria Sarre in 1970. Los Angeles County Museum of Art M. 85.146 (acquired with funds provided by the Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection, gift of Joan Palevsky, purchased in 1985 from Spink and Sons, Ltd.). The Brooklyn Museum, New York (see Brooklyn Museum, *The Collector's Eye: The Ernest Erickson Collections at the Brooklyn Museum of Art* [New York, 1987], no. 184). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des antiquités orientales, inv. no. MAO 343: the folio was bequeathed to the Louvre in 1957 by Stéphanie de Neuville and was published by Jean David-Weill in *La Revue des Arts* 4 (1957). I am very grateful to Sophie Makariou for providing these details to me in a letter dated Mar. 14, 1995. Linden-Museum, Stuttgart (see J. Kalter, *Abteilungsführer Islamischer Orient* [Stuttgart, 1987], fig. 109). Museum Rietberg, Zürich (see A. Ræuber, *Islamische Schönschrift* [Zürich, 1979], p. 52, fig. 38a–b [RVA 1013]).
14. Those offered at auction include: Christie's London, Dec. 4, 1975, lots 98–104; Christie's London, Apr. 14, 1976, lots 35–37; Christie's London, May 5, 1977, lots 51–54; Christie's London, Oct. 13, 1982, lots 98–99; Christie's London, Oct. 14, 2003, lot 128. Most of the leaves seem to have been sold through the services of the longtime friend of the Sarre family, Jacob Hirsch in Geneva.
15. "Randmalereien in der islamischen Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, accompanied by a leaflet.
16. This is probably due to where the Sarre count began. The colophon folio has the number 136. However, just as the folio I. 1986.105, with the recto of the 'unwān, has a completely illuminated folio following it, a further folio after the colophon folio could also have existed. In his publications in 1910 (see note 5, above) and in a later work (F. Sarre, *Islamic Bookbindings* [Berlin, 1923]) Sarre mentions 139 folios.
17. A. Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World* (New York, 1979), pp. 175–76, no. 74.
18. David Pendlebury, ed. and transl., *Yusuf and Zulaikha: An Allegorical Romance by Hakim Nuruddin Abdurrahman Jami* (London, 1980), p. 1.
19. R. Ettinghausen, "Abri Painting," in Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, ed., *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 345–56.
20. I. 1988.18 verso. The recto side of the folio has the usual fourteen lines.
21. Qādi Aḥmad b. Mīr Munshī, *Calligraphers and Painters*, transl. V. Minorsky, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, vol. 3, no. 2 (Washington, DC, 1959), pp. 132–33.
22. A. J. Arberry, M. Minovi, and E. Blochet, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts and Paintings*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1960), vol. 2, pp. 62–63, Ms. 198 (*Collection of Wise Sayings of 'Ali of 937* [1530–31]).
23. Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 4, pp. 63–65 (Ms. 17); Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World*, pp. 175–76, no. 74.
24. Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 3, pp. 186–87.
25. I am much indebted to Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer for enabling me to recognize remargined folios.
26. Due to the kindness of the photographer Gerald Schultz of the Gemäldegalerie and to the help of Claus-Peter Haase of the Museum für Islamische Kunst of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, it has become possible to see and interpret different stamps and numerous inscriptions on the colophon folio. The Appendix, above, gives the results of Haase's readings.
27. F. Sarre, *Katalog der orientalischen Buchkunst* (Berlin, 1910), p. 45.
28. Schulz, *Miniaturmalerei*, p. 105.
29. Robinson, *Keir Collection*, p. 183.
30. Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 3, pp. 186–87.
31. S. C. Welch, in his expert opinion on the Sarre collection in a letter of September 29, 1986: "Another important series of folios with borders of royal quality.... The nasta'liq script is of exceptional quality and the many borders drawn in gold of arabesques and flora and fauna set in incredible landscapes offer a veritable encyclopedia of Safavid ornamental motifs.

- Moreover, with the Gulistan borders, they provide the source of many ideas later elaborated in the ateliers of the Mughal emperor Jahangir."
32. Schulz, *Miniaturmalerei*, pl. 125 (right) has a folio by a different artist. It seems that only a few folios were given new margins by a different hand, probably because they were damaged.
 33. R. Ettinghausen, "Manuscript Illumination," in A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 1971–72.
 34. S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501-1576* (Cambridge, MA, 1979), nos. 45–46, 52, and 60. A compilation of this important manuscript and its very diverse margin paintings is still lacking.
 35. Schulz, *Miniaturmalerei*, pl. 122 illustrates a folio from the *Gulistān* of Sa'ḍi with a border painted in Mughal India, probably by the same artist who painted the Sarre Jami, due to the use of identical flowers and lions' heads in both works. Pl. 121 has a Mughal overall design that does not belong to the repertoire of the Sarre Jami but seems to be by the same hand. Schulz's pls. 69–70 could be by different hands: pl. 70 has geese on the top margin related to the Sarre Jami. Research into the authors of the margin paintings in this manuscript is needed, because borders by different artists seem to have been used for its separate folios.
 36. Norah M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1983), pp. 224–29.
 37. M. C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1600–1660* (Williamstown, MA, 1978), pp. 43–44, 327–28).
 38. M. L. Swietochowski, "Decorative Borders in Mughal Albums," in S. C. Welch et al., *The Emperors' Album: Images of Mughal India* (New York, 1987), pp. 45–78.
 39. According to A. Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 3, no. 8. This color does not appear on the folios in Berlin.
 40. E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indische Buchmalereien: Aus dem Jahangir-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1923), margin paintings on fol. 2b, pls. 12 and 25, with fish, dragonheads, and curly leaves, reveal similarities in theme rather than in general style.
 41. See n. 35, above.
 42. Swietochowski, "Decorative Borders," pp. 45–78, where these compositions fill the margins much more densely and thus clearly depart from the style of the Sarre Jami.
 43. D. Walker, *Flowers Underfoot: Indian Carpets in the Mughal Era*, cat. of an exh. at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Nov. 20, 1997–Mar. 1, 1998 (New York, 1997), p. 29; for related carpet designs, see pp. 29–33 (the "Persian style"), 45–57 (the "scrolling-vine-and-animal pattern"), and 57–81 (the "scrolling-vine-and-blossom pattern").
 44. This has already been noted by Robinson (*Keir Collection*, p. 183) and by A. Welch (*Collection of Islamic Art*, vol. 3, pp. 186–87).
 45. Kühnel and Goetz, *Indische Buchmalereien*, pp. 36–43, pls. 12 and 25 (fol. 2b).
 46. Folsach, *Art from the World of Islam*, no. 17 (the side of the folio not illustrated).
 47. M. Bernus-Taylor, *L'Étrange et le merveilleux en terres d'Islam*, cat. of an exh. at Musée du Louvre, Paris, Apr. 23–July 23, 2001 (Paris, 2001), pp. 164–75, nos. 117–23.
 48. Walker, *Flowers Underfoot*, pp. 66–72.
 49. E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, the 16th and 17th Centuries* (New York, 1968), p. 39, pls. 91–94; M. C. Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge, MA, 1987), pp. 103–13; B. Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting* (London, 2003), p. 231, pls. 94–95.
 50. In contrast to Safavid cloudbands (cf. Gierlichs, *Drache-Phoenix-Doppeladler*, no. 23, pl. 3, a folio from the famous Sa'ḍi *Gulistān* of 1525–30, probably painted by Sultan Muhammad), they tend to become rather small, schematic ornaments always drawn from the left side as seen in figs. 6–10, above.
 51. Kalter, *Abteilungsführer Islamischer Orient*, pp. 114–15, fig. 109.
 52. V. Enderlein and W. Sundermann, eds., *Schahname: Das persische Königsbuch: Miniaturen und Texte der Berliner Handschrift von 1605* (Leipzig and Weimar 1988), pls. 173 and 181.
 53. Grube, *Classical Style in Islamic Painting*, p. 39, pls. 91–94; Beach, *Early Mughal Painting*, pp. 103–13.
 54. Folsach, *Art from the World of Islam*, no. 17.
 55. L. Y. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library* (London, 1995), pp. 327–28, no. 2.197, dated to around 1610. A comparison of this theme as represented in a Sultan Muhammad painting from the Sa'ḍi *Gulistān* (cf. Gierlichs, *Drache-Phoenix-Doppeladler*, no. 23, pl. 3) with that on the Chester Beatty folio demonstrates enormous differences in artistic potential.
 56. Due to the help in April 1995 of the zoologist D. Jung, then at the Institute of Zoology of the Free University of Berlin, it was possible to identify a large number of the animals depicted on the folios in Berlin. His help is gratefully acknowledged.
 57. These species are lion (*Panthera leo*), tiger (*Panthera tigris*), leopard (*Panthera pardus*), hunting leopard (*Acinonyx jubatus*), caracal (*Caracal caracal*), red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), desert fox or corsac (*Alopex corsac*), jackal (*Canis sp.*), genet (*Genetta sp.*), brown bear (*Ursus arctos*), hare (*Lepus sp.*), stag (*Axis axis*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), nilgai (*Boselaphus tragocamelus*), antelope (*Antelope cervicapra*), mouflon or wild sheep (*Ovis ammon*), wild goat (*Capra sp.*), yak or ox (*Bos [Poepagus] mutus*), arni or water buffalo (*Bos [Bubalus] arnee*), zebu (*Bos [Bos] primigenius taurus*), rhinoceros (*Rhinocerotidae*).
 58. Brahminy kite (*Haliastur indus*), heron (*Ardeidae*), snake bird (*Anhinga sp.*), crane (*Gruidae*), ibis (*Ibis sp.*), pelican (*Pelecanus sp.*), ducks (*Anatinae*), bankiva hen (*Gallus gallus*), peacock (*Pavo cistatus*), turkey cock and hen (*Leleagris gallopavo*), pheasant (*Phasianinae*), short-tailed and long-tailed parrots, quail (*Coturnix sp.*), pigeons (*Columbridae*), jay (*Garulus glandarius*).
 59. S. C. Welch, *India: Art and Culture 1300–1900*, cat. of an exh. at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Sept. 14, 1985–Jan. 6, 1986 (New York, 1985), p. 168, fig. 104; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Islamic World* (New York, 1987), p. 137, fig. 105.
 60. I. 1986.150, a reverse copy of the theme.
 61. J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (London, 1993), pp. 64–65, fig. 42.
 62. Inv. no. I. 1986.127. An unpublished folio in a private collection shows related animals with lozenge mail.
 63. H. Suleiman, *Miniatures of the Babur-Nama* (Tashkent, 1970),

- pls. 52 and 56; S. J. Cohen, "A Fearful Symmetry," in *Silk and Stone: The Art of Asia*, The Third Hali Annual (London, 1996), p. 118, fig. 13 (OR 3714, fol. 379b). For examples of this animal on carpets, see Walker, *Flowers Underfoot*, p. 55, fig. 48.
64. Enderlein and Sundermann, *Schahname*, pls. 163 and 166.
65. Quoted after Walker, *Flowers Underfoot*, p. 31.
66. Walker, *Flowers Underfoot*, p. 69, figs. 66–77.
67. Ettinghausen, "Manuscript Illumination," p. 1972, n. 5, gave a list of the animals occurring in the margins of the famous Nizami *Khamsa* in the British Library, written for Shah Tahmasp in 1539–43 (cf. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, nos. 52 and 60, and A. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* [New York, 1992], pp. 178–79 and 332–33). Safavid artists show much more aggressive animal combats. Real and mythical animals already appear side by side on the late Umayyad Mshatta facade in Berlin (E. Kühnel, "Some Notes on the Facade of Mshatta," in *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell* [Cairo, 1965], pp. 132–46).
68. Sarre, *Islamic Bookbindings*, p. 19 (pls. 25–26), mentions 139 folios. The back cover of the binding was also published by E. Gratzl, "Book Covers," in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, p. 1985, pl. 968.
69. Inv. no. 49.140, published in Walters Art Gallery, *The History of Bookbinding, 525–1950 A.D.*, cat. of exh. at the Baltimore Museum of Art, Nov. 12, 1957–Jan. 12, 1958 (Baltimore, 1957), pp. 39–40, cat. no. 92, and in R. Ettinghausen, "Near Eastern Book Covers and Their Influence on European Bindings," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 125. Ettinghausen considered the lacquer binding Safavid because of the colophon date of the manuscript; therefore he did not discuss a different origin.
70. Two Mughal lacquered bindings, though different in general outlook, show that the technique was common at the Mughal court during this period. One of them is from a *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 1595 (see Beach, *Early Mughal Painting*, pp. 103–4, fig. 69, and B. Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizami* [London, 1995], p. 69). The second is from a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi dated 1597–98 (see S. C. Welch, *India*, p. 179, cat. no. 111). However, both are in a style different from that of the *Jami Yūsuf va Zulaykhā*.