

博士論文

論文題目

Persian Verses and Crafts in the Late Timurid and Safavid Periods

(ティムール朝末～サファヴィー朝期における
ペルシャ語詩と工芸品)

氏名

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation sets out to explore the various ways in which Persian verses were integrated into the material culture of Iran between the late fifteenth and the late seventeenth century, with an emphasis on the artistic, literary, social, political, and religious contexts surrounding the development of crafts inscribed with Persian poems. It investigates the cultural background of the application of poetical inscriptions to the surface of craft objects by examining the types, contents, contexts, and qualities of the poetical inscriptions on crafts in the late Timurid and Safavid periods as well as the primary sources in relation to the makers of such crafts. In so doing, it discusses the implications and functions of such poetical inscriptions.

Rather than adopting a dynastic framework and focusing only on the Safavid period, this research covers the period between the late fifteenth and the late seventeenth century. It does so, firstly, because stylistic and technical developments in craft objects do not correspond to periods of dynastic change. Secondly, while it has often been suggested in the field of Persian literature that the late fifteenth century saw an increasing interest in the art of versification that extended beyond the royal court to the general population, there are virtually no art historical studies to date that attempt to understand this phenomenon through a comprehensive analysis of different types of craft objects.

This dissertation is composed of an introduction, five themed chapters with figures, and a conclusion, as well as five appendices comprising a catalogue raisonné of Iranian underglaze-painted ceramic vessels inscribed with Persian verses, c. 1450–1700 (Appendix 1); catalogue raisonné of Iranian underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones inscribed with Persian verses, from 1609 to 1677–8 (Appendix 2); catalogue raisonné of Iranian luster-painted ceramic tombstones, from 1476–7 to 1560 (Appendix 3); catalogue

raisonné of Iranian candleholders inscribed with Persian verses, c. 1550–1650 (Appendix 4); and list of Persian verses cited as inscriptions on Iranian candleholders, c. 1550–1650 (Appendix 5). One of the strengths of this study is that it represents a comprehensive examination of the ceramic, metal, and textile craftworks upon which Persian verses were inscribed, and also includes an in-depth analysis of contemporaneous primary sources in Persian, both published and unpublished.

Chapter One examines unpublished and published primary sources in Persian such as *inshā*'s (guides on letter-writing for scribes) and *tazkirahs* (anthologies of selected verses of poets accompanied by their biographical notes), which attest to the possible situations where craftsmen would have appreciated Persian poetry, not only as readers or spectators but also as composers, from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century. It can be extrapolated from these sources that craftsmen became familiar with Persian verses not simply for their own pleasure, but to comply with social etiquette in communicating with their potential clients. In addition, a review of the *tazkirah* indicates that Herat, Tabriz, Isfahan, and Kirman were cities where groups of craftsmen-cum-poets were active, and that the *rubā'ī* was one of the most frequently recorded types of verses composed by these craftsmen-cum-poets.

Chapter Two provides a comprehensive analysis of Persian poetry inscribed upon ceramic vessels and ceramic tombstones datable between the late fifteenth and the late seventeenth century. It attempts to contribute to knowledge on the reception, circulation, and social function of Persian poetry during this period of time in Iran. The major findings in this chapter can be summarized as follows: First, there is a strong connection between the contents of the poetical inscriptions and materiality of the vessels executed in the underglaze painting technique; amongst such pieces are those with misspellings, which

provide evidence for the growth of appreciation of Persian poetry among craftsmen not only in its written form, but also quite possibly in its orally transmitted form. Second, the analysis of Persian verses inscribed on underglaze-painted and luster-painted tombstones confirms the almost simultaneous use of different types of verse during this period of time: traditional Persian verses, chosen with the utmost deliberation for the funerary context, and specially composed verses that include *abjad* numerals and/or the name of the deceased. Lastly, through the examination of the hitherto undeciphered verses inscribed on the luster-painted tombstone of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī who died on 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560 (the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, Germany, inv. no. 1960.64), it becomes clear that the poem in question can be identified as a *qit‘a* specially composed for the deceased by Muḥtasham Kāshānī (d. 1588), a renowned court poet who spent his entire life in Kashan. The identification of this poem is particularly important not only because it implies that luster-painted ceramics were probably produced in Kashan during the early Safavid period, but also because it indicates that there was cooperation between people from different backgrounds, in particular, the potter and the poet, within the funerary industry.

Chapter Three focuses on poetically inscribed metalwork, in particular, brass candle holders produced in Iran between the mid-sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth century. It particularly examines the hitherto unknown brass candlestick at the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha (inv. no. MW.152.1999) and compares it with related pieces. This object is subjected to in-depth analysis because its endowment inscriptions have the potential to shed some light on the cultural and religious settings in which poetically inscribed brass candle holders were produced and their intended use. From the analysis of the surface decorations and inscriptions on the candlestick in question, it can be argued

that this object was produced in Iran circa 1600 and was donated to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Iraq around the same time or later. This identification then leads to a discussion on the possible motivations for the endowments of the Doha candlestick and a comparable piece by Safavid bureaucrats to this Iraqi mausoleum. This chapter also reveals the existence of a group of ready-made brass candle holders, including examples inscribed with Persian verses, which were endowed to the mausolea of the Twelver Shī'ite Imāms in Iran and Iraq around 1560–1610 by figures who had some sort of connection to Kashan, the long-established center of the Twelver Shī'ite population. Furthermore, the chapter provides textual evidence that confirms the father-to-son transmission of skills in poetry and copper-smithing in Kashan during the seventeenth century.

Chapter Four explores the phenomenon of the permeation of Persian verses into religious architecture by focusing on textiles inscribed with Persian verses that were produced during the Safavid period. It especially concentrates on a poetically inscribed silk covering with figural representations at the Cincinnati Art Museum (inv. no. 1953.124), which has an alleged provenance of the Mausoleum of Imām 'Alī al-Riẓā in Mashhad, and compares it with so-called Ardabil carpets, the Mahan carpet, and the Gulbenkian covering. An examination of the motifs and the content of the Persian verses on the Cincinnati covering reveal a remarkable congruity between its text, images, and intended place of use, as well as its high quality which might have required the exercise of skilled labor. It can be tentatively concluded that this covering may have been used as a tomb cover, which is most likely to have been placed in a burial place for a member of the Safavids during the late sixteenth century.

Chapter Five brings together material and textual evidence on the relationship between poets/poems, craftsmen/crafts, and Twelver Shī'ism in Kashan, a city in north

central Iran whose cultural significance in the permeation of Persian verses into material culture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has, as argued in this dissertation, hitherto been underestimated. This chapter concludes that there was continuity in craft-making, poetry-making, and Twelver Shī'ite belief in Kashan from the medieval to the early modern period. In addition, it suggests that the language used for the commemoration of the Twelver Shī'ite saints and other individuals in Kashan seems to have shifted from Arabic to Persian, and the style of delivery from prose to verse.

The conclusion to this dissertation draws together the various strands of evidence and analysis presented in Chapters One to Five. By considering not only the poetical inscriptions on the ceramics, metalwork, and textiles themselves, but also the contemporaneous primary sources in Persian, this dissertation sheds new light on the role of craftsmen and poets in the making of poetically inscribed craft objects during the late Timurid and the Safavid periods.

TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION

For Persian and Arabic, the system of transliteration adopted in this thesis is that of the IJMES (International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies). Persian and Arabic words, phrases and inscriptions, titles and names of historical personages (e.g. Muḥtasham Kāshānī), and titles of books are fully transliterated. This, however, is not the case with place names and names of modern authors. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of Persian and Arabic passages herein are my own.

CONVENTIONS

Following the conventions suggested by Sheila S. Blair in her book, *Islamic Inscriptions* (1998), the Leiden bracket system is adopted to record Arabic and Persian inscriptions throughout this thesis.

For instance,

[] Lacuna. Square brackets enclose text that does not survive

[al-] Conjectural restoration of missing text proposed by the author

[...] Text missing, no conjectural restoration proposed by the author

<va> Conjectural addition. Angle brackets enclose corrections and additions proposed by the author

... Undeciphered letter traces.

The Muslim date (h) is given first, and then followed by the Gregorian date, calculated with the convertor provided by the Institute of Oriental Studies at Zurich University (<http://www.oriold.uzh.ch/static/hegira.html>).

Introduction

Following the invasion of the Arabs and the collapse of the Sasanian empire in 651, people in Iran gradually embraced the religion of Islam and adopted the Arabic script. For the next two centuries, Arabic, the language of the Arabs and the Qur'ān, seems to have been predominantly used as a written language. By the ninth century, Persian poetry was modeled after the Arabic *qaṣīdah* (lit. “with a specific purpose”; ode) for the purpose of praising the Persian-speaking rulers, and verses composed in Persian became immensely popular in Eastern Iran and Transoxiana under the Samanids (819–999).¹ The rise of Persian as a literary language, however, does not seem to have been simultaneously accompanied by the production of craft objects with poetical inscriptions in Persian;² rather, the inscriptions on slip-painted earthenware produced in Nishapur and Samarqand (Afrasiyab) under the Samanids, for instance, were entirely in Arabic.³ The extant evidence suggests that it was only after the late twelfth century that Persian inscriptions, written in Arabic script, became more common as inscriptions on craft objects such as ceramics and metalwork that were produced in Iran.

The first decade of the twenty-first century saw the emergence of a growing interest in the history of Persian inscriptions applied to art and architectural works. *The Appearance of Persian on Islamic Art* by Bernard O’Kane in 2009, for instance, was the first study to focus on the varying uses of Arabic and Persian inscriptions on different types of material and to attempt to identify the reasons for the change in the balance of power between these two languages.⁴ Covering a wide geographical scope and wide

¹ De Bruijn 2019, 1–3.

² O’Kane 2009, 8, 25.

³ Volvo [Golombek] 1966; Pancaroğlu 2002; Qūchānī 1986a; O’Kane 2009, 8; Blair 2014, 30–35.

⁴ O’Kane 2009, xi–xiv.

chronological span, that is to say, Anatolia, Iran, Transoxiana, and India from the tenth to the early sixteenth century, O’Kane attempts to illustrate that the permeation of Persian texts into the material culture of these areas was a gradual process; he supports his argument by examining those inscribed on craft objects and architecture including hitherto-overlooked monumental inscriptions in India. A few years later, in 2014, Sheila Blair approached the question of the relationship between text and image in Persian Art in her *Text and Image in Medieval Persian Art*, by focusing in each chapter on one specific piece of art from “the lands where Persian [had been] the main language of culture” between the tenth and the early sixteenth century,⁵ thereby enabling a more in-depth analysis of the social and cultural contexts of these objects.

However, neither O’Kane nor Blair examined Persian texts in the context of material culture during the period after the early sixteenth century. Yet, a great variety of Persian texts were inscribed on art and architectural works throughout the Safavid period, which endured for over two centuries (1501–1722), and many of these texts can be found in exhibition catalogues and monographs that feature the art and culture of Iran during the period in question.⁶ Nevertheless, until now, Persian texts recorded in materials other than paper (i.e. manuscripts) or architecture have largely remained unexplored, and those applied to craft objects in particular, have not been systematically catalogued or evaluated; a situation that has largely remained unchanged since 1998, when Sussan

⁵ Blair 2014, 3–6. The materials she discussed in this publication include tenth-century earthenware from Eastern Iran (Ch. 2), inlaid metalwork attributable to Herat around 1200 (Ch. 3), the tomb of the Ilkhanid ruler, Ūljāyṭū (r. 1304–16) in Sultaniyah (Ch. 4), the illustrated manuscript of Khvājū Kirmānī (d. 1352)’s *Kullīyāt* (collected works) transcribed in Baghdad in 798h/1396 (Ch. 5), and a pair of so-called Ardabil carpets, dated 946h/1539–40 (Ch. 6). It should be noted that among these five examples, only the last two have texts in Persian.

⁶ For the exhibition catalogues, see, Welch 1973; Canby 2000; Canby 2002; Thompson and Canby 2003; Melikian-Chirvani 2007; Canby 2009.

Babaie, in her entry on “Epigraphy iv. Safavid and later inscriptions” in *Encyclopædia Iranica* stated that “most...epigraphic evidence for objects in this period is scattered and must be extracted from entries in museum and exhibition catalogues.”⁷

Most of the Persian texts inscribed on craft objects from Iran during the period in question were, in fact, poetical. Thus, the research gap may perhaps be due to the underlying assumption among art historians that verses inscribed on crafts may reveal less interesting information than “historical” inscriptions, which supply explicit details concerning the date, production site, and/or the name of the craftsman or patron.

This dissertation therefore sets out to explore the various ways in which Persian verses were integrated into the material culture of Iran between the late fifteenth and the late seventeenth century, with an emphasis on the artistic, literary, social, political, and religious contexts surrounding the development of crafts inscribed with Persian poems. It will investigate the cultural background of the application of poetical inscriptions to the surface of the craft objects and it will also discuss the implications and functions of such poetical inscriptions.

Rather than adopting a dynastic framework and focusing only on the Safavid period, this research will cover the period between the late fifteenth and the late seventeenth century because stylistic and technical developments in craft objects do not correspond to periods of dynastic change. In the field of Persian literature, there is an emerging trend in studying the poets active and sources composed during the period concerned in this dissertation.⁸ Further explorations into the types, contents, contexts,

⁷ Sussan Babaie, *Encyclopædia Iranica online*, s.v. “Epigraphy iv. Safavid and later inscriptions”: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/epigraphy-iv> (accessed November 3, 2020).

⁸ For instance, Losensky 1998, Losensky 2003, Losensky 2011, Losensky 2015, Beers 2015, and Beers 2016.

and qualities of the poetical inscriptions on crafts in Iran between the late fifteenth century and the late seventeenth century as well as the primary sources in relation to the makers of such crafts may contribute to this growing field of research.

This dissertation is composed of this introduction, five themed chapters, and a conclusion, as well as five appendices. Chapter One will examine unpublished and published primary sources in Persian such as *inshā'* (guides on letter-writing for scribes) and *tazkirahs* (anthologies of selected verses of poets accompanied by their biographical notes), which attest to the possible situations where craftsmen would have appreciated Persian poetry, not only as readers or spectators but also as composers, from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century.

Chapter Two will provide a detailed and comprehensive analysis of Persian poetry inscribed upon ceramic vessels and ceramic tombstones, in an attempt to contribute to knowledge on the reception, circulation, and social function of Persian poetry during this period of time in Iran. It will particularly focus on the luster-painted ceramic tombstone of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Mu'arrif al-Shīrāzī (d. 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560) at the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, Germany (inv. no. 1960.64), and discuss the various implications of its poetical inscription.

Chapter Three will present a detailed analysis of the inscriptions and decorations of the hitherto unknown brass candlestick at the Museum of Islamic Art (MIA) in Doha (inv. no. MW.152.1999) and contrast this Doha candlestick to comparable pieces from Iran. In so doing, the cultural and religious context of the production and use of poetically inscribed craft objects will also be discussed with a particular focus on metalwork produced in Iran during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chapter Four will explore the phenomenon of the permeation of Persian verses into religious architecture by focusing on textiles that were produced during the Safavid period and inscribed with Persian verses. It will particularly concentrate on a poetically inscribed silk covering at the Cincinnati Art Museum (inv. no. 1953.124), which has an alleged provenance of the Mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā in Mashhad.

Chapter Five will bring together material and textual evidence on the relationship between poets/poems, craftsmen/crafts, and Twelver Shī‘ism in Kashan, a city in north central Iran whose cultural significance during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has, as argued in this dissertation, hitherto been underestimated.

This dissertation will then conclude by drawing together the various strands of evidence and analysis. By considering not only the poetical inscriptions on the ceramics, metalwork, and textiles themselves, but also the contemporaneous primary sources in Persian, this dissertation will seek to shed new light on the role of craftsmen and poets in the making of poetically inscribed craft objects during the late Timurid and the Safavid periods.

Chapter One: Primary Sources Testifying to the Rise of Literacy among Craftsmen in Iran after the Late Fifteenth Century

I-1. Introduction

I-2. The Craftsman as a Recipient and Sender of Letters with Persian Verses

I-3. The Craftsman as a Composer of Poems

I-1. Introduction

As observed by Paul Losensky and others, Iran in the late fifteenth century saw an increasing interest in the art of versification that extended beyond the royal court to the general population.¹ This fascination coincided with the period when the taste for Persian poetry shifted toward one favoring intricacy; in terms of poetical forms, it has been suggested that not only the *ghazal* (a short lyric poem on the topic of love), which was modeled after the works of past masters,² but also riddle-like verse forms such as the chronogram poem³ and the *mu'ammā*⁴ were particularly well appreciated from this period onward.⁵ It is within this cultural milieu that the inclusion of various types of Persian poem as inscriptions on ceramics, metalwork, and textiles became increasingly

¹ See for instance, Subtelny 1986, 65, 65n44; Losensky 1998, 137–140.

² This poetic technique involves using the meter and rhyme schemes of earlier works. In Persian, it is known as *istiqbāl*, *javāb-gū'ī*, or *naẓīrah-gū'ī* (Losensky 1998, 9).

³ This type of poem is characterized by the inclusion of *abjad* numerals that signify the year in which the event described in the poem occurred.

⁴ According to Maria Subtelny, “[*mu'ammā*] was a poetical form which consisted of one or two *ba[ʔ]ts* only. Although it had a superficial meaning, it was in reality an enigma, the object of which was to recognize hidden allusions contained in it to various letters of the Arabic alphabet which, when assembled, spelled the solution, usually a proper name” (Subtelny 1986, 75). See also, Losensky 1998, 154–160.

⁵ Subtelny 1986, 62–78.

popular, as this thesis will elaborate in Chapter Two, Chapter Three, and Chapter Four, respectively.

By way of introduction, this chapter sets out to inquire into the possible situations where craftsmen, including the makers of the aforementioned craft objects, would have appreciated Persian poetry, not only as readers or spectators but also as composers, from the late fifteenth to late seventeenth century. This chapter will begin by examining examples of written correspondence containing Persian verses that were addressed to, or sent by, Persian-speaking craftsmen during the period in question. The chapter will then bring together information regarding the craftsmen-cum-poets who were recorded in the anthologies of selected verses in Iran during the same period.

I-2. The Craftsman as a Recipient and Sender of Letters with Persian Verses

In this section, we will shed light on written communications that contain Persian verses composed for, or composed by, a craftsman. First, we will examine one *inshā'* work (a guide on letter-writing for scribes), which is datable to the early sixteenth century and includes letters addressed to various groups of people who have artistic skills. *Inshā'* are said to have been composed in Persian since the late eleventh century, and their number increased dramatically from the fifteenth century onwards.⁶ *Nāmah-'i nāmī* (Illustrious Letter), compiled by Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Khvāndamīr (d. 1535) in 925h/1519–20⁷ was among

⁶ Rypka 1967, 433–34.

⁷ The completion date of *Nāmah-'i nāmī* is recorded in the form of a chronogram, *munshāt-i laṭīfah* (925): *mīm* (40), *nūn* (30), *shīn* (300), *alif* (1), *tā'* (400), *lām* (30), *ṭā'* (9), *yā'* (10), *fā'* (80), *hā'* (5). See British Library (London), Or. 11012, fol. 132b. As Colin Mitchell points out, Khvāndamīr himself wrote in the preface of *Nāmah-'i nāmī* that this work was not composed of letters written exclusively by him, but rather it was a collection of writings by his contemporaries (Mitchell 2009, 220n229, citing Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), MS. Suppl. Pers. 1842, fol. 4a).

such *inshā'* that emerged during this boom period. As the *Nāmah-i nāmī* contains a letter appointing Kamāl al-Dīn Bihzād (d. 1535–36), one of the most celebrated painters during the late Timurid to the early Safavid period, as head of the royal manuscript studio of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyqarā (r. 1469–1506) and Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1514–76), this part of *Nāmah-i nāmī* has often been quoted in previous studies in the field of art history.⁸ However, most other parts of this work that are still preserved in manuscript copies have not been the subject of detailed study. Therefore, it remains a desideratum to analyze the sections that provide templates for letters sent to different groups of craftsmen.

Nāmah-i nāmī consists of three parts: an introduction, a main section comprising nine chapters, and an appendix. The first four of the nine chapters provide scribes with a variety of letter templates in a range of different vocabularies, each of which is appropriate for a group of people belonging to a specific social class. The first chapter deals with letters *ba-ṭabaqāt-i a'lā* (“to high-ranking [people]”); the second chapter concerns correspondence *ba-ashrāf-i barāyā* (“to noble people”); the third chapter is about writing *ba-awsāt al-nās* (“to middle-class people”); and the fourth chapter concerns written communications *ba-muḥtarifāt* (“to professionals”). What is particularly remarkable about these four chapters is that three of them include some sections that provide letters that can be sent to different groups of people who have artistic

⁸ For instance, Roxburgh 2001, 24–26; Priscilla Soucek, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. “Behzād, Kamāl-al-dīn”: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/behzad-kamal-al-din> (accessed November 4, 2020). For the letter in question, see, Qazwini and Bouvat 1914, 152–54, 159–61; Herrmann 1968, 78–80 (the pagination is in Arabic numerals), 224–25. See also, Bahari 1996, 184–85, which provides another letter in *Nāmah-i nāmī* that features Bihzād.

skills. Letters to calligraphers (*khaṭṭātān*) are introduced in the second chapter,⁹ while those to illuminators and painters (*naqqāshān*¹⁰ *va muṣavvirān*), architects (*mi‘mārān*), and bookbinders (*ṣaḥḥāfān va mujallidān*) are presented in the third chapter,¹¹ and those addressed to sewers of the robe of honor (*khil‘at-darziyan*), dyers (*rang-rīzān*), saddlers (*sarrājān*), carpenters (*durūd-gar*), and smiths (*āhan-gar*) are included in the fourth chapter.¹² The grouping of people with different artistic skills into distinct chapters based on social class implies that they received different treatment depending on the media in which they worked and the techniques that they used. Those who were engaged in building monuments (i.e., architects) and illuminating manuscripts (i.e., painters and bookbinders), for instance, were included in the chapter on letters to “middle-class people” instead of “professionals,” perhaps because not only did they often enjoy courtly patronage, but because they created religiously significant works such as Qur’ānic manuscripts and mosques.

In his Ph.D. thesis devoted to *Nāmah-‘i nāmī*, Gottfried Herrmann compiled a list of the occupations in which the four groups of people named in the titles of the first four chapters were engaged.¹³ A few decades later, Kazuyuki Kubo enumerated the

⁹ Other groups of people included in this second chapter range from sayyids (descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad) to shaykhs, ‘ulamās, qāḍīs, market inspectors, the highly educated, poets, speakers, preachers, leaders in prayer, doctors, astrologers, and those who memorize the Qur’ān (Herrmann 1968, 31–33).

¹⁰ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the meaning of the word *naqqash* (e.g., painter, illuminator, and designer) seems to have varied from source to source and thus requires careful consideration.

¹¹ Other groups of people included in this third chapter range from farmers to assayers, merchants, archers, and singers and musicians (Herrmann 1968, 33–34; Kubo 2001, 75).

¹² Other groups of people included in this fourth chapter range from money changers to confectioners, perfumers, bakers, cooks, butchers, cloth merchants, grocers, and ḥammām keepers (Herrmann 1968, 34–35; Kubo 2001, 75).

¹³ Herrmann 1968, 29–35.

occupations that were classified under the headings of “middle-class people” and “professionals” in his study that examined the diverse groups of people who appreciated Persian poetry between the late Timurid period and the early Safavid period.¹⁴

Hence further consideration of the structure, content, and vocabulary of the templates of the letters for craftsmen is likely to enhance our understanding about the relationship between craftsmen and poems. In what follows, we will examine one of the letters deemed suitable to be sent to a person belonging to the group of sewers of the robe of honor (hereinafter, sewers), which can be found in the eighth section of the fourth chapter of *Nāmāh-’i nāmī*. At the start of this section, Khvāndamīr introduces the opinion of “historians with outstanding traits” that the skill of a sewer is “one of the inventions of the prophet Idrīs (*az mukhtara’āt-i Idrīs-i payghambar-ast*)”¹⁵ and then instructs his readers that a letter addressed to a sewer must be written by the hand of a scribe with rhetorical skills.¹⁶ In the Qur’ān, the prophet Idrīs is described as a prophet blessed with the virtues of piety and patience (19:56–57; 21:85);¹⁷ and the reference to this pious and patient prophet may possibly indicate the conventional image of this group of craftsmen at the time of the compilation of *Nāmāh-’i nāmī*.

In the paragraphs below, first I will transcribe and then translate the second of two letters in the eighth section of the fourth chapter. The letter in question is designed to be a response to a letter received from a sewer. In the translation, I will underline the words that deserve special attention and insert the original words in parentheses after

¹⁴ Kubo 2001, 74–76. I would like to thank Professor Nobuaki Kondo for drawing my attention to this article.

¹⁵ British Library, I.O. Islamic 2711, fol. 64b; British Library, Or. 11012, fol. 75a.

¹⁶ British Library, I.O. Islamic 2711, fols. 64b–65a; British Library, Or. 11012, fol. 75b.

¹⁷ Yoram Erder, *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, s.v. “Idrīs”: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQSIM_00208 (accessed October 20, 2020).

them. I will also add numbers to each set of words in this letter to ease analysis and understanding.

The manuscripts I was able to consult to reconstruct this letter were MS. I.O. Islamic 2711¹⁸ and MS. Or. 11012,¹⁹ both of which are held by the British Library in London.²⁰ Since the former was copied in late-seventeenth-century India²¹ and the latter has no indication of its date and place of transcription,²² my transcription and translation of this letter remains tentative. Hence further research on other manuscripts attributable to sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Iran should be undertaken to confirm its content.²³

The letter starts with a *rubāʿī* (verse composed of four hemistiches)²⁴ expressing the writer's feelings of pleasure in hearing from the sewer ([1]), and then the main body of letter full of elaborate rhetoric (from [2] to [11]) follows:

[1] درزی شرف نامه تو کرد عبور

بر کلبه محنت ز دکانی مهجور

¹⁸ Ethé 1903, 1137–39, cat. no. 2055; Herrmann 1966, 14–15, 32–35. In Herrmann's dissertation this copy is described as "Handschrift L."

¹⁹ Meredith-Owens 1968, 78.

²⁰ I also consulted MS. Suppl. Pers. 1842, which is owned by the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. This manuscript of the *Nāmah-ʿi nāmī* was copied in Shaʿban in 1020h/October–November 1611. However, several sections from the fourth and fifth chapters, including the section dedicated to a sewer (i.e., the eighth section of the fourth chapter), were missing from this copy.

²¹ It was copied at Burhanpur and dated Rabiʿ II 1065/February–March 1655.

²² Meredith-Owens attributes this copy of *Nāmah-ʿi nāmī* to the sixteenth century (Meredith-Owens 1968, 78). See also, https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript_5274 (accessed October 20, 2020).

²³ To the best of my knowledge, the earliest dated manuscript of *Nāmah-ʿi nāmī* was copied in Ramadan 927h/August–September 1521 and is now held by the Tehran University Central Library (MS. 3411). This manuscript is mentioned in Bassāk and Lārī 2014, 68.

²⁴ For the meters used for the *rubāʿī*s, see, Thiesen 1982, 166.

از دیدن آن لباس غم شد مستور

پوشید دلم کسوت شادی و سرور

[2] نگاشته نوک خامه سوزن وش چون جامه وار قماش زرکش دلکش عز وصول یافته، بدن ممتحن را لباس محبت پوشانید و فرق امنیت را از گریبان خرمی و مسرت طالع گردانید. [3] در برابر سطور ان نامه خجسته نشان که بسان بخیه کارآگاهان بصفت راستی اتصاف داشته، اصناف تحیت و سلام ابلاغ و ارسال میدارد. [4] و چون اشتیاق و ارزومندی به بوسیدن قباى مواصلت که موجب بقاء کسوت اتحاد و مراقت است، حدی و نهایتی ندارد در شرح آن شروع نمیرود. [5] امید آنکه بزودی پرده ممانعت ارتفاع یافته صورت آن مراد دربهترین لباس جلوه گرآید. [6] انه و قادر علی ذلک. [7] چشم داشت چنان است که پیوسته رشته مهر و محبت را از اتصال محافظت نموده تا زمان تللیس بجامه اتصال مکاتبات ارسال دارند. [8] و حبیب شکیبای را که بدست بی طاقتی چاک شده، بسوزن قلم نیکو رقم دوخته. [9] حقوق مصاحبت قدیم را بجای آورند و رشته سخن بتطویل گشت. [10] لا جرم قطع ان بمقراض اختصار واجب دید. [11] لباس آمال و امانی تا بانقطاع ایام زندگانی دوخته باد. [12] و السلام.²⁵

[1] Oh, the sewer (*darzī*), your noble letter arrived [/]

from [your] faraway store, to [my] hovel of affliction [/]

Upon seeing it [i.e., the sewer's letter], this [i.e., the writer's] garment of pain (*libās-i ghamm*) became invisible [/]

[and instead,] my heart wore (*pūshīd*) a dress of happiness and joy (*kisvat-i shādī va surūr*) [/]

²⁵ BL I.O. Islamic 2711, fols. 65b–66a; BL. Or. 11012, fols. 75b–76a. I would like to thank Professor Kazuo Morimoto for helping me in interpreting this and other Persian sources that I cite in this dissertation. All errors remain my own.

[2] [Your] letter, written with the nib of a needle-like pen (*nigāshtah-`i nawk-i khāmah-`i sūzan-vash*), covered (*pūshānīd*) the body of the endurer [i.e., the writer's body] with a garment of love (*libās-i muḥabbat*), and drew [my] greatest hope out from [my] glad and cheerful collar (*girībān-i khurramī va masarrat*). [All these things happened] when [your] letter [which is like a] silk cloth embroidered with precious, heart-attracting, gold thread (*jāmah-vār-i qumāsh-i zar-kash-i dil-kash-i izz*) achieved arrival [i.e., successfully reached its destination].

[3] In reply to the few lines of [your] letter—which have been written straight (*rāstī*) [i.e., neatly] like the stitches of skilled people—, I will send my salutations and greetings to you.

[4] Since [my] desires and wishes to kiss [your] shirt of togetherness (*qabā`-yi muvāṣalat*)—which would promote the perpetuity of [our] dress of friendship and companionship (*kisvat-i ittiḥād va murāfaqat*)—have no limit, I will not proceed to explain them.

[5] I wish the curtain of obstruction (*pardah-`i mumāna`at*) to be raised, and the face of such hopes [which wears] the best garment (*dar bihtarīn libās*) will appear soon.

[6] Indeed, God is able to do that.

[7] Through this communication, my desire is that, the sewer (*payvastah*) retains the thread of love and affection (*rishtah-`i mihr va muḥabbat*) until the time when fraud [occurs] [and] we correspond each other by means of the gown of communication (*ba-jāmah-`i ittiṣāl*).

[8] And [my] friend [i.e., the sewer] has written down/has stitched words down (*raqam dūkhtah*) [his] long-suffering that he had been separated (*chāk shudah*) from the hand of [this] weak one, with the needle of [his] beautiful pen (*sūzan-i qalam-i nīkū*).

[9] He brought up just claims of [our] old companionship and [as such,] the thread of words (*rishtah-`i sukhun*) became prolonged.

[10] Consequently, the cutting off of this [letter] with scissors of abbreviation (*qaṭ`-i ān ba-miqrāz-i ikhtiṣār*) seems necessary.

[11] May the garment of hopes and desires (*libās-i āmāl va amānī*) be sewn (*dūkhtah*) till the days of the termination (*inqiṭā`*) of life.

[12] And peace.

From the above, it is clear that the guide recommended that clients who wished to communicate with the sewer include in their correspondence verses and phrases in Persian related to the occupation of the recipient. The only two sets of words that do not contain such features are written in Arabic (i.e., [6] and [12]). The *rubā`ī* at the start of the letter, for instance, includes nouns that allude to the works created by the sewer (garment [*libās*] and dress [*kisvat*]) as well as a verb that is related to the function of his works (wore < to wear [*pūshīd<pūshīdan*]). Furthermore, the vocabulary used in the body

of this letter includes words connected with the tools,²⁶ practices and skills,²⁷ and works²⁸ of the sewer, as well as words that share the same root as these types of words.²⁹

The most compelling aspect of the above letter is its inclusion of some comments on the character of the letter that had been sent by the sewer to his companion. In [3], the letter from the sewer is described as having been “written straight (*rāstī*) [i.e., neatly] like the best works of skilled people.” The contrasting of the skill in writing a letter with a pen and the skill in using a needle and thread is also evident in [8]. Here, the unusual compound verb “*raqam dūkhtan*” (lit. stitch the word) seems to have been deliberately used to emphasize the writing skill that was expected of a sewer. Perhaps these phrases could be interpreted as indicating that the recipient’s (i.e., the sewer) had the ability to read and write letters.

Yet, it is equally likely that a letter from a client would have been read aloud to the sewer by someone else, perhaps someone who was associated with the sewer’s workshop, and that the reply would have also been written by someone else on behalf of the sewer. A lack of information in *Nāmah-i nāmī* on the letters sent by people in such occupations may, however, be overcome to some extent by examining the contemporaneous first-hand account of a *majlis*, a type of assembly or literary gathering that seems to have taken place here and there in the Persianate world at this time. In

²⁶ Needle (*sūzan*) in [2] and [8]; thread (*rishtah*) in [7] and [9]; scissors (*miqrāz*) in [10].

²⁷ Covered < to cloth another (*pūshānīd* < *pūshānīdan*) in [2]; straight (*rāstī*) in [3]; sewn < to sew (*dūkhtah* < *dūkhtan*) in [8] and [11]; separate < to be separated (*chāk shudah* < *chāk shudan*) in [8].

²⁸ Garment (*libās*) in [2], [5], and [11]; collar (*girbān*) in [2]; silk cloth embroidered with gold thread (*jāmah-vār-i qumāsh-i zar-kash*) in [2]; stitches (*bakhya*) in [3]; shirt (*qabā*) in [4]; dress (*kisvat*) in [4]; curtain (*pardah*) in [5]; gown [*jāmah*] in [7].

²⁹ Togetherness (*mavāṣalat*) in [4] and communication (*ittiṣāl*) in [7] share the same root, *v-ṣ-l* (to combine). Also, cutting off (*qaṭ*) in [10] and termination (*inqiṭā*) in [11] share the same root, *q-ṭ-* (to cut).

particular, *Badāyi' al-vaqāyi'* (Marvelous Events) written by Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣifī (d. circa 1551–56) between 1517 and 1538–39 recounts an incident involving a glassmaker, which happened at some point during the author's stay in Samarqand. In the chapter entitled “The anecdote about the nobles examining this humble one on the arts of *inshā'* and the solutions to *mu'ammā*,” Vāṣifī introduces his own works of *inshā'* and *mu'ammā*, which he claims to have written impromptu based on the demand of the participants of the *majlis*. One of the participants, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ābgīnah-gar (lit. “glassmaker”) Kūfīnī³⁰ requested Vāṣifī to compose a cover letter to accompany several pieces of glass he wished to send as a gift to a certain Fūlād Sulṭān. Responding to this request, Vāṣifī improvised a letter on behalf of Ābgīnah-gar Kūfīnī on the spot. Again, I will underline the words that deserve special attention and insert the original words in parenthesis after them:

He [i.e., Ābgīnah-gar Kūfīnī] begs to inform the servants of the palace of the asylum of the world [i.e., Fūlād Sulṭān] that the rulers of the time and the emperors of the world have always intoxicated and contented me [i.e., Ābgīnah-gar Kūfīnī] with their goblet of perpetual favor (*jām-i mudām-in 'ām*)³¹ and flagon of generosity and bounty (*qarābah-'i 'ināyat va ikrām*); and they have generously observed the state of this wretched humble one. [However,] it has been a long time since a blue sky threw stones of injustice at the glass workshop (*ābgīnah-khānah*), [that is,] the desire of this wretched, and it [i.e., a blue sky] injured the desert-wandering feet, [that is,] the hope of this afflicted one, with

³⁰ His nisba, Kūfīnī, is most likely to have been derived from Kufin, a town located near Bukhara.

³¹ The word *mudām* also means wine.

pieces of glass (*shīshah*) of calamity and misfortune; and so forth, [such] trials (*shikast*) and tribulations (*rīkht*) have happened to this humble one.

Sometimes my heart is broken (*bishikanad*), sometimes a cup (*sāghar*) of delight falls from [my] hands [/]

Yet for a suffering man, may another trial (*shikastī*) not fall upon trials (*shikast*) [/]³²

Now, as a gift from this humble poor one [i.e., Ābgīnah-gar Kūfīnī], several pieces of glass (*shīshah*) for present have been brought to the court of the king [i.e., Fūlād Sulṭān]—for whom the glassmaker of fate (*ābgīnah-gar-i qazā*) [i.e., God] made a gilded goblet of the sun (*jām-i zar-andūd-i mihr*) and glass of the heavens (*shīshah' hā-yi sipihr*) for the elegance and beauty of his banquet, and for whom the eternal cupbearer of destiny (*sāqī-yi bāqī-yi taqdīr*) [i.e., God] poured the rose-colored wine of sunset from which the skirt of the horizon is distilled, for the cup (*sāghar*) of his joy. I hope that the pieces of glass (*shīshah*) of hope of this hopeless one will be filled up with the pure wine of boundless generosity of the king. May enemies of the goblet (*jām*) of your prosperity eternally have bloody-suffering hearts like a flask (*surāḥī*) [full of wine]. May they perpetually have wrinkles of anxiety like [cracked] glass (*shīshah*) upon their foreheads.³³

As underlined above, this letter contains many words alluding to the occupation of the sender-to-be (i.e., a glassmaker). Compared with the letter designed to be a

³² The meter of this verse is *hazaj* (U - - - / U - - - / U - - - / U - - -). See Thiesen 1982, 236, no. 84.

³³ Vāṣifī 1970–72, 2:75–76.

response to a letter received from a sewer in *Nāmāh-’i nāmī*, the letter improvised by Vāṣifī for Ābgīnahgar Kūfīnī is more conscious of the shapes, material, and qualities of the works crafted by a glassmaker. For example, the couplet inserted in the middle of the body of the letter explains a difficult situation to the recipient of the letter by making the best use of the verb *shikashtan* (to be broken), which alludes to one of the characteristics of glassware, and the noun *shikast* (trial [lit. the thing which is broken]), which is derived from the verb *shikashtan*.

Although it is not possible to confirm whether this letter was actually sent to Fūlād Sulṭān by Ābgīnahgar Kūfīnī, this example vividly illustrates one of the most common occasions on which a craftsman in Persianate society would have been obliged to prepare a letter containing Persian verses. That is to say, the letters would have been prepared by craftsmen when they were faced with economically difficult situations where they had to seek the assistance of authorities such as local governors.

In fact, a poem composed in such a situation by a craftsman himself can be found among the poems recorded in *Tazkirah-’i Naṣr-ābādī* (*Tazkirah* of Naṣr-ābādī, comp. 1680), the work of Persian *tazkirah* (see subsection I-3. below) which was composed by a local literatus in Isfahan. It introduces an anecdote about Mullā ‘Aṣrī Tabrīzī, a poet-cum-spinner of gold thread (*zar-kash*)³⁴ who was born into a family from Tabriz in Yazd but later migrated with his family to the ‘Abbās-ābād quarter in Isfahan. In the poem, which is in the form of a *rubā’ī*, Mullā ‘Aṣrī Tabrīzī laments the cutting off of the pension for his family who had migrated from Tabriz to Isfahan.³⁵ The poem was sent to Shāh

³⁴ See subsection I-3. below for further discussion on the translation of the word *zar-kash*.

³⁵ Keyvani 1982, 233, 248n87.

Abū Turāb Gulistānah, who was a deputy of the office of grand vizier (*jihat-i Shāh Abū Turāb Gulistānah ki nā'ib-i al-ṣadārah bud firistād*):

Thanks to the judge, Shāh Abū Turāb and the great man of learning [/]
our future is jealous of [our] past, because an evil omen has appeared [/]
Every year, it [i.e., the pension which the forced migrants from Tabriz had
received] was twenty *mann* of barley per person, thanks to Shāh [/]
[but] this year one hundred people had to be content with one *mann* [of barley],
and [now,] even that has been lost [/]³⁶

Unlike the aforementioned poem by Vāṣifī in *Badāyi' al-vaqāyi'*, this poem, composed by a poet-cum-spinner of gold thread/embroiderer of gold thread himself, does not seem to have contained any words that alluded to his own occupation. It seems possible that at least in late-seventeenth-century Isfahan, the sender of such a petition did not necessarily need to put an emphasis on his own occupation, as long as the witty verses explaining the sender's own situation were inserted into the letter.

In summary, this section began by reviewing written communications in the early sixteenth century that involved the use of Persian verses composed for craftsmen. It was found that craftsmen were in fact both the recipient and sender of rhetorical letters, which included poems that expressed the writer's own feelings about specific situations and that were written in such a way as to allude to their occupations. It is evident that, on the one hand, craftsmen received such letters in situations where their friends needed to contact

³⁶ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 306. Translation after Keyvani 1982, 248n87 with my modification. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 274–75.

them, and on the other, that craftsmen sent letters of petition when they faced difficulties. In other words, such letters with Persian verses might have served to smoothen the communication between people from different social classes. Thus it could be argued that craftsmen became familiar with Persian verses not simply for their own pleasure, but to comply with the social etiquette in communicating with their potential clients. It seems likely that the ability to compose poetry was then a requisite part of the set of skills needed to gain access to patronage.

I-3. The Craftsman as a Composer of Poems

Having explored some of the possible situations where craftsmen in Persian-speaking areas would have appreciated Persian poetry, further questions arise as to what types of verse they could actually compose themselves, and in which areas or cities in Iran they were working. To resolve these questions, craftsmen who were recorded in the works of Persian *tazkirah* (anthologies of selected verses of poets accompanied by their biographical notes) dating from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iran will be examined closely in this section.

Persian *tazkirah* emerged as a genre of literature no later than the early thirteenth century, but it was only after the late fifteenth century when Dawlatshāh Samarqandī compiled *Tadhkirat al-Shu‘arā’* (Memoirs of Poets; completed 1487) for his patron, Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 1469–1506) at the Timurid court in Herat, that this literary genre became more popular.³⁷

³⁷ Kondo 2009, 41–44.

To date, several attempts have been made to incorporate the works of Persian *tazkirah* into the study of craft objects and their makers. In the 1930s, Phyllis Ackerman repeatedly made reference to *Tazkirah-ʿi Naṣr-ābādī*, to link the biography of Khvājah Giyās, a Yazd-based weaver-cum-poet, with a group of Safavid textiles bearing the signature of “Giyās” [figs. 1-1, 1-2-a, and 1-2-b].³⁸ This attribution, however, has remained questionable. A more balanced approach was adopted by Anatoli Ivanov in 1980. In his study of an underglaze-painted dish dated 878h/1473–74 and inscribed as having been “completed in Mashhad”, which is currently in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg [Appendix 1, CVU-3], Ivanov refers to four potters-cum-poets who were active in Mashhad and were recorded in *Tuḥfah-ʿi Sāmī* (Gift of Sām; completed no later than 1550–51) by Sām Mīrzā as well as in two sixteenth-century Persian translations of ‘Alī-Shīr Navā’ī’s *Majālis al-naḥā’is* (Assemblages of Precious Objects; completed in 1492, with additions made until 1499), originally written in Chaghatai Turkish.³⁹ As we will examine in detail in Chapter Three, Ivanov succeeded in providing the primary sources that verify that ceramics were produced at this time in Mashhad and in associating these sources with inscriptions on extant art objects. Ivanov also identifies Herat as a city where several potters-cum-poets were active during the sixteenth century, by consulting Niṣārī Bukhārī’s *Muzakkir al-aḥbāb* (Memory of Friends, 1566), completed in Bukhara,

³⁸ Ackerman 1933, 255; Ackerman 1934, 9. See also, Pope and Ackerman (1938–39) 1964–65, 5:2094–2101, 12:1036–1040. As Robert Skelton points out that “subsequent publications simply deal with textiles from his [i.e., Ghiyās’s] workshop in the context of Ackerman’s earlier research” (Skelton 2000, 250). For a literature review on the works signed by Ghiyās, see Skelton 2000, 262 n. 9. See also, Zakā’ 1962; Mackie 2015, 362. For background to the life and work of Phyllis Ackerman (d. 1977), see, Cornelia Montgomery, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. “Ackerman, Phyllis”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/ackerman-phyllis> (accessed October 23, 2020).

³⁹ Ivanov 1980.

and the ninth chapter of Fakhrī Harātī's *Laṭā'if-nāmah* (Book of Bon-mots; comp. 1521–22).⁴⁰ More recently, Lisa Golombek and others cite the biographies of several Kirman-based potters-cum-poets recorded in *Tazkirah-'i Naṣr-ābādī* to support her assertion that ceramics were produced in Kirman during the late seventeenth century (discussed below in this subsection).⁴¹

Other studies have focused more on the social and economic aspects of craft industries in Iran during the Safavid period. For instance, Mehdi Keyvani points out that “there were many artisans...who wrote conventional poetry in the [S]afavid period” and he enumerates the various kinds of craftsmen recorded in *Tuḥfah-'i Sāmī*.⁴² In addition, Willem Floor, in his study on the textile industry in Iran after 1500, citing relevant pages of *Tazkirah-'i Naṣr-ābādī*, comments that “[m]any Safavid poets...made their living as weavers or dabbled in this craft.”⁴³

Overall, the scope of previous studies has centered more on the fact that craftsmen-cum-poets achieved prominence among the poets recorded in the works of Persian *tazkirah*. Therefore, further research should be undertaken to shed light on the types of verses they could actually compose themselves, as well as the cities or communities with which they were affiliated.

In the remainder of this section, I will investigate four Persian *tazkirahs* that were composed in Iran during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries: the ninth chapter of

⁴⁰ Ivanov 1980, 65–66.

⁴¹ Golombek et al. 2014, 23–24.

⁴² Keyvani 1982, 198. Some of the groups of craftsmen that are enumerated by Keyvani overlap with those referred to by Kubo. For his 2001 study, Kubo consulted *Tuḥfah-'i Sāmī* and the ninth chapter of Fakhrī Harātī's *Laṭā'if-nāmah* (Kubo 2001, 76–79). For the ninth chapter of *Laṭā'if-nāmah*, see the later discussion in the main text.

⁴³ Floor 1999, 19.

Laṭāʾif-nāmah; *Tuḥfah-ʾi Sāmī*; *Laṭāyif al-khiyāl* (Jests of Thought; completed in 1667–68); and *Tazkirah-ʾi Naṣr-ābādī*. First, I will briefly review the content of these *tazkirahs* in chronological order.

The first two *tazkirahs*, *Laṭāʾif-nāmah* and *Tuḥfah-ʾi Sāmī*, were composed in Iran during the early-to-mid-sixteenth century. *Laṭāʾif-nāmah* was completed in 1521–22 by a translator in Herat, Fakhrī Harātī, the first to eighth chapters of this *tazkirah* are a Persian translation of ʿAlī -Shīr Navāʾī's *Majālis al-naḥw*, which was written in Chaghatai Turkish toward the end of the fifteenth century. The ninth chapter of *Laṭāʾif-nāmah*, which I focus on here, is, in essence an appendix newly composed by Fakhrī during the Safavid period. Fakhrī divided his chapter into several sections according to the social classes to which the poets belonged. This concept of classifying poets on the basis of social strata dates back to the early thirteenth century, and such an arrangement was also adopted in *Tuḥfah-ʾi Sāmī* and *Tazkirah-ʾi Naṣr-ābādī*.⁴⁴

As regards *Tuḥfah-ʾi Sāmī*, this *tazkirah* was completed in 1550–51 most likely at the court in Qazvin during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524–76). Composed by Sām Mīrzā, a younger brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, *Tuḥfah-ʾi Sāmī* contains the selected works of 711 contemporary poets, whose social classes range from royal (chapter one, 19 figures) to *sayyids* and ʿulamāʾ (chapter two, 142 figures), viziers and bureaucrats (chapter three, 34 figures), respected people (chapter four, 69 figures), poets famous for their pennames (chapter five, 371 figures), Turks (chapter six, 30 figures), and common people (chapter seven, 46 figures).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Kondo 2009, 41, 47–50.

⁴⁵ The number of poets I give here is based on the edition by Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn Farrukh (Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6).

The two other *tazkirahs*, *Laṭāyif al-khiyāl* and *Tazkirah-ʾi Naṣr-ābādī*, were composed in Iran during the late seventeenth century. As regards *Laṭāyif al-khiyāl*, this *tazkirah* was written by a ṣūfī-scholar, Shāh Muḥammad Dārābī Iṣṭihbānātī, between 1665–66 and 1667–68 in Iran after his return from India.⁴⁶ In this *tazkirah*, 358 poets from the past to the time of compilation were arranged according to their hometowns and home countries: Fars, Isfahan, Ardabil, Tabriz, Azerbaijan, Gilan, Mazandaran, Astrabad, Yazd, Kirman, Sabzivar, Nishapur, Mashhad, Herat, Sistan, Transoxiana, India, Rum, Najaf, and Karbala.⁴⁷

As for *Tazkirah-ʾi Naṣr-ābādī*, it was composed by a historian, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣr-ābādī, between 1672–73 and 1680 in Isfahan and dedicated to Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1666–94). *Tazkirah-ʾi Naṣr-ābādī* records 903 contemporary poets, whose social classes range from kings to high-ranking officials, *sayyids* and nobles, scholars and learned men, poets (from Khurasan and Iraq[-i ʿAjam], Transoxiana, and India), and the family of Naṣr-ābādī.

It is evident from the contents of these works that the early-sixteenth-century *tazkirah* (i.e., the ninth chapter of *Laṭāʾif-nāmah*) informs us about craftsmen-cum-poets who lived in Herat, while the *tazkirah* of the mid-sixteenth century (i.e., *Tuḥfah-ʾi Sāmī*) provides information on craftsmen-cum-poets who were active in Tabriz. On the other hand, the late-seventeenth-century *tazkirah* (i.e., *Tazkirah-ʾi Naṣr-ābādī*) indicates that there were communities of craftsmen-cum-poets in Isfahan and Kirman. Some of the more notable entries for each community are discussed below.

⁴⁶ Dārābī Iṣṭihbānātī 2012, 1: 9–10 (in the introduction); Gulchīn Maʿānī 1983–84, 2:87–90. I would like to thank Professor Kondo for drawing my attention to this *tazkirah*.

⁴⁷ Gulchīn Maʿānī 1983–84, 2:90–98.

Herat

The ninth chapter of *Laṭā'if-nāmah* lists two *naqqāshs* who were active in Herat during the early sixteenth century.⁴⁸ One is Mullā Ḥājī Muḥammad, a painter (*naqqāsh*), who was appointed to the town of Herat,⁴⁹ and the other is a native Heratian, Mullā Tābi'ī, a painter of plates and dishes (*naqqāsh-i kāсах va ṭabaq*).⁵⁰ Mullā Tābi'ī composed a *rubā'ī* on the topic of separation from his beloved as follows:

Because of my distance from you, I had pain and affliction and sorrow [/]

I had a wounded heart and eyes full of tears [/]

Every night, I had a reed flute (*nay*) [of separation from you], and every sigh, I heaved a sigh [/]

Had it not been for the memory of you, in a word, I would have sighed less [/]

The third line, which contains the word “reed flute (*nay*)” may perhaps imply that Mullā Tābi'ī was familiar with the opening lines of the *masnavī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī (d. 1273), which compared the lament of humans about their separation from the One Absolute God with the sound of a reed flute that had been ripped from a reed-bed.

⁴⁸ The ninth chapter of *Laṭā'if-nāmah* records at least one craftsman-cum-poet who lived in another town, also in Khurasan. This craftsman-cum-poet was Mullā Ṣādiqī, a clay worker (*gil-kār*) who was active in Qā'in. For this entry, see Fakhri Harāṭī 1984, 151–52, no. 443.

⁴⁹ Fakhri Harāṭī 1984, 154, no. 453; Kubo 2001, 77.

⁵⁰ Fakhri Harāṭī 1984, 167, no. 538; Ivanov 1980, 65; Kubo 2001, 77.

Tabriz

Tuḥfah-’i Sāmī records the biography of Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīnī, who was among a group of goldsmiths in Tabriz (*az jamā’at-i zar-garān-i Tabrīz ast*) and was good at composing eulogies in which the hemistich ends with the word, sun (*āftāb*).⁵¹ In addition, *Tazkirah-’i laṭāyif al-khiyāl* introduces Ṣabūrī Tabrīzī, a goldsmith-cum-assayer who was active during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, and had a father named Qarā Bīg, who was a goldsmith of Tabriz.⁵² Moreover, *Tazkirah-’i Naṣr-ābādī* records several goldsmiths who had their roots in Tabriz but migrated to Isfahan (discussed below in this subsection). Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that Tabriz, the first capital of the Safavid dynasty (1501–1548), was one of the major cities in Iran where the metalwork industry flourished during the early Safavid period.

None of these entries, however, make explicit reference to the materials, shapes, and techniques applied to the metal objects produced by these *zar-gars*. Thus, while a literal translation for the word *zar-gar* (i.e., goldsmith) is adopted in this thesis, I do not believe that the type of metal this group of craftsmen worked on was limited to pure gold.⁵³ They could have worked in pure metals (e.g., gold, silver) or/and alloys (e.g., steel, brass). In other words, the definition of the word *zar* may have differed from one author of a *tazkirah* to another.

Furthermore, *Tuḥfah-’i Sāmī* provides evidence of a flourishing textile industry in Tabriz around the mid-sixteenth century. First, the sellers of raw materials, namely silk

⁵¹ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 238, no. 330. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 54.

⁵² Dārābī Iṣṭihbānāfi 2012, 54–55.

⁵³ For instance, Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī’s *shahr-āshūb* poem (discussed later in the main text) on the topic of *zar-gar*, makes reference to silver (*nuqrah*). For this, see Vaḥīd Qazvīnī 2000–1, 28–29. I would like to thank Professor Kondo for providing me with information regarding the works of *shahr-āshūb* by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī.

sellers (*abrīsham-furūshs*), associated with this town can be found among the poets recorded in *Tuḥfah-ʿi Sāmī*. For instance, it mentions a silk seller active in Tabriz (i.e., Mawlānā Vāṣilī Tabrīzī⁵⁴) and another silk seller whose nisba is given as *Tabrīzī* (i.e., Ḥāṣilī Tabrīzī⁵⁵). *Tuḥfah-ʿi Sāmī* also records a Mawlānā Shakībī who sometimes worked as a *zar-kash* and has a nisba *Tabrīzī*.⁵⁶

While Keyvani translates the word *zar-kash* straightforwardly as “a gold-wire drawer”⁵⁷ and Kubo renders it into “an embroiderer of gold thread (*kin-shishū-shi*),”⁵⁸ the late-seventeenth-century sources that mention this occupation reveal another possible interpretation of this term. One of the *shahr-āshūb* poems⁵⁹ composed by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vahīd Qazvīnī (d. 1708–9) describes the nature of the *zar-kash* as follows:

Zar-kash, [my] lover, becomes a blooming red rose,
when he draws gold from my yellow-color[ed face; i.e., pale face]
My sweetheart uses his artistic skill as if
he were able to weave a trap for a fairy with his hair⁶⁰

The second hemistich seems to involve the action of drawing something from a surface that already has the same color. Accordingly, this action could be the shaving off

⁵⁴ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 309, no. 558. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 390–1.

⁵⁵ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 259, no. 379.

⁵⁶ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 323, no. 605. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 200.

⁵⁷ Keyvani 1982, 281; See also, Floor 1999, 205.

⁵⁸ Kubo 2001, 79.

⁵⁹ *Shahr-āshūb*, or *shahr-angīz*, is “a genre of short love poems on young craftsmen, often related to the bazaars of specific towns.” See, J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, s.v. “*Shahrangīz*”: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1026 (accessed October 25, 2020).

⁶⁰ Keyvani 1982, 280. I translated this poem from Keyvani’s transcription of this work. For Keyvani’s translation, see Keyvani 1982, 281.

of gold flakes from a gold ingot. This hypothesis could be supported by accounts by European travelers to Iran during the same period. Raphaël Du Mans (d. 1696), a French Capuchin who resided in Isfahan from 1649 explains that “*Zerkech* are those who spin gold and silver into threads (*ceux qui tirent l’or et l’argent en filets*) which are so delicate that one can hardly see them, by [using] *filières* [i.e., dies for cutting metal into threads].”⁶¹ This description seems to correspond with that of Jean Chardin (d. 1713), a French jeweler-traveler who traveled in Iran twice (from 1665 to 1667 and again from 1671 to 1680), who describes “[l]es Tireurs & les Fileurs d’or” in his memoirs:

[They] work with great delicacy. They spin an ingot, which weighs one *mecal*, which is one *gros*, and scales nine hundred *gueses*, or *aunes* in their country [i.e., Persia], each of which is [equivalent to] 35 inches [on the scale of French] King. Their tools, having various degrees, are like our dies. [After] purchasing the thread (*le fil tiré*) of the thickness of a pin with cash (*à la monnoye*), they wind [it] on reels and drums. Their thread is the most beautiful and the smoothest that can be imagined. All the techniques they use give it [i.e., the purchased thread] a vivid color that never fades way. That is to say, [they employ a technique] to gild it very finely and durably (*c’est de le dorer très-fin & fort épais*).⁶²

Therefore, one of the possible translations for zar-kash is goldthread spinner [fig. 1-3].⁶³

⁶¹ Du Mans 1890, 195.

⁶² Chardin 1711, 4:245. Also cited in Bier 1987, 171.

⁶³ Silk threads wrapped with gold and silver are commonly used in Iran (Abe 2020, 543).

In addition, *Tuhfah- 'i Sāmī* records several other craftsmen who were involved in the textile industry in Tabriz, including Mawlānā Maḥmūd Tabrīzī who was born and lived in the town and was engaged in weaving gold-embroidered silk (*tikmah-bāfī*) and knitting lace (*ilāqa-bandī*).⁶⁴ Others who have nisbas *Tabrīzī* are Āgahī Tabrīzī, a needle worker (*sūzan-gar*)⁶⁵; Faṣīḥī Tabrīzī, described as one who applies buttons (*tukmah-bandī*)⁶⁶; and Milī Tabrīzī, a mastercraftsman of saddle-cloths (*ustād-i takaltū-dūzī*).⁶⁷ The rich variety of textile-related jobs found in *Tuhfah- 'i Sāmī* suggests that in the mid-sixteenth century, there existed a division of labor in this industry which was even perceivable to the author of this *tazkirah* who did not have an artisanal origin.

Tuhfah- 'i Sāmī also provides further information on the artistic milieu in Tabriz during the mid-sixteenth century. Among the craftsmen active in Tabriz mentioned in this *tazkirah* are Mawlānā Jānbī, a clay worker (*gilkār*)⁶⁸; 'Azīzī Qazvīnī, a leather tailor (*pūstīn-dūz*)⁶⁹; Mawlānā Zātī Lārī, a bookbinder (*ṣaḥḥāf*)⁷⁰; Mawlānā Maqṣūd Bannā'ī Tabrīzī, an architect (*mi 'mār*)⁷¹; and Rafīqī Tabrīzī, a painter and composer of music (*naqsh-hā va ṣūt-hā taṣnīf kardah...st*).⁷² There are also several craftsmen whose nisbas are *Tabrīzī* including Nāzikī Tabrīzī, a crown-maker (*tāj-dūzī*)⁷³ and Nabātī Tabrīzī, a illuminator (*naqqāsh*) and washer of lapis lazuli (*lāzhvard-shū 'ī*).⁷⁴ Not only makers, but

⁶⁴ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 305–6, no. 548.

⁶⁵ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 317, no. 584. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 13.

⁶⁶ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 260, no. 382. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 297–98.

⁶⁷ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 263, no. 393. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 367.

⁶⁸ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 253, no. 360.

⁶⁹ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 259, no. 380.

⁷⁰ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 315, no. 581.

⁷¹ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 384, no. 704. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 307.

⁷² Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 374, no. 704. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 357.

⁷³ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 262, no. 390. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 368.

⁷⁴ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 266, no. 406. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 370. Here I translate the word *naqqash* as an illuminator because lapis lazuli is known to have been used to illuminate manuscripts.

also sellers of art objects seem to have been active in Tabriz. Qardāsh Tabrīzī, for instance, worked as a *chīnī* seller (*chīnī-furūsh*) in Tabriz.⁷⁵

Isfahan

Late-seventeenth-century sources suggest that poets assembled together mainly at coffee houses located in Isfahan. Several local poets, who assembled at Takhtgāh coffee house located on the south side of the square of Hārūn-i Vilāyat, were seen by Malīḥā Samarqandī during his stay in Isfahan.⁷⁶ Among them was Mas‘ūd Şfahānī, who belonged to the privileged group of goldthread spinners and brocade weavers (*jamī‘-yi zar-kashān va zar-dūzān*).⁷⁷

As indicated previously, *Tazkirah-‘i Naşr-ābādī* records the biographies of four goldsmiths and one goldthread spinner who had their origins in Tabriz (*az Tabārizah*) but moved to the ‘Abbās-ābād quarter in Isfahan at some point during their lifetimes. This seems to suggest that there was a shift in the center of artistic patronage from Tabriz to Isfahan at some point between the mid-sixteenth century and the late seventeenth century.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Sām Mīrzā Şafavī 2005–6, 372, no. 699. See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 307. I intentionally avoided translating the word *chīnī* as Chinese porcelain because the biography of Qardāsh Tabrīzī does not contain any information regarding the features of his products. There remains the possibility that these were Persian ceramics modeled after Chinese porcelain. While Golombek et al. (2014) consulted *Tuḥfah-‘i Sāmī* for a study on Safavid ceramics, the authors do not make any comments on this entry. *Tuḥfah-‘i Sāmī* also refers to several other merchants whose nisba is ‘Tabrīzī’ and who deal with raw materials, such as a paper seller (*kāghaz-furūsh*). For this, see Sām Mīrzā Şafavī 2005–6, 317, no. 586.

⁷⁶ Emami 2016, 198–99.

⁷⁷ Malīḥā Samarqandī 2006, 444–49; Malīḥā Samarqandī 2011, 344–47 (no. 109). The latter edition adds “and silk-textile weavers (*va shi‘r-bāfān*)” after “goldthread spinners and brocade weavers.”

⁷⁸ For calligraphers see, Qurbān Nizhād and Ḥusayn Pūr 2012, 21–22. The authors also list Mullā ‘Aşrī Tabrīzī, Kalb ‘Alī, and Muḥammad Qulī Bīg (see later in the main text) as migrants from Tabriz to ‘Abbās-ābād quarter in Isfahan, but without giving citations.

A closer inspection of the biographies of the Isfahan-based Tabrizi goldsmiths recorded in *Tazkirah- 'i Naṣr-ābādī* reveals more about their lifestyles. Some had a talent for not only poetry-making and goldsmithing but other artistic activities. For instance, Rashīdā also worked in the art of enameling (*mīnā-kārī*),⁷⁹ while Muḥammad Qulī Bīg and Kalb 'Alī were also skilled in the art of design (*naqqāshī*).⁸⁰ Some of them moved itinerantly from one place to another, seeking better opportunities for patronage. Rashīdā, for example, is said to have moved to India from the 'Abbās-ābād quarter in Isfahan, but a little while later, returned to the service of Shāh Sulaymān in Isfahan.⁸¹ Meanwhile, Muḥammad Rizā, migrated from the 'Abbās-ābād quarter in Isfahan to India, and then returned to Isfahan, engaging in goldsmithing work for a while, but again emigrated to India.⁸²

Mullā 'Aṣrī Tabrīzī, a goldthread spinner, was also among the peripatetic craftsmen recorded in *Tazkirah- 'i Naṣr-ābādī*. As mentioned earlier (see subsection I-2. above), this author of a petition was born into a family from Tabriz and grew up in Yazd, then migrated to Isfahan and lived in the 'Abbās-ābād quarter.⁸³ Another goldthread spinner, Āqā Zamān, migrated from Isfahan to India.⁸⁴

Kirman

⁷⁹ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 388–89; See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 159.

⁸⁰ For Muḥammad Qulī Bīg, see Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 392–3. Here I translate the word *naqqashī* as the art of design because the material he worked in might have been metal. Regarding Kalb 'Alī, see Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 393; See also, Tarbiyat 1976, 368.

⁸¹ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 388.

⁸² Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 393.

⁸³ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 306.

⁸⁴ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 332–3.

Tazkirah-’i Naṣr-ābādī records the biographies of several potters (*kāsaḥ-gars*) who were active in Kirman. These include Sayyīd Aḥmadī,⁸⁵ ‘Arab Āqā,⁸⁶ and Amīnā-yi Kirmānī.⁸⁷ The same source also provides information about Ismā‘īl ‘Ārif Kirmānī, who engaged in bookbinding (*ṣaḥḥāfī*) but was also skilled in many different kinds of arts including painting/designing (*naqqāshī*), pottery-making (*kāsaḥ-garī*), as well as poetry-making.⁸⁸

Before concluding this section, it seems worthwhile to draw attention to two notable aspects in the biographical entry in *Tazkirah-’i Naṣr-ābādī* for Khvājah Giyās, a Yazd-based weaver-cum-poet.⁸⁹ First, Khvājah Giyās was recorded in the first section in the first chapter of *Tazkirah-’i Naṣr-ābādī*, entitled “Regarding the princes and lords in Iran and other courtiers (*dar zikr-i umarā’ va khavānīn-i Īrān va sā’ir-i mulāzimān*).”⁹⁰ Second, his biographical entry includes the following episode:

One day, he completed a tunic of gold brocade (*qabā’-i zar-baft*). Along its edge, he designed this *rubā’ī* which is of his own composition (*īn rubā’ī ki zādah-’i ṭab’-i ūst naqsh namūdah*).

Oh king, [who has] a face like a sun [that is] the fate of the sky [/]

I wish [this] tunic would last the [whole] length of your life [/]

[To bring] next to [the person] like you, this gift is my failings [/]

⁸⁵ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 148; Golombek et al. 2014, 23.

⁸⁶ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 148. Golombek et al. 2014, 23.

⁸⁷ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 382. Golombek et al. 2014, 24.

⁸⁸ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 382. Golombek et al. 2014, 23.

⁸⁹ As explained earlier, this entry was introduced as early as in the 1930s to link it with a group of Safavid textiles bearing the signature of “Giyās.”

⁹⁰ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 15, 49–50.

[But] I wish you would wear it in clemency for my failings [/]

The king replied, “Yes, I will wear it.”⁹¹

This episode, which was also recorded in the late-seventeenth-century local history of Yazd,⁹² may perhaps imply that some of the talented craftsmen-cum-poets were involved in the execution of Persian poetical inscriptions on craftworks and enjoyed courtly patronage.

In summary, this section showed that, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were various kinds of craftsman-cum-poets whose works and biographies were recorded in various Persian *tazkirah* that were composed in Iran. A review of these *tazkirah* indicated that Herat, Tabriz, Isfahan, and Kirman were cities where groups of craftsmen-cum-poets were active. Some of the biographical notes also reveal the migratory nature of craftsmen-cum-poets during the period in question. For instance, a number of craftsmen-cum-poets had migrated from Tabriz to Isfahan by the late seventeenth century. As for the type of verses composed by the craftsmen-cum-poets, the *rubāʿī* was one of the most frequently recorded in the Persian *tazkirah*, and the topics of these verses ranged from the agony of love to the praising of a patron. However, one should bear in mind that the cities mentioned above (Herat, Tabriz, Isfahan, and Kirman) are within the sphere of activity of the authors of the Persian *tazkirah* I consulted, and thus may not reflect the whole picture regarding the lives of craftsmen-cum-poets in Iran. In the following chapters, I shall examine ceramics, metalwork, and textiles that were

⁹¹ Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 49. For the translation by Skelton, see Skelton 2000, 257.

⁹² Bāfqī 2007, 3:427. See also, Skelton 2000, 258.

inscribed with Persian verses in order to investigate the links between crafts, poetry, craftsmen, and poets in Iran between the late fifteenth and the late seventeenth century.

Chapter Two: “Seek the Chronogram of ‘Mu‘arrif Who Has a Sweet Voice’”: Ceramics and Persian Verses from the Late Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century

II-1. Introduction

II-2. Underglaze-painted Ceramics and Persian Verses from the Late Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century

II-2-1. Epigraphic and textual evidence for the production of underglaze-painted ceramics

II-2-2. Underglaze-painted ceramic vessels and Persian poetry

II-2-3. Underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones and Persian poetry

II-3. Luster-painted Ceramics and Persian Verses from the Late Fifteenth to the Late Sixteenth Century

II-3-1. Epigraphic and textual evidence for the production of luster-painted ceramics

II-3-2. Luster-painted ceramic tombstones and Persian poetry

II-3-3. The Hamburg tombstone: New evidence for the production of luster-painted ceramics in Kashan during the early Safavid Period

II-1. Introduction

Persian poetical inscriptions have been used to decorate ceramics from Iran since the late twelfth century. During the post-Seljuq and Ilkhanid period, for instance, luster-painted tiles and vessels were adorned with Persian verses by more than fifty poets of many different backgrounds including one who was a potter himself.¹ In an attempt to substantiate the further growth of knowledge in Persian poetry among craftsmen in Iran after the late fifteenth century inferred from primary sources (See Chapter One), this chapter analyzes Persian verses inscribed on luster-painted and underglaze-painted ceramics produced between 1450 and 1700.

During the Timurid-Safavid period, the following four decorative techniques were widely applied to ceramics: underglaze painting, luster painting, monochrome glazing, and *cuerda seca* (lit. “dry cord,” i.e. polychrome glazing). Among these techniques, underglaze

¹ Qūchānī 1986b, Qūchānī 1987, Qūchānī 1991–92, Qūchānī 1992, Qūchānī 2019; Masuya 1997, 377–400; Yūsuf-zādah and Kulbadī-nizhād 2011–12, 60–83. See also, Chapter Five.

painting and luster painting are of particular interest as ceramics to which these techniques had been applied bore poetical inscriptions in Persian. Underglaze painting is a decorative technique that involves the application of pigments (e.g. cobalt compounds) to the surface of ceramics before they are glazed and fired. Luster painting, on the other hand, is an overglaze painting technique that requires a complicated double firing process. It involves the application of pigments (e.g. silver and/or copper compounds) to the surface of ceramics after glazed and fired for the first time; subsequently, they are fired again in a special kiln, and are cooled and rubbed to acquire the luster finish.

In this chapter, a detailed and comprehensive analysis of Persian poetry inscribed upon ceramic vessels and tombstones produced between 1450 and 1700 will be conducted in order to contribute to the study of the reception, circulation, and social function of Persian poetry during this period of time. It will also shed new light on the role of craftsmen and poets in making poetically inscribed objects during the late Timurid and Safavid periods.

In some cases, reading Persian verse inscriptions may even help in identifying the production site of specific types of ceramics. This approach is particularly important partly because post-1400 Iran suffers from a dearth of archaeological, petrographical, epigraphic, and textual evidence regarding the production sites of ceramics. Having been acquired through illicit digs in Iran from the 1870s onwards, no Timurid-Safavid ceramic material

except for those from Nishapur² and Kirman³ arrived in museums with evidence of kiln or/and secure provenances within Iran. As for the inscriptions on the objects themselves, only four examples are known to have inscriptions that explicitly indicate production sites in this period: Mashhad, Nishapur, and Qumishah (see subsection II-2-1. below). These inevitably mean that any result of petrographical analysis carried out to reveal the mineralogy of paste material of such ceramics cannot be associated with a specific place of manufacture, with the exception of Mashhad, Nishapur, Qumishah, and Kirman.

To overcome the lack of information, scholars have attempted to consult descriptions of pots and potters in contemporaneous European and Persian sources. In 1957, Arthur Lane provided a list of firsthand accounts by European travelers such as Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (d. 1689), Raphael du Mans (d. 1696), and Jean Chardin (d. 1713), who traveled in Iran

² Lisa Golombek reports the existence of the unpublished Timurid kiln at Nishapur which is said to have been uncovered by Charles K. Wilkinson during a series of joint American-Iranian excavations at this location in the late 1930s; unfortunately, she does not specify the exact location of the kiln nor does she include a photograph. In addition, Robert B. Mason claimed that he had carried out petrographic examination of “[t]wo wasters and other pottery from the kiln site at Nishapur, presently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,” so that he could establish the type definition for products of Nishapur; the inventory numbers of these two wasters are given as inv. no. 40.170.633 (cat. no. NI.6) and inv. no. 40.170.631 (cat. no. NI.7). For their claims, see Golombek et al. 1996, 4, 17, 38, 40–41, 133–134, 153, figs. 3.8. and 3.9. While the photographs of “[t]wo wasters” were not included in their publication, they are now available online. For inv. no. 40.170.633, see <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/450294> (accessed July 22, 2020); for inv. no. 40.170.631, see, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/450292> (accessed July 22, 2020). The materials attributable to the Timurid period are not reported from most recent archaeological survey in Nishapur (Rante and Collinet 2013).

³ For the surface collections of Safavid underglaze-painted wares assembled in Kirman through the joint survey conducted by the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO), the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), and the University of Michigan in 2001, see Golombek 2003, 253–49. Golombek reports that the pieces assembled during this 2001 expedition to Kirman included no waster but a tripod stilt, a small clay device used to separate glazed ceramics in the kiln to prevent their fusing together; she cites it as evidence for the local manufacture of ceramics at this city. More recently, Golombek claimed “field trip[s] to Kirman in 2001 and 2003” revealed “[s]everal wasters and pieces of kiln furniture,” suggesting those wasters had been uncovered during their second expedition. Golombek published what she assumed to be wasters from Kirman in her latest jointly edited volume on this topic and further implied the existence of unpublished wasters that had been discovered at this city by Fariba Kermani of the ICHO. See Golombek et al. 2014, 6; 194, fig. 5.14 (KIR.500, “waster found in Kirman, Kirman petrofabric”); 195, fig. 5.16 (KIR.509, “possibly a waster, Kirman petrofabric, from Kirman”), fig. 5.18 (KIR.18, “a waster from Kirman, Kirman petrofabric”); 248.

during the seventeenth century.⁴ Through Lane's investigation, Kirman, Mashhad, Shiraz, Yazd, Isfahan, and Zarand have come to light as production centers during the late Safavid period. Decades later, Anatoli Ivanov and Lisa Golombek introduced a new approach to the question by making use of Persian sources. Their most important contribution to the field of post-1400 Persian ceramics has been their reference to Persian *tazkirahs*. As discussed earlier in Chapter One, the fifteenth century was in fact the period when Iran saw an increasing interest in the art of versification among the population beyond the royal court; Persian-speaking artisans had not merely been the readers and spectators of the poems but also their authors. The biographical information recorded in Persian *tazkirahs* from this period onwards often concerns where the poets lived and how they earned their living, and thus it is reasonable to consult this genre of literature as well as dynastic chronicles comprising the chapters on biographies of craftsmen for the purpose of investigating the production site of ceramics.

While their investigations on early modern Persian *tazkirahs* were by no means comprehensive, Ivanov and Golombek's attention to a variety of relevant Persian sources has enabled the study of the post-1400 Persian ceramics to take a significant step forward. For instance, Golombek cites a biographical entry from *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (Friend of the Biographies; comp. 1523–24) by Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Khvāndamīr, introducing Mawlānā Ḥājī Muḥammad Naqqāsh, a figure who was active in Herat during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 1469–1506) and “attempted to make porcelain and after many attempts and much endeavor the vessels he made came extremely close to china” but “the color and translucence were not as they should have been.”⁵ Ivanov makes reference to Sām Mīrzā's *Tuḥfah-i Sāmī* (comp. 1550–51) and two different sixteenth-century Persian translations of ‘Alī-Shīr Navā’ī

⁴ Lane 1957, 119–23.

⁵ Golombek et al. 1996, 133, citing Thackston 1989, 224.

(d. 1501)'s *Majālis al-naḡā'is*, and uncovered the biographies of four poets-cum-potters who had been active in Mashhad: Mawlānā Mānī, Mawlānā Hamdāmī, Mawlānā Sa'dī and Mawlānā Mashriqī.⁶ In this line of inquiry, by consulting Mīrzā Muḡammad Ṭāhir Naṣr-ābādī's *Taḡkirah-i Naṣr-ābādī* (comp. 1680), Golombek identifies four poets-cum-potters who were active in Kirman during the late seventeenth century.⁷ In addition, she quotes Sloane 4094, a scroll in the British Library that records a list of caravanserais that were built in Isfahan during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1666–94); among them is the caravanserai of Abarquh, a town located between Shiraz and Yazd, where wholesalers of pottery made in Abarquh were active.⁸ The approaches of Lane, Ivanov, and Golombek eventually resulted in a stalemate because the above-mentioned sources contained very scant information on specific techniques, surface decoration or shapes of ceramics produced.

Nevertheless, given that some craftsmen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not only appreciated but also composed poetry (See Chapter One), there remains the potential of obtaining new, additional information on the cultural backgrounds of the objects they produced if one reads the Persian verses inscribed on the ceramics themselves. The potential of such an approach for the study of Timurid-Safavid ceramics was mentioned first in 1998 by Sheila Blair, who believed that a comprehensive study of the verses inscribed on the ceramics “would be useful in recording popular taste...[and] might also help [in] assigning workshops, dates, and provenance.”⁹ Yet none of the recent monographs on the topic of post-1400 Iranian ceramics pay attention to the context and content of these Persian

⁶ Ivanov 1980. Among these four potters, Golombek also referred to Mānī Mashhadī, though without mentioning Ivanov's earlier study. See Golombek et al. 2014, 23, citing Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 1936, 201. See also, Golombek et al. 1996, 135, 139n78, quoting Maria Subtelny's translation of Chagatai Turkish version of 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī's *Majālis al-naḡā'is* (comp. 1498–99).

⁷ Golombek et al. 2014, 23–24, citing Naṣr-ābādī 1936, 148, 382.

⁸ Golombek et al. 2014, 19, citing Gaube and Wirth 1978, 284.

⁹ Blair 1998, 99.

verses.¹⁰ This is perhaps due to the underlying assumption among art historians that the Persian verses inscribed on ceramics reveal less interesting information than “historical” inscriptions, which supply explicit details concerning the date, production site, or the name of the craftsman or patron.¹¹

II-2. Underglaze-painted Ceramics and Persian Verses from the Late Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century

II-2-1. Epigraphic and textual evidence for the production of underglaze-painted ceramics

The technique covered in this section is underglaze painting, which became widespread in Iran from circa 1200, a few decades after the introduction of frit body—an artificial body prepared from ground quartz mixed with a small amount of glass frit and white clay—to this region. Chinese blue-and-white porcelain reached the Middle East by the late fourteenth century, as testified not only by a local copy of Yuan blue-and-white dish excavated from Hama, the Syrian city sacked by Timur in 1402 [fig. 2-1],¹² but also by an illustration from the manuscript of Khvājū Kirmānī (d. 1352)’s *Kullīyāt* transcribed in Baghdad in 1396 that depicts an outdoor feast of the Persian prince Humāy and the Chinese princess Humāyūn [figs. 2-2-a, b].¹³ In Iran, this type of ware immediately became a source of inspiration for the

¹⁰ See, for example, Crowe 2002; Golombek et al. 2014. The only exception might be a recent article published in Iran that sought post-1400 underglaze-painted ceramics in this direction of inquiry: Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016. In this article, the authors deciphered nineteen pieces of poetically inscribed ceramic vessels that they believed to have been produced in Iran during the Timurid and Safavid periods. One of the principal methodological problems of this study is the lack of critical evaluation in the attributions of the objects provided in the museum websites and publications.

¹¹ By contrast, art historians who conduct research on metalwork from the same period are aware of the importance of Persian verses inscribed on metal objects. See, for instance, Ivanov 2014, Komaroff 1992, and Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 231–355.

¹² Riis and Poulsen 1957, fig. 777. In addition, Chinese blue-and-white porcelain datable to the late Yuan period (c. 1350–1368) is found among the porcelain collections in the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul and the Mausoleum of Shaykh Ṣafī in Ardabil. For such examples, see, Pope 1952; Pope 1956, 59–81, pls. 7–28.

¹³ British Library, Add. MS. 18113, fol. 40b.

local potters who were practiced in underglaze painting; not only its motifs but also its color scheme were adopted to the underglaze-painted wares in these areas during the Timurid-Safavid period. Among their products were those inscribed with poetical inscriptions in Persian.

Before examining and comparing the content and context of Persian verses inscribed on the underglaze-painted ceramic vessels, the section below draws together the epigraphic evidence that confirms the production of underglaze-painted ceramics in Iran from the mid-fifteenth to the late seventeenth centuries, and the corroborative textual evidence that supports what was written on the surface of ceramics. As mentioned earlier, only four examples are known to have inscriptions that explicitly indicate production sites in this period—Mashhad, Nishapur, and Qumishah—and these are all inscribed under glaze. While Kirman has often been referred to as the production site of underglaze-painted ceramics during the late Safavid period, there is no epigraphic evidence to support this view.

Nishapur and Qumishah are verified as production sites of underglaze-painted ceramics during the early Safavid period on the basis of inscriptions on two different objects. One is a vessel in the Middle Eastern Culture Centre in Japan (inv. no. 11820-75), inscribed with the words “completed in the town of Nishapur” on the day of [one of] the months in the year 929[h/1522–23] (*tamām shud dar baldat-i Naysābūr ba-tārīkh-i shuhūr-i sanah-`i 929[h]*)” [Appendix 1, CVU-5]. The other is a tile “made at the site of Qumishah” (*sākht dar mawḍi`-i Qumishah*) and dated 5 Rabi‘ II 939h/November 4, 1532 [fig. 2-3].¹⁴

Mashhad, on the other hand, is confirmed as a production site of underglaze-painted ceramics during the late Timurid period based on inscriptions on two vessels. One is a pot with a bulbous body, owned by the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh (inv. no. 1888.570),

¹⁴ Christie’s London 1994, 107, lot no. 314. It was sold to a private collection in London. See also, Fraser 2008, 392, cat. no. 375.

and inscribed with the words “for Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn Shīrāzī, completed in the Shrine of [Imām] Rizā 848[h/1444–45] (*jihat-i Mawlānā Ḥussām al-Dīn Shīrāzī tamām dar Mashhad-i Razavī sanah-`i 848[h]*)”[fig. 2-4].¹⁵ Another is a bowl at the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (inv. no. VG. 2650) and inscribed with the words “this dish was completed in Mashhad in the year 878[h/1473–74] (*in ṭabaq da[r] Mashhad ba-ittimām rasīd ba-tārīkh-i sanah-`i 878[h]*)” [Appendix 1, CVU-3].

These two pieces of epigraphic evidence for the production of underglaze-painted ceramics in Mashhad during the mid to late fifteenth century are buttressed by descriptions of potters-cum-poets who resided at Mashhad, recorded in a contemporaneous Chagatai biography of poets and its Persian translations. As pointed out by Ivanov, ‘Alī-Shīr Navā’ī (d. 1501) recorded four poets-cum-potters who were active in Mashhad in his Chagatai *tazkirah*, *Majālis al-naḥā’is*: Mawlānā Hamdāmī, Mawlānā Sa’dī, Mawlānā Mashriqī and Mawlānā Mānī. Descriptions of these figures are found in two different Persian translations of Navā’ī’s work: Fakhrī Harātī’s *Laṭā’if-nāmah*, completed in Herat circa 1520–21, and Ḥakīm Shāh Muḥammad Qazvīnī’s translation, completed in Istanbul circa 1522–23. The descriptions found in these sources by no means refer directly to a specific technique. Yet, it is clear that the technique involved painting (*naqqāshī*) on the surface of ceramics; meanwhile, a potter-poet’s skill in making ceramics is compared with that of a Chinese master. Thus, it is possible that the technique mentioned was actually underglaze painting. The sources provide very limited information on potters-cum-poets named Mawlānā Hamdāmī,¹⁶ Mawlānā Sa’dī,¹⁷ and Mawlānā Mashriqī¹⁸: they were engaged in pottery-making (*kāsaḥ-garī*), lived in Mashhad,

¹⁵ Golombek et al. 1996, 131–32, 214, pl. 55.

¹⁶ Navā’ī 1961, 120 (no. 106 of the third *majlis*); Fakhrī Harātī 1984, 79 (no. 218); Qazvīnī 1984, 254 (no. 200).

¹⁷ Navā’ī 1961, 61 (no. 51 of the second *majlis*); Fakhrī Harātī 1984, 43–44 (no. 93); Qazvīnī 1984, 216–17 (no. 91).

¹⁸ Navā’ī 1961, 59 (no. 47 of the second *majlis*); Fakhrī Harātī 1984, 42 (no. 89); Qazvīnī 1984, 215 (no. 87).

and died in Herat. In contrast, much more detailed information regarding the potter-cum-poet named Mawlānā Mānī can be obtained from these sources.¹⁹ The fact that all four of these potters held the honorary title of “*Mawlānā* (i.e. Our Lord)” may perhaps indicate that they were leading cultural or artistic figures, if not religious ones.

In his Persian translation of ‘Alī-Shīr Navā’ī’s *Majālis al-naḡā’is*, Fakhrī Harāṭī describes Mawlānā Mānī as follows:

He is from Mashhad. This young man is beautiful and witty. Although his father and his mother excelled at pottery-making (*kāsaḡ-garī*) and painting (*naqqāshī*), they do not recognize themselves to be disciples of the masters of empire of China (*ustādān-i qalam-rav-i Khaṭā’ī*). And as for them [i.e. the father and mother of Mawlānā Mānī], they were [also] not considered eligible nor accepted to be a slave or a child slave [of the masters of the empire of China].²⁰ [On the other hand,] since he [Mawlānā Mānī Mashhadī] was perfectly elegant in his beauty, calligraphy, and speech, everything he does looks good.²¹

Ḥakīm Shāh Muḡammad Qazvīnī, the author of the other version of Persian translation of *Majālis al-naḡā’is*, on the other hand, reports the potter-cum-poet in question to be:

a man from Mashhad. He was exceedingly perfect and beautiful, and at the summit of beauty and grace. In painting (*naqqāshī*), he was a Mānī of his period, and in elegance and beauty, he was a second Yūsuf. Because his father was good at pottery-making

¹⁹ For the Chagatai version of the description of Mawlānā Mānī, see, Navā’ī 1961, 100 (no. 29 of the third *majlis*). For Maria Subtelny’s translation of this version, see, Golombek et al. 1996, 135, 139n78.

²⁰ The meaning of this sentence is not clear. Ivanov interprets the subject of this sentence to be Mawlānā Mānī himself, rather than his parents. For this, see Ivanov 1980, 64.

²¹ Fakhrī Harāṭī 1984, 67 (no. 159).

(*kāṣah-garī*) and he [i.e. Mawlānā Mānī Mashhadī] did beautifully well in painting and drawing on the ceramic vessels (*naqsh va taṣvīr-i kāṣah'hā*), consequently, he adopted Mānī as his penname. In fact, it is said that the people of China and Northern China (*ahl-i Chīn va Khaṭā*) become astonished with his painting on ceramic vessels (*naqqāshī-yi kāṣah-'i ū*) and he was considered to be infallible in this work.²²

Furthermore, Sām Mīrzā, the author of *Tuḥfah-'i Sāmī*, introduces Mawlānā Mānī from a different perspective, adding more detailed information on his later years:

His father had been a pottery-maker (*kāṣah-gar*) and in the beginning, he also engaged in that job. Later on, due to his talent and excellence in poetry, he fell into the service of Muḥammad Muḥsin Mīrzā as known as Kapak Mīrzā, the son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn [Bāyqarā] Mīrzā [i.e. the Timurid ruler of Herat, r. 1469–1506], and became one of [his] close servants... Later in his life, he fell into the hands of the Uzbek with the aforementioned prince (i.e. Muḥammad Muḥsin Mīrzā) at the Holy Shrine of [Imām] Rīzā [in Mashhad] and was killed and it was in the year 923h/1517–18.²³

These biographical entries on Mawlānā Mānī seem to indicate something beyond the fact that Mashhad had been the production site of ceramics during the late fifteenth century. Concerning the life of a potter who not only worked in underglaze-painting techniques but also composed Persian poetry, three things become evident. First, Mawlānā Mānī of

²² Qazvīnī 1984, 240–41 (no. 159). For Ivanov's translation, see Ivanov 1980, 64.

²³ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 201, no. 289. For Ivanov's translation, see Ivanov 1980, 64. See also, Golombek et al. 2014, 23, for a partial summary of this account. She does not refer to the patron of Mawlānā Mānī and the year and place of his death. The tomb of Mawlānā Mānī is still *in situ* in the Holy Shrine of Imām Rīzā in Mashhad. For this, see, Jalālī 2007–10, 2:173–74.

Mashhad, a physically attractive man who drew comparisons with the prophet Yūsuf,²⁴ pursued a career in pottery-making as a young man, following in his parents' footsteps, and was in charge of decorating ceramics. Second, Mawlānā Mānī's skill in painting ceramics is compared to that of "the masters of the empire of China" or "the people of China and Northern China," as well as Mānī (d. c. 277), the founder of the Manichean religion whose fame as a distinctive painter continued to survive in Persian-speaking areas for centuries.²⁵ Finally, and most importantly, Mawlānā Mānī abandoned his career as a potter in the early stage of his life but later on, enjoyed the patronage of one of the Timurid princes by exercising his skill in poetry.

II-2-2. Underglaze-painted ceramic vessels and Persian poetry

Appendix 1 is the catalogue raisonné of Iranian underglaze-painted ceramic vessels inscribed with Persian verses, dated and datable between 1450 and 1700. The dated vessels of such type are catalogued as the "Group CVU" [Appendix 1, CVU-1–15], whereas the undated examples are catalogued as the "Group CVUnd" and arranged in reasonable chronological order [Appendix 1, CVUnd-1–19]. While some of the verses inscribed on these objects have been partially deciphered and/or identified in previous studies, most of them remain understudied.²⁶ Thus, a key strength of the present study is that it represents a comprehensive examination of the published and unpublished Iranian underglaze-painted vessels inscribed with the Persian verses, dated and datable between 1450 and 1700.

²⁴ Yūsuf is one of the Prophets mentioned in Qur'ān and equivalent to Joseph, a son of Jacob, in Genesis 37–50. Both in Qur'ān and Genesis, he is described as a figure who has a beautiful appearance.

²⁵ In these areas, a figure talented in painting has often been compared with Mānī, as exemplified by the case of Kamāl al-Dīn Bihzād (d. 1535–36) who worked at as a head of the royal workshops in Herat and Tabriz (Bahari 1996, 181–87).

²⁶ For detailed bibliographic references on each piece, see Appendix 1.

What is most important for us to recognize here is a strong connection between the contents of the poetical inscriptions and materiality of the vessels during the period in question. Such connection was pointed out recently by Sayyid Rasūl Mūsavī Ḥājī and his colleagues,²⁷ but their study relied upon a small sample size. As Appendix 1 shows, of the thirty-four pieces examined in this present study, twenty-eight bear verses including at least one word that alludes either to the shape, material, or function of the vessels themselves. The current author identified a wide variety of words used to describe the shapes of underglaze-painted ceramics:

- *murgh* (i.e. bird) [Appendix 1, CVU-1]
- *ṣaḥn* (i.e. dish) [Appendix 1, CVU-2, CVU-3, CVU-4, CVU-9, CVU-14, CVUnd-8, CVUnd-9, CVUnd-10, CVUnd-11]
- *saḥn* (a misspelling of *ṣaḥn* [i.e. dish]; discussed below) [CVUnd-12]
- *surāḥī* (i.e. flask) [Appendix 1, CVU-6]
- *kūzah* (i.e. pottery) [Appendix 1, CVU-7]
- *namakdān* (salt container) [Appendix 1, CVU-8]
- *ṭabaq* (i.e. tray) [Appendix 1, CVU-5, CVU-10, CVUnd-11]
- *sāghar* (i.e. bowl) [Appendix 1, CVU-10]
- *qāb* (i.e. vessel) [Appendix 1, CVU-11, CVU-12, CVU-13, CVU-15, CVUnd-17, CVUnd-18]
- *kāsaḥ* (i.e. plate) [Appendix 1, CVUnd-13]
- *jām* (i.e. cup) [Appendix 1, CVU-11, CVUnd-3, CVUnd-15]
- *qadaḥ* (i.e. goblet) [Appendix 1, CVUnd-14]
- *qurṣ* (i.e. disc) [Appendix 1, CVUnd-16]

²⁷ Mūsavī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 30–31. For the earlier mention to this point in catalog entries of the relevant pieces, see, Watson 2004, 460 (the entry regarding Appendix 1, CVUnd-9).

- *qalyān* (i.e. water pipe) [Appendix 1, CVUnd-19]

Some words are used for specific types of shapes: the word *murgh* is inscribed on a bird-shaped ewer [Appendix 1, CVU-1]; the word *surāḥī* is inscribed on a flask with flat circular body [Appendix 1, CVU-6]; the word *namakdān* is inscribed on a waisted container [Appendix 1, CVU-8]; and the word *qalyān* is inscribed on a tray carrying a quadruped placed above an octagonal-shaped body [Appendix 1, CVUnd-19]. On the other hand, different words are applied on the surfaces of low serving bowls: *ṣaḥn* (*saḥn*), *ṭabaq*, *sāghar*, *qāb*, *kāsah*, *jām*, *qadaḥ*, and *qurṣ*. It is conceivable that at the time of production, these words had not been perceived as being different shapes and were interchangeable.²⁸ In other words, it testifies to a wide range of vocabulary used by potters to designate one type of vessel.

When it comes to the relationship between the surface decoration (e.g. colors, motifs, design) and poetical inscriptions of each object, however, evidence for connections between the two elements are not as clear;²⁹ the decoration of underglaze-painted ceramic vessels from the period in question was more or less inspired by Chinese blue-and-white porcelains, and it rarely accorded with the contents of the poetical inscriptions. The only two exceptions for this case may be a dish underglaze-painted in blue and dated 929h/1522–23 [Appendix 1, CVU-5] and a dish underglaze-painted in blue and black dated [10]65h/1654–55 [Appendix 1, CVU-9]. CVU-5 is decorated with two birds perched on a flower spray, accompanied by verses referring to the word *gul* (i.e. rose/flower); CVU-9, on the other hand, is inscribed with

²⁸ The evidence that may support this hypothesis is a replacement of word *qāb* with the word *ṣaḥn* (*saḥn*), which occurs in a frequently cited blessing to the owners in the form of a poem. As for the pieces inscribed with the word *qāb*, see, Appendix 1, CVU-12, CVU-13, and CVU-15. Regarding the pieces inscribed with the word *ṣaḥn* (*saḥn*), see, Appendix 1, CVUnd-8, CVUnd-9, CVUnd-10, and CVUnd-12.

²⁹ Such incongruity between image and text was also one of the prominent features of the underglaze-painted and luster-painted ceramic vessels produced during the post-Seljuq period. See, for instance, Guest and Ettinghausen 1961.

the phrase *ṣaḥn-i lājvardī* (i.e. the blue-colored dish), thereby making an allusion to the color of the object itself.³⁰

As for the poetical inscriptions on a group of underglaze-painted ceramic vessels belonging to the Group CVU and the Group CVUnd, some of them could be linked to the works of poets such as ‘Umar Khayyām (d. 1131), Nizāmī Ganjavī (d. 1209), Humām al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 1314–15), Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 1390), Shāh Ni‘matullāh Valī (d. 1431), ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Nūr al-Dīn Jāmī (d. 1492), Khvājah Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh Bayānī (d. 1516–17), and Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 1535–36). Among them, *ghazals* composed by Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī were inscribed most frequently (six out of thirty-four pieces).³¹ The following *ghazal* by Ḥāfiẓ (the second distich of *ghazal* no. 474), for instance, was inscribed on three underglaze-painted ceramic vessels, dated between 873h/1468–69 and 885h/1480–81, with minor alterations [Appendix 1, CVU-2, CVU-3, CVU-4]. In the published edition of his collection of poems, the verse in question is recorded as follows:

صحن سراي دیده بشستم ولی چه سود

کین گوشه نیست در خور خیل خیال تو³²

I have washed [i.e. I have shed tears from] the courtyard/dish (*ṣaḥn*) of the mansion of my eyes, but for what kind of benefits?

For, this corner does not deserve to imagine your vision

³⁰ CVU-9 does not seem to be in the form of verse. I owe this opinion to Prof. Morimoto.

³¹ See Appendix 1, CVU-1, CVU-2, CVU-3, CVU-4, CVUnd-3, and CVUnd-14. These examples are inscribed with *ghazal* no. 4 (CVU-1, CVUnd-3), no. 211 (CVUnd-14), and no. 474 (CVU-2, CVU-3, CVU-4). The number of *ghazal* presented here corresponds to Bakhtiyārī’s edition of Ḥāfiẓ’s collection of poems.

³² Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī 1939–40, 261–62, no. 474.

It should be noted that the word *ṣaḥn* has a double meaning: courtyard and dish. In the original context, this word means no more than courtyard; however, when this distich appears on surface of the ceramic dish, it functions as wordplay and serves to amuse and surprise the audience. In other words, this distich might have been deliberately chosen to serve as an inscription on the dish.

It is possible that a repertoire of poems appropriate for the inscriptions of underglaze-painted ceramic vessels might have been shared among the potters through oral communication. Some orthographic errors that occurred in poetical inscriptions indicate that such errors in spelling are the result of inscribing words heard from someone reciting the relevant poems. For instance, the word *ṣaḥn* is spelled as *saḥn* in the inscriptions of CVUnd-12; the word *muza far* (saffron rice pilaf) is spelled as *muza far* in the inscriptions of CVUnd-9. It is also possible that these potters had memorized the verses by heart but without knowing the correct spelling of the aforementioned words.

In short, a strong connection between the contents of the poetical inscriptions and materiality of the vessels, as well as misspellings occurring in the inscriptions, provide further evidence for the growth of appreciation of Persian poetry among craftsmen in Iran after the late fifteenth century, not only in the form of written but also quite possibly in the form of oral transmissions.

II-2-3. Underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones and Persian poetry³³

Having examined the poems inscribed on underglaze-painted ceramics in the form of vessels, this sub-section focuses on those in the form of tombstones. In so doing, it will investigate the reception of Persian verses during the late Timurid to the early Safavid period,

³³ This section is an extensively revised and updated version of my unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, submitted to the University of Oxford in June 2015.

notably within the funeral context. Muslims marked their graves with tombstones since the first century of Islam,³⁴ notwithstanding the orthodox prohibition against commemorating the deceased. Made of marble, stucco, or simply of stone, many of them have survived for centuries.³⁵ Tombstones made of these materials are not unknown in Iran either, but there, tombstones made of faience tiles appear to have been much favored, relatively speaking; by the mid-thirteenth century, potters in Iran started applying techniques to ceramic tombstones, often in the form of an upright rectangle which echoes a *mihrāb*. One of the earliest published records of Iranian ceramic tombstones shows the date of 655h/1257–58. It was produced using a molding technique and decorated with turquoise-blue glazing. It bears a Qur’ānic verse (97:1–3) as well as an epitaph that opens with *hādhā marqad* (this is a tomb of...), followed by the name of the deceased (Hājj Qahhār) and the year of his death, all in Arabic.³⁶ With regards to epitaphs inscribed on ceramic tombstones, the use of Persian verses became popular by the beginning of the seventeenth century, replacing Qur’ānic verses, *Ḥadīth* quotations, and the prayer for the Fourteen Infallibles (i.e. the Prophet Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭimah, and the Twelve Imāms) in Arabic that we usually see in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples.³⁷

Appendix 2 is the catalogue raisonné of the Iranian underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones inscribed with Persian verses, dated between 1609 and 1677–78. As it shows,

³⁴ Tombstones that bear distinctively “Islamic” inscriptions such as prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad and quotations from the Qur’ān emerged from the period between 690 and 720; yet it was not until the 790s that a formulaic pattern became established, including a standardized confession of faith (Halevi 2004, 122).

³⁵ In Egypt, for instance, see, Rached et al. 1932.

³⁶ Afshār 1970–75, 1:52, 472, pl. 18/5.

³⁷ This almost coincides with the period in which Persian verses were adopted for use on Safavid coins. While royal protocols were inscribed in Arabic during the reign of Ismā‘īl I (r. 1501–24) and Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524–76), the next fifty years saw a gradual shift from mixed Arabic and Persian protocols to exclusively Persian ones; whereas Shāh ‘Abbās I (r. 1587–1629) adopted a Persian protocol “‘*Abbās bandah-i shāh-i vilāyat*” (‘Abbās, servant of the king of the *vilāyat*)” yet retained an Arabic blessing to the ruler. Protocols became purely Persian, often in the form of a poetic couplet, from the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (r. 1629–42) onwards. For this gradual change in the inscriptions on coins, see, Album 2001, xvii–xviii.

these objects could be divided into two categories according to their designs and types of Persian verses.

The underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones belonging to the first category are catalogued as the “Group CTUa” [Appendix 2, CTUa-1–11]. They all belong to museum collections and are dated between Jumada I 1018h/August–September 1609 and Ramadan 1083h/December 1672–January 1673. They are characterized by the following two features: visual representations of the personal belongings of the deceased and/or animals and plants,³⁸ and traditional Persian verses, chosen with the utmost deliberation for the funeral context. In terms of shape, they are either an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section, or that with the sides curving in very gradually towards its rounded top. As for the layouts of inscriptions, each of the examples belonging to this group is composed of four to six rows, and sometimes divided into two columns down the middle.

Images painted on the surfaces of underglaze-painted tombstones in this group include items such as a turban, a stool, a pen case, an inkwell, a set of weapons (a sword, a shield and arrows in a quiver), a coffin, a book (the Qur’ān), a horse, a deer, a bird, a flower, plants (ferns and foxtails), trees (willows and pines), rocks, a bottle, rings, bracelets, a pair of chains, an incense burner, a mirror, scissors, a knife, hair pins, and one-sided/two-sided combs. Some motifs are gender-specific, while others are not. A turban and a set of weapons, for instance, seem to have been illustrated exclusively on tombstones for men [Appendix 2, CTUa-1, CTUa-5, CTUa-6, and CTUa-7].

³⁸ These representations often accompany the motifs inspired by Chinese “Kraak” porcelain, a type of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain that was imported to Iran from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Such motifs include a Y-shaped motif (CTUa-5, CTUa-8, CTUa-10), a circled lozenge motif (CTUa-5), a square cell motif (CTUa-6, CTUa-8), a pseudo-swastika motif (CTUa-5, CTUa-7, CTUa-11), and a peony scroll reserved in white (CTUa-10, CTUa-11). While the personal belongings usually appear within a pointed/round arch at the top, the Kraak motif appears within a series of bands that surrounds the arch and in horizontal inscriptional bands below.

One may point out that this motif of a turban and a set of weapons in the absence of their owner was occasionally depicted as a symbol of death in post-Ilkhanid Persian paintings. One such example comes from an illustration from the manuscript of *Shāhnāmah*, commissioned by Shāh Ṭahmāsp in the early sixteenth century. It illustrates the scene of mourning of King Farīdūn over the head of his beloved son, Īraj [fig. 2-5].³⁹ Here, the crown of his murdered son lies on the stool, alongside his sword, arrows and quiver. In other words, it was because of its strong implication of commemorating the dead within the Persian-speaking milieu, that this motif might have been regarded as appropriate iconography for seventeenth-century tombstones belonging to the Group CTUa.⁴⁰

With respect to verses inscribed on the underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones from the Group CTUa, their themes range from a humble entreaty cited as if it were being spoken by the deceased, a plea to the Prophet Muḥammad and his descendants (sometimes with a Shīʿite implication), to a comment on the transience of human life, which is compared to the fleeting nature of flowers. Among such verses are those by Abū Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khayr (d. 1049), ʿAṭṭār Nīshāpūrī (d. 1230), Saʿdī Shīrāzī (d. 1291–92), Salmān Sāvajī (d. 1376), and ʿUrfi Shīrāzī (d. 1591).

The following poem from the Prologue of Saʿdī Shīrāzī’s *Būstān* (Orchard), for instance, was quoted on three underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones that commemorate women who died between Rabiʿ I 1045h/August–September 1635 and Shaʿban

³⁹ Canby 2014, 98 (“FOLIO 49V The Lamentation of Faridun”), 336. For other Safavid examples that allude to the link between this motif and the deceased, see, for instance, Bloom 2003, 238–40.

⁴⁰ One may suggest that the motif of sun, depicted in the form of a face with radiating rays on the tombstone dated Safar 1037h/October–November 1627 (Appendix 2, CUTa-3) may also have a connotation of death. For, this motif is depicted on the scene of mourning of King Faridūn over the coffin of murdered Īraj in the so-called Great Mongol *Shāhnāmah*, datable to the 1330s. As pointed out by Masuya, this motif of sun might have been depicted because it accompanied text stating “[t]he heaven...turns above us in such a way to show his cheek first but then to withdraw it.” See, Masuya 2017, 8.

1056h/September–October 1646 with minor alterations [Appendix 2, CTUa-4, CTUa-8, and CTUa-9]. In the published edition of *Būstān*, the poem in question is recorded as follows:

خدایا به حق بنی فاطمه
که بر قول ایمان کنم خاتمه

God! Oh! In the right of the descendants of Fāṭimah,
May I conclude [my life] with the word of faith [i.e. *shahādah*]⁴¹

It is possible that this poem was applied exclusively to the tombstones of women because it refers to Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad.

In one case, Persian verses from different periods coexist on a single tombstone [Appendix 2, CTUa-7], suggesting the existence of a “sourcebook,” that is, a repertoire of poems appropriate for the funerary context.⁴² Having first been derived from such a “sourcebook,” the verses seem to have been shared orally among potters. For instance, an unidentified poem inscribed on an underglaze-painted ceramic tombstone dated Dhu’l-Hijjah 1052h/February–March 1642 [Appendix 2, CTUa-6]⁴³ also appears on an amber-glazed *sgraffito* ceramic tombstone dated 1122h/1709–10 [fig. 2-6].⁴⁴ In the latter example, the poem is inscribed as:

⁴¹ Sa‘dī Shīrāzī 1891, 6. The meter of this verse is *mutaqālib* (U - - / U - - / U - - / U -). For this, see, Thiesen 1982, 235, no. 73.

⁴² A couplet from ‘Urfī’s *ghazal* and one from Sa‘dī’s *Būstān* are inscribed together on the underglaze-painted tombstone for Mīrzā ‘Abdallāh b. Mīrzā Humā, dated Rajab 1054h/September–October 1644. This object is now at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, Germany.

⁴³ The tombstone for Malik valad-i Ḥusayn, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 1822-1876). For this object, see, Crowe 2002, 167, cat. no. 273; see also, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O205276/tile-unknown/> (accessed September 6, 2020)

⁴⁴ The tombstone for Muḥammad Karīm b. Muḥammad Sādiq, currently owned by the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 546-1878). I would like to thank Dr. Moya Carey for bringing this unpublished piece to my attention, and Ms. Behnaz Atighi Moghaddam for showing me this object during my visit to Blythe

درون غیر اگر [*] آهی کشم از سینه چاکم [*]
 شود بریان اگر مرغی [*] نه شنید بر سر خاکم [*]
 پس از مرگم نسوزد [*] هیچکس بر جان غمناکم [*]
 مگر شمعی بسوزد گاه گاهی [*] بر سر خاکم ⁴⁵

If I heave a sigh from my shattered breast within the tomb (*ghabr*),
 [and] if a bird does not hear [the sigh] at the head of my grave, it will become roasted
 After my death, let no one grieve over my disconsolate soul,
 but light a candle from time to time at the head of my grave

Here, the line breaks of each verse do not correspond to the rhythm of the poem as usually seen in the manuscript version. Moreover, the word “*qabr*” i.e. tomb is misspelled as “*ghabr*,” by substituting the letter *ghayn* for the letter *qāf*. These letters have a similar pronunciation and thus could be easily confused when being communicated orally. As discussed earlier in the section dealing with ceramic vessels, misspellings found in the poetical inscriptions of the ceramic tombstones may perhaps indicate that potters who were in charge of inscribing the poems had either take dictation from those who recited the verses to be inscribed, or had memorized the verses by heart but without remembering the correct spelling of each word.

The underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones belonging to the second category, on the other hand, are catalogued as the “Group CTUb” in Appendix 2 [Appendix 2, CTUb-1–4]. These are all *in situ* at religious monuments in Yazd and dated between 1044h/1634–35 and

House in September 2015. For this object, see, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O341378/tile-tomb-tile-unknown/> (accessed September 6, 2020).

⁴⁵ The meter of this poem is *hazaj* (U - - - / U - - - / U - - - / U - - -). See, Thiesen 1982, 236, no. 84.

1088h/1677–78. Two are decorated with a seated male figure [Appendix 2, CTUb-3 and CTUb-4], whereas others are devoid of figural representations [Appendix 2, CTUb-1 and CTUb-2]. As for their shapes, they are either an almost square-like rectangular, or an upright rectangle with a triangular or three-pronged upper section. Regarding the layouts of inscriptions, each of the examples belonging to this group is composed of six to up to fourteen lines and divided into two or three columns, thereby allowing the accommodation of lengthier lines of poetry. What is most important for us to recognize here is that the poetical inscriptions of those devoid of figural representations (i.e., Appendix 2, CTUb-1 and CTUb-2) are characterized by the use of *abjad* numerals (i.e., numerical values attached to letters) which encode the years of death. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that this type of verse was specially composed for the deceased after one's death and cannot be reused several times, since it would only be applicable for a specific year. In the case of the poetical inscriptions of two examples decorated with a seated male figure (i.e., Appendix 2, CTUb-3 and CTUb-4), the name the deceased is repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions (e.g., Šālīḥ and Muhammad Taqī).

The question arises as to who was involved in composing the poems inscribed on the pieces belonging to Group CTUb. Given the number of potters-cum-poets who were recorded in the contemporaneous (i.e. the late seventeenth-century) Persian *tazkirahs*,⁴⁶ it is possible that it was a poet himself who had prepared and inscribed the poems. Another possibility is the involvement of the more experienced, “professional” poet, who possessed expertise in composing chronogram poems, in each project of making such underglaze-painted tombstones. In either case, the use of this form of poetry in making specific objects of art seems to be consistent with the growth of interest in Persian poetry among craftsmen in Iran

⁴⁶ These potter-cum-poets were active in Kirman (Golombek et al. 2014, 23–24). See also, subsection I-3.

after the late fifteenth century, as evidenced in primary sources and discussed above (see Chapter One and subsection II-2-1. above).

In short, the most obvious finding to emerge from the analysis of Persian verses inscribed on underglaze-painted tombstones from the seventeenth century is the almost simultaneous use of different types of verses during this period of time: traditional Persian verses, chosen with the utmost deliberation for the funerary context (Group CTUa), and specially composed verses that include the name of the deceased and/or *abjad* numerals (Group CTUb). Due to the lack of provenance information about the objects catalogued as CTUa in Appendix 2, it is not possible for us, for the time being, to confirm whether either one of these two groups (i.e. the Group CTUa and the Group CTUb) was produced in a single workshop or not.

II-3. Luster-painted ceramics and Persian verses, from the late fifteenth to late sixteenth centuries⁴⁷

II-3-1. Epigraphic and textual evidence for the production of luster-painted ceramics

This section will focus on luster-painted ceramics, a type of overglaze-painted pottery that is decorated with a mixture of compounds of silver and copper and requires a complicated double firing process. In Iran, the luster-painting technique flourished during the late twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries, declined in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and was revived in the late seventeenth century. During the late twelfth to the early fourteen centuries, the production of luster-painted ceramics in Kashan in central Iran is firmly attested not only by the inscriptions on the objects themselves but also by contemporaneous sources.

Contemporaneous sources such as *‘Arā’is al-jawāhir wa-naḥā’is al-aṭā’ib* (Brides of the Gems and Treasures of the Perfumes; written in 1300–01) by Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh

⁴⁷ This section is an extensively revised and updated version of Kanda 2017.

Kāshānī (d. after 1323–24), the court historian born into the Abū Ṭāhir family of potters in Kashan, contains a chapter explaining the process of making luster-painted ceramics.⁴⁸ In addition, on the surface of the luster-painted ceramic *miḥrāb* of Imāmzādah ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, dated 734h/1334, we find the signature of Abū al-Qāsim’s brother, Yūsuf b. ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir, who uses here the nisba “Kāshī,” in other words, the one who is associated with the town of Kashan [fig. 2-7]; the luster-painted ceramic dish (ca. 1220) at the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. C. 162-1977) bears inscriptions stating “its scribe is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nīshāpūrī, dwelling at Qāshān (*kātibu-hu Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī muqīm bi-Qāshān*)” [fig. 2-8];⁴⁹ a group of 738h/1337 luster-painted ceramic star tiles reportedly from the Imāmzādah Ja‘far in Qum, is inscribed as being produced “at the place of Kashan at the workshop of the Sayyid of Sayyids, Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad (*bi-maqām-i Kāshān bi-kārkhānah-i Sayyid al-Sādāt Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad*)” [fig. 2-9].

When it comes to the period after 1400, however, we have little evidence for the production of luster-painted ceramics at this location.⁵⁰ Such evidence comes in the form of a pair of tombstones for Ustād Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Khayyāt-i Ārānī, whose *nisba* suggests he was from Aran, a town located in the vicinity of Kashan. Both tombstones are dated to 891h/1486–87: one is located in the Art Institute of Chicago (inv. no. 1916.145) [Appendix 3, CTL-4-a] and the other is in the Museum of Islamic Art,

⁴⁸ Kāshānī 1966–67, 338–49. Kāshānī describes the pieces which have been evenly fired “glitter like red gold and shine like the beam of the sun.” The Abū Ṭāhir family of potters used the luster-painting technique for four generations from around 1200 to 1330s; the last two generations, including ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir and his son, Yūsuf, used the *nisba* Qāshānī (Watson 1985, 178–79). Abū al-Qāsim was one of the four sons of ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir and was a brother of Yūsuf (Blair 2008, 160).

⁴⁹ The spelling with either K or Q is accepted variants. “Kāshān” is the Persian spelling, where as “Qāshān” is the Arabic one.

⁵⁰ Watson 1975, 71–72; Watson 1985, 160.

Cairo (inv. no. 8170) [Appendix 3, CTL-4-b].⁵¹ Further evidence comes from the record of a pious donation to the tomb of Sulṭān Yalmān Mūsā Shāh, which is situated in the Kashan bazaar, dated 902h/1496–97 [fig. 2-10].⁵² Nevertheless, these examples hardly supply conclusive evidence for the production of luster-painted ceramics in late Timurid Kashan, because they only show that luster-painted ceramics had been used, but were not necessarily produced, in Kashan during this period. To date, we have no archaeological or textual evidence proving that luster-painted ceramics were produced at this location from the Safavid period onward.⁵³

II-3-2. Luster-painted ceramic tombstones and Persian poetry

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the luster-painting technique was predominantly applied to tiles,⁵⁴ and the use of tiles appears to have been limited to tombstones (of which we have nine examples, dated between 881h/1476–77 and 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560; see Appendix 3); *waqf* records (two examples, dated 902h/1496–97⁵⁵ and Muharram 935h/September–October 1528⁵⁶); and cornerstones (five examples, two dated to 860h/1455–

⁵¹ Watson 1975, 71.

⁵² Watson 1975, 72.

⁵³ Apart from those exported to Russia and found during excavations there, Safavid luster-painted ceramics in museum collections lack provenance information. For the pieces uncovered in Moscow, Kolomna, and Novgorod, see Koval 2010, 55–57, 60–61.

⁵⁴ Only two dated luster-painted vessels are known to have survived from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. One is a bowl dated 822h/1418, owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 2005.1); the other is a bottle dated 1084h/1673–74 (present whereabouts unknown). Neither of these pieces bears poetical inscriptions in Persian. For these pieces, see, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/454887> (accessed September 21, 2020) and Watson 1975, pl. VIII-a. See also, Watson 1985, 200, list no. 75 and list no. 76.

⁵⁵ Watson 1975, 72, list no. 7, pl. III. For the color plate of this *waqf* record, see, Akbarī 2019, 24 (in Arabic number).

⁵⁶ Watson 1975, 73–74, list no. 8, pl. IV.

56,⁵⁷ another to 886h/1481–82,⁵⁸ another to 888h/1483–84,⁵⁹ and the other to 899h/1493–94⁶⁰). Among these categories, tombstones, which we examined earlier in the section dealing with underglaze-painted ceramics, are of particular interest because at least three out of the nine examples are inscribed with Persian verses that commemorate the owner of the tombstone (i.e., the deceased).

The earliest luster-painted ceramic tombstone comes from the late Ilkhanid period and is dated 720h/1320–21 [fig. 2-11]. This tombstone, commemorating the death of al-Ṣadr...al-Dīn Manūchihr b. Maḥmūd b. Maḥmūd ‘Izz al-Dīn Nā’īnī, however, is the only known example of luster-painted tombstone that predates the 1470s.⁶¹ Judging from the available evidence, it was probably not until the late fifteenth century that this technique became widely used to record the name of the deceased and the date of death.

Appendix 3 is the catalogue raisonné of luster-painted ceramic tombstones produced during the Timurid-Safavid period. As listed here, nine examples, dated between 881h/1476–77 and 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560, are known to have survived to the present day. Compared with its underglaze-painted counterparts, luster-painted ceramic tombstones date from the earlier period and are totally devoid of figural imagery.

Among the Timurid-Safavid luster-painted ceramic tombstones listed in Appendix 3, three examples bear Persian verses on their inscriptions: the tombstone for Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b.

⁵⁷ Watson 1975, 68–69, list no. 1; Watson 1975, 69–70, no. 3. For the images, see, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/448392> (accessed September 2, 2020); Grube 1974, pl. LXV, fig. 68.

⁵⁸ Watson 1985, 197, list no. 135. For the image, see, Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1976, 2:122.

⁵⁹ Kouchakji 1926, 51–52, lot no. 247.

⁶⁰ Akbarī 2019, 24 (in Arabic number).

⁶¹ During the late twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century, luster-painted tiles were installed at the mausolea of the Shī‘ite and Ṣūfī saints for the purpose of commemoration. For instance, the luster-painted cenotaph of Fāṭimah bint Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 816) dated Rajab 602h/February–March 1206 was installed at the Holy Shrine of Fāṭimah in Qum [fig. 2-12]; the luster-painted cenotaph of ‘Abd al-Samad b. ‘Alī (d. 1299–1300), the Suhrawardiyya Sufī, dated 707h/1307–8 was installed at his mausoleum in Natanz (Blair 1986, 65, 137, pl. 54).

Sayyid Mīr ‘Alī (d. 881h/1476–77) [Appendix 3, CTL-1], the tombstone for Bībī Malik Khātūn bint Muḥammad b. Pākīzah (d. Rabi‘ I “886h”/“the beginning of Tīr” 860 A.P./June 1481) [Appendix 3, CTL-3], and the tombstone for Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī (d. 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560) [Appendix 3, CTL-9].⁶² All of these three tombstones are inscribed with verses, the contents of which are suitable for commemorating the entombed. Nevertheless, there are notable differences in decoration, style of the poems, as well as location and size of poetical inscriptions within the whole inscription.

In an attempt to determine such differences, which have remained virtually unaddressed in previous literature, this subsection compares the luster-painted tombstone for Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Sayyid Mīr ‘Alī (hereinafter CTL-1) and that for Bībī Malik Khātūn bint Muḥammad b. Pākīzah (hereinafter CTL-3), dating from approximately the same period (i.e. the period between the late-1470s and the early-1480s, which predates the Safavid period). The tombstone for Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī will be discussed in the next subsection, not only because it comes from the Safavid period but also because it has the potential to cast new light on the relationship between poets and craftsmen, as I will demonstrate below.

To begin with, a description of the physical characteristics of CTL-1 will be provided. The central panel is molded and recessed in the form of a poly-lobed *miḥrāb* niche; the spandrels above are decorated with floral and star motifs within depressions. The background of the main field is sparsely filled with a motif composed of three to seven dots.⁶³

The inscriptions of CTL-1 are composed of four parts: (1) the prayer for God to bless the Fourteen Infallible Ones surrounding the border (in Arabic); (2) a reference to the eternity of God, followed by a Qur’ānic quote (Chapter 55:26–27) filling the upper-to-middle parts of

⁶² See subsection II-3-c below.

⁶³ Such dot motifs are also painted on a pair of luster-painted tombstones for Ustād Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Maḥmūd, the tailor of Aran (d. 1486) [Appendix 3, CTL-4-a and CTL-4-b].

the main field inside the recessed panel (in Arabic); (3) a poem filling the lower part of the main field (in Persian, described below), followed by the signature of a craftsman, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar; and (4) four repetitions of the name of ‘Alī, inscribed on the bottom corners [Appendix 3, the diagram of CTL-1].

With respect to the Persian poem, CTL-1 bears verses that seem to have been specially composed for the deceased. It records the year of the death of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Sayyid Mīr ‘Alī, the deceased, by inserting a Persian phrase meaning 881 (“*hasht šad u hashtād u yik*”) in the first hemistich of the second distich. The verses are inscribed extensively in the middle of the plaque [Appendix 3, (3) of the diagram of CTL-1]; the personal details about the deceased (i.e. the name and date of his death) are incorporated into the poem and do not appear elsewhere. The current author has not been able to find the author of this poem.

Let us now turn to a description of the physical characteristics of CTL-3. The central panel is surrounded by a poly-lobed raised border inglaze-painted with cobalt blue. From a technical point of view, the use of cobalt blue distinguishes CTL-3 from CTL-1.⁶⁴ The use of a molded raised border and the inglaze-painting technique seems to echo the luster-painted tiles from the preceding Ilkhanid period. Below the last line of the main inscription is a zig-zagged line, flanked with a series of dots.

The inscriptions are composed of three parts: (1) the *basmala* and a Qur’ānic quote (Chapter 112:1–4), followed by a prayer proclaiming the oneness of God which surrounds the border (in Arabic); (2) the name of the deceased and the year of her death in the hijri, *jalālī* and *khānī* calendars which fill the upper-to-middle parts of the main field inside the raised

⁶⁴ A pair of luster-painted tombstones for Ustād Muḥammad the tailor of Aran (d. 1486) [Appendix 3, CTL-4-a and CTL-4-b] and a fragment of luster-painted tombstone for Ustād Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn (d. 1500) [Appendix 3, CTL-6] are also molded and inglaze-painted with cobalt blue. The design and the layout of the inscriptions of these tombstones are almost identical to CTL-3.

border (in a mixture of Arabic and Persian); and (3) a poem filling the lower part of the main field (in Persian, described below) [Appendix 3, the diagram of CTL-3].

In contrast to CTL-1 which has verses specially composed for the deceased, CTL-3 bears conventional verses fitting for a funerary purpose, either copied directly from a “sourcebook” or drawn from an oral repertoire of potters. The same poem that appears on CTL-3 is inscribed on a *cuerda seca* tombstone dated Jumada I 1055h/June–July 1645, commemorating the death of Mīr Ḥabībballāh b. Mīr Rafī‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad, now at the Art Institute of Chicago (inv. no. 23.939) [fig. 2-13]. The current study has revealed the hitherto unattributed poem inscribed on CTL-3 to be a distich from the stanzaic poem (*tarkīb-band*), composed by Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā‘īl Iṣfahānī (d. 1237), a Persian poet active during the late twelfth to the early thirteenth century.⁶⁵ The verses by Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā‘īl are modestly inscribed on the lower part of the plaque [Appendix 3, (3) of the diagram of CTL-3]; the personal details about the deceased are written above in the main field.

In conclusion, the comparison of the Persian verses inscribed on two luster-painted ceramic tombstones reveals the coexistence of styles of poetry during the 1480s: made-to-order verses that include the year of death and the name of the deceased, and conventional verses chosen from a stock of poems suitable for the commemoration of the dead. A possible explanation for this might be that there was a workshop that offers different options for decorating their products to its customers. Another possible explanation for this is that they were produced in two different workshops; in this case, it is not possible to determine whether these two workshops was in a same town or not. One may at least point out that molding and inglaze-painting techniques applied to CTL-3 seem to be reminiscent of luster-painted tiles from the Ilkhanid period, when Kashan had been the foremost production center of luster-painted ceramics. In the future, we may be able to determine the production site(s)

⁶⁵ Iṣfahānī 1969–70, 426.

of these pre-Safavid luster-painted ceramic tombstones if more detailed information, such as the author of the made-to-order poem inscribed on CTL-1 or the identities of the entombed, comes to light.

II-3-3. The Hamburg tombstone: New evidence for the production of luster-painted ceramics in Kashan during the early Safavid period

This section investigates the context and content of Persian verses inscribed on a luster-painted ceramic tombstone produced in the early Safavid period. The tombstone in question is that of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī, who died on 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560. It is currently on display in Room 3 of the recently refurbished Islamic Art Gallery of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, Germany (inv. no. 1960.64) [Appendix 3, CTL-09]. The provenance of this object is unclear, but it seems to have come into the collection no later than December 1925.⁶⁶ It was published once in 1939 by Richard Ettinghausen, who enumerated it in his “List of Dated Persian Faience.”⁶⁷ Since then, this ceramic tombstone has only been discussed from a purely art-historical perspective that attempts to establish a chronology of related objects.⁶⁸ For instance, Oliver Watson refers to the tombstone in his article, “Persian Lustre Ware: From the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries,” to substantiate his theory that Iranian potters continued to use the luster painting technique throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Watson and other scholars have

⁶⁶ According to Dr. Nora von Achenbach at the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, “[i]ndeed it is not possible to say exactly when the lustre painted ceramic tombstone came into the museum since it was found without an inv. no. written on it so it was added to the inventory later in 1960. The earliest indication for the possession of the tombstone in our museum is a handwritten paper with the translation of some lines on the tombstone. The writer states that the translation came from Ernst Kühnel with the date Dec. 1925. So at least since 1925 the piece was held in the Hamburg collection” (email message to the author, January 19, 2017).

⁶⁷ Ettinghausen 1939, 1688, no. 137 (no illustration).

⁶⁸ Golombek, who conducted the most recent study on the topic of Safavid ceramics from such a perspective, overlooked this example as one of the “dated tiles” produced during the Safavid period. See Golombek et al. 2014, 433–34.

paid little attention to the Persian poem and its relationship to the deceased. In fact, Watson merely describes the inscription as “a religious poem in Persian,”⁶⁹ without providing any context or further information.

I will now move on to describe the details of the tombstone itself. The upper corners of the vertical rectangular shape have been cut off diagonally. The horizontal crack in the middle and the vertical one in the lower-left corner prevent us from deciphering some of the words inscribed on this portion. Judging from the yellowish tone of the painting, silver (or less likely, copper) compounds seem to have been employed to decorate the opaque white tin-glazed surface that covers a pinkish-white clay. Divided by angular frames, there are five parts of the inscription: (1) an Arabic prayer summoning God to bless the Prophet Muḥammad and the Imāms; (2–3) followed by two Qur’ānic inscriptions—Chapters 28:88, and 9:21; (4) a Persian epitaph, followed by the name of the deceased and the date of his death in hijri; and (5) a Persian poem (See the diagram of Appendix 3, CTL-9). A close examination of these texts reveals four distinctive types of scripts, which correspond to their contents: (1) the large *thuluth* script that is comparable to monumental inscriptions of the period; (2–3) the medium-sized *thuluth* script comparable to that of coeval Qur’ānic manuscripts; (4) the medium-sized *thuluth*-like *naskh* script carefully arranged to accommodate the essential information; and (5) the smaller and less professional *nasta’līq* script. The inscriptions read:

(1)

اللهم صل على المصطفى و المرتضى و البتول و سبطين و العابدين و الباقر و الصادق و الكاظم] و الرض[ى و] التقى
و النقى و العسكرى و القائم الحجة المهدى الهادى المنتظر المظفر صاحب الزمان صلوات الله و سلامه عليه و عليهم
اجمعين الطيبين و الطاهرين و الحمد لله رب العالمين

⁶⁹ Watson 1975, 74.

Oh God! Bless the Chosen [Muḥammad] and the Approved [‘Alī] and the Virgin [Fāṭimah] and the two Grandsons [al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn] and [the Ornament of] the Worshippers [‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn] and al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq and al-Kā[ẓim] and al-Ri[ḍā and] al-Taḳī and al-Naḳī and al-‘Askarī and the Riser, the Proof, al-Mahdī, the Expected, the Victorious, the Master of Time. The exaltations and peace of God be upon him and all of them who are good and pure. Praise belongs to God, Lord of the Worlds (Chapter 1:2).⁷⁰

(2)

كل شيء هالك إلا وجهه له الحكم
وإليه ترجعون

Everything will perish except His Face. His is the Judgment and to Him you shall all be brought back (Chapter 28:88).⁷¹

(3)

يُبشِّرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان
و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

Their Lord gives them the good news of His mercy and pleasure, gardens where they will have lasting bliss (Chapter 9:21).⁷²

(4)

انتقال یافت از دار فنا بدار بقا فصاحت شعار بلاغت

⁷⁰ Haleem 2004, 3.

⁷¹ Haleem 2004, 251.

⁷² Haleem 2004, 118.

[د] ثارمحب امير المؤمنين و [ا] هل البيت [...] شيخ جمال الدين

مسعود المعروف الشيرازي بتاريخ خامس عشرين شهر جمادى

الآخرى سنة سبع و ستين و تسعمائة

The eloquent, the articulate, the lover of the Commander of the Faithful and the People of the House, [...] Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī, passed away from the world of mortality to the world of eternity, on the 25th of Jumada II, the year 967[h].

(5)

زين زمانه شيخ جمال انكه كس نديد

در دهر يك معرف شيرين ادا چو او

چون رفت از اين جهان بسوى خلد جاودان

تاريخش از معرف شيرين ادا ب [...] [...]

طبعم چو در غمش الف از ب نمى شناخت

يك سال [...] [...]

The adornment of the time, Shaykh Jamāl, nobody saw

a *mu‘arrif* who has a sweet voice (*mu‘arrif-i shīrīn-adā*) like him in the world.

As he left this world for heaven,

[seek] the chronogram of *mu‘arrif-i shīrīn-adā*.

My poetic talent, because of sadness, cannot distinguish *alif* from *bā*.

One year...

The meter of this poem is *muḏārī* ‘ (- - U / - U - U / U - - U / - U -).⁷³ It is probable that this poem was specially composed to commemorate the death of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī, the entombed, who died on 25 Jumada II 967h. One of the main reasons for this hypothesis is the occurrence of the words *shaykh jamāl* and *mu‘arrif* in the poem, which constitute parts of Mas‘ūd’s name. Another is the year of Mas‘ūd’s death, i.e., 967, which was coded within the verses in the form of *abjad* numerals. The word “*tā’rīkhash az*” in the beginning and the imperative verb (*bi*[...]) in the end of the fourth line are the instruction to add up the phrase *mu‘arrif-i shīrīn-adā*; *mu‘arrif-i shīrīn-adā* could be calculated as 966,⁷⁴ and the fifth line which states “my poetic talent . . . cannot distinguish *alif* from *bā*” should be interpreted as an instruction to the readers to change the last *alif* to *bā*, so that the sum total would equal 967.⁷⁵

Māddah tā’rīkhs (chronogram poems) like the one above seem to have become increasingly popular as funerary inscriptions from the mid-sixteenth century onward.⁷⁶ As discussed earlier in Ch. II-2-3, judging from scant evidence available from Yazd, it was probably not until the 1630s that this elaborate form of poetry became incorporated into inscriptions on ceramic tombstones (Appendix 2, CTUb-1–4).⁷⁷ Accordingly, the luster-painted ceramic tombstone for Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī, dated 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560 seems to be one of the earliest examples of ceramic

⁷³ Thiesen 1982, 248, no. 182.

⁷⁴ *mu‘arrif-i shīrīn-adā* (966): *mīm* (40), *‘ain* (70), *rā’* (200), *fā’* (80), *shīn* (300), *yā’* (10), *rā’* (200), *yā’* (10), *nūn* (50), *alif* (1), *dāl* (4), *alif* (1). For the calculation result, see http://coe.aa.tufts.ac.jp/abjad/JP/?page_id=23 (accessed September 5, 2020).

⁷⁵ *bā* indicates 2 in *abjad* numerals. This technique is called *ta’miyah* (enigma).

⁷⁶ A series of *sang-i qabrs* (gravestones) *in situ* in Yazd (dated between 968h/1560–61 and 1038h/1628–29 bear a chronogram poem within their inscriptions. See Dānish Yazdī 2008–9, 178, 182, 184, 191, 199, 204; Afshār 1969–75, 1:89–90. They are made of stone.

⁷⁷ A group of underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones *in situ* in Yazd (dated between 1083h/1672–73 and 1132h/1718–19) bear a chronogram poem within the inscriptions. See Dānish Yazdī 2008–9, 207–8, 259.

tombstones bearing Persian poems composed specifically for the deceased by employing *abjad* numerals.

The question remains: who composed the poem inscribed on Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī’s (hereinafter, Mas‘ūd) tombstone? The answer is almost certainly Muḥtasham Kāshānī (d. 1588), the Kashan-based poet who is best known for his *davāzda band* (twelve-part elegy) on the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn (d. 680), the third Shī‘ite Imām, in Karbala, during the reigns of Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524–76), Ismā‘īl II (r. 1576–78), and Muḥammad Khudābandah (r. 1578–87).⁷⁸ Given that the biography of Muḥtasham appears more frequently in historical sources than the biographies of any of the other poets of his generation, it is no exaggeration to say that he was one of the best-known poets from the early Safavid period. In fact, his fame spread far and wide soon after his death, as evidenced by the biographical entries in historical chronicles dedicated to the Safavid court such as Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī’s *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh* (Abstract of History, comp. 1590–91)⁷⁹ and Iskandar Bīg Turkmān’s *Tārīkh-i ‘ālamārā-yi ‘Abbāsī* (The World-Adorning History of ‘Abbās, comp. 1616),⁸⁰ as well as at least eight different *tazkirahs* composed in Iran,⁸¹

⁷⁸ For the most comprehensive and updated study of this poet, see, Paul Losensky, *Encyclopædia Iranica online*, s.v. “Moḥtaṣam Kāshānī”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/mohtasham-kashani> (accessed September 6, 2020). See also Browne 1928, 4:172–77; Rypka 1968, 298; Ṣafā 1984–85, 5(2):792–99.

⁷⁹ For the new perspective on the career of Muḥtasham Kāshānī, see, Losensky 2009.

⁷⁹ Qumī 1964, 29–30 (Persian text), 46 (German translation).

⁸⁰ Iskandar Bīg Turkmān 1956, 1:179–80.

⁸¹ For instance, Sām Mīrzā’s *Tazkirah-i tuḥfah-i Sāmī* which was written in 1550–51 (Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 383, no. 701); Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī’s *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār va zubdat al-afkār* (Summary of the Poems and of Essence of the Thoughts) which was completed at Kashan in 1577–78 (Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī 2005, 15–20); *Sullam al-samāwāt* (Ladder of Heaven), which was completed in 1605–6 by Abū al-Qāsim Kāzarūnī, who worked in Shiraz and Kashan (Kāzarūnī 2008, 331–32); and Malik Shāh Ḥusayn Sīstānī’s *Khayr al-Bayān* (Best Manifestation), which was dedicated to Shāh ‘Abbās I (Sīstānī 1997, 193–97, and British Library, Or. 3397, fols. 249a–250a). One may point out the fact that during the early stage of his career, Muḥtasham was recorded as the figure who was “engaged in selling cloths (*bazzāzī*), and not bad in regard to poetry.” (Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 373)

Transoxiana,⁸² and India⁸³ within fifty years of his death. However, it is only after a careful analysis of the Persian verses inscribed on Mas‘ūd’s luster-painted tombstone that a significant association between this celebrated poet and the producer(s) of the luster-painted ceramics becomes evident.

The verses on Mas‘ūd’s tombstone can be found in the sixth chapter of *Haft dīvān-i Muḥtasham Kāshānī* (hereinafter *Haft dīvān*) compiled by Taqī al-Dīn Ḥusaynī Kāshānī (d. 1607–8), a poet-biographer who was entrusted with producing a collection of Muḥtasham’s work in 1586–87,⁸⁴ a year before his death. Entitled *mawsūm ba-ẓarūriyāt* (“for special occasions,” hereinafter *ẓarūriyāt*), this sixth chapter is devoted to Muḥtasham’s commemorative poems that make the best use of the *ḥisāb al-jummal* (reckoning by phrase) technique.⁸⁵ Containing 233 poems that commemorate events between 959h/1551–52 and 995h/1586–87 in chronological order, topics range from the construction of buildings to life events such as births, promotions, and deaths. Under the last category is the *qit‘a* that commemorates the death of *mu‘arrif-i shīrīn-adā*, which coincides with the content of the Persian poem inscribed on Mas‘ūd’s tombstone except for the third line. The earliest dated manuscript of this work (dated 1088h/1677–78) [fig. 2-14], was complemented by

⁸² See, for example, Muṭribī Samarqandī’s *Taẓkirah-‘i al-shu‘arā’* (Biography of Poets), which was dedicated to Walī Muḥammad (r. 1605–11), the third ruler of the Ashtarkhānids. For this, see Samarqandī 2003, 496–97.

⁸³ For instance, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī’s *Taẓkirah-‘i haft iqlīm* (Seven Climates), which was completed in 1593–94 (Rāzī 2010, 2:1022–24); Taqī al-Dīn Awhādī’s *‘Arāfāt al-‘āshiqīn va ‘arāṣāt al-‘ārifīn* (Places of Assembly for the Lovers and Courts for the Saints), which was written at Agra in 1615 (Awhādī 2010, 3995–4009); and Muṭribī Samarqandī’s *Nuskhah-‘i zībā-yi Jahāngīr* (Beautiful Book of Jahāngīr), which was dedicated to Jahāngīr b. Akbar (r. 1605–1627) at the court in Lahore (Samarqandī 1998, 35–37).

⁸⁴ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 1: 30–31.

⁸⁵ *Ḥisāb al-jummal* is the chronogram technique that employs the alphanumeric values of the *abjad* system and compounds them into phrases or sentences. For more details, see Paul Losensky, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. “Mādda Tārīk”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/madda-tarik-chronogram> (accessed September 11, 2020).

Muḥammad Badī‘ Kāshānī, who added information to the original manuscript written by Taqī al-Dīn Ḥusaynī’s own hand.⁸⁶ In this work, the poem is recorded as follows:

زین زمانه شیخ جمال آنکه کس ندید
در دهر یک معرفِ شیرین ادا چو او
چون کرد از کمالِ رضا وام جان ادا
تاریخش از معرفِ شیرین ادا بجو
طبعم چو در غمش الف از ب نمی شناخت
یک سال اگر کمست دلا عذر او بگو⁸⁷

The adornment of the time, Shaykh Jamāl, nobody saw
a *mu‘arrif* who has a sweet voice (*mu‘arrif-i shīrīn-adā*) like him in the world.
Since he discharged the debt of life with a joyful heart,
seek the chronogram of *mu‘arrif-i shīrīn-adā*.
My poetic talent, because of sadness, cannot distinguish *alif* from *bā*.
If it is one year short, “O heart! Apologize to him.”

The difference in the content of the third line observed on the ceramic tombstone and manuscript might perhaps be interpreted as the result of an alteration made by Taqī al-Dīn Ḥusaynī, who himself was a poet, while editing *Haft dīvān*. Alternatively, the manuscript may represent a “draft” version of this poem that had been composed by Muḥtasham himself but was not adopted as a funerary inscription.

⁸⁶ National Library of Iran, MS. 458, a folio paginated 842 (Arabic numerals).

⁸⁷ For the published edition of this verse, see, Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1488–89, no. 2.

In light of the foregoing analysis, the following question arises: where was the tombstone made and when? Unlike inscriptions executed on gravestones that are made of re-carveable materials such as marble,⁸⁸ ceramic tombstones cannot be reworked after they are fired once. This is particularly true for those that are luster-painted, as their brightness can be acquired only by polishing the surface after the second firing. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that all the inscriptions on Mas'ūd's luster-painted tombstone were executed in the same place, at the same time, sometime *after* Mas'ūd's death on 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560.

A comparison of the handwriting of the Persian poem and that of the other inscriptions (the Arabic prayer summoning God to bless Muḥammad and the Imāms; the Qur'ānic inscriptions; and the Persian epitaph, followed by the name of the deceased and the date of his death in hijri) implies the involvement of several people from very different backgrounds in the making of Mas'ūd's ceramic tombstone. The division of roles might be reconstructed as follows: a potter, having expertise in the luster painting technique, prepared the materials, molded clay into the shape of a tablet, applied a white tin glaze, and fired and removed it from a kiln after a week or so;⁸⁹ a calligrapher decided on the arrangement of appropriate chapters from the Qur'ān⁹⁰ and designed the main part of the inscription, and

⁸⁸ In the case of a portable object made of re-carveable materials (e.g. wood, stone, and metal), its inscriptions could be executed in more than one location. For instance, the inscription on the marble tombstone of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Sa'd al-Damīrī (d. 1314–15) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. A5 1932, acquired in Zafar) is believed to have been carved in two different locations (i.e. Cambay and Zafar). This belief is based on a stylistic/technical discrepancy observed between the upper part (name, title, and general blessing) and the lower part (date of death) of the inscription. For a detailed discussion, see Lambourn 2004, 17–18.

⁸⁹ For a description of this process, see Kāshānī 1966–67, 346.

⁹⁰ Appropriate chapters from the Qur'ān might also have been recited during the funeral ceremony. There is an early sixteenth-century luster-painted ceramic tombstone with an inscription encouraging its viewers to recite the first chapter of the Qur'ān for the deceased (Appendix 3, CTL-08). Such customs can be substantiated by the firsthand account by Jean Chardin (d. 1713), a French gem merchant, who witnessed the declamation of the Qur'ān by a group of students during the funeral procession of a rich man. See Chardin 1811, 6:485; Massé 1938, 1:99.

wrote it on the tablet prepared by the potter, leaving enough space for the commemorative poem; Muḥtasham, the poet, composed the commemorative poem exclusively for the deceased; the poem was inscribed on the tablet, and finally, the potter fired it again in a kiln (which was exclusively made for this purpose) for about seventy-two hours, cooled it, and rubbed its surface to acquire the luster finish.⁹¹

Even though he lived during a period when Mughal India saw a large influx of poets from Iran, Muḥtasham remained in Kashan throughout his life due to a chronic debility of the foot.⁹² As recorded in *ẓarūriyāt*, there he wrote funeral poems to commemorate those who died in Kashan and other places.⁹³ Among the more than one hundred people whose deaths were commemorated by Muḥtasham in *ẓarūriyāt* by the use of *abjad* numerals, the majority seem to have been local figures who died in Kashan. These included his own father, Khvājah Mīr Aḥmad Narāqī (d. 1554–55),⁹⁴ and poets such as ‘Ishqī Kāshānī (d. 1552–53),⁹⁵ Ḥayratī Tūnī (d. 1553–54),⁹⁶ Faṣīḥ Mu‘ammā’ī Kāshānī (d. 1577–78),⁹⁷ Manṣūrī Shā‘ir Kāshānī (d. 1560–61),⁹⁸ Mullā Ḥāmidī Kāshānī (d. 1567–68),⁹⁹ Ni‘matī Kāshānī (d. 1552–53),¹⁰⁰ and Mīr Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad Kāshānī (d. 1582–83).¹⁰¹ Other identifiable figures died in Yazd, Isfahan, and Deccan, suggesting that Muḥtasham also versified elegies for those with whom he was personally acquainted, but who died outside his hometown. For instance, Vaḥshī Bāfqī (d. 1583), to whom Muḥtasham addressed a series of satirical funerary poems,

⁹¹ Kāshānī 1966–67, 347.

⁹² Paul Losensky, *Encyclopædia Iranica online*, s.v. “Moḥtašam Kāšānī”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/mohtasham-kashani> (accessed September 6, 2020).

⁹³ Regarding Muḥtasham’s chronogram poems that commemorate the construction of buildings, see, Losensky 2011, 198–203, 214.

⁹⁴ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1482–83, no. 10.

⁹⁵ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1479, no. 5.

⁹⁶ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1480, no. 8.

⁹⁷ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1517, no. 76.

⁹⁸ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1487, no. 22.

⁹⁹ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1498–99, no. 44.

¹⁰⁰ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1534–35, no. 107.

¹⁰¹ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1588–90, nos. 178–80.

was Muḥtasham's foe who had begun his career as a poet in Kashan but moved to Yazd and died there;¹⁰² Żamīrī Iṣfahānī (d. 1579–80), a prominent poet who had served at the court of Ṭahmāsp I and died in Isfahan;¹⁰³ Khvāja 'Abd al-Ghānī (d. 1551–52), the only dedicatee who died in the Deccan, was his own brother.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, Muḥtasham composed elegies for the members of the royal family in Qazvin, as exemplified by the funerary poem for the Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā (d. 1577), a nephew of Ṭahmāsp I who died in Qandahar.¹⁰⁵

Consequently, the next question is: who inscribed the poem onto Mas'ūd's tombstone and how? Whereas the poem is written in the small-sized and untrained *nasta'liq* script, the other parts of the inscription are written in the medium- and large-sized professional *thuluth* scripts. This inconsistency may be mainly due to difference in the contents of inscriptions; the *nasta'liq* script is often deemed suitable for writing Persian poetry.¹⁰⁶ One possible scenario is that it was the poet himself who inscribed his own poem on this tombstone. As a professional poet, Muḥtasham could have supplemented his living by inscribing his own poems on tombstones. If so, this process most likely took place where Muḥtasham lived, i.e., in Kashan. This hypothesis, however, cannot be confirmed because, to the best of my knowledge, none of the poet's attributed works written in his own hand have survived. It is equally possible that the poem was transmitted to the potter, who then inscribed it onto the tombstone. In this case, the potter could have carried out this process either in Kashan or a nearby area, since identifiable dedicatees of Muḥtasham's funerary poems seem to have been

¹⁰² Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1600–1, nos. 195–96. On Muḥtasham's rivalry with Vaḥshī Bāfqī in the literary circle of Kashan, see Beers 2015, 207–8.

¹⁰³ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1528–31, nos. 94–99.

¹⁰⁴ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1477, no. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:1520–21, no. 81.

¹⁰⁶ One of the few exceptions for this case is a unique *nasta'liq* Qur'ān commissioned by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, signed by Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshābūrī and dated 945h/1538–39 (Topkapi Palace Museum, HS. 25). For this example, see, Soucek 2003a, fig. 3.15, 60–61, 66.

died in Kashan or at least had some sort of personal connections with Muḥtasham who never left Kashan throughout his lifetime.

Unfortunately, the identity of the entombed, Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī, remains unknown for the time being. It might have been mere hyperbole or ostentatious display of poetic techniques when Muḥtasham stated he grieved so much that he could not “distinguish *alif* from *bā*” in the poem in question. Nevertheless, it is still possible that Mas‘ūd was among the Kashan-based figures who had a close relationship with the poet, or if from another town, at least had the opportunity to meet Muḥtasham in Kashan. Perhaps the fact that he worked as a *mu‘arrif* (lit. “announcer”) further supports such hypothesis. According to *Dastūr al-mulūk* (Regulations of Kings), the late Safavid state manual, one of the main functions of *mu‘arrifs* was to attend funeral ceremonies and remind the participants to recite the first chapter of the Qur’ān for the absolution of the deceased.¹⁰⁷ Hence, Mas‘ūd could have been Muḥtasham’s co-worker who worked in the funerary context while he was alive.

Now we shall reassess the places that have already been confirmed as production sites of ceramics during the early Safavid period: Nishapur and Qumishah. One may exclude Nishapur (and other cities in Khurasan) as possible production sites of the luster-painted ceramic tombstone in question on the basis of material and textual evidence.¹⁰⁸ Qumishah, on the other hand, might be considered a possible candidate for the production site of the tombstone for two reasons. First, as it was located in the vicinity of Isfahan, Qumishah was in close proximity to where Muḥtasham might have sent his funerary poems. Moreover, the tile

¹⁰⁷ Rafī‘ Anṣārī 2018, 134–35. For the English translation, see Rafī‘ Anṣārī 2007, 117.

¹⁰⁸ The vessel “completed in the town of Nishapur” differs greatly from Mas‘ūd’s tombstone in terms of technique as well as stylistic treatments [Appendix 1, CVU-5]. First, CVU-5 is an underglaze-painted ware and thus Nishapur cannot be regarded as a production site of luster-painted pottery which requires double firing. As for stylistic treatments, CVU-5 has a bird-and-flower motif inspired from Chinese prototype, and the verses inscribed had been selectively cited from the pre-existing sources. Furthermore, Nishapur is located outside the areas where Muḥtasham distributed his funerary poems.

“made at the site of Qumishah” might possibly have been produced by a group of potters who made a *waqf* inscription panel installed at the Masjid-i Jami‘ of Kuhpayah (Muharram 935h/September–October 1528), given their similarity in the layout and script of the inscriptions as well as the use of the molding technique [fig. 2-15]. The luster painting technique of this *waqf* panel is comparable to that of Mas‘ūd’s tombstone. Nonetheless, this possibility does not carry enough weight to overturn the hypothesis that Mas‘ūd’s luster-painted ceramic tombstone was made in Kashan, the foremost, and almost certainly the only center of luster production in the late twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The incontrovertible fact that Muḥtasham Kāshānī, the Kashan-based poet who had established a close connection with the local community, was involved in the production of this luster-painted ceramic tombstone, seems compelling enough evidence to posit Kashan as a new candidate for the production site of ceramics—especially luster-painted ones—during the early Safavid period.

The fact that Mas‘ūd’s luster-painted tombstone bears the chronogram poem that was written by Muḥtasham Kāshānī may also have significant implications for the study of Persian literature, which until now has been largely based on manuscript studies. The tombstone confirms the hypothesis of Paul Losensky, who has suggested that the demand for inscriptions on tombstones and foundation plaques was responsible for the growing popularity of chronogram poems in Iran during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁰⁹ Hence, funerary poems inscribed on tombstones, particularly those from the Timurid period onwards, should not be overlooked. Further examination of such examples could reveal important clues concerning the gradual process by which Persian poetry was integrated into material culture. In reality, the targeted audience of such funerary poems was probably

¹⁰⁹ Paul Losensky, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. “Mādda Tārik”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/madda-tarik-chronogram> (accessed September 11, 2020), referring to Thomas Bauer’s hypothesis that deals with Arabic chronograms of the Ottoman period. For this, see, Bauer 2003, 514.

visitors to the grave, who may have commemorated the deceased by reading the funeral poems aloud, rather than students who wished to learn poetic techniques through the compilation of such poems (e.g., *zarūriyāt* of *Haft dīvān*).

The identification of this poem is particularly important for three reasons. First, it may imply that luster-painted ceramics were produced in Kashan during the early Safavid period. Second, it suggests that there is indeed potential for using epitaphs as sources for cultural history, as the poem in question sheds valuable light on the editing process of *Haft dīvān*, as well as on the social context of the increasingly popular chronogram poems composed in Iran during this period. Finally, it indicates the cooperation between people from different backgrounds, in particular, a potter and the poet, in the making of Mas‘ūd’s luster-painted ceramic tombstone.

In summary, it has been shown from the analysis of the poetical inscriptions on the luster-painted and underglaze-painted ceramics produced in Iran between 1450 and 1700 that there was a decided relationship between the making of Persian poetry and that of ceramic products. It could be argued that during this period in Iran, pottery became a significant medium from which people appreciated Persian poetry. It is important to stress that some poems, particularly those including *abjad* numerals, were even specially composed to be inscribed on ceramics.

Regarding underglaze-painted ceramic vessels, many of the pieces examined showed a strong connection between the contents of the poetical inscriptions and shape, material, or function of the vessels themselves. One of the potters who practiced the underglaze-painting technique even abandoned his career as a potter and enjoyed the patronage of one of the Timurid princes by exercising his skill in poetry.

Further analysis on underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones revealed two types of Persian poems that were used during the seventeenth century: traditional Persian verses, chosen with the utmost deliberation for the funerary context, and specially composed verses that include *abjad* numerals.

Through the examination of the hitherto undeciphered verses inscribed on the luster-painted tombstone of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī who died at 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560, it is clear that the poem in question can be identified as a *qiṭ‘a* by Muḥtasham Kāshānī, a renowned court poet who spent his entire life in Kashan. The identification of this poem is particularly important because it implies that luster-painted ceramics were probably produced in Kashan during the early Safavid period. It also indicates cooperation between people from different backgrounds, in particular, a potter and the poet, within the funerary industry.

Chapter Three:

“If I Circumambulate around Him, I Will Be Burnt”: Brass

Candlesticks Endowed to the Mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, Kazimayn

III-1. Introduction

III-2. The Doha Candlestick

III-2-1. General Information on the Doha Candlestick

III-2-2. Decorations of the Doha Candlestick

III-2-2-1. Decorations on the Exterior Surface of the Doha Candlestick

III-2-2-2. Decorations on the Interior Surface of the Doha Candlestick

III-2-3. Date of Production and Endowment of the Doha Candlestick

III-3. Religious and Political Significance of the Mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim during the Safavid Period

III-4. Possible Site of Production of the Doha Candlestick and Related Pieces

III-1. Introduction¹

As with ceramics, discussed in Chapter Two, the study of metal objects produced in post-1400 Iran has been hampered by a near-absence of stylistic, epigraphical, and textual evidence that confirms the whereabouts of their production site(s). Regarding brass objects from the Safavid period in particular, no piece is known to have been inscribed with the formula that specifically indicates its site of production in Iran (e.g. “the product of [*sākht-i*]” or “produced in [*sākht dar*]”). Moreover, only three scholars, namely, Linda Komaroff, Anatoly Ivanov, and Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, have studied brass (i.e., alloy of copper and zinc) objects from this area and period closely until today.²

¹ This chapter is an extensively revised and updated version of Kanda 2019.

² Regarding brass objects from the Timurid period, see Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 231–59; Komaroff 1992; Ivanov 2014, 71–94, cat. nos. 1–23. As for those from the Safavid period, see, Ivanov 1960; Ivanov 2014; Melikian-Chirvani 1973, 96–126; Melikian-Chirvani 1974; Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 260–355; Melikian-Chirvani 2002, 86–94. So far, relatively little research has been carried out on Middle Eastern metalwork that postdates 1400. The most recent conference proceedings concerning Islamic metalwork, for instance, do not record any papers that discuss metalwork produced after

Previous studies by these authors have placed great emphasis on the brass objects' inscriptions. They succeeded in identifying the sources of Persian verses applied to various brass wares, ranging from ewers, bowls, buckets, to candleholders, as well as links between shapes and/or functions of some of these objects and the Persian verses inscribed on them. However, a fuller picture of Safavid brass objects with poetical inscriptions has yet to be uncovered, since scholars focused their attention on brass objects from specific museum collections: the State Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg),³ Victoria and Albert Museum (London),⁴ and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Paris).⁵ To date, epigraphical information on many of the Safavid brass objects deposited in the other public and private collections has largely remained unpublished and unanalyzed. In addition, social contexts of the production and consumption of poetically inscribed brass objects during the Safavid period remain largely unaddressed.

This chapter attempts to bridge this gap in the field by focusing on poetically inscribed brass candleholders produced in Iran during the Safavid period. The term “candleholder,” designates two types of wares: a bell-shaped candlestick (*sham 'dān*) with a vertical tubular socket, and a pillar-shaped torch stand (*mash 'al*) occasionally accompanying a dome-shaped top with a flaring socket. Appendix 4 is a catalogue of the poetically inscribed brass candleholders attributable to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iran, whereas Appendix 5 is the list of Persian verses cited as inscriptions on the brass candleholders from the period in question. These appendices are based on my own

1400 (see Porter and Rosser-Owen 2012).

³ Ivanov 2014.

⁴ Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 260–355.

⁵ Melikian-Chirvani 1973, 96–126.

examinations of the Safavid candleholders at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the State Hermitage Museum, the National Museum of Iran in Tehran, and the Museum of Islamic Art (MIA) in Doha, as well as reviews of relevant published studies including auction catalogues. Among the unpublished pieces examined in the MIA was a hitherto unknown brass candlestick, inv. no. MW.152.1999 [fig. 3-1] (hereinafter, the Doha candlestick). In this chapter, this particular candlestick is selected for a close analysis because its endowment inscriptions have the potential for shedding some light on cultural and religious settings in which poetically inscribed brass candlesticks were produced and meant to be used.

III-2. The Doha Candlestick

III-2-1. General Information on the Doha Candlestick

The unpublished curatorial record does not contain any information regarding its inscriptions and designs of the Doha candlestick. It has been registered as an object produced in “Iran...[between] 1400 [and] 1500 CE” or during the “Timurid” period,⁶ though this date is questionable for many reasons as discussed in detail below. The shape of this object is a truncated cone, measuring 11.4 cm in height and 22.5 cm in diameter of the base. Its upper part is apparently missing. As for technique, it seems to have been cast before both sides of the piece were incised. There is no trace of additional decorations employing other techniques such as plating and inlaying. Before being trimmed, it might have been soldered together with the neck and socket on the upper side.

⁶ Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, curatorial file no. MW.152.1999.

III-2-2. Decorations of the Doha Candlestick

III-2-2-1. Decorations on the Exterior Surface of the Doha Candlestick

In the lower part of this candlestick is a ridge circulating around the body. Above this projection are four large medallions, each of which comprises the image of two animals locked in combat. They are a predatory animal and its prey: from right to left, a wolf and gazelle [fig. 3-2-a], a lion and deer [fig. 3-2-b], a tiger and bull [fig. 3-2-c], a lion and dragon-faced quadruped animal [fig. 3-2-d]. Alternating in between each medallion are four cartouches which are flanked vertically above and below by a half-medallion containing the image of a quadrupedal animal. Each of these cartouches is inscribed with Persian verses in elaborately executed *nasta 'līq* script (hereinafter, Doha verse A):

شمعی که بسوخت جان غم پروردم
تا گفت که پروانه خویشت گردهم
میمیرم اگر نمیروم نزدیکش
میسوزم اگر بگرد او میگردم

A candle, which burns my soul reared in sorrow [fig. 3-3-a]

until it [=my soul] says “I will be a moth of yourself” [fig. 3-3-b]

If I cannot get closer to Him, I will die [fig. 3-3-c]

[But] if I circumambulate around Him, I will be burnt [fig. 3-3-d]

Below the ridge are four small medallions, each of which contains the image of an animal (from right to left, a hare [fig. 3-4-a], a fox [fig. 3-4-b], a hare [fig. 3-4-c], and a leopard [fig. 3-4-d]). These alternate horizontally with four cartouches inscribed with Persian verses in the same script as Doha verse A (hereinafter, Doha verse B):

شمع ارچه چو من داغِ جدائی دارد

با گریه و سوز آشنائی دارد

سر رشته شمع به از رشته من

کان رشته سری بروشنائی دارد

Even if the candle also has a pain of separation like me [fig. 3-5-a]

[and] is familiar with a teardrop and flame [fig. 3-5-b]

A tip of its wick is better than the head of mine [fig. 3-5-c]

Because that wick has an illuminated head [fig. 3-5-d]

Both of these verses employ the theme of *sham 'u-parvānah* (candle and moth), one of the most popular standardized allegories of Persian mystical poetry. *Sham 'u-parvānah* is a metaphorical expression that compares the attitude of humans who yearn for *unio mystica* with the One Absolute God and practice ascetic lifestyles to the act of moth that cannot resist being attracted to light and drawn to a flame. Those involved in such asymmetrical relationships are defined as *'āshiq* (lover) and *ma 'shūq* (beloved) in Persian mystical poetry.⁷

A diverse range of metaphors relating to candles have been used in Persian literature from the tenth century.⁸ The motif of *sham 'u-parvānah* in particular, is most likely to have been integrated into Persian literature through the allegorical image

⁷ Other popular examples of such relationships include *gul-u-bulbul* (rose [=beloved] and nightingale [=lover]) and *gūy-u-chawgān* (ball [=beloved] and polo stick [=lover]).

⁸ Seyed-Gohrab 2012, 84.

created by Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), one of the most influential Persian mystics of his time: in his *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn*, al-Ḥallāj claimed that a moth was destined to realize the mystical union with the One Absolute God and achieve a new life in His love.⁹ It is common to find Iranian metalwork that bears inscriptions alluding or directly referring to a particular object and/or its function,¹⁰ and in case of candleholders, Persian verses featuring candle metaphors were frequently adopted. The earliest known such examples have been attributed by scholars to thirteenth-century Azerbaijan under the Ilkhanids¹¹ and Anatolia under the Seljuqs of Rum,¹² though only a few examples survive to date [see, for example, fig. 3-6].¹³ It is worth noting that one rare thirteenth-century example bears a quatrain from the section entitled “*sham ‘-u-shāhid* (a candle and a lover)” of *Nuzhat al-majālis* (Pleasure of the Assemblies), a well-known poetry anthology compiled in the mid-thirteenth century by Jamāl al-Dīn Khalīl Shirvānī.¹⁴ The use of candle metaphors continue throughout the fifteenth century, as evidenced by candlesticks inscribed with verses by Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 1390)¹⁵

⁹ Sugita 2001, 103–11.

¹⁰ Komaroff 1992, 63.

¹¹ Rice 1954, 16–17; Atil 1972, 1–2.

¹² Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 356–68.

¹³ Sarre 1906, 20, 80; Martin 1902, pl. 34. The latter is now at the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin (inv. no. I. 3577). For this object, see “Kerzenständer (Gefäß),” last modified on February 13, 2020, available at <https://smb.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=131361> (accessed on May 2, 2020).

¹⁴ Shirvānī 1987–88, 164 (no. 150).

¹⁵ Komaroff 1992, 150–03 (cat. no. 2). This poem is *ghazal* no. 343 in the Bakhtiyārī’s edition of Ḥāfiẓ’s collection of poems. See Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī 1939–40, 187, no. 343. Although the use of Ḥāfiẓ’s verses for inscriptions on candleholders became less frequent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the use of this particular *ghazal* seems to have continued until then, as evidenced in the torch stand in Toronto [Appendix 5, M_AKM_02].

and by Šālihī Khurāsānī (active during the second half of the fifteenth century) [figs. 3-7-a, 3-7-b].¹⁶

Nevertheless, it was probably not until the second half of the sixteenth century that this particular motif of *sham* ‘-*u-parvānah* became more widespread in inscriptions for candleholders made of brass. From this period onwards, torch stands with cylindrical pillar-shaped bodies rising from wide trumpet-shaped feet became immensely popular as the predominant form of brass candleholders. Some of these pillar-shaped torch stands bear the verses featuring the *sham* ‘-*u-parvānah* motif.¹⁷ As shown in Appendix 5, Persian verses cited as inscriptions on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iranian candleholders are diverse in terms of sources and topics. Some are good wishes for the owner; others make an allusion to a lamp (*chirāgh*) and/or the way it burns by conjugating the verb *sūkhtan*, to burn; still others refer to *sham* ‘ or *sham* ‘-*u-parvānah*. Among the verses on candleholders featuring the motif of *sham* ‘-*u-parvānah* are the quotes from Chapter 3, Section 25 of Sa‘dī Shīrāzī’s (d. 1291–92) *Būstān*, Jāmī’s (d. 1492) *ghazal* no. 283, Ḥayratī Tūnī’s (d. 1554) *ghazal*, and Vahshī Bāfqī (d. 1583), *ghazal* no. 193 [Appendix 4].¹⁸

The whole narrative of Doha verse A and verse B proceeds from the perspective of the lover, ‘I’. Yet the topic of each verse is rather different. Doha verse A equates the agony of ‘I’ who seeks ‘Him (i.e., the One Absolute God)’ to that of ‘a moth’ that pursues the flame of a ‘candle’. In Doha verse B, the ‘candle’ is portrayed as a double-faced figure who is not only the beloved but also the lover who sheds tears

¹⁶ Komaroff 1992, 187–88 (cat. no. 15), 230–32 (cat. no. 36).

¹⁷ Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 393, 398–99.

¹⁸ For the sources of these poems, see Appendix 4.

with the pain of separation with the other (most likely with the One Absolute God). Yet on the whole, Doha verse B stresses the superiority of the beloved (i.e., ‘candle’) over the lover (i.e., ‘me’), whose love remains perpetually unfulfilled.

The poetical inscriptions on the Doha candlestick have not apparently been identified by scholars on any other Iranian metalwork object. Yet there is at least one published pillar-shaped torch stand that seems to bear inscriptions of Doha verse A [figs. 3-8-a, 3-8-b; Appendix 4, M_Auc.S_12]¹⁹ and two pillar-shaped torch stands that appear to bear inscriptions of Doha verse B [figs. 3-9-a, 3-9-b, 3-9-c, 3-9-d; Appendix 4, M_Auc.S_06 and M_Auc.S_11].²⁰ Therefore, it is clear that Doha verses A and B were not composed exclusively for the Doha candlestick; the verses might have been transmitted orally from one craftsman to another, or cited from a written sourcebook. In the case of Doha verse A in particular, perhaps the latter scenario is more plausible, given its frequent occurrences in the Persian *tazkirahs* (biographical anthologies of poets) and dynastic chronicles composed in Iran and India around 1600.²¹ In these sources, the verse in question is attributed to the poet named Khalīfah Asadullāh. The most detailed biography of this figure is found in *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh* (Abstract of History, comp. 1590–91) by Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī: Khalīfah Asadullāh was born into a *sayyid* family in Isfahan. Having been a pious figure, he served as a treasurer at the

¹⁹ Sotheby’s London 2002, 94, lot no. 85. The same pillar-shaped torch stand seems to have been reauctioned seven years later. For this, see, Sotheby’s London 2009a, 116, lot no. 116. The verses remain undeciphered in both of these auction catalogues.

²⁰ For M_Auc.S_06, see <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2011/regards-sur-139orient-orientalist-paintings-and-sculptures-islamic-art-pf1119/lot.107.html> (accessed August 25, 2020). For M_Auc.S_11, see Sotheby’s London 2009b, lot no. 112; <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/arts-of-the-islamic-world-109723/lot.112.html> (accessed August 25, 2020).

²¹ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 46, no. 39; Qumī 2004, 1:439; Rāzī 2010, 2: 956.

mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā in Mashhad; At some point in his life, he held a discussion with a certain Mawlānā Aḥmad Abīvardī, in Kashan. He died without issue between the ages of sixty and seventy in the year 970h/1562–63.²² The fact that the Doha candlestick bears the poem composed by the sixteenth-century author alone raises doubts about the “Timurid” attribution of this piece.

Doha verse B, on the other hand, is cited in *tazkirahs* composed in Iran and India around 1600 as a poem ascribed to Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1253).²³ The slight difference in the topics of Doha verses A and B could thus be explained as a result of choosing verses that had been composed by different authors. The fact that both of these specific poems featuring the *sham ‘-u-parvānah* had been selectively recorded in *tazkirahs* compiled circa 1600 perhaps even suggests that, when choosing these verses, the candlestick’s craftsman and/or its patron could have consulted a certain common source that featured both.

As for the content of Doha verse A (i.e., the verse by Khalīfa Asadullāh) and that of verse B (i.e., the verse by Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī), they appear to have no obvious connection with the images incised on the same side. Given the function and shape of this object, however, it could be argued that both of these verses were chosen deliberately to serve as its inscriptions due to their subjects, for the candlestick is ultimately the place where the relationship between the candle and moth develops. The idea of regarding a candleholder as a part of such *sham ‘-u-parvānah* narrative is also evident in one of the illustrations inserted to the manuscript of the Persian version of

²² Qumī 2004, 1: 438–39. I would like to thank Professor Nobuaki Kondo for drawing my attention to this source.

²³ Rāzī 2010, 2:1159.

Zakariyā ibn Muḥammad Qazwīnī (d. 1283)’s *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā’ib al-mawjūdāt* (Wonders of Creation and Oddities of Existence), copied in 974h/1566 (Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.3.74, fol. 239a) [figs. 3-10-a, 3-10-b]. This illustration under the heading of *farāsh* (moth) shows a white moth with blue spots, flying toward a flame which emerges from a tall yellowish candle fixed to the golden-colored candlestick. While the text accompanying this illustration merely refers to a candle and not explicitly to its support, here a candlestick stands quietly beside the creature in question. The text reads:

It is called moth (*parvānah*). It falls upon the flame of fire until it burns up.

And it is said that, at night, the moth assembles around a candle (*sham ī*)...

And [the moth’s] idea of a house being dark [impels] itself to dive for the fire.²⁴

It should be noted, however, that during the Safavid period, such candlestick as seen in the Cambridge manuscript does not seem to have become a stock motif repeated in the illustration under the heading of *farāsh* in *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt*; the candle and its holder are not depicted in a manuscript produced in Shiraz dated 952h/1545 (Chester Beatty, Dublin, Per 212, fol. 511b) [fig. 3-11-a] and in another attributable to Shiraz in the 1540s (New York Public Library, Spencer Coll. Pers. MS. 49, fol. 368a) [fig. 3-11-b]. One could conclude that, in some cases, when the painter (or other individuals such

²⁴ Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.3.74, fols. 238b–239a; Zakariyā Qazwīnī 1961, 454.

as a patron) had a special interest in the moth's habit of approaching the flame of a candle, the candleholder was illustrated to further explain the whole situation.²⁵

III-2-2-2. Decorations on the Interior Surface of the Doha Candlestick

In contrast to its exterior surface, the interior surface of the Doha candlestick is less decorative. A careful examination of the inside surface of this object revealed a *waqf* inscription in Persian, executed in poor *nasta'liq* script:

وقف کرد این شمعدانرا اقا ولیخان بن قاسمعلی بآستانه منور مطهر امام موسی کاظم علیه
طمع کننده بلعنت خدا و نفرین رسول گرفتار باد

Āqā Valī Khān, the son of Qāsim 'Alī, endowed the splendid, purified
Threshold of Imām Mūsā Kāẓim—[may peace] be upon him—, with this
candlestick.
May those who were driven by greed for it [=the candlestick] be damned by
God and cursed by the Messenger [figs. 3-12-a, 3-12-b]

It is certain that this “splendid, purified Threshold of Imām Mūsā Kāẓim” corresponds to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 799), located at Kazimayn, a suburb of Baghdad in Iraq. Thus, it is most likely that this candlestick had originally been endowed to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim by a figure named Āqā Valī Khān,

²⁵ The production site of the Cambridge manuscript is not stated in the colophon. Thus, such lack of consistency found between the Cambridge manuscript and other sixteenth century manuscripts copied in Shiraz might also be explained by regional differences if this particular manuscript had been copied in another place.

sometime before it reached Doha via the Humayzi collection in 1999. The entombed, Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, is the seventh Imām according to Twelver Shīʿite doctrine. The Twelvers are one of the branches of Shīʿite Islam that regards only the descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 661), a son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632), to be Imāms, i.e. religious and political leaders of the Muslim community. This branch, in particular, adopts a position of believing that the religious and political leadership of the community has been passed down through male descendants from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib via Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, through to Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī (disappeared in 874), the twelfth Imām.²⁶

In what follows, the inscriptions and decorations on the exterior and interior surfaces of the Doha candlestick will be analyzed and compared to datable pieces from Iran in an attempt to ascertain the date of production and endowment of the Doha candlestick. Then, I will discuss the religious and political background of the endowment of this particular object from Iran to the mausoleum of one of the Twelver Shīʿite Imāms, namely Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, in Iraq. Lastly, I will propose a possible site of production of the candlestick in question by examining comparable pieces.

III-2-3. Date of Production and Endowment of the Doha Candlestick

²⁶ The Twelvers regard Mūsā al-Kāẓim as their seventh Imām, whereas the Ismāʿīlīs, one of the other Shīʿite sects, consider Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar (d. 762), the brother of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, to be their seventh Imām. Today, the Twelver is the largest of the Shīʿite sects and account for over 90 percent of the population in present-day Iran.

The practice of endowing crafts to mausolea of the saints²⁷ occurred almost everywhere in the Middle East and Central Asia for centuries.²⁸ As for metal candleholders in particular, they have not only been endowed to the mausolea of the saints²⁹ but also been actually used as furnishings in shrines, as testified by a late sixteenth-century folio of the *Fālnāmah* (Book of Omens), which illustrates a group of visitors to the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā, the eighth Imām according to the Twelver Shī‘ite doctrine (Topkapi Sarayı Museum, Hazine 1702, fol. 43b) [fig. 3-13].³⁰ The *waqf* deeds of this prominent mausoleum also mention the use of candlesticks in the building.³¹ Then, the question to be addressed is, when and why the endower of the Doha candlestick, namely Āqā Valī Khān b. Qāsim ‘Alī, chose the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim as a place to endow the object under consideration.

²⁷ The mausolea of the saints in the Middle East and Central Asia after the advent of Islam include those of the Prophet Muḥammad, his family (including Imāms and their descendants), his companions, the Prophets before him, various Sūfis, and other notable religious figures.

²⁸ To name a few, Shāh ‘Abbās I (r. 1588–1621) endowed a large quantity of Chinese porcelain to the mausoleum of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1334), the founder of the Ṣafavīya order located in Ardabil, in 1607–8. For this, see, Pope 1956.

²⁹ A certain Karīm Shughānī endowed the mausoleum of Sulṭān Abū Yazīd with a brass candlestick with silver inlay in 708h/1308 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 55.106). Melikian-Chirvani assumes this person to be identical to Abū Yazīd al-Baṣṭāmī (d. 848 or 875), the renowned Persian mystic, yet this identification is based on flimsy evidence. For this example, see Melikian-Chirvani 1987, 121–26, figs. 7–11. The practice of donating candlesticks to mausolea is not limited to the Persianate world. Sulṭān Qāytbāy (r. 1468–96), for instance, donated a brass candlestick (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 4297) to the mausoleum of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina in 1482–83. For this example, see Esin 1981, 100–1. For Ottoman examples, see Petsopoulos 1982, fig. 15d; Sotheby’s London 1989, lot no. 145.

³⁰ The fortune told by this particular folio is written in fol. 44a as follows: “...If you have inquired about someone ill, on Monday eve light a lantern as an offering to Imam Riza, peace be upon him, so that the sick person is cured, and your desire for the faith and the world is achieved...” (Farhad 2009, 286).

³¹ Morikawa and Werner 2017, 129–30 (no. 4), 147–48 (no. 19), 148–49 (no. 20), 166–88 (no. 34), 180–81 (no. 39), 187–88 (no. 46), 213 (no. 81), 224–25 (no. 86), 235–36 (no. 101), 272–80 (no. 147). The pagination follows that of Arabic numerals.

As mentioned above, the Doha candlestick has been registered by the MIA as an object produced in “Iran...[between] 1400 [and] 1500 CE” or during the “Timurid” period. However, as I have suggested, this attribution is improbable for several reasons. First, the decorative motif and script applied for this candlestick do not correspond with what is known to have been common during the fifteenth century in Iran. As highlighted by Anatoly Ivanov and Linda Komaroff, the practice of engraving decorative motifs comprising any kind of figural representation to brass objects in Iran had halted abruptly in the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century and did not resume for almost two centuries for unknown reasons.³² In addition, while the use of *nasta‘liq* script in Iran had commenced in the fourteenth century, it was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that the use of this script became more prominent in epigraphs applied to the metalwork.³³ The cursive scripts identifiable as *naskh* or *thuluth* were more favored for inscriptions on metalwork during the Timurid period.³⁴

Second, while two animals locked in combat had been used as a royal motif as early as the eighth century,³⁵ in Iran, this subject was one of the most popular decorative motifs applied to art objects after the late sixteenth century.³⁶ For example, this motif is woven into the field [fig. 3-14-a] and border [fig. 3-14-b] of the Medallion and Animal Carpet (Miho Museum, Koka, inv. no. SS1308), attributed to Iran during the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās I (r. 1588–1621); the animal-fight motif framed by the

³² Ivanov 2014, 19–23, 60–61; Komaroff 1992, 60.

³³ Ivanov 2014, 18–19; 59–60.

³⁴ Komaroff 1992, 62.

³⁵ For instance, the mosaic pavement at the reception hall of Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jericho (built in the first half of the eighth century) represents the combat of a lion and a gazelle underneath a tree of life.

³⁶ By then, animal motifs on art objects from Iran tended to appear in the form of a frieze of animals arranged horizontally around the objects.

octagonal star is found inscribed on an Iranian brass flask at the State Hermitage Museum (inv. no. VC-701) dated 1014h/1605–06 [figs. 3-15-a, 3-15-b]. Furthermore, the background design of spiral scrolls infilled with diagonal hatchings applied to the inscriptions and figural motifs of the Doha candlestick was relatively common in around 1600.³⁷ This background design is found among several dated Iranian brass wares from this period, as exemplified by aforementioned flask dated 1014h/1605–06, as well as a bowl at the State Hermitage Museum (inv. no. IR-2260), dated 999h/1590–91 [figs. 3-16-a, 3-16-b], and a ewer at Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 458-1876), dated 1011h/1602–03 [figs. 3-17-a, 3-17-b]. An undated pillar-shaped torch stand at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 91.1.573) [figs. 3-18-a, 3-18-b] and the undated pillar-shaped torch stand from the Sotheby's auction (cited above, sold at Sotheby's London 2002, 94, lot no. 85) [fig. 3-8-a], also have this type of background design. Given the quality of engraving and the arrangement of the cartouches alternating with animals, it is most likely that the Doha candlestick was produced by the same craftsman or at the same workshop as the pillar-shaped torch stands in the Metropolitan Museum [figs. 3-18-a, 3-18-b] and the Sotheby's auction in 2002 [figs. 3-8-a, 3-8-b]. The fact that the Sotheby's candlestick is also inscribed with a poem by Khalīfa Asadullāh – the author of Doha verse A – further supports this hypothesis.

Lastly, and most importantly, there is a nearly intact brass candlestick that bears an inscription recording a dedication for the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim and is dated 1007h/1598–99 [fig. 3-19-a]. This candlestick was acquired by Mr. Yanni Petsopoulos, the founder of Axia Art, the art dealer based in London, no later than

³⁷ Ivanov 2014, 15–18; 57–59.

1997.³⁸ It was auctioned at Sotheby's London on April 14th, 2010³⁹ after it was exhibited in 2009 at the *Shah 'Abbas: The Remaking of Iran* exhibition at the British Museum.⁴⁰ Its current whereabouts is unknown (hereinafter, the Sotheby's candlestick). At the time of the Sotheby's auction in 2010, this bell-shaped candlestick survived almost intact, measuring 37.5 cm in height and 30.5 cm in diameter of the bottom. The size is bigger than the Doha candlestick.

The only inscription that the Sotheby's candlestick has is that of an endowment deed [fig. 3-19-b]. The language used for this is Persian, along with several words in Arabic. Given the position and the quality of the inscription executed, it is likely that the Sotheby's candlestick was produced on the premise of inserting the inscription into the designated section; the skillful *nasta 'līq* inscription with a vegetal scrollwork background is carved on the beveled section connecting the body and neck of this candlestick. Therefore, it can be argued that the period between the candlestick's production and that of its endowment was likely a very short one. The inscription reads:

وقف آستان ملائک آشیان امام الجن و الإنس امام موسی کاظم صلوات الله علیه نمود
 کلب آن آستان خضر ابن بابا چولکی نهاوندی وزیر کاشان سنه سبع و الف⁴¹

The dog of that Threshold, Khiṣr ibn Bābā Chūlakī Nahāvandī, the vizier of Kashan, endowed the angel-residing Threshold of the Imām of jinn and human

³⁸ Zebrowski 1997, 117, pl. 126.

³⁹ Sotheby's London 2010a, 115, lot no. 159.

⁴⁰ Canby 2009, 212, pl. 103.

⁴¹ The reading of the inscription is based on the Sotheby's catalogue, cited in footnote no. 25. A photograph of the Sotheby's candlestick contained in this auction catalogue seems to be taken from an angle that is different from that of *Shah 'Abbas* exhibition.

beings, Imām Mūsā Kāzīm—may peace be upon him—with this candlestick.

1007[h/1598–99].

The inscription of the Sotheby's candlestick does not provide definitive information leading to the identification of a workshop or place of manufacture. Nevertheless, it could be safely attributed to Iran on the basis of the use of animal figures incised on the body. While brass candlesticks were produced under the Ottomans and the Mughals during the early modern period, the examples that survive from those domains are devoid of figural representations.⁴² Furthermore, the *nisba*, title, and epithet of the endower indicate that he had some sort of connection with cities in Iran and with the ruler in Iran. The endower's family was originally from the city of Nihavand and he worked as a vizier (*vazīr*) at Kashan; during the Safavid period, the official positions of viziers were allocated to Iranian cities such as Lar, Shiraz, Jahrum, Rasht, Mazandaran, Yazd, Isfahan, not to mention Kashan.⁴³ In addition, Khizr Nahāvandī's title of *kalb-i ān āstān* (the dog of that Threshold) echoes the formula used by Shāh 'Abbās I (r. 1588–1629), the fifth Safavid ruler, when he minted coins and endowed the mausoleum of Imām 'Alī b. Abī Tālib in Najaf with embroidered rugs [fig. 3-20].⁴⁴

⁴² For Mughal examples, see, Zebrowski 1997. Also, for Ottoman examples, see Allan 1982, 33–43, col. pls. 22–33, 35–38, 40–42.

⁴³ Rafī' Anṣārī 2018, 19, 178–79.

⁴⁴ As for coins, see, Poole 1887, 319, pl. II.47. With regard to rugs endowed to the mausoleum of Imām 'Alī in Najaf, see, Ağa-Oğlu 1941, 31–32, pls. III, V. Iskandar Bīg Turkmān, one of the authors of the dynastic chronicles from the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I remarks that this Shah called himself "*kalb-i āstān-i sa'ādat-āshiyān*" in order to show his devotion to Imām 'Alī. See, Iskandar Bīg Turkmān 1956, 2: 998; Iskandar Bīg Turkmān 1978, 2: 1221.

Previous literature on the Sotheby's candlestick has failed to identify the endower, Khiẓr ibn Bābā Chūlakī Nahāvandī. This figure was, in fact, a son of the poet Khvāja Āqā Bābā, also known as Mudrikī (d. 1591), and an elder brother of ‘Abd al-Bāqī Nahāvandī, the author of *Ma’āṣir-i Raḥīmī* (comp. 1616), the chronological-biographical work dedicated to the Mughal general ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān Khānān (d. 1627).⁴⁵ According to ‘Abd al-Bāqī Nihāvandī, who was born and raised in a town named Julak near Nihavand in Hamadan province, the illustrious acts of his elder brother, Khiẓr, were documented by Amīr Taqī al-Dīn Kāshī in his work entitled *Ma’āṣir-i Khiẓrīyah* (Illustrious Acts of Khiẓr).⁴⁶ Khiẓr enjoyed continuous royal patronage during the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās I; he had been appointed as a vizier at Lahijan in Gilan province and later as a deputy governor at Hamadan before he moved to Kashan in 1000h/1591–92.⁴⁷

From other Persian sources, the life of Khiẓr can be reconstructed as follows. Āqā Khiẓr Nihāvandī had been appointed as a vizier of Kashan in 1001h/1592–93.⁴⁸ Thus, at the time of the endowment, he was in this position for several years. In Rajab 1016h/1607, Khiẓr visited Sulṭān-ābad with Mīrzā Muḥammad (a vizier of Isfahan) and Mīr Ja‘far (a market inspector [*muḥtasib*] of Kashan) to meet Shāh ‘Abbās I who had dismounted at this town on his way back from his pilgrimage on foot to the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riẓā in Mashhad.⁴⁹ In the same year, however, Khiẓr died after being stabbed in the chest.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ I owe this information to Professor Kondo (email message to author, May 6, 2020).

⁴⁶ Nahāvandī 1931, 3: 1536. See also, Elliot 1867–77, 6: 239.

⁴⁷ Nahāvandī 1931, 3: 1538.

⁴⁸ Khūzānī Isfahānī 2015, 1:12, 120.

⁴⁹ Munajjim 1987, 329.

⁵⁰ Munajjim 1987, 332.

In short, the Sotheby's candlestick was made in 1598–99 by order of a local officer in Kashan (in central Iran) who had a remarkably close association with Shāh 'Abbās I, and endowed to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm in Kazimayn, one of the Twelver Shī'ite shrines in Iraq. Given this and other historical evidences cited above, it is most likely that the Doha candlestick had been produced at around 1600 and donated to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm during the same period or later.

III-3. Religious and Political Significance of the Mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm during the Safavid Period

Recent studies on the material culture of Islam show a burgeoning interest in the study of the culture of pilgrimage and endowment to the mausolea of the saints, as well as of manuscripts, craft objects and architecture in relation to pilgrimage.⁵¹ The state of pilgrimage from Iran to Twelver Shī'ite sites in Iraq, namely, to Najaf, Karbala, Kazimayn, and Samarra (as known as *'atabāt*) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, however, remains obscure due to a dearth of primary sources.⁵² Furthermore, research concerning the state of endowment to Twelver Shī'ite shrines in Iraq, from the residents of Iran under the Safavids, particularly those involving craft objects remains underdeveloped, with the notable exception of Mehmet Ağa-Oğlu's monograph on the textiles endowed to the shrine of Imām 'Alī in Najaf in 1941.⁵³ As exemplified by James Allan's works on the artistic patronage under the Twelver Shī'ite dynasties in Iraq, Iran and Indian Sub-continent,⁵⁴ there is a general lack of concern in art historical

⁵¹ See, for instance, Canby 2009.

⁵² Morikawa 2007, 38.

⁵³ Ağa-Oğlu 1941.

⁵⁴ Allan 2012; Allan 2015, 41–53.

studies about the political and religious significance of Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm for the Safavid Shāhs and the extent to which this particular Shī‘ite saint has been venerated by individuals in Iran. This study therefore seeks to redress this gap in the literature by presenting the Doha candlestick as a new primary source for the act of endowment to Twelver Shī‘ite sites in Iraq, from Iran, at around 1600.

Having fixed the period of production and endowment act to c. 1600, one should firstly review the political situation in which the holy sites associated with the Twelver Shī‘ites in Iraq found themselves at the turn of the seventeenth century. Iraq, in fact, had been an area of dispute between the Safavids and the Ottomans, the dynasty adjacent to the Safavids on its western border during the early modern period. From 1508 to 1638 in particular, this area changed hands three times. It belonged to the Safavids for only thirty-five years altogether, between 1508 and 1534 and between 1623 and 1638.⁵⁵ Therefore, in the year around 1600, Iraq was not under the rule of the Safavids, the dynasty that had adopted Twelver Shī‘ism as its state religion, but of the Ottomans, a Sunni dynasty that did not particularly care to highlight the importance of the Twelver Shī‘ite saints.⁵⁶ Due to these hostilities, it might have been difficult, if not impossible, for people in Safavid Iran to visit and donate their properties to Twelver Shī‘ites mausolea in Iraq during the period in which they were under Ottoman control.⁵⁷ Then, why did Āqā Valī Khān b. Qāsim ‘Alī and Khizr ibn Bābā Chūlakī Nahāvandī

⁵⁵ Matthee 2003, 157.

⁵⁶ This does not mean that this Sunni dynasty had extremely hostile attitudes towards the Twelver Imāms.

⁵⁷ This may also have been the case with individuals from Safavid Iran performing the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. In 976h/1568–69, for instance, there was an incident where Ma‘šūm Bīg Šafavī, the agent of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524–76) was killed by Ottoman pilgrims/soldiers(?) on his way to Mecca and Medina. For this event, see Rūmlū 1978, 570.

choose to endow those pieces to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Kazimayn, Iraq?

One should note here the political and religious significance of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the saint entombed in the mausoleum to which the Doha candlestick was donated, for the Safavids, who sought to reinforce their claims of legitimacy. Successive Safavid Shāhs alleged that they traced their lineage back to Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, who was himself descended from Imām Ḥusayn (d. 680), the third Imām and the grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad. *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* (Purity of the Pure), a hagiography of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1334), the founder of the Ṣafavīya order, written in 1358, does not make any reference to this “official” genealogy. By the 1460s, however, this genealogy had already been forged and circulated in Iraq for some reasons.⁵⁸ Despite the short length of their occupation of Iraq, the Safavids invested considerably in the mausolea of Twelver Shī‘ite saints in the region, not to mention that of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Upon seizing Baghdad from the Aq Qoyunlu (1378–1508) in 1508, for instance, Shāh Ismā‘īl I (r. 1501–24), the first Safavid Shāh, endowed the mausolea of Imām ‘Alī in Najaf and Imām Ḥusayn in Karbala not only with lands in Iraq but also with chandeliers and carpets. At the same time, he commissioned a new mausoleum over the burial place of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Kazimayn.⁵⁹ Furthermore, during his one-month stay in Baghdad after his seizure of the city on 23 Rabi‘ I 1033/January 14, 1624, Shāh ‘Abbās I visited Kazimayn several times, and enriched the mausoleum there with colorful carpets, decorative coverings for chests, and so on.⁶⁰ In Iran, the aforementioned

⁵⁸ Morimoto 2010, 463–69.

⁵⁹ Ghareghlou 2011, 608–9.

⁶⁰ Iskandar Bīg Turkmān 1956, 2: 1004; Iskandar Bīg Turkmān 1978, 2: 1227.

“official” genealogy seems to have been distributed not only through the compilation of dynastic chronicles by the court historians,⁶¹ but also through the insertion of the *nisba* “al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsāwī” immediately after the names of the Safavid Shahs on the inscriptions of visible locations such as façades and domes of the religious monuments patronized by them [figs. 3-21-a, 3-21-b].⁶² Therefore, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the “official” genealogy that linked the Safavid Shahs to Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim might have been widely promoted to the population under the Safavids.

It can thus be suggested that these candlesticks, namely the Doha candlestick and the Sotheby’s candlestick, testify to the endowers’ political loyalty to the dynasty by their tangible support of the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Alternatively, it may be the case that these examples reflect the spread of the personal veneration of this particular Imām among the population under the Safavids, following the government’s promotion of “official” genealogy.⁶³

Again, it might have been an arduous task for residents in Iran to visit Iraq during the time it was under Ottoman rule. We must consider the possibility that there were some cases where people in Iran donated their properties to a mausoleum of the relative of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim in their vicinity to express their piety to the saint, rather than donating directly to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim [fig. 3-22-a]. To give a pertinent example, a brass pillar-shaped torch stand (National Museum of Iran, inv. no. 3626) which is said to have been discovered at Isfahan⁶⁴ and most likely

⁶¹ For instance, see, Amīnī Hiravī 2004, 1–2.

⁶² For the transcription of the inscriptions on the mausoleum of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn in Ardabil, see Rizvi 2011, 207.

⁶³ It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to trace how this particular Imām was perceived by the public during the Safavid period.

⁶⁴ This provenance is stated in the caption of this candlestick at the gallery of the Islamic section of

at the mausoleum of Zayd b. Mūsā in Isfahan,⁶⁵ bears the inscription as follows in the uppermost section of its shaft:⁶⁶

در روضه امام زاده معصوم مطهر شاه زید کبیر بن امام موسی کاظم صل الله علیه و علیهم اجمعین

امامی که رو بند خاک درش را خلائق بمثگان ملائک بشهیر

هر کس که تصرف کند خلاف امر خدای و رسول خدای کرده باشد

لعن الله علی المخالفین سنه ۱۰۰۸

In the mausoleum of an immaculate and pure descendant of Imām, Shāh Zayd-i Kabīr, the son of immaculate Imām, Imām Mūsā Kāzīm –May God send blessings upon him and all of them– [fig. 3-22-b], such Imām as people clean the dust of his door with [their] eyelashes and angels [clean the dust of his door] with the longest feathers in their wings [fig. 3-22-c]. Every person who disposes of [this torch stand] will be opposed to the order of God and the

the National Museum of Iran.

⁶⁵ According to Dāmin b. Shadqam al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī (d. after 1679), the Medina-born seventeenth-century Shī‘ite genealogist who visited Isfahan several times during his lifetime, the mausoleum of Zayd b. Mūsā Kāzīm was located in Isfahan (al-Madanī 1999, 2: 373). It is not clear whether this is the same mausoleum as the now-existing mausoleum of “Shāh Zayd” in Isfahan, which Abolala Soudavar suggests in his article to be the dedicatee of the candlestick in question (Soudavar 2008, 271). See also, Hunarfar 1965, 389, which introduces the now-existing mausoleum of “Shāh Zayd” in Isfahan to be that of Zayd b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn (d. 740), the son of the fourth Imām ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn. Today, this mausoleum is best known for its late nineteenth-century mural paintings depicting the passion play (*ta‘ziyah*) that commemorated the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn. For this, see Chelkowski 1989, 103–09; Godard 1937b. As transcribed by Godard, above the portal of this mausoleum is the inscription indicating its renovation in 1097h/1685–86 during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1666–94).

⁶⁶ It also bears the Persian poetical inscriptions on its shaft and lip [Appendix 4, M_Tehran_04, 101, 118–19; Appendix 5, 131–33, 138].

Prophet of God. May the damnation(?) of God be upon the opposers. The year 1008h/1599–1600.⁶⁷ (emphasis added)

It could be argued that the underlined clause in prose, starting from the words “such Imām as (*imāmī ki*),” emphasizes the preeminence of “Imām Mūsā Kāẓim” rather than his son, Shāh Zayd-i Kabīr. This is because the concept of considering dust in relation to the Twelver Imāms (in particular, the eighth Imām ‘Alī al-Riẓā [d. 818]) to be of benefit to the devoted seems to have been particularly popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For instance, an expression analogous to this was inscribed on a pillar-shaped torch stand most likely to have been donated to the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riẓā in Mashhad: such king as eye powder for every eye is from the dust of his feet (“*shāhī ki khuḥl-i har baṣar az khāk-i pā-yi ūst*”).⁶⁸ It was made in India (“*sākht dar Hind*”) and dated 1st Jumada II 946h/October 14th, 1539 (Museum of Āstān Quds Raẓavī, Mashhad, inv. no. 1253) [figs. 3-23-a, 3-23-b, 3-23-c].⁶⁹ Moreover, in the contemporaneous dynastic chronicle, *Tārīkh-i ‘ālam ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī* (World-adorning History of ‘Abbās, comp. 1616) by Iskandar Bīg Turkmān, this exact expression concerning dust was used in the context of Shāh ‘Abbās I’s pilgrimage to Mashhad after

⁶⁷ Melikian-Chirvani interpreted the word *Shāh Zayd* to be *shāh-i zindah* (“roi vivant”), and considered the words *imāmzādah*, *shāh-i zindah*, *kabīr*, and *ma ‘šūm* to be the epithet of “Imām Mūsā Kāẓim,” for whom he believed this pillar-shaped torch stand was dedicated. The current author confirms that his reading, *shah-i zindah*, is wrong, as Soudavar pointed out, on the basis of her own photographs taken at the gallery of the Islamic section of the National Museum of Iran in March 2017. For the dispute between Melikian-Chirvani and Soudavar, see Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 374; Soudavar 2008, 271.

⁶⁸ Shabīriyān 1967a, 161.

⁶⁹ This object is also inscribed as “the product of Lahore (*sākht-i Lāhūr*)”. See, Shabīriyān 1967a, 160–62; Shāyistahfar and Muḥammadiān 2009, 57–58; Kafīlī 2012, 111–116; Amīr-Kulā’ī et al. 2018, 8–9, 11. According to Ivanov, this object is the earliest precisely dated pillar-shaped torch stand (Ivanov 2014, 63). See also, Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 263.

his victory over the Ottomans, who controlled the territories of Shirvan and Azerbaijan for nearly twenty-five years, in 1016/1607.⁷⁰ Since Shāh Zayd-i Kabīr was not considered to be one of the Twelver Imāms, it is unlikely that the same epithet would be applied to him and there is no evidence, as yet, to suggest it was ever used in relation to him. In other words, it is more likely that the underlined clause in prose, starting from the words “such Imām as (*imāmī ki*),” highlighted the importance of “Imām Mūsā Kāẓim” rather than his son, Shāh Zayd-i Kabīr. In short, it is possible that, during the period when Iraq was under Ottoman rule, there were some cases where people in Iran donated their properties to a mausoleum of the relative of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim in their vicinity to express their piety to the saint, rather than donating directly to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim located at Kazimayn in Iraq.

Two candlesticks (namely, the Doha candlestick and the Sotheby’s candlestick) we have analyzed thus far testify to the act of endowment to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim from Iran around 1600 or later, however. Such material evidence for the religious devotion to this particular Imām by individuals under the Safavids supports the claim of Evliya Çelebi (d. c. 1685). In his *Siyāhat-nāmah* (Book of Travel), Evliya Çelebi, the author who traveled around the Ottoman domain and its neighboring regions for thirty-three years from around the 1640s onwards, provided a first-hand account of the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim as follows:

...Inside its light-filled dome there are so many exquisitely crafted hanging ornaments, chandeliers, gilded lamps, torch holders and candlesticks that is

⁷⁰ Iskandar Bīg Turkmān 1956, 2:754.

impossible for the tongue to describe or the pen to write about. There are 200 servants since this is a large charitable foundation. All Persia sends oblations. Each year thousands of Persians are brought to be interred around here. All the residents of this town are the servants of Imam Musa...⁷¹

In summary, it has been suggested that the Doha candlestick was endowed to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Kazimayn around 1600 or later, the period in which this town was under the control of the Ottomans, apart from the years between 1623 and 1638. During this period, the visitation of the mausoleum from Iran to Iraq might have been an arduous task. Given the fact that the piece comparable to this candlestick (i.e. the Sotheby's candlestick) was endowed by the figure who had a close connection with Shāh 'Abbās I, and that the successive Safavid Shahs established their legitimacy in Iran by tracing their lineage back to Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, it is possible that the Doha candlestick, transferred from Iran to Iraq, testifies to the endower's political loyalty to the dynasty, or reflects the spread of the personal veneration of this particular Imām among the population under the Safavids, following the government's promotion of "official" genealogy.

III-4. Possible Site of Production of the Doha Candlestick and Related Pieces

Having discussed the religious and political backgrounds of the endowment of the Doha candlestick and its counterpart (i.e., the Sotheby's candlestick) from Iran to

⁷¹ Atasoy 2015, 1: 122; Çelebi 2001, 4: 259. Allan cites entries in the Arabic biological encyclopedias by Ibn Khalikān (d. 1282) and Yāqūt al-Hamāwī (d. 1229) to show that these authors were acquainted with the furnishings (e.g. lamps and carpets etc.) used in the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim (Allan 2012, 86).

the mausoleum of one of the Twelver Shī‘ite Imāms, namely Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm, in Iraq, the final section of this chapter explores the possible site of production of these pieces.

With respect to brass objects from the Safavid period, Melikian-Chirvani proposes the existence of two main centers of production: Khurasan province (“Eastern Iranian School”) and Jibal province (“Western Iranian School”).⁷² He argues that Khurasan province, where production of brass objects during the fifteenth century has largely been established through epigraphical evidence,⁷³ continued to be the main production area of brass objects during the sixteenth century. He suggests that the aforementioned torch stand in Museum of Āstān Quds Rażavī (inv. No. 1253), inscribed as “made in India” and dated 1st Jumada II 946h/October 14th 1539, to be the work of the artist from the province in question. In support of this attribution, he claims that this torch stand bears “an ode by Ahlī Torshīzī, a poet who died in 934 or 936/September 1527–September 1528, or September 1529–August 1530, about ten years before the piece was made. That makes a Khorasanian province very likely indeed.”⁷⁴ However, this claim is totally unacceptable not only because this torch stand has not been inscribed with the frequently cited poem by Ahlī Turshīzī, as he reports. Instead, it is inscribed with an otherwise unknown poem that makes special reference to Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā [fig. 3-23-c]. It is highly problematic because some scholars still take

⁷² Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 260.

⁷³ There is a brass jug dedicated to Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 1469–1506) in the Timurid court of Herat and signed by a craftsman whose *nisba* is Ghūrī (British Museum, inv. no. 1962.7.18.1). In addition, as first noted by Ivanov, the fact that a substantial number of brass objects from this period include poems composed by poets a minor local poet such as Ṣāliḥī Khurāsānī. See Komaroff 1992, 179–80 (cat. no. 12), 187–88 (cat. no. 15), 230–32 (cat. no. 36).

⁷⁴ Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 263. Ahlī Turshīzī’s *nisba*, Ahlī Turshīzī, is derived from Turshiz, a town located in Khurasan.

Melikian's erroneous description concerning this piece at face value, without examining the actual content of the inscriptions.⁷⁵ In support of the "Western Iranian" attribution, he cites a pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed with the name of the endower whose *nisba* is Kāshānī and dated 969h/1561–62 (Iraq Museum, inv. no. 10469; termed the "Kashan-Samarra torch stand" below), and claims "[t]hat, in conjunction with the abstract patterns in the Western manner, indicates the *mash'al* [i.e., torch stand] is of Western Iranian provenance."⁷⁶ However, one piece of brass object with the name of the donor of "Western Iranian" *nisba* (i.e., Kāshānī) by no means accounts for the production site of the comparable materials.

Ivanov, on the other hand, avoids making specific reference to the production site(s) of brass objects during the Safavid period on the basis of epigraphic or stylistic evidence.⁷⁷ Remarkably, however, he provided textual evidence for the production of copper wares in Kashan for the first time (brass is an alloy mainly composed of copper and zinc). That is, a name of the poet-cum-coppersmith who had been active in Kashan in the late seventeenth century, as recorded in *Muzzakir al-aṣḥāb* (Remembrance of the Friends; completed in Samarqand in 1692–93), a *tazkirah* composed by Muḥammad Badī' Malīḥā Samarqandī. Ivanov laments the impossibility of finding surviving metalwork signed by this poet-cum-coppersmith, Anvar Kāshānī.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ See, for instance, Wood 2018, 41.

⁷⁶ Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 264.

⁷⁷ Ivanov 2014, 14, 57. According to Ivanov, the brass objects produced in Iran between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries bear the names of craftsmen whose *nisba* ranges from "Bahrajani, Birjandi..., Kuhistani, Farsi..., Kashani, Guri..., Heravi, Shirazi, Rouhani, Tabrizi...[to] Yezdi," and thus judging only from these *nisbas*, "these masters worked all over Iran." Unfortunately, Ivanov does not provide the list of objects that he consulted and thus it is not clear how many of these *nisbas* are inscribed on objects dated or dateable after 1501.

⁷⁸ Ivanov 2014, 14–15, 57.

Nevertheless, a close reading of *Muzzakir al-aṣḥāb* allows us to reveal more about the production of copperwares in Kashan. In the entry under “Anvar” in this *tazkirah*, Malīḥā Samarqandī claims that it was this Anvar who introduced him to a group of poets in Kashan when he visited this town. He describes Anvar in a hyperbolic manner, as a prosperous coppersmith skilled in turning a perfectly formed vessel. What is important to emphasize here is Malīḥā Samarqandī’s remark that Anvar learned both the craft of poetry-making as well as the craft of copper-smithing from his father, Fāzil-’ī Kāshānī (*Shāgird-i vālid-i khud dar fann-i shi‘r va ham dar īn fann-i misgarī mī bāshad*).⁷⁹ Malīḥā Samarqandī also records a biography of Fāzil-’ī Kāshānī in the same *tazkirah*; there he does not describe this figure as a coppersmith but as “one of the most excellent poets of his time”.⁸⁰ From these entries, it could conceivably be hypothesized that the coppersmith industry in Kashan had been established at least one generation earlier than that of Anvar Kāshānī who was active as a poet-cum-coppersmith in the early 1680s, and that those who engaged in this industry had a close connection with the community of poets.

The question to be addressed here is whether one can find corroborating evidence that supports the production of brass objects in Kashan before the late seventeenth century. Here it is important to stress that Khiṣr Nahāvandī, the endower of the Sotheby’s candlestick, was among one of three figures who had some sort of connection with this town, Kashan, the long-established Twelver Shī‘ite town,⁸¹ and

⁷⁹ Malīḥā Samarqandī 2006, 114; Malīḥā Samarqandī 2011, 105.

⁸⁰ Malīḥā Samarqandī 2006, 356–57; Malīḥā Samarqandī 2011, 288–289 (no. 82). It might be the case that Fāzil-’ī Kāshānī had already retired from copper-smithing when Malīḥā Samarqandī visited Kashan in the early 1680s.

⁸¹ In *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* (Dictionary of the Countries; completed in 1228), for instance, Yāqūt describes the residents of this town as the Twelver Shī‘ite (*shī‘ah imāmah*). See Yāqūt 1957, 4: 296–

endowed their candleholders to the mausolea of the Twelver Shī‘ite Imāms in the late sixteenth century. Other two figures include Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī Kāshānī who endowed the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā (d. 818) in Mashhad with the pillar-shaped torch stand datable to the late sixteenth century on the basis of its beveled and zigzag patterned decoration [figs. 3-24-a, 3-24-b, 3-24-c]⁸² and Shams al-Dīn Kātībī Kāshī who dedicated the pillar-shaped torch stand to the joint mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Naqī (d. 868) and Imām Ḥusayn al-‘Askarī (d. 874) in Samarra in 969h/1561–62 [figs. 3-25-a, 3-25-b, 3-25-c].⁸³ Hereinafter, I call the former “Kashan-Mashhad torch stand” and the latter “Kashan-Samarra torch stand.”

The table below compares these three examples and the Doha candlestick. They seem to imply that the Twelver Shī‘ite community in Kashan had been a major clients of the brass candleholders used at the mausolea of their Imāms during the late sixteenth century:

97.

⁸² Shāyistahfar and Muḥammadiān 2009, 58–59; Amīr-Kulā’ī et al. 2018, 7, 10. A comparable dated pillar-shaped torch stand with beveled and zigzag patterned decorations appeared on the market in 2010. For this, see, Sotheby’s 2010b, 167, lot no. 205. According to this catalogue, the rim of this pillar-shaped torch stand is inscribed in Armenian characters: “Labaninay son of Martiros in the year 1027.” The year 1027 in the Armenian calendar is equivalent to 1577–78 in the Gregorian calendar.

⁸³ Melikian-Chirvani 1976, 290–91, fig. 9; Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 264.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Current location | Museum of Āstān Quds Raḡavī, inv. no. n.a. ("Kashan-Mashhad torch stand") [figs. 3-24-a~c] | Iraq Museum, inv. no. 10469 ("Kashan-Samarra torch stand") [fig. 3-25] | Current whereabouts unknown ("Sotheby's candlestick") [figs. 3-19-a~b] | Museum of Islamic Art inv. no. MW.152.1999 ("Doha candlestick") [figs. 3-1, 3-2-a~d, 3-3-a~d, 3-4-a~d, 3-5-a~d, 3-12-a~b] |
| Destination of the endowment | Mausoleum of Imām 'Alī al-Riḡā, Mashhad (Iran) | Joint-mausoleum of Imām 'Alī al-Naqī and Imām Ḥusayn al-'Askarī, Samarra (Iraq) | Mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim, Kazimayn (Iraq) | Mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim, Kazimayn (Iraq) |
| Endower | Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī Kāshānī | Shams al-Dīn Kātibī Kāshī | Khizr ibn Bābā Chūlakī Nihāvandī, the vizier of Kashan between 1001h/1592–93 and 1016h/1607 | Āqā Valī Khān b. Qāsim 'Alī |
| Date | n/a (c. 1560–160) | 969h/1561–62 | 1007h/1598–99 | n/a (c. 1600) |
| Shape | Torch stand | Torch stand | Candlestick | Candlestick |
| Poetical inscriptions in Persian | Unidentified A | Ahlī Turshizi, ghazal | - | Doha verse A (identified as the verses by Khalīfah Asadullāh) + Doha verse B (identified as the verses by Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī) |
| Figural Representations | - | - | Animal medallions | Animal medallions |

Table: Iranian candleholders donated to the mausolea of Twelver Shī'ite Imāms, possibly from Kashan c. 1560–1610

This new finding seems to be consistent with Emily Savage-Smith's research which revealed the existence of three brass divination bowls datable to the mid-sixteenth century that had been either signed or owned by certain figures whose *nisbas* were "Kāshānī".⁸⁴ One may add two brass magic bowls in the State Hermitage Museum to her list: "the work of Ḥusayn Kāshānī" dated 3 Sha'ban 959h/July 25 1552 (inv. no. IR-2191) [figs. 3-26-a, 3-26-b],⁸⁵ and an undated one signed "the work of Ḥusayn Kāshānī" (inv. no. IR-2192).⁸⁶ All of these five examples have been incised with Qur'ānic verses, prayers to Muḥammad and the Twelver Imāms, and magical

⁸⁴ Savage-Smith 2003, 240, 245–46. The objects identified by Savage-Smith include: a brass magic bowl at the British Museum (inv. no. 1902.8-12.1), signed by its owner, Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Sulṭān Kāshānī; another brass magic bowl auctioned at Christie's London on October 20, 1992 (lot no. 158), dated 27 Ramaḡān 960h/September 27, 1553 and signed by its maker, Ḥusayn Kāshānī; the other brass magic bowl at the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh (inv. no. 1886.393), signed by its maker, Ḥusayn Kāshānī and its owner, Āqā Yūsuf Iṣfahānī.

⁸⁵ Ivanov 2014, 96–97, no. 26.

⁸⁶ Ivanov 2014, 97–99, no. 27.

writing. While her proposal to attribute production of these objects to Kashan requires more conclusive evidence, her suggestion for their use in the Shī'ite community on the basis of their design is quite persuasive, due to the presence of prayers to the Twelver Imāms and the use of magical writing.

Another distinctive feature of the candleholders listed in the table above is the inclusion of figural representations as well as the use of poetical inscriptions in Persian, executed in *nasta'liq* script: the Sotheby's candlestick and the Doha candlestick are embellished with animal medallions; with the exception of the Sotheby's candlestick, they all have Persian poetical inscriptions whose contents allude to their functions. Then the question arises as to whether these verses were specially and deliberately selected on the request of commissioners who had the fixed intention of donating the candleholders to the mausolea of the Twelver Shī'ite Imāms. In this regard, one may point out the notable fact, that the quality of handwriting of the *waqf* inscriptions on the Doha candlestick [figs. 3-12-a, 3-12-b] does not match that of the poetical inscriptions on the same object [figs. 3-3-a, 3-3-b, 3-3-c, 3-3-d, 3-5-a, 3-5-b, 3-5-c, 3-5-d]. The placement and spatial arrangement of the *waqf* inscription on the Doha candlestick further implies that it had not been designed as parts of the program of inscriptions but was inserted after the object's initial production. This is also the case with the Kashan-Mashhad torch stand [figs. 3-24-a, 3-24-b, 3-24-c] and the Kashan-Samarra torch stand [fig. 3-25]. With respect to the content of the Persian verses inscribed on these three objects, the Doha candlestick is inscribed with the verses concerning *sham* 'u-*parvānah* by Khalīfah Asadullāh (d. 1562–63) and Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1253), as discussed above. The Kashan-Mashhad torch stand is inscribed with an unidentified poem on the allegory of *sham* ' (candle); the same poem is found inscribed on an undated pillar-

shaped torch stand at the State Hermitage Museum (inv. no. IR-2202) [figs. 3-27-a, 3-27-b, 3-27-c, 3-27-d, 3-27-e; M_SHM_04]. The Kashan-Samarra torch stand, on the other hand, is inscribed with the frequently cited poem by Ahlī Turshīzī, referring to *chirāgh* (lamp, light, the wick of a candle). Consequently, it seems more plausible that *waqf* inscriptions of these three examples were added later to the ready-made, perhaps even commercial, candleholders that had already been inscribed with the verses alluding to their functions. In other words, the verses on *sham* ‘-u-parvānah, *sham* ‘ or *chirāgh* do not seem to have been chosen with the intention to locate the inscribed objects exclusively to the Twelver Shī‘ite mausolea in Mashhad, Samarra, and Kazimayn, respectively. Even so, it is confirmed that the use of furnishings with Persian mystical poetry and that of figural representations at the religious settings, in particular the mausolea of the Twelver Shī‘ite Imāms, were entirely acceptable by the 1560s.

One may also point out the significant fact that some “commercial” candleholders produced between 1560s and 1610s bear the inscriptions of poems by poets who spent part of their lives in Kashan during the contemporaneous period. These include Mawlānā Ni‘matī Kāshānī (d. 1552–53), Ḥayratī Tūnī (d. 1554), Vaḥshī Bāfqī (d. 1583), Muḥtasham Kāshānī (d. 1588) and to a lesser degree, Khalīfah Asadullāh (d. 1562–63) [Appendix 5]. While their poems seem to have been widely circulated in Iran and India during the period when such candleholders were consistently produced, it is remarkable that five out of six verses attributable to sixteenth-century authors were in fact composed by those who had evident connections with the town.

This chapter set out to investigate the cultural and religious context of the production and use of poetically inscribed brass candleholders during the Safavid period. Through the analysis of the surface decorations on the Doha candlestick and

related pieces, this study suggested that a probable date of production of the Doha candlestick should be around 1600. It also revealed the existence of a group of ready-made brass candleholders, including those inscribed with Persian verses, which were endowed to the mausolea of the Twelver Shī'ite Imāms around 1560–1610 by figures who had some sort of connection to Kashan, the long-established center of the Twelver Shī'ite population. Such poetically inscribed brass candleholders might have emerged out of the cultural and artistic milieu of Kashan, where poets and coppersmiths had maintained a harmonious relationship.

Chapter Four: “Men and Jinns, Birds and Beasts, and Angels and Demons Have Laid their Heads in the Court of His Majesty”: A Silk Covering Reportedly from the Mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā, Mashhad

IV-1. Introduction

IV-2. The Relationship of Religious Architecture and its Textile Furnishings with Persian Poetry during the Safavid Period

IV-3. The Cincinnati Covering

IV-3-1. Text, Image, and Intended Place of Use of a Silk Covering Reportedly from the Mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā, Mashhad

IV-3-2. Possible Function and Date of Production of the Cincinnati Covering

IV-1. Introduction

Chapter Three proposed the possible involvement of the Twelver Shī‘ite community in Kashan in the making and using of the ready-made brass candleholders inscribed with Persian verses. There was also some indication that the use of furnishings with Persian mystical poetry and figural representations at the mausolea of the Twelver Shī‘ite Imāms was seen to be acceptable to a certain degree around 1600.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, silk cloth and carpets were also inscribed with Persian verses and some such textiles could be associated with specific monuments in Iran. Chapter Four attempts to investigate the phenomenon of the permeation of Persian verses as well as figural representations into religious architecture in more detail, by focusing on a poetically inscribed textile that could be associated with the mausoleum of the eighth Imām, ‘Alī al-Riżā (d. 818), the only Twelver Imām who died in Iran, in Mashhad.

IV-2. The Relationship between Religious Architecture and its Textile Furnishings with Persian Poetry during the Safavid Period

The relationship between religious architecture and its furnishings with Persian poetry during the Safavid period has only recently become a topic of inquiry. With respect to textiles, to date, scholars have investigated two groups of carpets that were specially commissioned and installed at the mausolea of saints: a pair of so-called Ardabil carpets dated 946h/1539–40 and said to have been dedicated to the mausoleum of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1334), the founder of the Ṣafavīyah order, located in Ardabil¹; and fragments of the so-called Mahan carpet dated 1067h/1656–57 and dedicated to the mausoleum of Shāh Ni‘matallāh Valī (d. 1431), the founder of the Ni‘matallāhī order, located in Mahan. While the Ardabil carpets and the Mahan carpet were mentioned together by Sheila Blair in her studies on the pair of Ardabil carpets, she did not compare the content and style of the poetical inscriptions because her point in juxtaposing them was to draw readers’ attention to the layout of these carpets within the mausolea.² Therefore, the rest of this section will review the content and style of the poetical inscriptions on each group of carpets, as well as their connection with the intended place of use within the mausoleum and with their respective patrons. Then, it will contrast the elements of the pair of Ardabil carpets with those of the Mahan carpet.

First, in regard to the pair of Ardabil carpets, both bear an opening distich from *ghazal* no. 51 by Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī (d. 1390) in their inscription and are dated 946h/1539–

¹ For a discussion on the provenance of the Ardabil carpets, see, M. Beattie, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. “Ardabīl carpet”: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ardabil-carpet-persian-carpet-acquired-by-the-victoria-and-albert-museum-in-1893> (accessed October 28, 2020). See also, Blair 2014, 233–34; Blair 2003, 126–28.

² Blair 2003, 137–38; Blair 2014, 255. For the published edition of this verse, see, Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī 1939–40, 29–30, *ghazal* no. 51.

40.³ The carpets were studied by Sheila Blair in 2014 in relation to the artistic milieu of the Safavid court and the hall known as the *jannat sarāy* (lit. Paradisal Palace) of the mausoleum of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn in Ardabil⁴ [figs. 4-1-a, 4-1-b, 4-2-a, b]. The inscription reads:

جز آستانِ توام در جهان پناهی نیست [\\]

سر مرا بجز این در حواله گاهی نیست [\\]

عمل بنده درگاه مقصود کاشانی سنه ۹۴۶

I have no refuge in this world other than thy threshold;

My head has no resting place other than this doorway.⁵

Work of the servant of the *dargāh*,⁶ Maqṣūd Kāshānī, the year 946[h/1539–40]

On translating the word *āstān* as “threshold,” Blair states: “[t]he punning text in the inscribed cartouche at the top of the carpets confirms the attribution to a shrine.”⁷ In

³ One of the Ardabil carpets is possessed by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (inv. no. 272-1893) and measures 1051 cm x 534 cm. The other is now at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (inv. no. 53.50.2) and measures 719 cm x 400 cm. A few fragments from the latter are preserved in the David Collection, Copenhagen (inv. no. 25/2008), for which see, <https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/materials/textiles/art/25-2008> (accessed October 28, 2020). They are also preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (inv. no. 03.701), for which, see, Blair 2014, 269, fig. 6.25.

⁴ For the history of the architecture of the mausoleum of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn in Ardabil, see, Rizvi 2011.

⁵ Translation after Blair 2014, 232. Blair’s earlier study on the Ardabil carpets does not engage in a discussion of the content of this *ghazal* and the cultural background of this citation (Blair 2003). According to modern commentary on this *ghazal*, *āstān* means *dargāh* (lit. place of a door). For this, see, Jalāliyān 2000–1, 489.

⁶ Blair translates the word *dargāh* as “court” (Blair 2014, 232).

⁷ Blair 2014, 234.

addition, she examines the reception of verses by Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī by the Safavid court during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524) and argues that the pair of Ardabil carpets and one of the most splendid illuminated manuscripts of Ḥāfiẓ's works "clearly belong[ed] to the same artistic milieu."⁸ In her support of Donald King's hypothesis that this pair of Ardabil carpets might have been designed for the *jannat sarāy*, Blair further proposes that while the *jannat sarāy* had originally been intended as a tomb for Shāh Ismā'īl I (r. 1501–24), this space would have been repurposed by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I for use as a reception hall accommodating his royal throne, and also argues that "[Ṭ]ahm[ā]sp may also have envisioned using the carpets as the setting for official receptions held in the hall or outdoors in the courtyard"⁹ [fig. 4-3].

However, Blair's suggestion that the *jannat sarāy* may have been the reception hall containing the royal throne of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I remains questionable because the design of each carpet includes a pair of hanging-type lamps in the upper and lower middle ground, which alludes to the use of these carpets in a religious rather than a royal setting.¹⁰ Nevertheless, her proposal that Shāh Ṭahmāsp I himself is the petitioner seeking "refuge

⁸ Blair 2014, 229–42. This particular copy of Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī's works is known as the Cartier Hafiz, after its previous owner, Louis Cartier (d. 1942). It has four early-sixteenth-century illustrations that were attributed to Shaykhzādah (active in Herat) and signed by Sulṭān Muḥammad (active in the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I in Tabriz). For the current status of this manuscript, see, Blair 2014, 274 n. 37.

⁹ Blair 2014, 257–63. For King's hypothesis, see, King 1996.

¹⁰ The main piece of evidence that Blair provides in support of a royal function for the *jannat sarāy* is 'Abdī Bīg Shīrāzī (d. 1580)'s poem about this structure, recorded in his account of the shrine properties at Ardabil. However, as pointed out by Kishvar Rizvi and Blair herself, 'Abdī Bīg Shīrāzī composed this poem in 1557–60 and reused it to eulogize the building in question around a decade later in 1570 (Rizvi 2011, 115–16; Blair 2014, 258–59). In other words, Abdī Bīg Shīrāzī's poem was not specially composed to describe this structure and needs to be treated with caution. For Rizvi's interpretation of the function of *jannat sarāy*, see, Rizvi 2011, 86–93. Also, for the literary analysis on the poem in question, see, Losensky 2003. Blair's suggestion that the Ardabil carpets may have been used in the courtyard also requires more supporting evidence.

[*panānī*]” and validation from the “threshold [*āstān*]” (i.e., the shrine) of his eponymous ancestor, Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn,¹¹ seems convincing given the original context of the verse inscribed on the Ardabil carpets. This distich, in fact, is cited from a *ghazal* that contrasts the smallness of the poet with the bounty of his patron.¹² Indeed, the audience of this inscription might have been able to recall the whole verse, given the popularity from the late fifteenth century onward of using *ghazals* as inscriptions on objects. As demonstrated in Chapter Two (see Appendix 1, CVU-1, CVU-2, CVU-3, CVU-4, CVUnd-3, and CVUnd-14) and Chapter Three (see Appendix 4, M_AKM_02, M_Doha_06, M_SHM_06; and Appendix 5), the use of citations of *ghazals* by Ḥāfiẓ that allude to the function and shape of the ceramics and metalwork in inscriptions on these objects seem to have been particularly common in Iran during the late fifteenth century, and this tradition survived through the late seventeenth century.¹³ Accordingly, the word “*āstān*” could be interpreted as having been deliberately chosen to fulfill the request of the patron, Shāh Ṭahmāsp I.

With respect to the fragments of Mahan carpet [fig. 4-4], on the other hand, not only their size, but also the content of their inscriptions confirm that they were woven for a specific situation, specifically the domed chamber that houses the cenotaph of Shāh Ni‘matallāh Valī in Mahan. As has been recently suggested by Fatima Žutić, the surviving fragments would have fitted exactly along three out of the four sides of the cenotaph that

¹¹ Blair 2014, 261.

¹² Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī 1939–40, 29–30, *ghazal* no. 51. According to the modern commentary on Ḥāfiẓ’s *ghazals*, this *ghazal* was composed during the beginning of the reign of Shāh Shujā‘ (r. 1357–84) to call this young king’s attention to the people’s dissatisfaction with his predecessor’s policies. For this, see, Jalāliyān 2000–1, 488–91.

¹³ For the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ inscribed on late fifteenth century metalwork, see, Soucek 2003b, 151–52. See also, Priscilla Soucek, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. “Hafez xii: Hafez and the Visual Arts”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/hafez-xii> (accessed October 28, 2020).

was placed in the middle of the domed chamber [figs. 4-5-a, 4-5-b].¹⁴ Among those fragments, the largest one, measuring 365 cm x 700 cm, has the poetical inscription containing a chronogram of the date 1067h/1656–57:¹⁵

زهی روضه پاک پر نور ساخت [*]
 که فرشش سزد پرده دیده حور [*]
 گل باغ احسان سلیمان دوران [*]
 کز و تازه شد گلشن میر میران [*]
 ابو المهدی آن گوهر بحر تحقیق [fig. 4-6-a] [*]
 به اتمام این فرش چون توفیق یافت [*]
 بدین روضه انداخت این فرش عالی [*]
 چو تاریخ جستم به اتمام قالی [*]
 ندا آمد از غیب تاریخ مرغوب [*]
 جناح ملک کن بان فرش جاروب سنة ۱۰۶۷ [fig. 4-6-b] [*]

What a pure, brilliant tomb (*rawzat*) he created [/]
 [a tomb] whose carpet (*farsh*) deserves to be the veil of the eyes of a sun [/]
 A rose of the garden of courtliness of the fortune of Sulaymān
 from which he refreshed the rose-garden of Mīr Mīrān
 Abū al-Mahdī, the jewel of the sea of truth [fig. 4-6-a]
 As soon as this carpet (*farsh*), like divine guidance, was completed,

¹⁴ Žutić 2019, 314–15. See also, Housego 1977, 469, for the earlier reconstruction of this carpet within the dome chamber.

¹⁵ The fragments are now possessed by the National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina (inv. nos. 2111/I, a, b; 2112/I, a, b; and 2113/I, a, b, c).

this lofty carpet (*farsh*) was spread inside the tomb

When I sought the date as soon as the completion of [this] carpet (*qālī*),

a voice came from the unseen, [with] the desired date,

“May the wings of angels sweep this carpet (*janāḥ-i malak kun ba-ān*

farsh jārūb).”¹⁶ The year 1067[h/1656–57]. [fig. 4-6-b]¹⁷

As convincingly argued by Peyvand Firouzeh, the Mahan carpet was inscribed with the name of the patron, Abū al-Mahdī (d. unknown), who was among the three figures mentioned in this poetical inscription, namely, Sulaymān, Mīr Mīrān, and Abū al-Mahdī. Based on Firouzeh’s analysis, it is clear that these figures were the descendants of Shāh Ni‘matallāh Valī, and were thus members of a family that had a strong political connection with successive Safavid Shāhs.¹⁸ In other words, the relationship between the patron of the Mahan carpet and the enshrined of the mausoleum in the case of the Mahan carpet (i.e., Mīrzā Abū al-Mahdī and Shāh Ni‘matallāh Valī) is similar to that of the

¹⁶ *janāḥ-i malak kun ba-ān farsh jārūb* can be deciphered as follows: *jīm* (3), *nūn* (50), ‘*alif*’ (1), *ḥā*’ (8), *mīm* (40), *lām* (30), *kāf* (20), *kāf* (20), *nūn* (50), *bā*’ (2), ‘*alif*’ (1), *nūn* (50), *fā*’ (80), *rā*’ (200), *shīn* (300), *jīm* (3), ‘*alif*’ (1), *rā*’ (200), *wāw* (6), *bā*’ (2). For how this calculation was resolved as 1067, see http://coe.aa.tufs.ac.jp/abjad/JP/?page_id=23 (accessed October 10, 2020).

¹⁷ Fatima Žutić published her translation and transcription of this poem in Žutić 2018 and Žutić 2019, respectively. While I largely agree with her transcription except for the last word of the seventh hemistich, which she reads as *ghālī* instead of ‘*ālī*, I am not totally convinced by her English translation which appeared in *Hali Magazine* (Žutić 2019); and therefore the bulk of the translation herein is my own. Žutić does not make any reference to Peyvand Firouzeh’s research, for which see fn. 19 below and the main text.

¹⁸ Peyvand Firouzeh, “Mahan Carpet Fragments: Patronage and Aesthetic Connections with the Shrine of Shah Ne‘matollah Wali” (PowerPoint presentation, Eleventh Biennial Iranian Studies Conference 2016, University of Vienna, Vienna, August 3, 2016), <https://associationforiranianstudies.org/content/mahan-carpet-fragments-patronage-and-aesthetic-connections-shrine-shah-ne-matollah-wali> (accessed October 10, 2020). According to Firouzeh’s presentation, “Mīr Mīrān,” “Sulaymān,” and “Abū al-Mahdī,” indicate Giyās al-Dīn Muḥammad Mīr Mīrān (d. 1589), his son, Sulaymān Mīrzā (d. 1640), and his grandson, Mīrzā Abū al-Mahdī (d. unknown), respectively.

patron of the pair of Ardabil carpets and their enshrined recipient (i.e., Shāh Ṭahmāsp I and Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn), in that they both were commissioned by the descendants of the enshrined.

However, the poetical inscription of the Mahan carpet differs significantly from that of the Ardabil carpets in terms of its content, style, and arrangement. With regard to the inscriptional content, that of the Mahan carpet makes a direct reference not only to the tomb (*rawzat*) (i.e., the intended place of use), but also to the carpet itself (i.e., *farsh* and *qālī*) as well as the name of the patron. In terms of style, the inscription includes the chronogram, *janāh-i malak kun ba-ān farsh jārūb* (=1067[h]), which encodes the year of either the commission, completion, or endowment of the Mahan carpet. It could therefore be surmised that the verses inscribed on the Mahan carpet were specially composed to be woven into this carpet and situated in the domed chamber that housed the cenotaph of Shāh Ni'matallāh Valī. The arrangement of the verses within the carpet ground, which was carefully calculated to fit the long edge of the cenotaph [figs. 4-5, 4-6-a, 4-6-b], perhaps even suggests that these verses were meant to be read by visitors to the tomb (*rawzat*) who might have gathered around the cenotaph.

Returning to the style of the Persian verses inscribed on these two groups of carpet, as mentioned above the pair of Ardabil carpets was inscribed with a *ghazal* by Ḥāfiẓ that seems to have been chosen with the utmost deliberation for the intended place of use, whereas one of the fragments of the Mahan carpet is inscribed with a specially composed verse that includes *abjad* numerals. The reason for this difference in style may be explained by the 120-year gap between the former (dated 946h/1539–40) and the latter (dated 1067h/1656–57). During this long gap between the second quarter of the sixteenth century and the third quarter of the seventeenth century it is possible that there was a

diversification in the use of the chronogram poem prepared for inscription on craft objects.¹⁹

IV-3. The Cincinnati Covering

IV-3-1. Text, image, and intended place of use of a silk covering reportedly from the Mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā, Mashhad

In an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship of religious architecture and its furnishings with Persian poetry during the Safavid period, this section will focus on a poetically inscribed silk covering, currently possessed by the Cincinnati Art Museum (inv. no. 1953.124; hereinafter the Cincinnati covering [fig. 4–7-a–d]). According to the unpublished curatorial file,²⁰ it was Arthur Upham Pope (d. 1969), one of the most influential American dealers of Persian art, who sold this object to the Museum in 1953.²¹

¹⁹ As discussed in Chapter Two, the earliest surviving ceramic tombstone that has a chronogram poem dates from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. This type of tombstone with accompanying chronogram became increasingly popular from the second quarter of the seventeenth century. For an example of the use of poetical inscriptions containing *abjad* numerals on textiles dating from last quarter of the seventeenth century, see, Gray et al. 1976, 109, cat. no. 82, which is a silk brocade covering held at the Imām Riżā Shrine Museum in Mashhad that bears Qur’ānic quotations as well as a Persian verse that includes the chronogram, “*az Sulaymān shuda shud vaqf-i Imām* (=1080[h/1669–70]),” which means “the endowments for Imām [Riżā] were conducted by Sulaymān.” See also, Pope and Ackerman (1938–39) 1964–65, 5:2134, 12:1084.

²⁰ The set of records in the Cincinnati Art Museum, curatorial file no. 1953.124 (hereinafter, CAM no. 1953.124) is not individually paginated, so I have given each letter or document a number from 1 to 50, which corresponds to their order of appearance in the curatorial file.

²¹ In his letter of March 5, 1954 addressed to Philip R. Adams, the Director of the Cincinnati Art Museum who served between 1945 and 1973, Pope cites the inscription on this tomb covering as evidence of its provenance from “the fabulous Shrine of Mashhad” (CAM no. 1953.124.018r). This covering was sold to the Museum for a price of US\$ 35,000 (CAM no. 1953.124.045r).

Given his frequent visits to Mashhad in the 1930s,²² the alleged provenance of the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā seems well grounded.

Turning first to its description, the Cincinnati covering has a rectangular shape (107.3 cm x 304.8 cm) and is made from a silk pile on a silk foundation. The covering has a warp of brick red silk that is constructed of “2 Z-threads S-piled” and a weft of white and salmon silk that consists of “3 S-threads Z-piled, [and] 2 shoots.”²³ The covering medium is therefore very finely knotted.

The design on the covering employs twelve colors derived from natural pigments: brick red, ivory, beige, gray, black, yellow, orange, lighter brick red, light blue, tan, medium brown, and greenish brown. The design consists of a series of bands framing a central panel that contains a garden of paradise [fig. 4-8-a]. The panel is surrounded by an inscriptional band in *nasta‘līq* script that is, in turn, framed by a floriated meander [fig. 4-8-b]. Outside this meander, the outermost and widest section is a border filled with scroll work whose blossoms are the heads of humans, animals, birds, and jinns or demons [fig. 4-8-c]. At each corner of this border there is a lion mask [fig. 4-8-d] and at the center of each of the four sides of the border there is a multi-colored winged angel dressed in a belted robe; on the two shorter sides the angel is dressed in a red tunic and on the two

²² Pope was able to develop a close relationship with Riżā Shāh Pahlavī (r. 1925–41), the first Shah of the Pahlavi dynasty from the beginning of the Shah’s reign (Bloom 2016, 86). Through the generous sponsorship of Riżā Shāh, Pope managed to visit Mashhad in 1930 and borrow treasures from the Shrine of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā for the influential 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art in London (Royal Academy of Arts 1931). Subsequent to this, Pope participated in a series of architectural surveys undertaken by the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology from 1932 to 1939, among which the fifth (1934), seventh (1936), and eighth (1937) seasons involved expeditions to Mashhad. In 1934, the treasurer of the sanctuary of the mausoleum of Imām Riżā assisted Pope in examining and photographing “the most precious objects in the famous treasury and library of the Shrine” (Gluck et al. 1996, 252).

²³ CAM no. 1953.124, 018r. This information is given in Daniel Walker’s letter of July 17, 1981 addressed to Peter Saunders.

longer sides the angel is wearing a pale tunic [fig. 4-8-e]. As for the panel in the middle and the main border, they are arranged symmetrically.

Each of the motifs seems to be consistent with those seen in Persian textiles and illuminated manuscripts produced between the late fifteenth and the early seventeenth century. For instance, a garden with a pond in the middle was one of the common motifs adopted for carpets [fig. 4-9]²⁴ and this motif is also often depicted next to a scene of a feast (*bazm*) in Persian paintings dating to the sixteenth century onward. In addition, multi-colored winged angels are sometimes found on textiles attributable to the sixteenth century [fig. 4-10], while a scrolling pattern with animals as blossoms was occasionally used on textiles from the late fifteenth century [figs. 4-11 and 4-12].²⁵ Moreover, the floriated meander around the inscription band of the Cincinnati covering resembles that of the aforementioned Ardabil carpets, dated 946h/1539–40 [fig. 4-13].

As for the inscription, it is carefully executed in beige-colored silk and outlined with brick red silk on a black ground. It is written in verse in Persian. The meter of this poem is (- - U / - U - U / U - - U / - U -),²⁶ and it is in the form of a *qaṣīdah*, which was commonly used to eulogize rulers or the family of the Prophet. The script in *nasta'liq* reads:

- 1 این آستان قدس که شاهان ذو الجلال [\\] بر خاک راه او سر و افسر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-a]
- 2 انسان و جن طیور و وحوش و پری و دیو [\\] در بارگاه حضرت او سر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-b]
- 3 نبود عجب از آنکه سر طوع و بندگی [\\] بر آستان سبط پیمبر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-c]

²⁴ For this type of carpet, see Kamada 2019, 133.

²⁵ For these examples, see Kamada 2011, 109–10, pls. 79, 80.

²⁶ The meter of this poem is *muzāri*. See Thiesen, *A Manual of Classical Persian Prosody*, 248, no. 182.

- 4 بر ارزوی خویش موفق شود از انک [\\] دست طلب بدمان حیدر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-d]
- 5 زیر قدم زائرش از بهر کسب فیض [\\] کروبیان قدسی سپهر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-e]
- 6 بهر وجود و هستی آل عبا بود [\\] کین طاق نه رواق مدور نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-f]
- 7 بهر نثار مقدم زوار درگهش [\\] در دست چرخ مهر منور نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-g]
- 8 از گرد راه و خاک قدم زایران او [\\] طعمه بمشک و طنز بعنبر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-h]
- 9 گردند مست باده وصل جمال دوست [\\] گوئی قدم بعالم دیگر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-i]
- 10 بی رنج ره رسند بسر چشمه حیوة [\\] ظلمات را نصیب سکندر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-j]
- 11 لذت برند بیشتر از آب زندگی [\\] آنان که دل به ساقی کوثر نهاده اند [fig. 4-14-k]
- بنده درگاه محمد جعفر کاشانی [fig. 4-14-l]

- 1 This is the Holy Threshold (*āstān-i quds*) [and is here] that mighty kings have laid their heads and crowns upon the dirt of its road [fig. 4-14-a]
- 2 Men and jinns, birds and beasts, and angels and demons have laid their heads in the court of His Majesty [fig. 4-14-b]
- 3 It is no wonder that they have laid their head of obedience and servitude upon the Threshold of the progeny of the Prophet (*āstān-i sibṭ-i payambar*) [fig. 4-14-c]
- 4 They succeeded in fulfilling their own desire, because they made their wish at the skirt of Ḥaydar (i.e., 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [d. 661]/lion) [fig. 4-14-d]
- 5 Upon the feet of his pilgrims, for the sake of obtaining grace, holy cherubim of the heavens have lain [fig. 4-14-e]

- 6 It is due to the existence and presence of the Family of the Cloak (*āl-i ‘abā’*) that this nine-vaulted dome (lit. dome with nine rotating arches) has been built [fig. 4-14-f]
- 7 So as to scatter [its rays] over the advancing visitors to His Shrine, they have placed the brilliant sun within the heavenly sphere [fig. 4-14-g]
- 8 By means of the dust of the road and the dirt of footsteps, its visitors have placed a piece of musk and ambergris [fig. 4-14-h]
- 9 They have become intoxicated by the wine of the union with the beauty of the Lover; you would say “they have placed their feet in another world!” [fig. 4-14-i]
- 10 They reached the fountain of life without experiencing the weariness of the road, [whereas] darkness falls to the fate of Iskandar [fig. 4-14-j]
- 11 Those who have given their hearts to the cupbearer of [the river of] Kawṣar have attained a pleasure greater than the water of life [fig. 4-14-k]²⁷
- Servant of the Shrine, Muḥammad Ja‘far Kāshānī [fig. 4-14-l]

It should be stressed that the most distinctive feature of this silk covering is the congruous relationship between the poem and the iconographic program. More precisely, the poem seems to mention almost every aspect of the woven images. For instance, the

²⁷ The transcription and translation of the inscribed verses presented here are those of the current author. To date, several attempts have been made to translate this poem. Three of them have been published and two of them remain unpublished. The published versions can be found in Welch 1973, 67–68; Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 268–69; and Soudavar 2008, 270–71. Soudavar 2008 is a critical review of Melikian-Chirvani 2007. The unpublished versions are preserved in the curatorial file of Cincinnati Art Museum: one is a translation by Arthur John Arberry (CAM no. 1953.124, 37r–41r) and the other is “translated by Arthur J. Arberry, reformulated by Phyllis Ackerman” (CAM no. 1953.124, 32r).

second couplet [fig. 4-14-b] describes the humans, jinns, birds, animals, and demons that can be found in the multi-headed scrolls [fig. 4-8-c], while the fifth couplet [fig. 4-14-e] refers to the angels [fig. 4-8-e] in the main border. The fourth couplet [fig. 4-14-d] may also be associated with the design of the main border because the word *ḥaydar* literally means “lion” [fig. 4-8-d]. Also, the eleventh couplet [fig. 4-14-j] may possibly refer to the fountain represented in the panel in the middle of the covering [fig. 4-8-a].

Another important aspect of the inscribed poem is its obvious connection with the intended place of use. It is clear that the main topic of this poem is pilgrimage to a holy place (*ziyārat*), especially to a Shīʿite shrine. First of all, the content of this poetical inscription shows a strong tendency toward Shīʿism. For instance, *ḥaydar* (lit. “lion”) in the fourth couplet [fig. 4-14-d] and *sāqī-yi Kawṣar* (i.e., “the cupbearer of [the river of] Kawṣar”) in the eleventh couplet [fig. 4-14-k] are both known titles of the first Shīʿite Imām, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 661).²⁸ In addition, the phrase *ahl-i ʿabā* (i.e., “the Family of the Cloak”) that appears in the sixth couplet [fig. 4-14-f] designates the Prophet Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭimah (d. 632), his son-in-law ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and his grandsons Ḥasan (d. 670) and Ḥusayn (d. 680).²⁹ On the other hand, while it is possible

²⁸ For views on the meaning of *ḥaydar*, see Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 269 and Soudavar 2008, 270. For *sāqī-yi Kawṣar*, see Welch 1973, 68 n. 9; Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 269; and Soudavar 2008, 271.

²⁹ Fāṭimah, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn are said to have been taken each in turn under Muḥammad’s cloak when the Prophet Muḥammad received a revelation from God that: “God wishes to keep uncleanness away from you, people of the (Prophet’s) House, and to purify you thoroughly” (Sūrah 33:33; Haleem 2004, 268). The Shīʿite writers agree that this incident was evidence that “people of the (Prophet’s) House” only included Fāṭimah, ʿAlī, and his descendants. See, <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/al-e-aba-the-family-of-the-cloak-i> (accessed October 11, 2020). It may be plausible to suggest that the second half of the same couplet alludes to nine figures among the Fourteen Infallibles, namely, ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn (d. 712 or 713), Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 732, 733, or 735), Jaʿfar al-Šādiq (d. 765), Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 799), ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riẓā (d. 818), Muḥammad al-Taḳī (d. 835), ʿAlī al-Naḳī (d. 868), Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 874) and Muḥammad al-Mahdī. If so, the sectarian orientation of this verse is Twelver Shīʿite.

that the motif of the *ziyārat* could be inferred from the term *āstān* (lit. threshold) that appears in the first and third couplets [figs. 4-14-a, 4-14-c] because this term seems to have often been used to indicate the large-scale mausolea associated with the Shī‘ite saints,³⁰ it is most likely that *āstān-i quds* [fig. 4-14-c] refers to the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā in Mashhad, the Shī‘ite pilgrimage site from which Pope might have acquired this silk covering.³¹

³⁰ *Āstānah* (lit. threshold) is one of the expressions used to denote the tomb of a Shī‘ite Imām. (See, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. “Emānzāda”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/emamzada-index> [accessed November 5, 2020]). This word is found in the inscriptions on crafts such as a wool-pile carpet donated to the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī in Najaf bears the inscription, “*waqf namūd kalb-i āstān-i ‘Abbās*” (‘Abbās, the dog of the Threshold, endowed [this]). See Ağa-Oğlu 1941, pls. III and V. See also, Chapter Three, for the *waqf* inscriptions of the Doha candlestick and the Sotheby’s candlestick, donated to the mausoleum of in Kazimayn.

³¹ Today, the word “*āstān-i quds Rażavī*” designates the complex of buildings surrounding the tomb of the Imam ‘Alī al-Riżā at Mashhad (See, ‘A.-Ḥ. Mawlawī, M. T. Moṣṭafawī, and E. Šakūrżāda, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. “Āstān-e qods-e Rażavī”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/astan-e-qods-e-razawi> [accessed November 5, 2020]). However, it was not possible for the current author to trace the origin of the use of this term. One may at least point out that the city of Mashhad itself has the epithet of “*muqaddas*,” which has the same root with *quds*. For the example of such reference to this city in the colophon of the manuscript, see, Simpson 1997, 344.

The mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā was particularly important for the Twelver Shī‘ites in Iran because ‘Alī al-Riżā was the only Imām who passed away in Iran³²; hence its importance as a site of pilgrimage increased during the Safavid period because it was the only burial place of a Twelver Shī‘ite Imām located outside the area under the control of the Ottomans (see Chapter Three).

Furthermore, the degree of congruity between text, image, and intended place of use becomes more evident when one compares the Cincinnati covering with the Doha candlestick that was examined in the Chapter Three. In the case of the Doha candlestick, the inscribed poems (i.e., the *sham‘-u-parvānah* verses by Khalīfah Asadullāh and Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī) neither match the engraved motifs (i.e., animal medallions) nor correspond to the place where it was endowed (i.e., the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā Kāzīm in Kazimayn) in any way. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the Doha candlestick was probably one of the ready-made or commercial candleholders whose *waqf* inscription was added later by the purchaser (i.e., Āqā Valī Khān b. Qāsim ‘Alī in the case of the Doha candlestick).

³² For the evolution of the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā in Mashhad from the tenth to the seventeenth century, see, Farhat 2002. Thus far, several pieces of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fabric belonging to the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā have been published, see, Pope and Ackerman (1938–39) 1964–65, 12:1083; Ağa-Oğlu 1941, fig. 8; Gray et al. 1976, 109, cat. no. 82 [Pope and Ackerman (1938–39) 1964–65, 12:1084]. In addition, the catalogue of the endowed properties belonging to this mausoleum records several endowments that were made during the Safavid period and that involved textiles. This catalogue, titled *Āthār al-Raḡavīyah*, includes endowment deeds dated Jumada II 933h/March–April 1527 (*farsh*, i.e., “a carpet”), Rabi‘ I 997h/January–February 1589 (*farsh*), 1008h/1599–1600 (*farsh-i ‘ālī*, i.e., “a superb carpet”), and 1082h/1671–72 (*qālīchah*, i.e., “a small carpet”). For these, see, Morikawa and Werner 2017, 205–6 (no. 61), 224–25 (no. 86), 235–36 (no. 101), and 147–48 (no. 19), respectively (the pagination follows that of the Arabic numerals). The status of the endowers ranges from an otherwise unknown woman with an aristocratic title to the Safavid Shāhs. Some of these entries refer to the amount of money to be spent each year and give instructions as to the size and/or quality of the textiles to be endowed. None of them, however, specify the material, design, or production sites of these objects and thus it is not possible to connect such descriptions with extant works of art.

In summary, the Cincinnati covering was a made-to-order product whose images, text, and intended place of use were carefully calculated to meet the special demands of a patron. Subsequently, questions arise as to when, why, and for whom the Cincinnati covering was made.

IV-3-2. Possible function and date of production of the Cincinnati covering

As regards the date of production of the Cincinnati covering, scholars have yet to reach agreement. Previous studies on this object have suggested two possibilities. Melikian-Chirvani proposes a date of around 1529,³³ whereas Anthony Welch suggests the year 1601, when Shāh ‘Abbās I embarked on the first major program to reconstruct the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī Aal-Riżā after the devastating looting of the properties of this mausoleum by the Uzbeks some years earlier in 1589.³⁴ In addition, these scholars describe this covering differently; Welch catalogues this object as a “tomb cover,” whereas Melikian-Chirvani calls it a “*tapis*”.³⁵ It could be argued that the date of production of this Cincinnati covering may be fixed more precisely if one considers the Cincinnati covering to have been commissioned for a specific function.

Given the size, elongated shape, and unusual design of a relatively narrow rectangular panel in the middle of this covering (107.3 cm x 304.8 cm), it is plausible that

³³ Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 269, cat. no. 25. This dating of 1529 seems to have been derived from that of a similar silk tomb cover in the possession of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon, Portugal (i.e., the Gulbenkian covering). Melikian-Chirvani believes the Cincinnati covering bears the inscription, “*dar shahr-i Ramaẓān 933*” which he translates as “[a]u mois de ramadan 933[h]/9 mai–7 juin 1529” at the end (Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 266–67, cat. no. 65). However, I cannot confirm the existence of such a dating from any of the photographs of this object available to me.

³⁴ Welch 1973, 68. For the major incidents between the siege of Mashhad by the Uzbeks in 1589 and the pilgrimage of Shāh ‘Abbās I to Mashhad in 1601, see, Farhat 2002, 178–190.

³⁵ Welch 1973, 42, 67–68; Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 266–67.

the intended function of this object was to cover a sarcophagus , as indicated by Welch.³⁶ The sarcophagus of the members of the Safavids such as that for Shāh ‘Abbās I buried in the mausoleum of Ḥabīb b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Kashan [fig. 4-15] and that for Shāh ‘Abbās II (r. 1642–66) buried in the mausoleum of Fāṭimah bint Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Qum [fig. 4-16], for instance, are of a length, width and height that would have been suitable for a tomb cover of this size. Moreover, the encircling layout of the poetical inscriptions on this tomb cover also suggests that they might have been readable by the visitors who would have gathered around the sarcophagus.

Considering the congruity between its images, text, and intended place of use as well as its fine quality, it is possible that the Cincinnati covering was commissioned by dignitary, possibly a member of a royal family. Following this line of inquiry, it would be useful to review the content of its poetical inscription again. First of all, in the tenth couplet [fig. 4-14-j], there is a reference to Iskandar (*Skandar*), i.e., Alexander the Great (d. 323 B.C.) . In the Persian-speaking regions, Alexander the Great is usually portrayed as a king of Iran who succeeded Dārā (the last Achaemenid king, Darius III [d. 330 B.C.]) of the Kayanian dynasty by marrying his daughter. In Firdawsī’s *Shāhnāmah*, Iskandar is described as a figure who desperately sought the water of life in the darkness because he feared his death which had been predicted by the oracular tree at the end of the world.³⁷ In the couplet in question, the fate of this Persian king is contrasted with the fates of the visitors to the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riẓā. In other words, it was not Imām ‘Alī al-

³⁶ Welch 1973, 42, 67. He catalogued this object as “[s]ilk [t]omb [c]over from the Shrine of the Imam Reza.”

³⁷ Merikian-Chirvani interprets the multi-headed scroll motif in the border of the Cincinnati covering to be this oracular tree (Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 269).

Riżā himself but his adherents whose fates seem to have been compared with that of Iskandar.

It could be argued that Iskandar, the king of Iran, was mentioned in the inscription of the Cincinnati covering because its dedicatee was a member of the Safavids, the dynasty which embraced Twelver Shī'ism.³⁸ This is because the mausoleum of Imām 'Alī al-Riżā was one of the famous burial places for the members of the Safavid dynasty during the late sixteenth century. During this period, not only the bodies of the Safavid Shāhs and their family, but also members of the collateral branch of Bahrāmī were transferred to this location especially during the reigns of Ṭahmāsp I, who had grown up in Khurasan province and was renowned for his patronage of the shrine,³⁹ and his successor, Ismā'īl II (r. 1576–77). Among the male members of the Safavids whose bodies were buried in the mausoleum of Imām 'Alī al-Riżā are Ṭahmāsp I (d. 1576) and Ismā'īl II (d. 1577), as well as Alqās Mīrzā (d. 1550), Ḥasan Mīrzā (d. 1577), Mustafā Mīrzā (d. 1576), and Ḥaydar Mīrzā (d. 1576). In addition, the male members of the Bahrāmī Safavids buried there include Bahrām Mīrzā (d. 1549), Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā (d. 1576), Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (d. 1577), and Rustam Mīrzā (d. 1589 or 91) [see fig. 4-17]. Given the fact that the copper plaque recording the date of the death of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā in 984h/1577⁴⁰ [fig. 4-18] might have been detached from a side of the sarcophagus located in the mausoleum of Imām 'Alī al-Riżā in Mashhad, the tomb cover would not have affected the legibility of the funerary epigraph as long as it had been

³⁸ As early as during the reign of Ismā'īl I (r. 1501–24), coins bearing the names of the Twelver Imāms, prayers to 'Alī, and the confession of faith with reference to Alī were struck. For this, see, Allan 2012, 48.

³⁹ In 1542, Ṭahmāsp I ordered the *zarīḥ* (i.e. the pierced metal screen around the tomb) of the tomb of Imām 'Alī al-Riżā, which was eventually installed in 1550 (Talaee 2014, 211).

⁴⁰ For this copper plaque, see, Shabīriyān 1967b, 121–23.

placed above the cenotaph. Consequently, the date of production of this Cincinnati covering may be fixed to the late sixteenth century.

This hypothesis about the use of the Cincinnati covering as a tomb cover for a member of the royal family may be buttressed by an examination of the inscriptions of a comparable piece of material, namely, a silk-pile covering at the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon, Portugal (inv. no. T113; hereinafter the Gulbenkian covering) [fig. 4-19]. Like the Cincinnati covering, it has an alleged provenance of the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Rizā in Mashhad.⁴¹ The Gulbenkian covering (93 cm x 236 cm) is similar to the Cincinnati example in that it has an elongated quadrangle frame at its center and bears similar motifs of animal-headed scrolls and angels upon a rich red ground. However, the content of its inscriptions differ significantly from that of the Cincinnati covering. Firstly, the inscription, which is repeated in each of the four corners of the Gulbenkian covering, reads:

ای سرور جملہ گروہان [*] سردار همه خرد پژوهان [*]
اینان که به زیر پا فتادند [*] البته بخاک سر نهادند [*]

Oh, the chief of the whole troop, the leader of all investigators

Those who fall under your feet, laid their heads upon the earth in every manner

The inscription in the middle panel reads:

⁴¹ The catalogue entries for the Gulbenkian covering often refer to its counterpart in Cincinnati. See, for instance, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1963, textiles cat no. 69. It is reported that it was purchased in Tehran in 1939 with the help of Arthur U. Pope (Alaoui and Leite 2004, 67).

تا پای به شرافتِ تو بردند [\\] پیشِ قدمِ تو سر سپردند [\\]
 در پای تو سر کشانِ بی باک [\\] افکنده سر اوفتند بر خاک [*]
 سر گشته وادیِ غوایت [\\] از تو یابد ره هدایت [\\]
 سرها همگی فدایِ پایت [\\] بر تختِ مهی همیشه جایست [\\]
 در شهر رمضان

In order to trace your nobility, they entrusted their heads in front of your feet
 At your feet, the fearless proud ones threw themselves, [and] they laid their
 heads upon the earth
 A wanderer in the desert of desperation obtains the right path from you
 They are always devoting their heads at your feet, your place is forever at the
 throne of greatness, in the month of Ramadan (?)

It is important to stress that the verses inscribed here in praise of a dedicatee—who is most likely to have been a ruler—do not have obvious connections to any of the figural and non-figural motifs woven to the covering in question. In addition, the inscription makes no reference to the sectarian orientation of the dedicatee; its link with the topic of visitation to a holy place is less evident. Therefore, if one accepts the alleged provenance of the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Rizā as true, it seems more reasonable to assume that this Gulbenkian covering was originally produced for a secular political

figure who was buried in Mashhad, rather than Imām ‘Alī al-Riżā himself, as Melikian-Chirvani suggests.⁴²

The differences in the content and length of the verses inscribed on the Cincinnati covering and the Gulbenkian covering may have resulted from the different demands made by their respective patrons, and perhaps from the extent of the poets’ involvement in the making of these coverings.⁴³ Alternatively, the differences could be due to different periods of production; where, we may probably place both the Gulbenkian covering, probably the earlier, and the Cincinnati covering, probably the later, sometime between the second quarter of the sixteenth century and the third quarter of the seventeenth century, as this is the period that falls between the production of the pair of Ardabil carpets in 1539–40 and that of the Mahan carpet in 1067h/1656–57. The late sixteenth century dating for the Cincinnati covering suggested above seems to fit in well between these two dated groups of carpets.

To summarize, this chapter began by examining the phenomenon of the permeation of Persian verses into religious settings by comparing two dated carpets which were almost certainly endowed by the descendants of the enshrined. The chapter revealed that while each of the pair of Ardabil carpets was inscribed with a *ghazal* by Ḥāfiẓ, chosen with the utmost deliberation for the intended place of use, the Mahan carpet was inscribed with a specially composed verse that includes a chronogram. It then moved on to discuss the Cincinnati covering, which is reportedly from the mausoleum of the eighth Imām, ‘Alī al-Riżā, in Mashhad, in order to further investigate the phenomenon of the

⁴² Melikian interprets these verses to have been addressed from four angels at the corner to a dedicatee and states “C’est bien à l’imam que s’adresse le poème” (Melikian 2007, 266).

⁴³ For the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iranian tomb covers bearing the Arabic inscriptions, see, Mackie 2015, 362.

permeation of figural representations as well as Persian verses into such religious settings. An examination of the motifs on the covering and the content of the Persian verses revealed a remarkable congruity between the text, images, and intended place of use of this covering, as well as its high quality which might have required the exercise of skilled labor. The examination of the shape of this covering and layout of its inscriptions further gave rise to its suggested use as a tomb cover. Given the topics featured in the inscriptions, namely, a pilgrimage to a holy place, the Shī'ite faith, and a comparison between the fates of the visitors to the *āstān-i quds* and that of the Persian king Iskandar, the verses for this inscription might have been specially commissioned to be inscribed on this tomb cover, which is most likely to have been placed in a burial place for a member of the Safavid dynasty during the late sixteenth century.

Chapter Five: Kashan, a City of Crafts, Poetry, and the Twelver Shī'ite Faith

- V-1. Introduction: A History of Kashan as Reconstructed from Primary Sources
- V-2. The Relationship between Poetry and Craftsmen in Kashan
- V-3. The Kashan Crafts Industry, the Twelver Shī'ite Faith, and Persianization

V-1. Introduction: A History of Kashan as Reconstructed from Primary Sources

Through the analysis of a ceramic tombstone and brass candleholders presented in Chapters Two and Three, respectively, this study identified Kashan as a city where poets and craftsmen maintained a harmonious relationship during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Chapters Three and Four, on the other hand, discussed the use of poetically inscribed metalwork and textiles at the mausolea of the Twelver Shī'ite Imāms in Iraq and Iran. One of the brass candleholders we discussed in Chapter Three had been endowed to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Kazimayn by a vizier in Kashan. Furthermore, in Chapter Four, the examination of the Cincinnati covering highlighted that this work was signed by a craftsman whose nisba was Kāshānī. Therefore the current chapter seeks to bring together the material and textual evidence presented in the preceding chapters to suggest that a relationship between the poets/poems, craftsmen/crafts, and Twelver Shī'ism in Kashan existed from the late twelfth century up to the late seventeenth century.

To date, several attempts have been made by scholars to reconstruct the history of the culturally significant city of Kashan from a number of different perspectives. In the 1960s, Ḥasan Narāqī published two monographs dedicated to the history and

archaeological sites of this city and nearby areas.¹ In 1985, Oliver Watson argued in his monograph on Persian luster-painted ceramics that this city was the foremost, and almost certainly the only center of luster production in the late twelfth to fourteenth century.² In 2010, Tomoko Masuya analyzed various types of inscriptions on ceramics produced in Kashan between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, and also introduced geographical dictionaries from the tenth century onwards that contain entries for this city.³ In 2012, James Allan included a chapter titled “The Kashan ceramics industry in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century” in his monograph dedicated to the art and architecture of Twelver Shī‘ism.⁴ More recently, in 2018, Mehrdad Amanat and Roy Mottahedeh co-authored an article on the history of Kashan from the tenth to the fifteenth century.⁵ Amanat also updated the “Kashan iii. History to Pahlavi Period” entry of the *Encyclopædia Iranica* in the same year.⁶

Despite the absence of a city history of Kashan/Qashan dating to the medieval and early modern period,⁷ that Kashan was renowned for its skilled and learned people can be inferred from Arabic and Persian geographical works dating to the medieval period. In addition, as discussed below, while at least such source dating to the tenth century draws attention to a predominance of Arabs in this city, those compiled after the early

¹ Narāqī (1966) 1968, Narāqī 1969.

² Watson 1985, 37–44.

³ Masuya 2010.

⁴ Allan 2012, 80–85. In this chapter, Allan attempted to refute Watson’s earlier suggestion that there was a connection between Shī‘ism and ceramic production in Kashan.

⁵ Amanat and Mottahedeh 2018.

⁶ Mehrdad Amanat, *Encyclopædia Iranica online*, s.v. “Kashan iii. History to Pahlavi Period”: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/kashan-iii-history> (accessed October 31, 2020).

⁷ For a local history of Kashan compiled in the nineteenth century, see, Żarrābī 1978.

thirteenth century emphasized that the inhabitants there were predominantly Twelver Shī'ites.

Hudūd al-‘ālam (Boundaries of the World; begun in 982–83), one of the earliest geographical works written in Persian, for instance, describes “Kāshān” as follows: “a very pleasant town. It has many ‘Arabs (*tāziyān*). Many scribes (*dabīrān*) and intellectuals (*adībān*) rise from there.”⁸ In addition, al-Muqaddasī’s *Aḥsan al-taqāsim fī ma‘rifat al-aqālīm* (Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions; begun in 985/6), an Arabic geographical work from the same period states that “they [the residents of Qashan] are skilled [lit. they have skill] in making long-necked bottles (*la-hum ḥadhaq fī ‘amal al-qamāqim*).”⁹ The material used to make a *qumqumah* (pl. *qamāqim*), however, is not clear from al-Muqaddasī’s description.¹⁰

The thirteenth-century geographical works in Arabic, on the other hand, make clear reference to the production of ceramics in Kashan, although they do not specifically refer to luster-painted ceramic works. *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (Dictionary of Countries; completed in 1228) by Yāqūt b. ‘Abd-allah Ḥamāwī refers to the town “Qāshān” as follows:

From there, the ceramics of Qashan (*al-ghaḍā‘ir al-qāshāniyya*), which ordinary people call “*al-qāshī*”, are obtained. All of its natives are Twelver Shī'ites (*shī‘at*

⁸ *Hudūd* 1970, 133; *Hudūd* 1983, 143.

⁹ Al-Muqaddasī 1983–84, 390.

¹⁰ Masuya 2010, 334. The *qumqumah* is a type of bottle that has a long narrow neck. It is a shape commonly found in the medieval middle eastern glassware, and glassware of such shape was often used to preserve rose water (Shindō 2020, 324–26).

imāma) ... The group of scholars (*tā'ifat min ahl al- 'ilm*) have their origin in it [=Kashan].¹¹

Moreover, *Āṣār al-bilād wa-akhbār al- 'ibād* (Monuments of Countries and a History of their Inhabitants; 1275–76) by Zakarīya b. Muḥammad Qazvīnī provides the following description of the town of “Qāshān”:

Its natives are, indeed, zealous Twelver Shī'ites (*shī'at imāma ghālīya*) ... From there come glazed/painted ceramic utensils (*al-ālāt al-khazaḥfiyyat al-madhūnat*). They have extensive power in this [industry]. There is nothing like them from [other] countries. The utensils and the vessels (*al-ālāt wa al-ḥurūf*) are transported from Qashan to other countries.¹²

Furthermore, the reputation of Kashan as a hometown of skilled people was recorded in a dynastic chronicle also dating to the thirteenth century. A late-Seljuq calligrapher-historian, Muḥammad b. 'Alī Rāvandī, who was born into a scholarly family in Kashan wrote in his dynastic chronicle, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr va āyat al-surūr* (Comfort for the Heart and Wonders of Joy; begun in 1202–3) that “In Iraq, wherever they see beautiful handwriting, they say either ‘[it] is the handwriting of the people of Kashan’ or ‘[it] is taught by the people of Kashan.’”¹³

¹¹ Yāqūt 1957, 4: 296–97.

¹² Zakarīyā Qazvīnī 1998, 432–33. Amanat and Mottahedeh interpreted the phrase *al-ālāt al-khazaḥfiyyat al-madhūnat* as “shiny pottery utensils” but the root *d-h-n* simply means “to oil,” “to grease,” or “to paint.” For this, see Amanat and Mottahedeh 2018, 406–7.

¹³ Browne 1902, 578–79; Al-Rāvandī 1921, 51.

As for sources on Kashan dating to the fourteenth century, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī explains in his Persian geographical-historical work, *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (Delights of Hearts; completed in 1339–40) that:

People in that place are Twelver Shī‘ites (*shī‘a-yi iṣnā ‘ashrī*). And most of them are like the learned (*hakīm-vash*) and of gentle disposition (*laṭīf-ṭab*). And ignorant and foolish people are rare there.¹⁴

In fact, by the early fifteenth century, Kashan had produced many notable intellectuals such as the philosopher-poet, Bābā Afzal Kāshānī (d. 1213–14) and the aforementioned calligrapher-historian, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Rāvandī, as well as Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh Kāshānī (d. after 1323–24), the court historian who was born into the Abū Ṭāhir family of potters in Kashan, which thrived for at least four generations from around 1200 to the 1330s [fig. 5-1].¹⁵ The fact that Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh Kāshānī did not become a potter notwithstanding his knowledge in making ceramics but became a court historian seems to agree with the aforementioned remark by Mustawfī on this town that “most of them are like the learned.”¹⁶ The city also produced Giyāṣ al-Dīn Jamshīd Kāshānī (d. c. 1429), a mathematician-astronomer who was educated in Kashan and

¹⁴ Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī 1919, 2:72; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī 2017–18, 2: 814.

¹⁵ As mentioned in Chapter Two, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh Kāshānī introduced the process of making luster-painted ceramics in his work on mineralogy. For a new perspective on his works on history, see, Otsuka 2018.

¹⁶ Masuya 2010, 341.

enjoyed the patronage of Ulugh Bīg, who later became a Timurid ruler in Samarqand (r. 1447–49).¹⁷

However, when it comes to the fifteenth century, primary sources become silent in regard to the production of ceramics in Kashan. Instead, it is the travelogues written by European visitors to Iran that often contain descriptions of the fine textiles they saw in Kashan.¹⁸ One of the earliest of such accounts is that of the Venetian ambassador, Giosofat Barbaro (d. 1492), who passed by Kashan (“Cassan”) on October 25, 1474.¹⁹ In *I viaggi in Persia* (Travels in Persia), he provides the following commentary on the city:

Then we found Cassan, a well-populated city, in which silk and cottons were, for the most part, produced (*in la quel per la mazor parte se fanno lavori di seda e gottoni*) in such a quantity that he who wants to spend 10,000 ducats on these products in a day will find enough of them available.²⁰

This account is particularly important because it clearly refers not only to the trade, but also the production of textiles in Kashan.

More than 100 years later, seventeenth-century dynastic chronicles written in Persian also refer to various kinds of fabrics associated with Kashan. Among such accounts is that by Fażlī Bīg Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, who recorded an episode involving the Uzbek ruler, Valī Muḥammad Khān’s visit to Kashan in 1611, where this Uzbek ruler was

¹⁷ Amanat and Mottahedeh 2018, 419–20. For Giyās al-Dīn Jamshīd Kāshānī’s treatise on the design of architectural structures, see, Jamshīd Kāshānī 1987–88.

¹⁸ For post-1500 sources on the production of textiles in Kashan, see, Floor 1999, 34–35; 38–39.

¹⁹ Barbaro 1973, 196; Barbaro 1873, 129; Iwata 1995, 121.

²⁰ Barbaro 1973, 140; Barbaro 1873, 72.

brought to the *maydān* (town square) of Kashan, adorned with “Kirman carpets, Yazd brocades, and Kashan velvets (*farsh-i qālī-yi Kirmān va zarbaft-i Yazd va makhmal-i Kāshān*)” and installed on a dais with a mechanical clock in the middle.²¹ The textiles produced in Kashan were traded widely, as attested in the description of the “caravanseraī of the people of Kashan (*kārvānsarā-yi Kāshīyān*)” in Sloane 4094, a scroll in the British Library that records a list of caravanserais that were built in Isfahan during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1666–94); according to this description, products made in Kashan, including brocade (*zarbaft*), were traded in this caravanseraī.²²

V-2. The Relationship between Poetry and Craftsmen in Kashan

Persian poetical inscriptions were used to decorate ceramics produced in Kashan between the late twelfth and the early fourteenth century.²³ In this city, not only luster-painted tiles and vessels, but also *mīnā'ī* (lit. “enameled”) wares were adorned with Persian verses by more than fifty authors from many different backgrounds. The luster-painted tiles installed at the Takht-i Sulaymān, the royal summer palace of the Ilkhanid ruler, Abaqa (r. 1265–82), for instance, were inscribed with Persian verses by panegyric poets, mystic poets, and an epic poet whose origins ranged geographically from Transoxiana to Azerbaijan and Arran and who were active chronologically from the late tenth to the late thirteenth century.²⁴ Most of their verses were *rubā'īs*, but there are also quotations from

²¹ Khūzānī Iṣfahānī 2015, 2:580; Melville 2019, 137.

²² Gaube and Wirth 1978, 282–83; Keyvani 1982, 238.

²³ The earliest dated ceramic, which was almost certainly produced in Kashan and is inscribed with Persian verses, is a luster-painted jar dated Muharram 575h/June–July 1179 at the British Museum (inv. no. 1920,0326.1). For this object, see, Watson 1985, 69, 80, pl. 37.

²⁴ Masuya 1997, 391.

either shorter or longer verse forms, including Firdawsī (d.1020)'s *Shāhnāmāh*,²⁵ these verses, inscribed on the borders of the eight-pointed star tiles, mostly do not have a fixed order of transcription when more than two verses are inscribed on a single tile.²⁶

Among the authors of these Persian verses was Abū Zayd Kāshānī, who was a prolific potter active in Kashan during the post-Seljuq period. He was skilled in luster-painting as well as enamel-painting techniques and left more than thirty signed vessels and tiles, dated between 4 Muharram 582h/March 27, 1186 and 616h/1219–20.²⁷ Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this potter is that there is general agreement among scholars that Abū Zayd himself was a composer and scribe of the Persian poem on the surface of an enamel-painted *mīnā'ī* ware dated 4 Muharram 582/March 27, 1186 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 64.178.1) [fig. 5-2] as well as on a luster-painted tile, dated Safar 600h/October–November 1203 (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 3162) [fig. 5-3]. Phrases such as “its narrator and writer [is] Abū Zayd (*qā'il^u-hu wa kātib^u-hu Abū Zayd*)” and “by[/belonging to] its writer Abū Zayd (*li-kātibⁱ-hi Abū Zayd*)” that are inscribed after several lines of one particular Persian verse quoted below are often cited

²⁵ Masuya 1997, 378.

²⁶ Masuya 1997, 400, 683–87, Chart VII.

²⁷ Watson 1985, 180; Watson 1994, 171; Blair 2008, 169–72. Recently, ‘Abdallah Qūchānī proposed a hypothesis that this Abū Zayd Kāshānī is none other than Bābā Afzal Kāshānī, a well-known philosopher-poet active in Kashan during the thirteenth century. For this hypothesis, see, Qūchānī 2019, 48–52. Qūchānī’s proposal, however, requires cautious interpretation. In his reconstruction of the genealogy of Abū Zayd from the inscriptions on luster-painted ceramics, he seems to have confused several potters of the same or similar *kunya* (i.e., a type of epithet for an adult which is derived from his/her first-born child).

as evidence for Abū Zayd having been the composer of the versified inscription quoted below:²⁸

من مهر تو در میانِ جان آوردم [\\]

با او همه خرده در میان آوردم [\\]

آخر ز همه جهان بر آوردم سر [\\]

تا مهر تو بر سر جهان آوردم [\\]²⁹

I put love of you in the midst of my soul [/]

Along with it, I scrutinized all trivial things in the midst [of my soul] [/]

Finally, I raised my head above the whole world [/]

until I elevated love of you over the world [/³⁰]

Other important works signed by Abū Zayd include the fragmentary luster-painted bowl in the Ashmolean Museum (inv. no. EA1978.2320), upon which it is inscribed that Abū Zayd “made it (*‘amila-hu*)”, “decorated it (*ṣana ‘a-hu*)”, and “wrote it (*kataba-hu*)” [figs. 5-4-a, 5-4-b]. These inscriptions seem to suggest not only that diverse processes were involved in the making of this type of pottery, but also that he possessed distinguished skill as a leading potter. As a decorator of pottery, Abū Zayd seems to have contributed significantly to the establishment of the so-called “Kashan” style of painting—

²⁸ Watson 1992, 172–73; Masuya 1997, 392 n. 85; Blair 2008, 162. Abū Zayd’s own poem is catalogued as cat. no. 86 in Qūchānī 1992. The verses inscribed on these examples eventually became some of the most frequently cited verses on the tiles installed at the Takht-i Sulaymān. For this, see, Masuya 1997, 397.

²⁹ Qūchānī 1992, 89, cat. no. 86. The meter of this poem is *hazaj* (- - U / U - - U / U - - U / U -). See Thiesen 1982, 246, no. 166.

³⁰ Translation after Blair 2008, 162 with my modification.

—a style that has various distinctive characteristics including the depiction of large-scaled figures with moon faces and the use of technique to scratch through the luster-painted surface of glazed vessels.³¹

Up to now, the relationship between poetry and craftsmen in Kashan during the early modern period has eluded scholarly attention, in contrast to the amount of research that has been conducted on Kashan and its artisans during the medieval period. This is partly due to the lack of interest in Persian verses inscribed on crafts from the period in question, and partly due to the lack of accessible known primary sources to date. For instance, as pointed out by Vladimir Minorsky, *Gulistān-i hunar* (Rose-garden of Art; c. 1596–1606), the biographical compendium of calligraphers and painters compiled by Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī, provides only limited information on artistic life in Kashan.³²

This deficiency may be compensated to an extent by the entries in the Persian *tazkirah* composed in Transoxiana by an author who encountered several craftsmen-cum-poets during his travels in Iran that he undertook around 1680. This *tazkirah*, titled *Muzzakir al-aṣḥāb* (Remembrance of Friends; completed in Samarqand in 1692–93) was written by Muḥammad Badī‘ Malīḥā Samarqandī.³³ Malīḥā Samarqandī embarked on compiling *Muzzakir al-aṣḥāb* after he returned from his travels in Iran between 1679–80 and 1682–3. During his visits to Mashhad, Nishapur, Kashan, Isfahan, and other cities in Iran, he made the acquaintance of local poets from various social backgrounds. The biographies of such Iran-based poets are found in the main chapter of this work, which deals with the contemporaneous poets with whom Malīḥā Samarqandī was directly

³¹ Watson 1985, 84, 90.

³² Qumī 1959, 30.

³³ For this source, see, McChesney 1990; Kondo 2011, 89–91.

acquainted, in the alphabetical order (fifty-five out of 164 poets). The *tazkirah* in question also gives an account of the lives and works of fifteen poets whom Malīḥā Samarqandī met in Kashan, some of whom had artisanal backgrounds.

Anvār Kāshānī, for instance, is reported to have engaged in the art of copper-smithing and have inherited not only the craft of copper-smithing but also the craft of poetry-making from his father (see Chapter Three).³⁴ This comment on the father-to-son transmission of skills in poetry and copper-smithing is particularly interesting because it shows the way in which artistic skills and knowledge were preserved in Kashan. Furthermore, *Muzzakir al-aṣḥāb* includes descriptions of two Kashan-based poets who worked in the textile industry: Fāyīz Kāshānī and Zāhir Naqqāsh Kāshānī. While Fāyīz Kāshānī occupied himself with the art of goldthread spinning for a daily livelihood (*ba-ṣan ‘at-i zar-kashī ba-jihat-i ma ‘tshat-i rūzgar mī pardāzad*),³⁵ Zāhir Naqqāsh Kāshānī is described as follows:

[He] engages in his own work, which is to design (*naqsh-bastan*). With regard to the cluster of silk-textile weavers (*shi ‘r-bāfān*) of the city of Kashan, if not of all of the cities in Iran, they need velvets and cloths (*makhmal va fūta*) belonging to the aforementioned figure [i.e., Naqqāsh Kāshānī], whenever they design clothes made of gold and silver thread brocade (*zarbāf-i tah-i ṭālā va tah-i*

³⁴ Malīḥā Samarqandī 2006, 114–19; Malīḥā Samarqandī 2011, 105–6 (no. 13).

³⁵ Malīḥā Samarqandī 2006, 358–68; Malīḥā Samarqandī 2011, 289–95 (no. 83).

nuqrah). For that reason, he uses a penname (*takhalluṣ*), Naqqāsh (i.e., designer [of textiles]).³⁶

It could be suggested that the word *shi' r-bāfān* as used here has a double meaning of silk-textile (*shi' r*) weavers and poetry (*shi' r*) weavers.³⁷ In addition, similar to Abū Zayd the potter-cum-poet discussed earlier, Zāhir Naqqāsh Kāshānī seems to have been not only a weaver-cum-poet, but also an established designer whose style of decoration inspired the works of others.

Malīḥā Samarqandī's first-hand accounts on the lives of poets whom he met in Kashan around 1680 seem to indicate something beyond the fact that Kashan had been the production site of copperwares and textiles during the late seventeenth century. His accounts reveal a lively artistic environment of Kashan where craftsmen enjoyed the art of poetry; such environment may be comparable to that of other cities such as Isfahan and Kirman during the late seventeenth century (see subsection I-3.).

V-3. The Kashan Crafts Industry, the Twelver Shī'ite Faith, and Persianization

³⁶ Malīḥā Samarqandī 2006, 540; Malīḥā Samarqandī 2011, 403–5 (no. 137). Perhaps this textile designer-cum-poet is identical to the Muḥammad Ṭāhir “Naqqāsh” Kāshānī described in *Taḏkirah Naṣr-ābādī*, who was a designer active in Kashan (*ba-amr-i naqsh-bandī dar Kāshan mashghūl-ast*), because the letter *ṭ* of Ṭāhir would be the letter *ṣ* of Zāhir if there were a diacritical mark. Naṣr-ābādī states he has never met this Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naqqāsh-i Takhalluṣ Kāshānī in person. For this entry, see, Naṣr-ābādī 1982–83, 370–71.

³⁷ For the use of words associated with textiles in Persian poetry, see, Clinton 1987, 8–9. It is possible to perceive a potential gap between how the skills and knowledge of craft-making and poetry-making were transmitted and perceived in society, and how such skills and knowledge were defined in the scheme of Islamic philosophy. For instance, in his *Iksīr al-‘arīfīn* (The Elixir of the Gnostics), Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī a.k.a. Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1640) defines the knowledge of weaving (*al-ḥiyāqat*) as the humblest of knowledge of the practices (*‘ilm al-a‘māl*), whereas he categorizes the knowledge of poetry (*al-shi' r*) into the higher category of the knowledge of words (*‘ilm al-aqwāl*). For this, see Mullā Ṣadrā 1984, 30–31 (translation), 6–7 (transcription).

The aforementioned Abū Zayd Kāshānī is a key figure in terms of understanding the connection between crafts, poetry, and the Twelver Shīʿite faith in Kashan during the medieval period.³⁸ This is because Abū Zayd also signed the tiles installed at the mausolea of the Twelver Shīʿite Imāms and their family, and which can be found on a luster-painted cenotaph of Fāṭimah bint Mūsā al-Kāẓim (i.e., the daughter of the seventh Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim, and sister of the eighth Imām, ʿAlī al-Riẓā), dated Rajab 602h/February–March 1206 at the Shrine of Fāṭimah in Qum [fig. 2-12],³⁹ and on a large mihrāb at the mausoleum of Imām ʿAlī al-Riẓā in Mashhad, dated Jumada II 612h/September–October 1215 [fig. 5-5-a, 5-5-b].⁴⁰ In making these tiles, Abū Zayd collaborated with Muḥammad b. Abū Ṭāhir, a member of the aforementioned Abū Ṭāhir family of potters [figs. 5-1, 5-5-c].

The making of luster-painted tiles installed at religious monuments related to the Twelver Shīʿite Imāms and their family was not the sole preserve of Abū Zayd Kāshānī and members of the Abū Ṭāhir family; other potters in Kashan also made such tiles for the same and other settings. To name a few, these settings include the mausolea of

³⁸ Qūchānī believes Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī Abī Zayd, who signed the luster-painted dish dated Jumada II 607h/November–December 1210 at the Freer Gallery of Art (inv. no. F1941.11), to be identical to Abū Zayd Kāshānī (Qūchānī 1992, 5). Accepting this attribution, Blair points out that Abū Zayd belonged to a family of Ḥasanī sayyids (Blair 2008, 159–60; Blair 2015, 106).

³⁹ Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1976, 1:46–50, pls. 2–12; Yūsuf-zādah and Kulbadī-nizhād. 2011–12, 123–25. See also, Watson 1985, 184.

⁴⁰ Donaldson 1935; See also, Watson 1985, 185.

imāmzādahs (descendants of Imāms) in Qum⁴¹ and Veramin⁴² as well as a mosque in Najaf, the city known as the burial site of the first Imām, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.⁴³ The inscriptions on these luster-painted tiles are entirely in Arabic, and their content ranges from Qur’ānic quotations, sayings by the Prophet and his family, to pious invocations.⁴⁴

Luster-painted tiles were also produced for Kashan itself. The Maydān mosque in the city, for instance, was once decorated with a large mihrāb signed by al-Ḥasan b. ‘Arabshāh and dated Safar 623h/February–March 1226 (see Fig. 5-6-a and 5-6-b).⁴⁵ In addition, the luster-painted cenotaph of Ḥabīb b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (i.e., the son of the seventh Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim), bearing three dates of 667h/1268–69, Muharram 670h/August–September 1271, and Safar 670h/September–October 1271, was once installed at his mausoleum in Kashan [fig. 5-7].⁴⁶

To the above list of luster-painted tiles produced for the people of Kashan can be added a pair of foundation plaques held by the Museum of Sèvres, dated 1 Shawwal

⁴¹ The following mausolea in Qum were decorated with the luster-painted tiles: the mausoleum of Ja‘far b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1976, 2: 38–40, pls. 11–13), the mausoleum of Alī b. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (Godard 1937a, 309–27, pls. 135, 139–46; Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1976, 2: 47–50, pls. 32–42), the mausoleum of Ḥarīṣ b. Aḥmad, the grandson of the fourth Imām, ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn (Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1976, 2: 83–84, pls. 138–41), the mausoleum of Shāh Aḥmad Qāsim, the great-great-grandson of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1976, 2: 68–70, pl. 116), and mausoleum of Shāhzādah Aḥmad, the descendant of Mūsā al-Kāẓim (Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1976, 2: 90–91, pls. 146–48). See also, Watson 1985, 184–85

⁴² Several tiles including the luster-painted mihrāb dated Sha‘ban 663h/May–June 1265 and signed by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad of the Abū Ṭāhir family were once installed at the mausoleum of Yaḥyā, a six-generation descendant of the second Imām, Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. See, Watson 1985, 132, 186, pl. K; Blair 2015, 108–9. The mihrāb is currently possessed by the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art at Honolulu (inv. no. 48.327).

⁴³ A luster-painted mihrāb datable to the 1260s was installed at a mosque adjoining the mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī. See, Ağa-Oğlu 1935, 128–131, pls. 1–2. See also, Watson 1985, 134, 186.

⁴⁴ Masuya 2010, 345–47; Blair 2015, 111.

⁴⁵ Dieulafoy (1887) 1989, 206, pl. 204; Narāqī 1969, 208–10; Watson 1985, 185. The mihrāb is currently possessed by the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin (inv. no. I.5366).

⁴⁶ Godard 1937a, 315, pl. 138; Watson 1985, 136, 186, pls. 113, 114. This cenotaph has been transferred to the National Museum of Iran (inv. no. 3289).

711h/February 10, 1312. One of the plaques is in the form of a disc with a horseshoe-shaped border [fig. 5-8-a] and bears Persian inscriptions in a legible *naskh* script that explain the miracle that happened to the Twelver Shīʿite community in Kashan and the situation surrounding the establishment of “the foundation of the magnificent tomb (*bunyād-i turbat-i ʿālī*)” in a suburb of the city (inv. no. MNC22688).⁴⁷ The other plaque, which is in the form of a disc with a camel-footprint-shaped border [fig. 5-8-b], on the other hand, is illustrated with a tent, a horse, and a camel described in the Persian texts inscribed on the horseshoe-bordered disc (inv. no. MNC26903).⁴⁸ As pointed out by Chahryar Adle, the detailed narrative found in these pieces reveals the religious attitudes and beliefs of the people of Kashan in the early fourteenth century, and it underscores the permeation of Shīʿism in the town, long before the advent of the Safavids.⁴⁹ It is also of note that these unusual foundation plaques were inscribed in Persian in prose.

Supposing that the luster-painting technique had continued to be practiced in Kashan well into the early Safavid period (as suggested in subsection II-3-3), then

⁴⁷ The inscription on the main field of the first plaque (inv. no. MNC22688) introduces the episode of a certain Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ṭabarī who dreamed that he met ʿAlī (i.e., the first Imām) and al-Mahdī (i.e., the twelfth Imām) on their way to India to convert unbelievers to Islam, at a tent pitched in one of the gardens near Kashan (*bāgh-i Amīr*). They asked him to erect “the foundation of the magnificent tomb (*bunyād-i turbat-i ʿālī*)” at this location so that those who could not accompany them to India would be able to make a pilgrimage there. Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ṭabarī woke up and marked the place where ʿAlī had been sitting and when doing so he also discovered the footprints of a horse (on which ʿAlī had ridden) and a camel (on which al-Mahdī had ridden). Then ʿAlī appeared in the dreams of several other people and asked them to order a certain Ḥaydar Fāris to erect “the foundation of the magnificent tomb.” Ḥaydar Fāris heard about this and begun the construction of the foundation. Meanwhile, the inscriptions on both edges of the same plaque read, “he [i.e., Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ṭabarī] saw, on this day / a horseshoe of this size.” The diameter of this disc is 28.5 cm. For the transcription and French translation of these inscriptions, see, Adel 1972, 280–85. See also, Watson 1985, 146, 149, 186, pl. 124.

⁴⁸ The short inscriptions positioned midway on the left and right sides of this plaque (inv. no. MNC26903) read, “of this size / footprint of camel.” The diameter of this disc is 32.8 cm. For the transcription and French translation of these inscriptions, see, Adel 1982, 205–6.

⁴⁹ Adel 1982, 218.

ceramics with luster-painted decoration would have been produced in the town during the fifteenth century as well.⁵⁰ In this regard, it is now apposite to examine the Arabic inscriptions on luster-painted tombstones, which were not discussed in Chapter Two. Among the nine examples of pre-Safavid luster-painted ceramic tombstones listed in Appendix 3, three bear Arabic inscriptions on their borders that indicate the sectarian orientation of the deceased/patrons: the tombstone for Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Sayyid Mīr ‘Alī (d. 881h/1476–77) [Appendix 3, CTL-1], the tombstone for Sayyid ‘Alā al-Dīn Faṭḥallāh b. Sayyid Shāh Ḥusayn b. Sayyid ‘Alī (d. Mid-Rajab 883h/October 1478) (Appendix 3, CTL-2), and the tombstone for Ustād Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn b. Ustād Niẓām al-Dīn Shavvā (d. “the last day of Jumādā I 905h”/January 2, 1500) (Appendix 3, CTL-6). While these luster-painted tombstones were produced before the advent of the Safavids, their inscriptions make direct reference to the Twelve Imāms. Perhaps it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the clients that ordered these tombstones were members of the Twelver Shī‘ite community in Kashan. It should be noted that CTL-1, the tombstone for Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Sayyid Mīr ‘Alī (d. 881h/1476–77) was also inscribed with made-to-order verses that included the year of death and the name of the deceased and these verses were in Persian (see subsection II-3-2).

As pointed out in Chapter Two (subsection II-3-3), Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī (d. 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560), whose duty as a *mu‘arrif* would have included attendance at funeral ceremonies to remind the participants to recite the first chapter of the Qur’ān for the absolution of the deceased, was the entombed of the

⁵⁰ Luster-painting is a complicated technique which requires a specialized knowledge about materials and a kiln “specially made for this purpose” in the course of the second firing (See Kāshānī 1966–67, 338–49 for the description of pottery-making). Thus, the technique would not have been easily restored once it had been lost.

luster-painted ceramic tombstone inscribed with the chronogram poem specially composed by Muḥtasham Kāshānī (Appendix 3, CTL-9). On the basis of this newly established finding, this study further argued that Mas‘ūd the *mu‘arrif* might have been a co-worker of Muḥtasham the poet, who had previously worked together in the sphere of the funerary ceremony. The scope of their cooperation would have encompassed the series of Twelver Shī‘ite mourning rituals which were conducted in the Muharram month in commemoration of the martyrdom of the third Imām, Imām Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī (d. 680) in Karbala. As described by Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī in his *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār va zubdat al-afkār* (Summary of Poems and Essence of Thoughts; completed in Kashan in 1577–78), the yearly Muharram observances in Kashan involved local performers such as lament reciters (*rawzah-khwānān*) and tellers of elegies (*marsiyah-gūyān*).⁵¹

In summary, the findings in this chapter are as follows: first, it is possible that there was continuity in the craft-making, poetry-making, and the Twelver Shī‘ite belief in Kashan from the medieval to the early modern period. Second, the language used for the commemoration of the Twelver Shī‘ite saints and other individuals in Kashan seems to have shifted from Arabic to Persian, and the style of delivery from prose to verse. While it is not possible to determine precisely when these shifts occurred, it is plausible that, by 1600, the use of furnishings with poetical inscriptions in Persian at the mausolea of the Twelver Shī‘ite Imāms had become acceptable to a certain degree, as previously discussed and elaborated in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.⁵² The evidence we have examined so far seem to suggest a possible contribution by the Twelver Shī‘ite

⁵¹ Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī 2005, 192; Narāqī (1966) 1986, 107.

⁵² This is not to suggest that Arabic might have been completely replaced by Persian as the language used for the religious purpose by 1600.

community in Kashan, a long-established center of craft-making and poetry-making, to the process of permeation of Persian verses into the religious sphere and diversification in the functions of Persian poem.

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the various ways in which Persian verses were assimilated into the material culture of Iran between the late fifteenth and late seventeenth centuries, and particular attention was paid to the artistic, literary, social, political, and religious contexts that surrounded the spread of crafts inscribed with Persian verses. One of the strengths of this study is that it represents a comprehensive examination of the ceramic, metal and textile craftworks upon which such verses were inscribed, and also includes an in-depth analysis of contemporaneous primary sources in Persian, both published and unpublished. Moreover, to the best of the author's knowledge, it is the first study to systematically catalogue and evaluate the poetical inscriptions that were applied to underglaze-painted and luster-painted ceramics as well as those that were engraved on brass candlesticks produced in Iran during the period in question. Also, by geographically limiting the discussion to Iran, this study was able to identify a possible contribution by the Twelver Shī'ite community in Kashan, a long-established center of craft-making and poetry-making, to the process of diversification in the functions of Persian poems, in particular, those inscribed on materials other than paper. The findings that were presented in Chapters One to Five of this dissertation are summarized below.

Chapter One of this study provided a detailed analysis of the primary sources in Persian, the findings of which highlighted that there was a range of possible situations from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century in which craftsmen would have appreciated Persian poetry, not only as readers or spectators but also as composers. The analysis also revealed that craftsmen were in fact both recipients and senders of rhetorical letters that included poems that expressed the writer's own feelings about specific situations and that were written in such a way as to allude to their occupations. In other

words, these letters containing Persian verses might have served to smooth communication between people of different social classes. It also became clear from an examination of the available evidence that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were various kinds of craftsmen-cum-poets whose works and biographies were recorded in various Persian *tazkirahs* that were composed in Iran. A review of these *tazkirahs* indicated that Herat, Tabriz, Isfahan, and Kirman were cities where groups of craftsmen-cum-poets were active. An investigation of the biographical notes in these *tazkirahs* also revealed the migratory nature of craftsmen-cum-poets during the period in question. As for the type of verses composed by the craftsmen-cum-poets, the *rubāʿī* was one of the most frequently recorded in the Persian *tazkirahs*, and the topics of these verses ranged from the agony of love to the praising of a patron.

Chapter Two presented the findings of a thorough investigation of the Persian poetry inscribed on ceramic vessels and ceramic tombstones, so as to contribute to research on the reception, circulation, and social function of Persian poetry in Iran between the late fifteenth and late seventeenth centuries. It could be argued that during this period in Iran, pottery became a significant medium through which people were able to appreciate Persian poetry. As for underglaze-painted ceramic vessels specifically, many of the pieces examined showed a strong connection between the content of the poetical inscriptions and the shape, material, and/or function of the vessels themselves. Also, a further analysis of underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones revealed that two types of Persian poem were used during the seventeenth century: traditional Persian verses, chosen with the utmost deliberation for the funerary context, and specially composed verses that included *abjad* numerals. Through an examination of the hitherto undeciphered verses inscribed on the luster-painted tombstone of Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn

Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī who died at 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560, it is clear that the poem in question can be identified as a *qit‘a* by Muḥtasham Kāshānī, a renowned court poet who spent his entire life in Kashan. The identification of this poem is particularly important not only because it suggests that luster-painted ceramics were probably produced in Kashan during the early Safavid period, but also because it indicates that there was cooperation between people from different backgrounds, in particular, a potter and a poet, within the funerary industry.

Chapter Three provided the findings of an examination of the cultural, religious, and political context of the production and consumption of poetically inscribed brass candleholders produced in Iran during the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. First, based on an in-depth analysis of the surface decorations on the Doha candlestick and related pieces, it was suggested that the Doha candlestick was probably produced around 1600. Second, the chapter revealed the existence of a group of ready-made brass candleholders, including those inscribed with Persian verses, which were endowed to the mausolea of the Twelver Shī‘ite Imāms in Iran and Iraq around 1560–1610 by figures who had some sort of connection to Kashan, the long-established center of the Twelver Shī‘ite population. Hence it could be argued that such poetically inscribed brass candleholders might have emerged from the cultural and artistic milieu of Kashan, where poets and coppersmiths seem to have maintained a cooperative relationship.

Chapter Four discussed the permeation of Persian verses and figural representations into religious architecture in more detail and in so doing also focused attention on a poetically inscribed textile, the Cinnati covering, which it has been surmised could be associated with the mausoleum of the eighth Imām, ‘Alī al-Riḏā (d. 818) in Mashhad. An examination of the motifs on the covering and content of the Persian

verses inscribed upon it revealed a remarkable congruity between the text, image, and intended place of use of this artifact, as well as its high quality, which implies that the creation of the covering would very likely have required skilled labor. It was also hypothesized that this object was intended to be used as a cover for a tomb, and that the verses upon it might have been specially commissioned for inscription on such a tomb cover. It was also suggested that this cover would most likely have been located in a burial place for a member of the Safavids during the late sixteenth century.

Chapter Five brought together material and textual evidence to support the existence of a relationship between poets/poems, craftsmen/crafts, and Twelver Shī'ism in Kashan from the late twelfth to the late seventeenth century. Based on this evidence, it is possible that there was continuity in craft-making, poetry-making, and the Twelver Shī'ite belief in Kashan from the medieval to the early modern period. In addition, analysis of the language used for the commemoration of the Twelver Shī'ite saints and individuals in this city indicates that there seems to have been a shift from Arabic to Persian, and from prose to verse, and that these transitions seem to have been occurred by the end of the sixteenth century.

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Appendix 1: Catalogue raisonné of Iranian Underglaze-painted Ceramic Vessels Inscribed with Persian Verses, c. 1450–1700

CVU-1

Technique: fritware; painted in blue on white slip, under clear transparent glaze

Shape: bird-shaped ewer

Date: 857h/1453–54

Size: h. 33.6 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

Inscriptions around the edge of the left wing:

- 1 همان بهتر که دائم شاد باشی [\\] زهر بند و غمی آزاد باشی [\\]
Tis best that you stay perpetually happy [/]
And be free from any fetters and grief¹ [/]
- 2 میخور بدور شاه که مخمور نیک باد [\\] بعد از تو ... بر اسباب دنیوی [\\]
Drink wine at the passing around of the Shāh[’s cup] for being inebriated (?)
is fine [/]
After you ... upon the affairs of the world² [/]
- 3 ساقی بنور باده برافروز جام ما
Cup-bearer, set our cup ablaze with the light of wine [/]

Inscriptions around the edge of the right wing
(the upper part of the left wing, from chest to tail):

- 4 اگر صد [سال] مانی³ وریکی روز [\\] بیاید رفت ازین کاخ دل افروز [\\]
در تاریخ ۸۵۷
- Whether you exist for a hundred years or just a day [/]
You have to leave this palace that sets light to [your] heart [/]
In the year 857[h/1453–54]

(the lower part of the left wing, from chest to tail)

- 5 مرغ باغ ملکوتم نیم از عالم خاک [\\] دو سه روزی قفسی ساختند از بدنم [\\]⁴

¹ Transcription and translation after Melikian-Chirvani 1995, 82.

² Transcription and translation after Melikian-Chirvani 1995, 82.

³ Given as زیبی in Melikian-Chirvani 1995, 82.

⁴ The lower part of left wing has not been visible to the visitors of the Islamic gallery at the Sèvres. Museum. I was not able to see several words between the term “*az* (i.e. from)” and “*badanam* (i.e. my body)” during my stay there in October 2015. These words have been reconstructed from the collection of poems of Humām al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 1314–15), the source identified by the current author. See, Humām al-

I am a bird (*murgh*) of the garden of spiritual realm,
I am not from the world of Earth [/]
They have made a cage out of my body for a couple of days⁵ [/]

Sources of the Inscriptions:

- 1 unidentified
- 2 unidentified
- 3 Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 1390), *ghazal* no. 4
- 4 Niẓāmī Ganjavī (d. 1209), a couplet from the thirteenth part of *Khusraw va Shīrīn* (Khusraw and Shīrīn) from *Khamsah* (Five Poems)
- 5 Humām al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d. 1314–15), *ghazal*

Location: Musée de Sèvres (Sèvres), inv. no. 22687

Date of Accession: 1953

Published: Marchal 1971, 63, pl. 111; Soustiel 1985, 218, fig. 251; Bernus-Taylor 1989, 149; Melikian-Chirvani 1995, 81–88; O’Kane 2009, 137–38; Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 150–51, cat. no. 1.

Dīn Tabrīzī 1972, 125. See also, Melikian-Chirvani 1995, 83.

⁵ Translation after O’Kane 2009, 138.

CVU-2

Technique: fritware; incised on black slip and painted in black under transparent turquoise glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 873h/1468–69

Size: d. 35.8 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

صحن سرای دیده بشستم ولی چه سود [\\] کین خانه نیست در خر⁶ خیل خیال تو [\\]
تمت بتاریخ ۸۷۳ سنة

I have washed [i.e., I have shed tears from] the courtyard/dish (*sahn*) of the mansion of my eyes, but for what kind of benefits? [/]

For, this house does not deserve to imagine your vision [/]

It was finished in the year 873[h/1468/69]

Source of the Inscription: Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 1390), *ghazal* no. 474⁷

Notes: The inscription of this dish was published and identified for the first time in the catalogue of *Eredità dell'Islam* exhibition in Venice in 1993.

Location: Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale “Giuseppe Tucci” (Rome), inv. no. 178

Published: Reitlinger 1938, fig. 9; Ettinghausen 1939, 1692, no. 170 (no illustration), 10: pl. 786B; Lane 1957, pl. 20A; Grube 1974, 241–2, 241n27, pl. LII, fig. 42; Whitman 1978, x, 43, fig. 41; Curatola et al. 1993, 354, col. pl. 208; Golombek et al. 1996, pl. 51, col. pl. XI; Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 24, 33, fig. 3.

⁶ خور is the correct spelling for this word.

⁷ Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī 1939–40, 261–62, no. 474.

CVU-3

Technique: fritware (?); painted in blue on white slip, under clear transparent glaze (front); painted in blue on white slip, under clear transparent and turquoise transparent glaze (back)

Shape: dish

Date: 878h/1473–74

Production site: Mashhad

Size: h. 9.1 cm, d. 35 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

صحن سرای دیده بشستم ولی چه سود [\\] کین گوشه نیست در^۸ خور خیل خیال تو [\\]
این طبق در^۹ مشهد باتمام رسید بتاريخ سنة ۸۷۸

I have washed [i.e., I have shed tears from] the courtyard/dish (*sahn*) of the mansion of my eyes, but for what kind of benefits? [/]

For, this house does not deserve to imagine your vision [/]

This dish was completed in Mashhad in the year 878[h/1473–74]

Source of the Inscription: Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, *ghazal* no. 474

Notes: The inscription was published for the first time in 1980 by Anatoli Ivanov and then identified as the work by Ḥāfiẓ in the catalogue of *Eredità dell'Islam* exhibition in Venice in 1993. According to Ivanov, it was purchased in Kubachi settlement in Daghestan in 1973.

Location: State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg), VG-2650

Published: Ivanov 1980; Lentz and Lowry 1989, 227, fig. 84; Curatola et al. 1993, 354 (mentioned without a photograph); Golombek et al. 1996, pls. 56 and 57a, col. pl. II; Loukonine and Ivanov 1996, cat. no. 160; Piotrovskii and Pritula 2006, 83–84, cat. no. 80; Golombek et al. 2014, 60, figs. 2.2.A, 2.2.B (HRM.129); Mūsāvī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 24, 33, fig. 4.

^۸ در is the correct spelling for this word.

^۹ در is the correct spelling for this word.

CVU-4

Technique: fritware; incised on black slip and painted in black under transparent turquoise glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 885h/1480–81

Size: h. 7.6 cm, d. 37.5 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

Inscriptions on the outer band:

صحن سرای دیده بشستم ولی چه سود [\\] کین خانه نیست در خور خیل و¹⁰ خیال تو [\\]
تمت بتاریخ ۸۸۵ سنة

I have washed [i.e., I have shed tears from] the courtyard/dish (*sahn*) of the
mansion of my eyes, but for what kind of benefits? [/]
For, this house does not deserve to imagine your vision [/]
It was finished in the year 885[h/1480/81]

Inscriptions on the inner band:

عاقبت بخیر باد [\\] آخرت بخیر باد [\\] عاقبت بخیر باد [\\] آخرت بخیر باد [\\]
May [your] ending be good [/*] May [your] afterlife be good [/*]
May [your] ending be good [/*] May [your] afterlife be good [/*]

Source of the Inscription: Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, *ghazal* no. 474

Notes: The good wishing for the owner inscribed on this piece is also adopted to dish painted in black under turquoise glaze at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 17.120.72).¹¹ A variant of this wishing is found inscribed on a luster-painted dish dated 822h/1419–20 and a dish painted in black and dated 975h/1567–68 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 2005.1¹² and inv. no. 68.42¹³, respectively).

Location: Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), inv. no. 48.1031

Published: Reitlinger 1938, fig. 12; Ettinghausen 1939, 1692, list no. 172 (no illustration); Grube 1974, 241–2, 241n27, pl. LII, fig. 43; Whitman 1978, x, 44; Golombek et al. 1996, pls. 50a and 50b, col. pl. X; Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 24–25, 33, fig. 5.; <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/33249/plate-6/> (accessed August 16, 2020)

¹⁰ The word و is not inscribed on CUV-02 and CUV-03.

¹¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/446928> (accessed August 16, 2020).

¹² <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/454887> (accessed August 16, 2020).

¹³ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/451987> (accessed August 16, 2020).

CVU-5

Technique: fritware; painted in blue on white slip, under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 929h/1522–23

Production site: Nishapur

Size: d. 34.5 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- 1 غنچه سان خرده چه پیچی بورق [*\\] خرج کن همچو گل آن را بطبق [*\\]
2 عارضت همچو گل عرق کرده [*\\] گل صدبرگ بر طبق کرده [*\\]
تمام شود در بلدة نیشابور [*\\] بتاريخ شهر سنة ۹۲۹ م
- 1 Why do you, like the rose-bud, scrunch yourself up so small within the petal? [/*]
Like the rose, spread them out on the plate (tabaq) [/*]
2 Your cheek, just like the rose, has blushed [/*]
[because] the hundred-petalled rose has been [displayed] on the plate (tabaq) [/*]
Completed in the town of Nishapur [*], on the day of [one of] the months in the year
929[h/1522–23] [/*]

Sources of the Inscriptions:

- 1 'Abd al-Raḥmān Nūr al-Dīn Jāmī (d. 1492), the twenty-eighth knot of *Subḥat al-Abrār* (Rosary of the Pious) in the chapter of *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones)¹⁴
2 unidentified

Notes: The first couplet of this inscription is identified as that of Jāmī for the first time in my unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, submitted to the University of Oxford in June 2015.

Location: Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Tokyo), inv. no. 11820-75

Published: Mayuyama 1974; Ishiguro 1987, 100–1, cat. no. 48; Golombek and Mason 1995; Golombek et al. 1996, pls. 47a and 47b; Canby 2000, 36, fig. 24; Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Okano 2010, 39, fig. 23; Golombek et al. 2014, 63, fig. 2.6 (TOK.01), 431; Mūsāvi Ḥājī et al. 2016, 27, 33, fig. 10.

¹⁴ Jāmī 1997, 658.

CVU-6

Technique: fritware; painted in blue on white slip, under clear transparent glaze

Shape: flask

Date: 930h/1523–24

Size: h. 24.6 cm, w. 23.8 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

Inscriptions on the one side:

1 یا رب که مرا صحبت جان بی تو مباد [\\]
وز هستی من نام و نشان بی تو مباد [\\]
انجامی¹⁵ زمانه یک زمان بی تو مباد [\\]
کوتاه کنم سخن جهان بی تو مباد [\\]

- 1 Oh Lord, let my conversation of soul not be without you [/]
And in my world, let names and signs not be without you [/]
May the ending, even for a moment (?), not be without you [/]
To put it briefly, may the world not be without you [/]

2 گفت یکی رند درین کهنه دیر [\\]
عاقبت جمله رندان بخیر [\\]

اتم فی شهر سنة ۹۳۰

- 2 A drunkard said, “In this world, [/]
[may] the ending of the drunkards [be] auspicious.” [/]

Completed in the month of the year 930[h/1523–24].

Inscriptions on the other side:

3 تا گردنی سراحی می خم نمیشود [\\]
غم از دل رمیده ما کم نمیشود [\\]
سراحی دار خون شد بی لب لعلت درونی من [\\]
دهن چون باز کردم تیشه شد خلقی بخونی من [\\]

عاقبت جمله رندان بخیر باد
اتم ۹۳۰

- 3 As long as a neck of the flask (*surāhī*) does not lean forward, [/]
the anxiety in our afflicted heart does not decrease [/]

¹⁵ This word is recorded as انجام in Rāzī 2010, 1: 279.

[When] your ruby lips are not in the interior of me, the flask (surāhī) becomes
the dwelling of blood [/]

[When] I open my mouth, people thirst for my blood. [/]

May the ending of the drunkards be auspicious. Finished [in] 930[h/1523–24].

Sources of the Inscriptions:

1 Khvāja Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh Bayānī (d. 1516–17), *rubā’ī*

2 unidentified

3 unidentified

Notes: Mūsāwī Ḥājī and his colleagues were the first to decipher the whole inscriptions. They also identified one of the verses inscribed on the one side to be Bayānī’s *rubā’ī*. The current author found this verse in the contemporaneous *tazkirahs*.¹⁶

Location: Victoria and Albert Museum (London), inv. no. C. 1973-1910

Published: Ettinghausen 1935, fig. 14, 53–54; Ettinghausen 1939, 1692, list no. 175 (no illustration); Lane 1957, 82, 93–94, fig. 64B; Whitman 1978, x, 89, pl. 97; Golombek et al. 1996, pl. 48; Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Golombek et al. 2014, 431 (no illustration); Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 26, 33, fig. 11; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O85984/flask-flask-unknown/> (accessed August 16, 2020)

¹⁶ Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–06, 105; Rāzī 2010, 1: 278–79.

CVU-7

Technique: fritware; painted in blue on white slip, under clear transparent glaze

Shape: jar

Date: 970h/1562–63

Size: d. 20 cm, h. 29 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta`līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

در کارگهی کوزه گری بودم دوش [\\]
دیدم دو هزار کوزه گویا و خموش [\\]
ناگه ز کوزه برآورده خوش [\\]
کو کوزه گر و کوزه خر و کوزه فروش [\\]
سنة ۹۷۰

Yesterday I was at the workshop of a potter [/]

I saw two thousand pots (*kūzah*) speaking and keeping silent [/]

All at once, one of the pots shouted, [/]

“Where is a potter, a purchaser of pots, and a seller of pots?” [/]

The year 970[h/1562–63]

Source of the Inscription: ‘Umar Khayyām (d. 1131), *rubā`ī*

Notes: The verse inscribed was first identified as ‘Umar Khayyām’s *rubā`ī* by Yedda Godard.

Location: National Museum of Iran (Tehran), inv. no. 4365

Published: Godard 1937a, 334, fig. 153; Whitman 1978, x, 116, pl. 142; Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Golombek et al. 2014, 79, fig. 2.30 (IRB.09), 431; Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 28, 33, fig. 14.

CVU-9

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: (10)65h/1654–55 (?)

Size: d. 22 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta ‘līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

مضعفر¹⁷ در صحن [*] لاجوردی [*] خور در سپهر [*]

اخضر چون [*] رونهد بزردی [*] یاد آید م ۶۵ [*]

Saffron-colored pilaf in the platter (*sahn*) of lajvard-color is a sun in the green sky
because [it] emerged with yellow

Source of the Inscription: unidentified

Location: current whereabouts unknown

Published: Sotheby’s 1978, 56–57, lot 130; Sotheby’s 2010a, 114, lot 156; Golombek et al. 2014, 431 (no illustration)

¹⁷ مزعفر is the correct spelling for this word.

CVU-10

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 1077h/1666–67

Size: h. 10.6 cm, d. 52.9 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

فلک نقل کواکب بر طبق چید [*\
بر آمد از فلک ناهید با عود [*\
جهانرا مژده داد از فال مسعود ۱۰۷۷ [*\
بهر سوئی ... لعل دلیر [*\
فلک را ... طبق بادام و شکر [*\
جو مغرب ساغر خورشید نوشید ۱۰۷۷ [*

Heaven laid the story of stars upon the tray (*tabaq*) [/]
 From heaven, Venus with a lute [in her hand] came [/]
 She brought the glad news to the world, with a good omen [/]
 Every direction ... a heart-ravishing ruby [/]
 The sky ... tray (*tabaq*), an almond and sugar [/]
 Like the evening, bowl (*sāghar*) swallowed the sun [/]

Source of the Inscription: unidentified

Location: Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 931-1886

Published: Crowe 1979-80, 27, fig. 19¹⁸; Crowe 2002, 176, cat. no. 274; 292; Golombek et al. 2014, 431 (no illustration)

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O220898/dish-unknown/> (accessed July 7, 2020).

¹⁸ In this article, the inventory number is wrongly recorded as “1070-1883.”

CVU-11

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black and incised on green slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 1084h/1673–74

Size: h. 4.5cm, d. 25cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

این قاب¹⁹ که عقل آفرین [*] میزندش [\]
صد بوسه ز مهر [*] بر جبین میزندش [\]
استاد [*] ازل بین که²⁰ چنین [*] جام لطیف [\]
میسازد و باز [*] بر زمین میزندش [\] سنه ۱۰۸۴ [*]

This [is] a vessel (*qāb*) for which the mind expresses admiration [/]
on whose forehead it places a hundred kisses with love [/]
[But] the master, the seer of eternity, creates the elegant cup (*jām*) like this [/]
[and then] throws it down to the ground [/]²¹
The year 1084[h/1673–74]

Source of the Inscription: The variant of *rubā‘ī* by ‘Umar Khayyām

Notes: The verse inscribed is identified as ‘Umar Khayyām’s *rubā‘ī* in the catalogue of the *Islamic and Indian Works of Art* auction held by Bonhams in London on October 11, 2000.

Location: Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), inv. no. 2000.48.1

Published: Bonhams London 2000, 288, lot. 697; Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration);

Golombek et al. 2014, 334, cat. no. 22 (ROM.89), 431; Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 29, 33, fig. 17.

¹⁹ In the original version, this word is جامی.

²⁰ In the original version, these words are این کوزهگر دهر.

²¹ Translation after Maria Subtelny, with my modification. See Golombek et al. 2014, 18.

CVU-12

Technique: fritware; painted in blue, green, and red and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 1084h/1673–74

Size: h. 6cm, d. 36cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

این قاب همیشه [*] پر ز نعمت بادا [\] دایم ز میان اهل [*] دولت باد [\] هر [*] گز نشود نعمت [*]
از این قاب تهی [*] هرکس که خورد تنش بصحت [*] بادا [\] تمام شد بتاریخ ۱۰۸۴

May this vessel (*qāb*) always full of wealth, [/]

may [this vessel] always surrounded by friends, [/]

[may] favor from this vessel (*qāb*) never become empty, [/]

may anyone who eat be sound [/]

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: The David Collection (Copenhagen), inv. no. 4/1986

Published: Migeon 1903, pl. 49a; Ettinghausen 1939, 1694, list no. 190 (no illustration);

Whitman 1978, x, 235, pl. 317; Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Golombek et al. 2014, fig. 2.82, 431, 442 (CDC.10);

<https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/safavids/art/4-1986> (accessed July 24, 2020).

CVU-13

Technique: fritware; painted in blue, green, and red and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 1088h/1677–78

Production site: unknown

Size: h. 9 cm, d. 40.5 cm (rim), d. 22 cm (base)

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

[...] ت [*] بادا از مال حلال [\]
دایم بمیان [*] اهل دولت بادا از جمع [*] کمال [\]
هرگز نشود نعمت [*] از این قاب تهی هم در مه [*] و سال [\]
هرکس که خورد [*] تنش بصحت بادا از در [*] د و بال [\] بتاریخ سنة ۱۰۸۸

May [...] with the goods lawful to eat, [/]

may [this] always surrounded by friends consisting of the group of excellence, [/]

[may] favor from this vessel (*qāb*) never become empty also for months and years, [/]

may anyone who eat be sound from affliction, and affluence. [/]

On the day of year 1088.

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: British Museum, inv. no. G. 308

Published: Ettinghausen 1939, 1694, list no. 191 (no illustration); Lane 1957, pl. 60B;

Whitman 1978, x, 235, pl. 318; Canby 2000, 155–56, fig. 147; Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Golombek et al. 2014, 432 (no illustration); Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 29, 33, fig. 18; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_G-308 (July 11, 2020).

CVU-14

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 1108h/1696–97

Size: h. 7cm, d. 37.4cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

Inscriptions on the inner band:

این صحن که ... [*] ... [*] ... صا [*] حب [*] ... [*] ... است [*] ... [*] ...
This dish (*sahn*) is ... owner ... is ...

Inscriptions on the outer band:

این صحن که [*] ... [*] صاحب [*] ... [*] ... ش... [*] ... [*] ... [*] ... [*] ...
بتاریخ سنة ۱۰۸۰ [*]
This dish (*sahn*) is ... owner ... his ... on the day of year 108

Sources of the Inscriptions: unknown

Location: Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin, inv. no. I.45/68

Published: Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Golombek et al. 2014, 100, fig. 2.68 (BER.04; wrongly catalogued as 1080h/1669–70)

<http://www.smb->

[digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1520517&viewType=detailView](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1520517&viewType=detailView) (accessed July 7, 2020)

CVU-15

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: 1109h/1697–98

Size: h. 7 cm, d. 44.5 cm (rim)

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

این قاب همیشه پر [*] ز نعمت بادا از مال [*] حلال [\]
دایم بمیان [*] اهل دولت بادا از جمع کما [*] ل [\]
هرگز نشود نعمت [*] از این قاب تهی هم [*] در مه سال [\]
هرکس که [*] خوردتنش بصحت بادا از [*] درد و بال [\] بتمام شد [*] بتاریخ سنه ۱۰۹ [*]

May this vessel (*qāb*) always full of wealth with the goods lawful to eat (*ḥalāl*),
may [this vessel] always surrounded by friends consisting of the group of excellence,
[may] favor from this vessel (*qāb*) never become empty also for months and years,
may anyone who eat be sound from affliction, and affluence. It was completed in the
day of year 109.

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: British Museum, inv. no. 1896,0626.5

Published: Ettinghausen 1939, 1694, no. 192 (no illustration), 10: pl. 785B; Lane 1957, pl. 72B; Whitman 1978, x, 235, pl. 319; Canby 2000, 155–56, fig. 147; Canby 2000, 170–72, fig. 162; Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 137, 416–17, cat. no. 162; Golombek et al. 2014, 432 (no illustration); Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 30, 33, fig. 19;
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1896-0626-5 (July 11, 2020)

CVUnd-1

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip, under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the late fifteenth to the sixteenth century)

Size: n/a

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscription:

تو دلم بردی بحیرانی [\]
بصد مکر بصد زاری [\]
دلت بر من نمیسوزد [\]
مگر یاری دیگر داری [\]
دل که پیش تو راز میگوید [\]
غم و رنجی باز میگوید [\]

You seized my heart astonishingly [/]
with one hundred tricks and one hundred laments [/]
Your heart does not feel sorry for me [/]
Unless you have another beloved, [/]
[my] heart, in front of you, will divulge the secret [/]
[and] the heart will disclose sorrow and suffering [/]

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2002.1.264

Published: unpublished

CVUnd-2

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip, under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the late fifteenth to the sixteenth century)

Size: d. 6cm, w. 33cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta 'līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

دل که پیش تو راز میگوید [*\\]

غم و رنجی باز میگوید [*\\]

دل که در بند زلفِ دل آرست [*\\]

بیلای سینه گرفتارست [*\\]

[My] heart, in front of you, will divulge the secret [/]

[and] the heart will disclose sorrow and suffering [/]

[My] heart, is a captive of your heart-adorning hair [/]

With an affliction, [my] breast is occupied [/]

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: Freer Gallery of Art, S1997.67

Published: <https://asia.si.edu/object/S1997.67/> (accessed July 21, 2020)

CVUnd-4

Technique: fritware; painted in blue on white slip, under clear transparent glaze

Shape: bowl

Date: undated (attributable to the late fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries)

Size: unknown

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta 'līq* (?), Persian

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg), VG-2654

Published: Golombek et al. 1996, motif F1(I)3, pls. 75 a–b, PH.38.

CVUnd-5

Technique: fritware; incised on black slip and painted in black under transparent turquoise glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the late fifteenth century)

Size: h. 8.2cm, d. 36.9cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *naskh* (?), Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

Inscriptions on the outer band:

لعلت... حلوائی... از آن... عاقبت ...

Your ruby...sweets... from this...success...

Inscriptions on the inner band:

اگرچه ...

Although...

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago), inv. no. 1929-129

Published: Pope and Ackerman (1938–39) 1964–65, 10: pl. 787B; Golombek et al. 1996, 100–1, fig. 4.12, motif H3(III)1/1/3, 147, CI.1 (no illustration);

<https://www.artic.edu/artworks/90582/bowl> (accessed July 21, 2020)

CVUnd-6

Technique: fritware; incised on black slip and painted in black under transparent green glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the late fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries)

Size: h. 6.1cm, d. 35.3cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta`līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscription:

ای دل بطریق عاشقی راه یکیست [\] دولت [*] در کشور عشق بنده و شاه یکیست [*\
تا ترک دو رنگی نکنی در ره عشق [*] واقف نشوی که نعمت الله یکیست [*\
[*]

Oh heart, in the path of a lover, the road is one, good fortune [/]

In the land of love, the slave and slave are one [/]

Until you refrain from capriciousness in the road of love, [/]

you do not know that the favor of God is the one [/]

Source of the Inscription: Shāh Ni‘matallāh Valī (d. 1431), *rubā`ī*

Notes: The verse inscribed was first identified as Shāh Ni‘matallāh Valī (d. 1431), *rubā`ī* by Mūsāwī Ḥājī and his colleagues.

Location: Victoria and Albert Museum (London), inv. no. 552-1905

Published: Pope and Ackermann (1938–39) 1964–65, 10: pl. 788; Lane 1957, pl. 52A; Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 25–26, 33, fig. 8; <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O79412/dish-unknown/> (accessed July 21, 2020)

CVUnd-7

Technique: fritware; incised on black slip and painted in black under transparent green glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the late fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries)

Production site: unknown

Size: d. 32.8 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

ای دل بطریق عاشقی راه یکیست [*\\] در کشور عشق بنده و شاه یکیست [*\\]
تا ترک دورنگی نکنی در ره عشق [*\\] واقف نشوی که نعمت الله یکیست [*\\]

Oh heart, in the path of a lover, the road is one [/]
In the land of love, the slave and slave are one [/]
Until you refrain from capriciousness in the road of love [/]
you do not know that the favor of God is the one [/]

Source of the Inscription: Shāh Ni'matallāh Valī (d. 1431), *rubā'ī*

Location: current whereabouts unknown

Published: Sotheby's London 2011b, 168, lot. 326.

CVUnd-8

Technique: fritware; painted in blue, green, yellow, tomato red, and black on white slip under transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the early seventeenth century)

Size: h. 6.5 cm, d. 34.6 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

این صحن همیشه پر ز نعمت بادا [*\\] دایم بمیان اهل صحبت بادا [*\\]
هرگز نشود نعمت از این صحن تهی [*\\] هرکس که خورد تنش بصحت بادا [*\\]
May this dish (*sahn*) always full of wealth [/]
may (this dish) always surrounded by friends [/]
(may) favor from this dish never become empty [/]
may anyone who eat be sound [/]

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: Brooklyn Museum (New York), inv. no. 42.212.31

Published: <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/54025> (accessed July 21, 2020)

CVUnd-9

Technique: fritware; painted in blue, green, yellow, tomato red, and black on white slip under transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the early seventeenth century)

Size: h. 6.2cm, d. 33.5cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

این صحن همیشه پر ز نعمت بادا [*\\] دایم بمیان اهل صحبت بادا [*\\]
هرگز نشود نعمت ازین صحن تهی [*\\] هرکس که خود تنش بصحت بادا [*\\]

May this dish (*sahn*) always full of wealth [/]
may [this dish] always surrounded by friends [/]
[may] favor from this platter never become empty [/]
may anyone who eat be sound [/]

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: Kuwait National Museum (Kuwait City), inv. no. LNS320

Published: Watson 2004, 460, cat. U.12; Mūsāwī Ḥājī et al. 2016, 28–29, 33, fig. 15.

CVUnd-10

Technique: fritware, painted in blue, green, yellow, tomato red, and black on white slip under transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the early seventeenth century)

Size: d. 33 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscription:

این صحن همیشه پر ز نعمت بادا [*\\] دایم ز میان اهل صحبت بادا [*\\]
هرگز نشود نعمت از این صحن تهی [*\\] هرکس که خورد تنش [بصحت بادا] [\\]

May this dish (*sahn*) always full of wealth [/]
may [this dish] always surrounded by friends [/]
[may] favor from this dish (*sahn*) never become empty [/]
[may] anyone who eat [be sound] [/]

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: Louvre Museum, inv. no. AD 27781

Published: Labrusse 2007, 340, cat. no. 184; <https://www.photo.rmnm.fr/archive/12-557864-2C6NU08IY1N7.html> (accessed July 21, 2020)

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries)

Size: n/a

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

صحن ... [*] ... مهمان من درویش [*] ... [*] ... [*] ... [*] ... تو طبق. [*] ...
dish (*sahn*) ... my guest is darvish ... your ... tray (*tabaq*)

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: current whereabouts unknown

Published: Christie's London 1994, lot. 328

CVUnd-12

Technique: fritware, painted in blue and black on white slip under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the seventeenth century)

Size: d. 34.5 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

این سخن همیشه پر ز نعمت بادا [*] دایم بمیون اهل سحبت بادا [*]
 هرگز نسود نعمت ازین سخن تهی [*] هرکسکه خریتش بسحبت بادا [*]

May this dish (*sahn*) always full of wealth [ʔ]
 may [this dish] always surrounded by friends [ʔ]
 [may] favor from this dish (*sahn*) never become empty [ʔ]
 may anyone who eat be sound [ʔ]

Source of the Inscription: unknown

Location: Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Tokyo)

Published: Sotheby's London 1992, 60–61, lot 111; Okano 2010, 53, fig. 86

CVUnd-13

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and white on white slip under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the seventeenth century)

Size: d. 27cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

این کاسه همیشه پر ز نعمت بادا [*\\] دایم بمیان اهل صحبت بادا [*\\]
هرگز نشود نعمت ازین کاسه تهی [*\\] هرکس که خورد تنش بصحت بادا [*\\]

May this plate (*kāsaḥ*) always full of wealth [/]
may (this dish) always surrounded by friends [/]
(may) favor from this plate (*kāsaḥ*) never become empty [/]
may anyone who eat be sound [/]

Source of the Inscription: unidentified

Location: National Museum of Oriental Art “Giuseppe Tucci” (Rome), inv. no. 12582/13951

Published: Curatola et al. 1993, 425–26; Torre et al. 2000, 17–34, fig. 25.

<http://www.museorientale.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/311/opere/248/grande-piatto> (accessed July 21, 2020)

CVUnd-14

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the seventeenth century)

Size: h. 4.9 cm, d. 27.0 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscription:

بازار بتان شکست گیرد [*\\] یارم چو قدح بدست گیرد [*\\]
آیا بود آنکه دست گیرد [*\\] در پاش فتاده ام بزاری [*\\]

When my Beloved takes a goblet (*qadah*) in hand [/]
the bazar of beauties becomes bankrupt [/]
I have fallen at his feet, crying for help [/]
[wondering] whether he take [my] hand [/]

Source of the Inscription: Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 1390), *ghazal* no. 211²³

Location: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2002.1.220

Published: <https://collections.lacma.org/node/204675> (accessed September 12, 2020)

²³ Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī 1939–40, 117, *ghazal* no. 211.

CVUnd-15

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip, under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the late seventeenth century)

Production site: unknown

Size: d. 28.5cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta 'līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

در عمر نمیتوان شمردن [*\\] روزی که بعیش نگرانی [*\\]

در سبزه خوشت جام گلگون [*\\] در لاله شراب ارغوانی [*\\]

In life, it is not possible to count [/]

the days when you do not spend your time in pleasure [/]

[there is] a rose-colored cup (*jām*) in your beautiful meadow [/]

[and there is] in a purple-colored wine in [your beautiful] tulip [/]

Source of the Inscription: unidentified

Location: Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Tokyo)

Published: Okano ed. 2010, 52, fig. 82.

CVUnd-16

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the late seventeenth century)

Size: h. 6.5 cm, d. 33 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta ‘līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

از ... فلک قرص ... مجوان [\\]
الگشت عسل بخواه صد ... مخور [\\]
از نعمت الوان نهان دست بدار [\\]
... دل صد هزار در ... [\\]

From ... do not seek ...disc (*qurs*) of heaven
Ask [your] finger for honey, do not eat one hundred ...
Leave your hands from all sorts of good things [/]
One hundred thousand hearts in ... [/²⁴

Source of the Inscription: unidentified

Location: Khalili collection (London), inv. no. POT1649

Published: Rogers 2010, 320–21, pl. 379;

<https://www.khalilicollections.org/collections/islamic-art/khalili-collection-islamic-art-dish-pot1649/> (accessed November 5, 2020)

²⁴ The website of the Khalili collection provides the following translation:
“Do not call for more discs of blood from the firmament
Ask for fingers dipped in honey [but] do not eat a hundred times more.
Leave the colourful worldly delights
And seek the heart of hundred thousand dervishes [instead].”

CVUnd-17

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Shape: dish

Date: undated (attributable to the late seventeenth century)

Size: n/a

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta’līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

این قاب [...] این
چون صحن [...] چون

This vessel (*qāb*) [...]

When/because/like dish (*sahn*) [...]

Source of the Inscription: unidentified

Location: private collection in Cairo, inv. no. C4-5(1)

Published: unpublished

CVUnd-18

Technique: fritware; painted in blue, green, and red and incised on black slip (“black-band”) under clear transparent glaze

Date: undated (attributable to the late seventeenth century)

Size: d. 25.4 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta’līq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

اینقاب که هست [*] مجلس آرای جها [*] ن بتخانه چین [*]
است ز نفسش [*] حیران هر دانه [*] گوهر برکش بنظر [*]

This vessel (*qāb*) is the banquet-adorning existence in the world of idol temple in China

Take a look, from its soul is a surprise to every essence of knowledge

Source of the Inscription: unidentified

Location: Victoria and Albert Museum (London), inv. no. 2729-1876

Published: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O205886/plate-unknown/> (accessed July 23, 2020)

CVUnd-19

Technique: fritware; incised through a white slip and painted in blue and black under clear transparent glaze

Shape: octagonal-shaped qalyan

Date: undated (attributable to the late seventeenth-century)

Production site: unknown

Size: h. 24cm, d. 6.4cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

قلیان ز لب تو بهره ور [*]
میگردد [\] دمی در دهن تو [*]
نی شکر میگردد [\] بر گرد [*]
لب تو دود تنباکو نبیت [*]

From your lips the water pipe (*qalyān*) draws enjoyment [/]

In your mouth the reed turns sweet as sugar cane [/]

It is not tobacco smoke around your face [/]²⁵

Source of the Inscription: This is a poem attributed to Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 1535–36).²⁶

Notes: The current author identified this source. It was introduced in Matthee 2005.

Location: State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg), inv. no. VG-366.

Published: Piotrovskii and Pritula 2006, 165, cat. no. 160.

²⁵ Translation after Matthee 2005, 120.

²⁶ The current author was not able to find this poem in the published version of Ahlī Shīrāzī's anthology of poems (Ahlī Shīrāzī 1965).

**Appendix 1: Catalogue raisonné of the Iranian Underglaze-painted Ceramic Vessels
inscribed with Persian Verses, c. 1450 and 1700 (Plates)**



[CVU-1] 857h/1453–54

Sèvres Museum (Sèvres), inv. no. 22687



[CVU-3]

878h/1473–74, "Mashhad"

State Hermitage Museum (St.Petersburg),

inv. no. VG2650



[CVU-2] **873h/1468–69**

Museum of Oriental Art "Giuseppe Tucci,"
(Rome), inv. no. 178



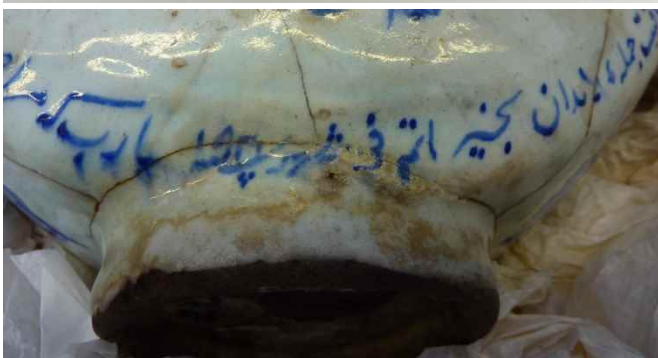
[CVU-4] **885h/1480–81**

Walters Art Museum (Baltimore),
inv. no. 48.1031



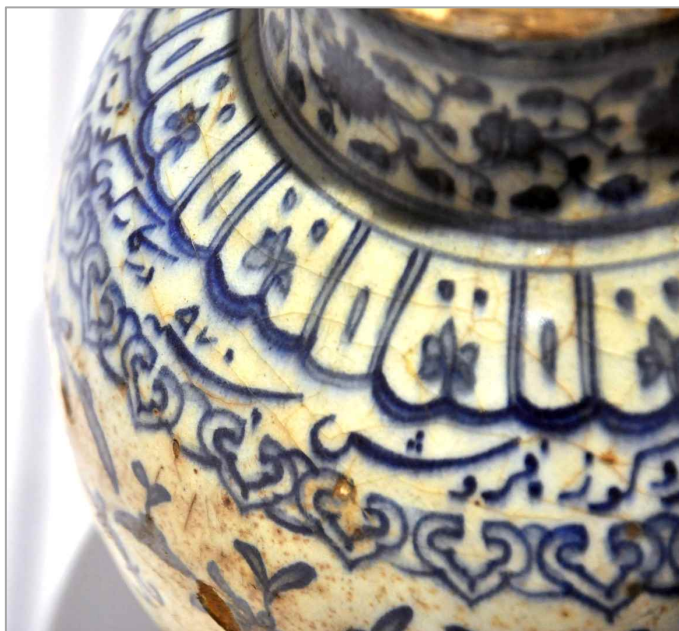
[CVU-5] 929h/1522–23, “Nishapur”

Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Tokyo), inv. no. 11820-75



[CVU-6] 930h/1523–24

Victoria and Albert Museum (London), inv. no. C. 1973-1910

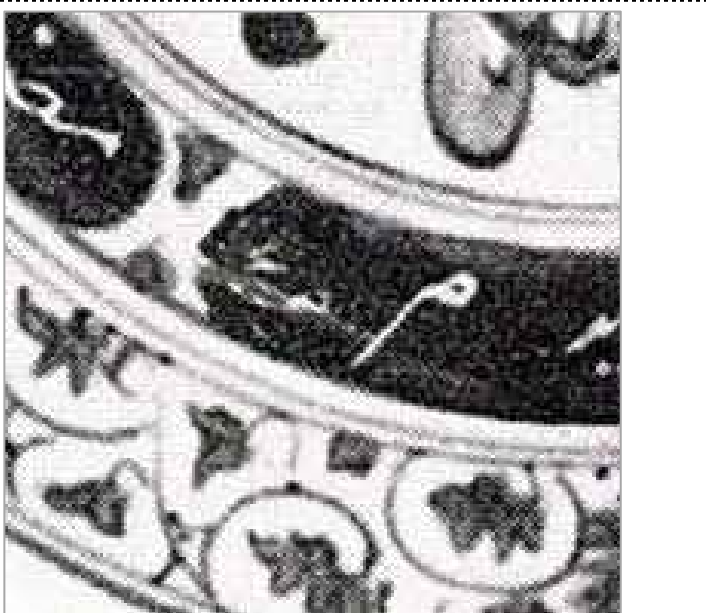
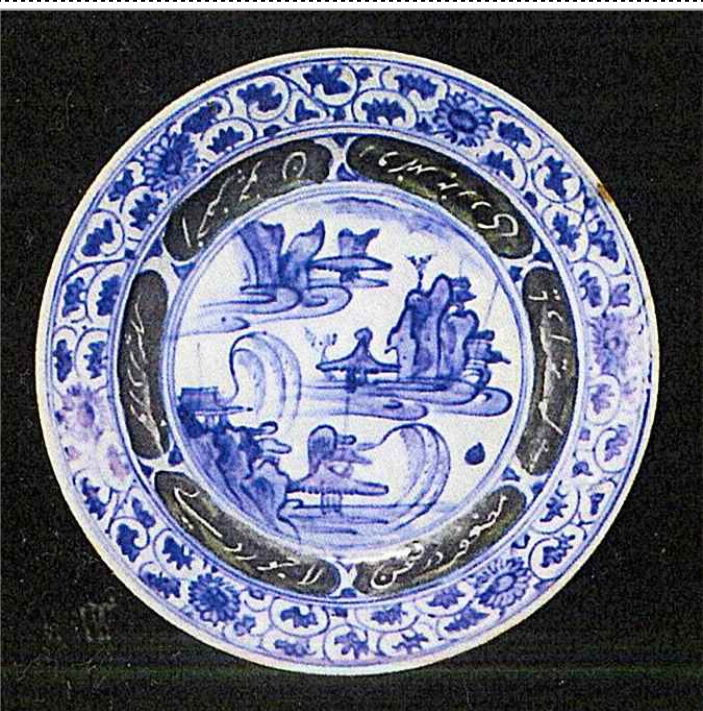


[CVU-7] 970h/1562–63
National Museum of Iran (Tehran),
inv. no. 4365



[CVU-8] 1037h/1627–28

Museum of Islamic Art (Berlin), inv. no. I. 4231



[CVU-9] 1065h/1654–55

After Sotheby's (2010), 114, fig. 156



[CVU-10] **1077h/1666–67**
 Victoria and Albert Museum
 (London), inv. no. 931-1886



[CVU-11] **1084h/1673–74**
 Royal Ontario Museum
 (Toronto), inv. no. 2000.48.1



[CVU-12] **1084h/1673–74**
David collection (Copenhagen),
inv. no. 4/1986



[CVU-13] **1088h/1677–78**
British Museum (London),
inv. no. G.308



[CVU-14] **1108h/1696–97**
Museum of Islamic Art (Berlin), inv. no. I.45/68



[CVU-15] **1109h/1697–98**
British Museum (London),
inv. no. 1896,0626.5



[CVUnd-1] Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LA),
inv. no. M.2002.1.264

[CVUnd-2] Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Washington D.C.),
inv. no. S1997.67



[CVUnd-3] Victoria and Albert Museum (London),
inv. no. 564-1905

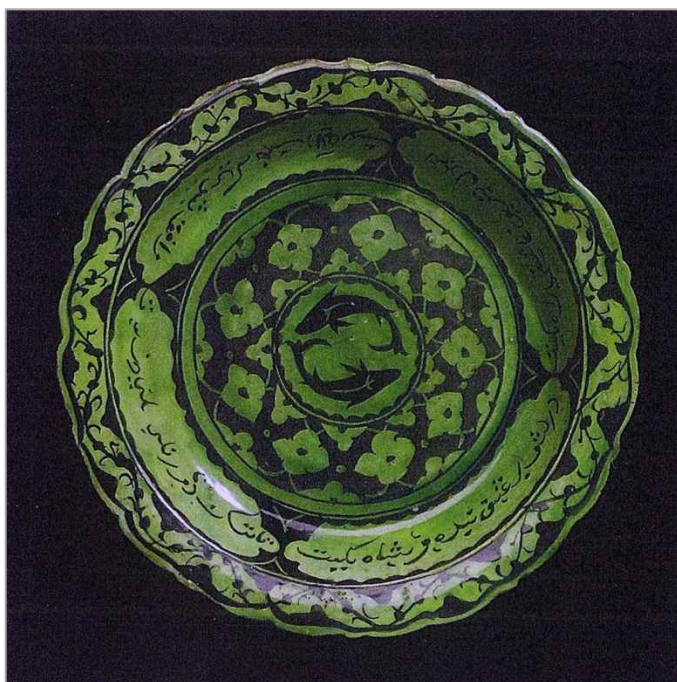
[CVUnd-4] State Heritage Museum (St.Petersburg),
inv. no. VG.781



[CVUnd-5] Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago), inv. no. 1929-129



[CVUnd-6] Victoria and Albert Museum (London),
inv. no. 552-1905



[CVUnd-7] After Sotheby's (April 6, 2011), lot. 326



[CVUnd-8] Brooklyn Museum (New York),
inv. no. 42.212.31



[CVUnd-9] Kuwait National Museum (Kuwait City),
inv. no. LNS320



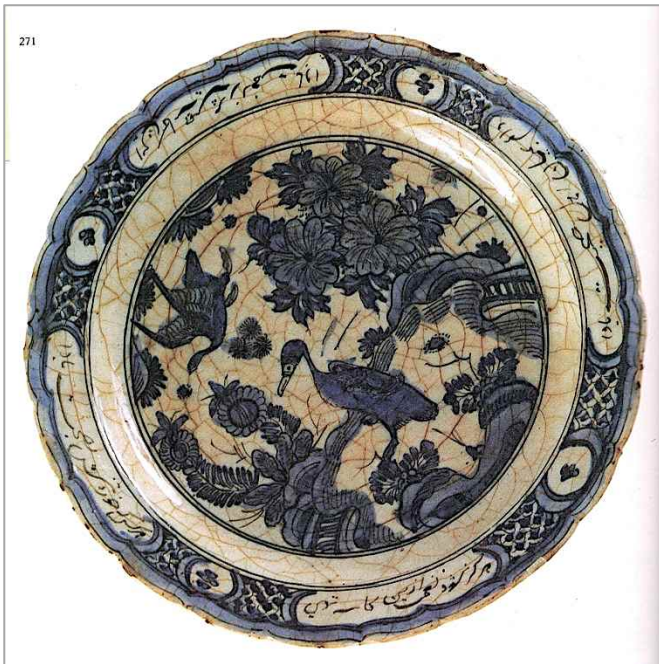
[CVUnd-10]
Louvre Museum (Paris),
inv. no. AD27781



[CVUnd-11] After Christie's (October 20, 1994),
lot. 328



[CVUnd-12] Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan
(Tokyo)
After Okano (2010), 53, pl. 86



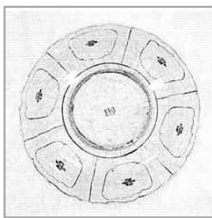
[CVUnd-13] National Museum of Oriental Art
"Giuseppe Tucci" (Rome), inv. no. 12582/13951



[CVUnd-14] Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LA),
inv. no. M.2002.1.220



[CVUnd-15] Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Tokyo)
After Okano 2010, 52, pl. 82



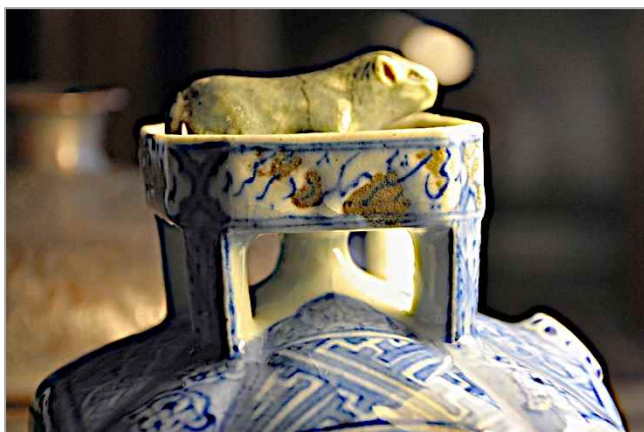
[CVUnd-16] Khalili collection (London),
inv. no. POT1649



[CVUnd-17] Private Collection
in Cairo, inv. no. C4-5(1)



[CVUnd-18] Victoria and Albert Museum
(London), inv. no. 2729-1876



[CVUnd-19] State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg), inv. no. VG-366

Appendix 2: Catalogue raisonné of Iranian Underglaze-painted Ceramic Tombstones Inscribed with Persian Verses, from 1609 to 1677–8

CTUa-1

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Ḥājji Aḥmad b. Sharīf Ḥājji Muḥammad Ṭāhir ...

Gender of the Deceased: male

Date: Jumada I 1018h/August–September 1609

Size: n/a

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| در بارگه جلالت ای [*] | عذر پذیر [\\] در آنچه که [*] |
| من ... ام زار و حقیر [*] | از تو همه رحمتست و از من [*] |
| تقصیر [\\] من هیچ نیم همه [*] | توی دستم گیر [\\] به ¹ [*] |
| تاریخ وفات مرحوم [*] | حاجی احمد بن شریف [*] |
| حاجی محمد طاهر [*] | میرزا زورا منبر ماری [*] |
| ... جمادی الاول [*] | ل ... سنة ١٠١٨ [*] |

In your glorious hall of justice, oh, accept sins [/]

... I ... weak and small [/]

Whatever from you i

s mercy, from me is fault [/]

I am nothing, take whatever is inside my hand [/] *bih*

The date of the death of the late Ḥājji Aḥmad, a son of Sharīf Ḥājji Muḥammad Ṭāhir
Mirzā ... Jum[a]da I, ..., the year 1018[h/August–September 1609].

Source of the Inscription (if known): *rubā'ī* by Abū Sa'īd Abū al-Khayr (d. 440h/1049)

Location: The Potteries Museum & Art Gallery (Stoke-on-Trent), inv. no. 251-1950

Published: Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration);

<http://theceramicsnetwork.blogspot.com/p/pots.html> (accessed October 5, 2020)

¹ *bā hā* (*bih*), which occasionally appears at the beginning/ending of a set of inscriptions should be interpreted as a decorative motif peculiar to underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones.

CTUa-2

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Ra'īs Murshīd Qullī b. Shaykh Aḥmad Bāftābādī

Gender of the Deceased: male

Date: 1 Shawwal 1028h/November 11, 1619

Size: n/a

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscription:

وفات المرحوم المغفور المبرور رئيس مرشيد قلى [*]
بن شيخ احمد بافتبادى [*]
خدا يا نور دين همراه ما كن [\] محمد را شفاعت خواه ما كن [*]
بتاريخ غرة شهر شوال المعظم سنة ١٠٢٨ [*]

The death of the late, forgiven, blessed, Ra'īs Murshīd Qullī, a son of Shaykh Aḥmad Bāftābādī.

Oh God, please bring the light of Religion to us [/]

Ask Muḥammad [to hear] our pleading [/]

On the first day of the great Shawwal month of the year 1028[h/November 11, 1619]

Source of the Inscription (if known): *Asrār nāmah* (Book of Secrets) by 'Aṭṭār al-Nayshābūrī (d. 618h/1230)

Location: Museum of Islamic Art (Berlin)

Published: Ettinghausen 1939, no. 180 (no illustration); Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Golombek et al. 2014, 433 (no illustration).

CTUa-3

Technique: fritware; painted in blue, black, yellow, orange, and green on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Mahdiquī b. Ghulām ‘Alī Bāftābādī

Gender of the Deceased: male

Date: Safar 1037h/October–November 1627

Size: h. 29.2 cm, w. 23.5 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscription:

خدا یا نور دین همراه ما کن م [*]
به محمد ز شفاعت خواه م کن [*]
وفات السعيد المرحوم مهدی [*]
بن غلام علی بافتبادی [*]
فی شهر صفر سنة ۱۰۳۷ [*]

Oh God, please bring the light of Religion to us [/] *mīm*

bih Ask Muḥammad [to hear] our pleading [/]

The death of the blessed, late, Mahdiquī b. Ghulām ‘Alī Bāftābādī

In Safar month of the year 1037[h/October–November 1627]

Source of the Inscription (if known): *Asrār nāmāh* by ‘Aṭṭār al-Nayshābūrī

Location: Victoria and Albert Museum, Acc. No. 545-1878

Published: Brocklebank 1931, 219 (no illustration); Ettinghausen 1935, 52, 75–77, fig. 15;

Ettinghausen 1939, no. 185 (no illustration); Golombek et al. 2014, 88, 433, fig. 2.48;

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O211652/tile-unknown/> (accessed October 5, 2020)

CTUa-4

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Bīgum Aqā b. Mihtar Bābā

Gender of the Deceased: female

Date: Rabi‘ I 1045h/August–September 1635

Size: h. 34.5 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscription:

ای بخق بنی فاطمه [*]
که بر قول ایمان کنی خاتمه [*]
وفات مرخومه سیده صالحه بیگم آقا [*]
بنت مهتر بابا فی تاریخ شهر ربیع الاول سنة ۱۰۴۵ [*]

Oh! By the right of the descendants of Fāṭimah [/]

may you, on the word of faith, conclude [your life]! [/]

The death of the late righteous lady, Bīgum Aqā, a daughter of Mihtar BāBā, on a day of the Rabi‘ I month of the year 1045[h/September–October 1635]

Source of the Inscription (if known): Prologue of Sa‘dī Shīrāzī (d. 1291)’s *Būstān*

Location: Current whereabouts unknown

Published: Drouot 1994, 63, fig. 248; Crowe 2002, 202 (no illustration).

CTUa-5

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Ḥasan Khān Bīk b. Zū al-Faqār Bīk Shāmlū

Gender of the Deceased: male

Date: Shawwal 1050h/January–February 1641

Size: h. 40 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscription:

دریغا که خورشید روز جوانی [*]
دریغا که ناگه گلی ناشکفته [*]
چو صبح دوم کم زندگتنی [*]
فرو ریخت از تند باد خزانى [*]

وفات غفران پناه رضوان داشته [*]
حسن خان بیک ابن مغفرت پناه [*]
ذوالفقار بیک شامتو بتاریخ شهر شوال سنه ۱۰۵۰ [*]

Alas! The sun of the new day [/]
when the morning comes again, little life remains [/]
Alas! Suddenly, a rose is not blooming [anymore] [/]
It falls in the autumnal hurricane
The death of one who has taken refuge in divine forgiveness, one who has accepted
heaven, Ḥasan Khān Bīk, a son of one who has taken refuge in divine forgiveness,
Zū al-Faqār Bīk Shāmlū, on a day of the Shawwal month of the year 1050[h/
January–February 1641]

Source of the Inscription (if known): Salmān-i Sāvājī (d. 1376)'s *qaṣīdah*

Location: L'institute du monde arabe à Paris, Paris. Acc. No. A1-86-3.

Published: Drouot 1986, 20–21, no. 94; Bernus-Taylor 1989, no. 231; Palazzo delle Esposizioni 1990, no. 75, 109; Mouliérac 1999, no. 75, 33-34; Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration); Golombek et al. 2014, 433.

CTUa-6

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Malik valad-i Ḥusain

Gender of the Deceased: male

Date: Dhu al-Hijjah 1052h/February–March 1643

Size: h. 33.7 cm, d. 24.1 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

درون قبر اگر آهی کشم از سینه چاکم [*]
شود بریان اگر مرغی نه شنید بر سر خاکم [*]
پس از مرگم نشورد هیچکس بر جان غمناکم [*]
مگر شمعی بسوزد گاه گاهی بر سر خاکم [*]
المرحوم ملک ولد حسین فی شهر ذی الحجة سنة ۱۰۵۲

If I heave a sigh from my shattered breast within the tomb,
[and] if a bird does not hear [the sigh] at the head of my grave, it will become roasted
After my death, let no one grieve over my melancholic soul,
but light a candle from time to time at the head of my grave
The late Malik, a son of Ḥusayn, in the sacred Dhu al-Hijjah month of the year 1052
[h/February–March 1643].

Source of the Inscriptions (if known): unidentified

Location: Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Acc. No. 1822-1876

Published: Ettinghausen 1939, no. 186 (no illustration); Crowe 2002, 167, 292, cat. no. 273;
Golombek et al. 2014, p. 433; Kanda 2017, 278, fig. 5;

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O205276/tile-unknown/> (accessed November 5, 2020)

Technique: fritware; molded and painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Mīrzā ‘Abdallah b. Mīrzā Humā

Gender of the Deceased: male

Date: Rajab 1054h/September–October 1644

Size: h. 45.7 cm, w. 33 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>کای وای ز محرومی دیدار و دگر هیچ [*]</p> <p>پنگ اجل شاخ گل ارغوان رسید [*]</p> <p>این مرگ که ناگاه ان که باین نوجوان رسید [*]</p> | <p>بر لوح مزارم بنویسید پیش از مرگ [*]</p> <p>دردا که گلستان ارم را خزان رسید [*]</p> <p>نشکفته بود غنچه سیراب در چمن [*]</p> |
| <p>بروید گل بشکفت نو بهار [*]</p> <p>میرزا عبد الله ابن میرزا هما تاریخ شهر رجب سنة ۱۰۵۴</p> | <p>دریغا که بیما بسی روزگار [*]</p> <p>وفات مرحمت پناه رضوان دستگاه [*]</p> |
- 1 Write upon the tablet of my tomb before death [/]
That oh! alas! See the deprived and nothing else [/]
 - 2 Alas! Autumn approaches the fabulous garden [/]
A bundle of red-colored flowers is the dawn of the next world coming [/]
 - 3 A rose bud in the garden has not bloomed [/]
This is a death which came suddenly to this youth [/]
 - 4 Alas! Without us, many a time [/]
the rose will grow and the fresh spring will blossom [/]
The death of one who has taken refuge in mercy, one who has accepted heaven, Mīrzā ‘Abdallah, a son of Mīrzā Humā, on a day of the month of Rajab, the year 1054 [h/September–October 1644]

Source of the Inscriptions (if known):

- 1 ‘Urfī Shīrāzī (d. 1591)’s *ghazal*
- 2 unidentified
- 3 unidentified
- 4 the ninth chapter of Sa‘dī Shīrāzī’s *Būstān*

Location: Linden-Museum Stuttgart (Stuttgart)

Published: Sotheby’s 1981a, 92, pl. 216; Kalter 1987, 95, pl. 89; Kanda 2017, 278, fig. 4.

CTUa-8

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Fāṭimah b. Nūr Allah Darbandī

Gender of the Deceased: female

Date: 1 Dhu al-Hijjah 1055h/January 18, 1646

Production site: unknown

Size: h. 38.5 cm, w. 25 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

ای بخق بنی فاطمه [*]
که بر قول ایمان کنی خاتم [*]
وفات مرخوم سیده صالح
فاطمه بنت نور الله درتندی
فی غره شهر ذو الحجه سنة خمس خمسين الف

Oh! By the right of the descendants of Fāṭimah [/]

may you, on the word of faith, conclude [your life]! [/]

The death of the late righteous lady, Fāṭimah, a daughter of Nūr Allah Darbandī, on a first day of the Dhu al-Hijjah month of the year 1055 [h/January – February 1646].

Source of the Inscriptions (if known): Prologue of Sa'dī Shīrāzī (d. 1291)'s *Būstān*

Location: current whereabouts unknown

Published: Burlington Fine Arts Club 1885, no. 141 (no illustration); Ettinghausen 1939, no. 187 (no illustration); Christie's 2004, 212, lot 266.

CTUa-9

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased:

Gender of the Deceased: female

Date: Sha‘ban 1056h/September–October 1646

Size: h. 38.5 cm, w. 25 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- 1 خدا یا بخق بنی فاطمه [\\] که بر قول ایمان کنی خاتم [*]
2 خدا یا نور الدین هم راه ما کن [\\] محمد شفاعت خاه ما کن [*]
وفات سیده صالح بیگم آقا نه [*]
بنت غلام علی عربی فجر سهر شعبان مبارک [*]

1 God! Oh! By the right of the descendants of Fāṭimah [/]

may you, on the word of faith, conclude [your life]! [/]

2 Oh God, please bring the light of Religion to us [/]

Ask Muḥammad [to hear] our pleading [/]

The death of a righteous lady, Bīgum Aqā, *nūn hā*’, a daughter of Ghulām ‘Ali

‘Arabī, at the dawn of the blessed Sha‘ban month of the year [1]056 [h/September–October 1646].

Source of the Inscriptions (if known):

1 Prologue of Sa‘dī Shīrāzī (d. 1291)’s *Būstān*

2 *Asrār nāmāh* by ‘Aṭṭār al-Nayshābūrī

Location: current whereabouts unknown

Published: Bonhams NY 2014, lot. 299

CTUa-10

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: ‘Abd Riḍā b. Ḥaydar Sūranī

Gender of the Deceased: male

Date: Dhu al-Qa‘adah 1059h/November–December 1649

Size: unknown

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: *nasta‘līq*, Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

[] ... که آه ای ... آرزو دارد
مولانا عبد رضا ابن مولانا حیدر بورانی
القعدة الحرام سنة ۱۰۵۹

[] ...

[] That alas! Oh! ... one hopes

[] Our Lord, ‘Abd Riḍā, a son of our Lord, Ḥaydar Sūranī

[] the sacred (Dhu) al-Qa‘dah month, the year 1059 [h/November–December 1649]

Source of the Inscriptions (if known): unidentified

Location: Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago. Acc. No. 1927-441

Published: Crowe 2002, 292 (no illustration)

CTUa-11

Technique: fritware; painted in blue and black on white slip under a clear transparent glaze

Shape: tombstone (an upright rectangle with a triangular upper section)

Name of the Deceased: Khvand Āqā b. Rā'īs Murtaẓā

Gender of the Deceased: male

Date: Ramadan 1083h/December 1672–January 1673

Production site: unknown

Size: h. 36.7 cm, d. 24 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscription: *nasta'liq*, Persian

Content of the Inscription:

ای مادر فرخنده نداری خبر از من [*]

از گردش افلاک چه آمد بسر من [*]

من تازه گلی بودم اندر چمن باغ [*]

نشکفته فرو ریخت همه بال پر من [*]

وفات المرحوم المبرور خوند ا [*]

قا ابن رایس مرتظا تاریخ رمضان المبارک سنه ۱۰۸۳ [*]

Oh, [my] blessed mother, you have no news of me [/]

Due to the revolution of heavens, what has happened to me! [/]

I was a fresh flower in the lawn garden [/]

not blooming, all my petals were scattered to the ground [/]

The death of the late, blessed Khvand Āqā, son of Rā'īs Murtaẓā on a day of the blessed
Ramadan, in the year 1083[h/December 1672–January 1673]

Source of the Inscriptions (if known): not identified

Location: Victoria and Albert Museum (London), inv. no. 513-1888

Date of Accession: 1888

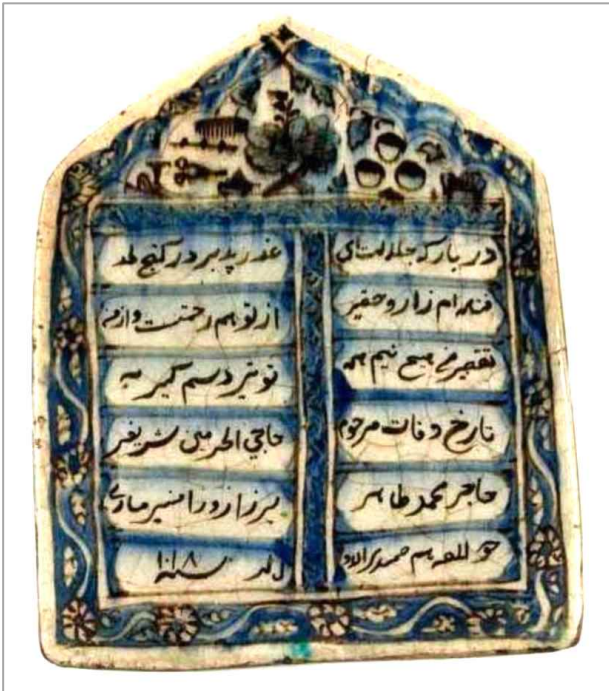
Provenance: n/a

Published: Ettinghausen 1939, no. 189 (no illustration); Crowe 2002, 292, 430, cat. no. 390;
Golombek et al. 2014, 434 (no illustration)

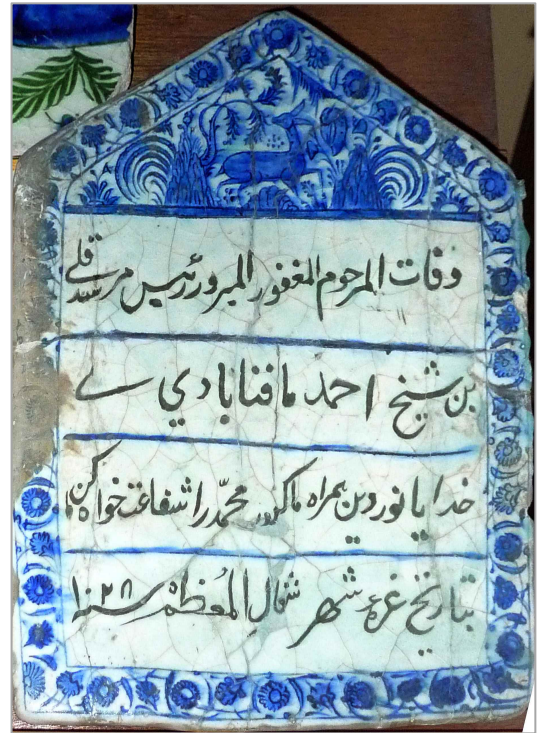
<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O279228/tile-unknown/> (accessed October 5, 2020)

Appendix 2: Catalogue raisonné of Iranian Underglaze-painted Ceramic Tombstones Inscribed with Persian Verses, from 1609 to 1677–8

Group CTUa



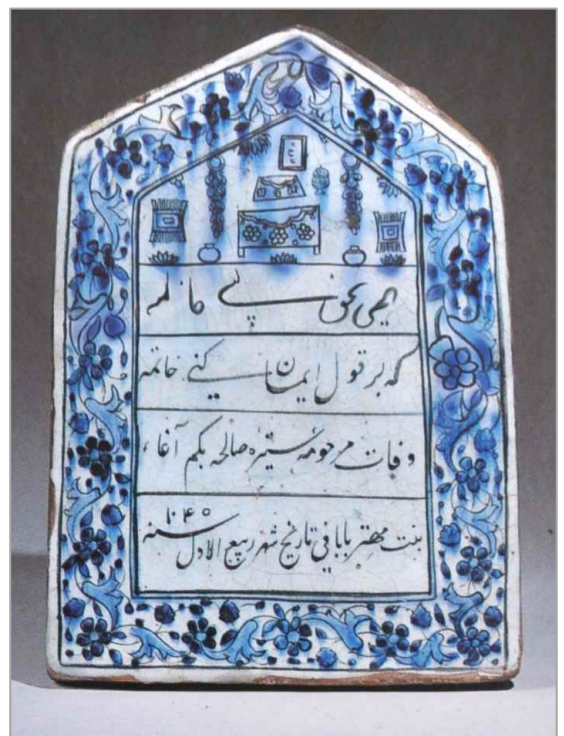
[CTUa-1] Tombstone dated
Jumada I 1018h/August–September 1609
The Potteries Museum & Art Gallery
(Stoke-on-Trent), inv. no. 251-1950



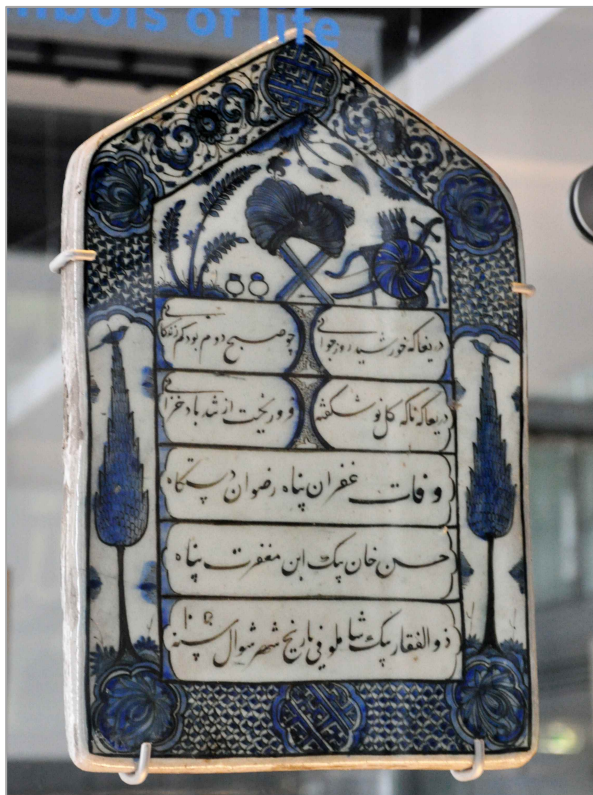
[CTUa-2] Tombstone dated
1 Shawwal 1028h/November 11, 1619
Museum of Islamic Art (Berlin)



[CTUa-3]
Tombstone dated
Safar 1037h/October–November 1627
Victoria & Albert Museum (London), inv. no. 545-1848



[CTUa-4]
Tombstone dated
Rabi' I 1045h/August–September 1635
After Drouot (1994), 63, lot no. 248



[CTUa-5]

Tombstone dated

Shawwal 1050h/January–February 1641

L'institute du monde arabe (Paris), inv. no. A1-86-3



[CTUa-6]

Tombstone dated

Dhu al-Hijjah 1052h/February–March 1643

Victoria & Albert Museum (London),

inv. no. 1822-1876



[CTUa-7]

Tombstone dated

Rajab 1054h/September–October 1644

Linden-Museum Stuttgart (Stuttgart)

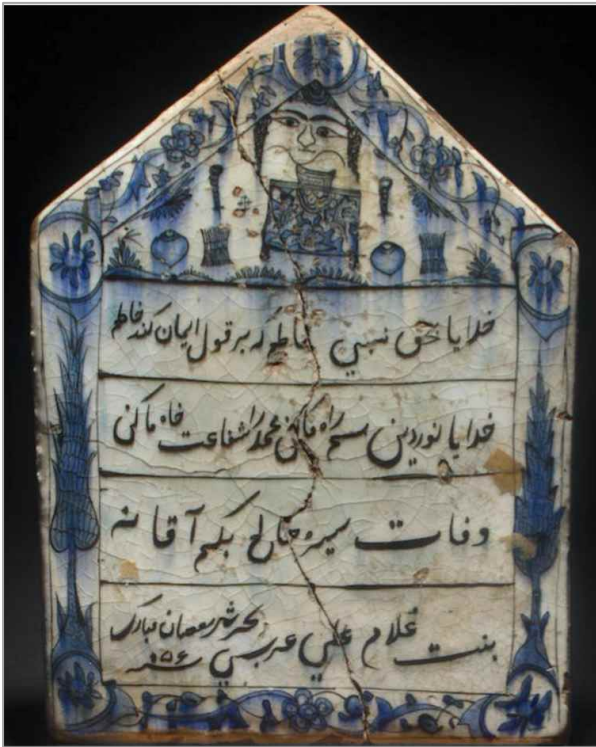


[CTUa-8]

Tombstone dated

1 Dhu al-Hijjah 1055h/January 18, 1646

After Christie's London (2004), 212, lot. No. 266

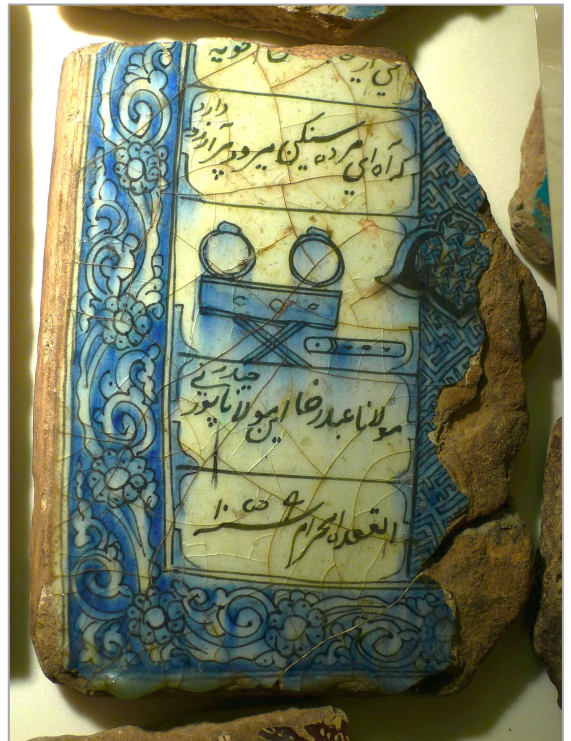


[CTUa-9]

Tombstone dated

Sha'ban 1056h/September–October 1646

Bonhams NY (2014), 188, lot. 299



[CTUa-10]

Tombstone dated

Dhu al-Qa'adah 1059h/November–December 1649

Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago), inv. no. 1927.441

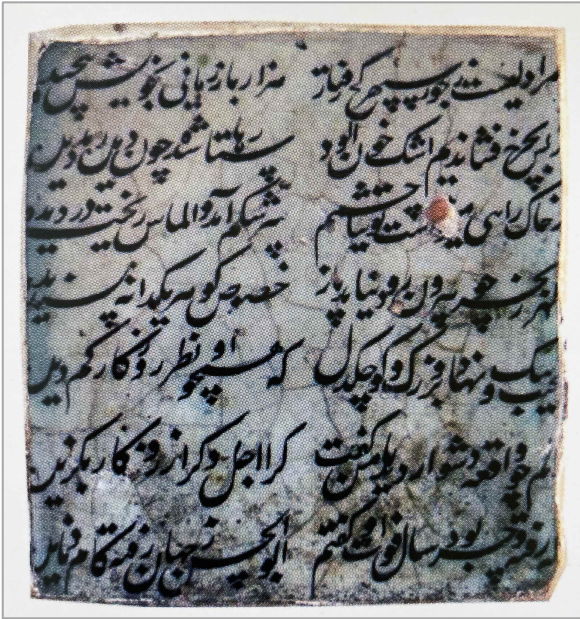


[CTUa-11]

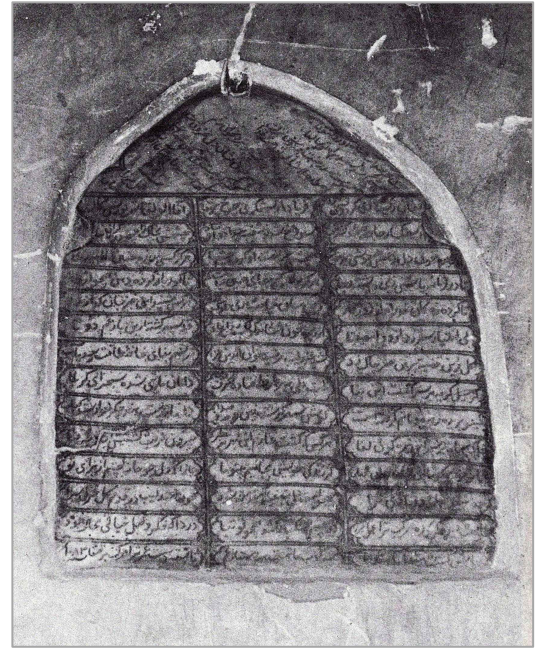
Tombstone dated

Ramadan 1083h/December 1672–January 1673

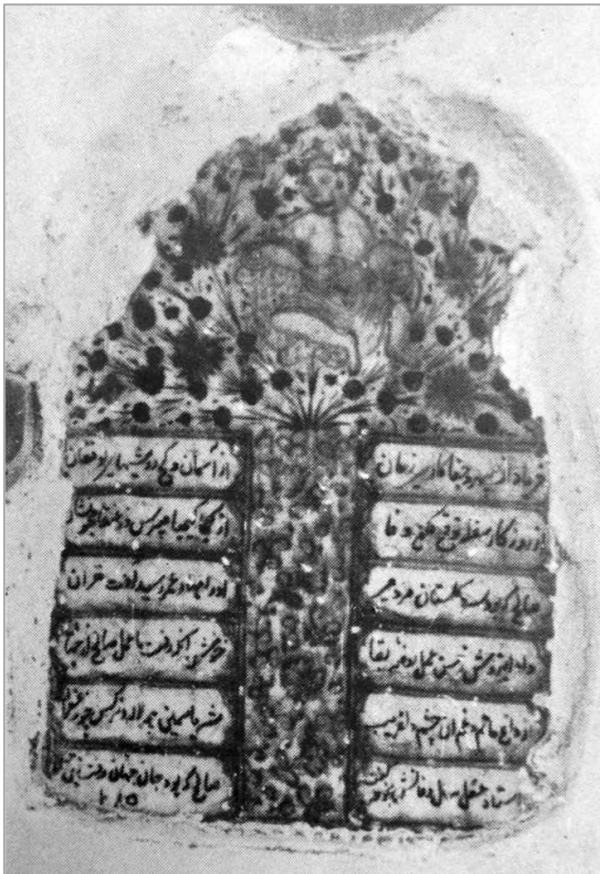
Victoria & Albert Museum (London), inv. no. 513-1888



[CTUb-1] Tombstone for Abū al-Ḥasan
1044h/1634–35
In situ at Masjid-i Bāgh-i Gandum



[CTUb-2] Tombstone for Aqā Abū al-Baqā'.
1083h/1672–73
In situ at Masjid-i Bāgh-i Gandum, Yazd
Dānish Yazdī 2008, 208-09, pl. 2-194.



[CTUb-3] Tombstone for Šaliḥ
dated 1085h/1674–75
In situ at a burial place of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī
Khāmūsh, Nudūshan, Yazd
See Afshār 1970–75, 1: 152–53, 524, pl.89-8



[CTUb-4] Tombstone for Muḥammad Tāqī
dated 1088h/1677–78
In situ at Imāmzādiḥ Shāhzādiḥ Qāsim, Sāghand, Yazd.
See Afshār 1970–75, 1: 181-82, 528, pl.111-2

Appendix 3: Catalogue raisonné of Iranian Luster-painted Ceramic Tombstones, from 1476–7 to 1560

*CTL-1

Technique: Frit body (?); molded and luster-painted on an opaque white glaze

Date: 881h/1476–77

Name of the Deceased: Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Sayyid Mīr ‘Alī

Size: n/a

Calligraphy, Language, and Type of the Inscriptions:

- (1): *naskh*; Arabic; the prayer for God to bless the Fourteen Infallible Ones
- (2): *thuluth*; Arabic; a reference to the eternity of God, followed by the Qur’ānic quote (55:26–27)
- (3): *nasta‘līq*; Persian; a poem specially composed to commemorate the deceased who died in 881h
- (4): square *kufic*; four repetitions of the name of ‘Alī
- Signature: *nasta‘līq*

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- (1):

اللهم صل على المصطفى محمد و المرتضى على و البتول فاطمه و السبطين
الحسن و الحسين [و] زين العباد و الباقر و الصادق و الكاظم
و الرضى و التقى و النقى و العسكرى و المهدي صاحب الزمان
صلوا [ت الله] عليهم اجمعين

O God! Bless the Chosen Muḥammad and the Approved ‘Ālī and the Virgin Fāṭima and two Grandsons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, [and] the Adornment of the Servants (i.e. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn) and al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim and al-Riẓā and al-Taḳī and al-Naḳī and al-‘Askarī and al-Mahdī, the Master of the Time. The exaltations of God be upon all of them.

- (2):

الله
الباقي
كل من عليها فان
و يبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام

God is the everlasting. Everyone on earth perishes; all that remains is the Face of your Lord, full of majesty, bestowing honor [Qur'ān, 55:26–27].¹

• (3):

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| با روانِ سید پاکیزه دین | گردشِ گردونِ دونِ دیدی چه کرد |
| از قضا و حق درین فصلی چنین | ناگه اندر هشتصد و هشتاد و یک |
| نور چشمِ خلقِ زین العابدین | رفت ازین دنیایِ دونِ بی وفا |
| خونِ همی بارد ز چشمِ خورده بین | در غمِ فرزندِ سید میر علی |

تا بود بنیادِ عالمِ روح او
باد اندر روضهٔ خلد برین

Did you see what the wheel of fortune did to the soul of the pious Sayyid?
Suddenly, in 881[h/1476–77], due to fate, in such [early] chapter [of his life],
The dearest of the eyes of people, Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, left from this base fickle
world
Because of the loss of the son of Sayyid Mīr ‘Alī [i.e. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn],
blood is bleeding from [his] keen eyes
Until his soul becomes the foundation of the world, may he remain in the
garden of paradise
(meter: - U - - / - U - - / - U -²)

• (4):

علی علی علی علی
‘Alī ‘Alī ‘Alī ‘Alī

• signature:

عمل سید محمد بن مظفر
The work of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar

Location: The al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait., inv. no. LNS 515 C

Date of Accession: 1980s

Provenance: n/a

Published: Unpublished

¹ Haleem 2004, 354.

² The meter of this verse is *ramal*. Thiesen 1982, 244, no. 148.

CTL-2

Technique: Frit body (?); luster-painted on an opaque white glaze

Date: Mid-Rajab 883h/October 1478

Name of the Deceased: Sayyid ‘Alā al-Dīn Faṭḥallah b. Sayyid Shāh Ḥusayn b. Sayyid ‘Alī

Size: h. 27.3 cm, w. 20.3 cm

Description: The upper part of this tombstone is missing. The inscriptions are composed of two parts: (1) the one surrounding the border and (2) another filling the main field in the center. The upper left corner of the main field suggests that the field was originally in the form of mihrab. Below the last line of the main inscription is a series of vine scrolls, drawn in a sloppy hand.

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions:

- (1): *naskh*; Arabic; the prayer for God to bless Muḥammad, ‘Alī, al-Taḳī and al-Naḳī and al-‘Askarī and al-Mahdī (a break exists between ‘Alī and al-Taḳī)
- (2): *nasta‘līq*; Arabic; the name of the demised, the prayer to God, and the month/year of his death in the *hijrī* calendar

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- (1):

اللهم صل على المصطفى محمد و المرتضى على [...]
التقى محمد و النقى على ... العسكرى ... الحجة القائم ... مهدي صاحب الزمان

O God! Bless the Chosen Muḥammad and the Approved ‘Alī [...] al-Taḳī
Muḥammad and al-Naḳī ‘Alī ... al-‘Askarī ... the Proof, the Upholder, ..., al-
Mahdī, the Master of the Time

- (2):

[...] الى
[...] المرتضى العزيز سيد
علا الدين فتح الله بن المرتضى
[ال] سعيد المغفور سيد شاه حسين
بن العبد النبي سيد على
اصلح الله شأنهم
في تاريخ نصف رجب المرجب
سنة ثلاث و ثمانية و ثمانمائة

[...] ... towards [...] the approved, the lofty, Sayyid ‘Alā al-Dīn Faṭḥallah, the son of the approved, the blessed, the forgiven, Sayyid Shāh Ḥusayn, the son of the servant of the Prophet, Sayyid ‘Alī. May God bring good luck to their affairs. At the day of the mid-Rajab, the honored month, in the year 883.

Location: National Museums Scotland, inv. no. A.1984.392

Date of Accession: 1984

Provenance: Sold by Sotheby’s, “Islamic Works of Art, Carpets and Textiles” auction, London, April 18, 1984, lot no. 158.

Published: Sotheby’s London 1984, lot no. 158; Watson 1985, 197, list no. 134 (no illustration); Aube 2017, pl. 139; Kanda 2017, 282, TSL-1 (no illustration).

***CTL-3**

Technique: Frit body (?); molded and in-glaze painted in blue and luster-painted on an opaque white glaze

Date: Rabi‘ I “886h”/June 1481/“the beginning of Tīr” 860 A.P.

Name of the Deceased: Bībī Malik Khātūn bint Muḥammad b. Pākīza

Size: h. 36 cm, w. 24 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions:

- (1) *naskh*; Arabic; the basmala and the Qur’ānic quote (112:1–4), followed by the prayer proclaiming the oneness of God etc.
- (2) *naskh*; a mixture of Arabic and Persian; the name of the demised and the year of his death in the *hijrī*, *jalālī* and *khānī* calendars.
- (3) *nasta‘līq*; Persian; one of the stock-poems cited to commemorate the deceased, which could be identified as the stanzaic poem (*tarkīb-band*), composed by Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā‘īl Iṣfahānī (d. 1237).³

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- (1):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد
و لم يولد و لم يكن له كفوا أحد لا الا الله
محمد رسول الله على ولى الله صدق الله

In the name of God, the Lord of Mercy, the Given of Mercy. Say, “He is God the One, God the eternal. He begot no one nor was He begotten. No one is comparable to Him.”⁴ God is the Only, Muḥammad is the Prophet of God, ‘Alī is the Friend of God, God spoke the Truth.

- (2):

هو
الباقى
وفات
حرة مسما بيبى ملك خاتون
بنت محمد بن پاكيزه
در غرة تير ماه جلالى
لسنة ثمانين و مائة خانبة

³ Iṣfahānī 1969–70, 426.

⁴ Haleem 2004, 444.

مطابق سنة ست و ثمان
نین و ثمانمایه هجریه نبویه

He is eternal. The death of noblewoman called Bībī Malik Khātūn, the daughter of Muḥammad, the son of Pākīza, in the Tīr month of the *jalālī* calendar, in the year 180 of the *khānī* calendar, corresponding to the year 886 of the Prophetic *hijra*.

- (3):

بر هیچ آدمی اجل ابقاء نمی کند
سلطان مرگ هیچ محابا نمی کند

For every human being, the death remains
The absolute power of death shows respect to no one
(meter: - - U / - U - U / U - - U / - U -⁵)

Location: Musée de Sèvres, inv. no. 19335

Date of Accession: 1917

Provenance: ex-Marie Augustine Piet-Lataudrie collection

Published: Bahrami 1938, 259–60, fig. 4; Watson 1975, list no. 4, pl. II; Watson 1985, 197, list no. 136, pl. 131; Kanda 2017, 282, TSL-2 (no illustration).

⁵ The meter of this poem is *muḏārī*. Thiesen, *A Manual of Classical Persian Prosody*, 248, no. 182.

CTL-4

Technique: Frit body (?); molded and in-glaze painted in blue and luster-painted on an opaque white glaze

Date: 1 Ramaḍān 891h/August 31, 1486

Name of the Deceased: Ustād Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Maḥmūd, the tailor of Ārān

Description: The following two examples are a pair of tombstones dedicated to Ustād Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Maḥmūd, who deceased on 1 Ramadan 891 (August 31, 1486). The central panel is surrounded by a poly-robed raised border tinted with cobalt blue. The inscriptions are composed of two parts: (1) the one surrounding the border, (2) another filling the upper-to-middle parts of the main field inside the border.

CTL-04-a

Size: h. 36.9 cm, w. 24.7 cm

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions:

- (1): *naskh*; Arabic; the basmala and the Qur'ānic quote (112:1–4), followed by the first word of “God Almighty spoke the truth.”
- (2): *naskh*; a mixture of Arabic and Persian; the name of the demised and the year of his death in *hijrī* calendar.

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- (1):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قل هو الله
احد الله الصمد لم يلد و لم يولد
و لم يكن له كفو احد صدق [الله العظيم]

In the name of God, the Lord of Mercy, the Given of Mercy. Say, “He is God the One, God the eternal. He begot no one nor was He begotten. No one is comparable to Him.”⁶ [God Almighty] speak the truth.

- (2):

ريخ
في التأ
وفات كرد مرحوم
سعيد استاد محمد
بن محمود بن محمد

⁶ Haleem 2004, 444.

خیاط آرائی در اول
ماه رمضان المبارک
احدی و تسعین و ثمانمائه
سنة هجرية

At the date, the late, blessed, Ustād Muḥammad—the son of Maḥmūd, the son of Muḥammad Maḥmūd—the tailor of Ārān, died on the first day of the blessed Ramaḍān month, the year 891 of the *hijra*.

Location: Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1916.145

Date of Accession: 1916

Provenance: the Gunsualus family collection

Published: Day 1941, 56–57, fig. 2; Grube 1974, pl. LXVI, fig. 70; Watson 1975, 71, list. no. 5 (no illustration); Watson 1985, 197, no. 137, pl. 132; Kanda 2017, 282, TSL-3a (no illustration); “Tomb stone tile,” The Art Institute Chicago, <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/71828/tomb-stone-tile> (accessed June 26, 2020)

CTL-04-b

Size:

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions:

- (1): *naskh*; Arabic; the basmala and the Qur’ānic quote (112:1–4), followed by “God Almighty spoke the truth.”
- (2): *naskh*; a mixture of Arabic and Persian; the name of the demised and the year of his death in *hijrī* calendar.

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- (1): The content of inscription on this part is identical to (1) of CTL-05-b except from the words after the Qur’ānic quote:

صدق الله العظيم

God Almighty spoke the truth.

- (2): The content of inscription on this part is identical to (2) of CTL-05-a.

Location: Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 8170

Date of Accession: before 1939

Provenance: n/a

Published: Ettinghausen 1939, 1687, no. 136 (no illustration); Grube 1974, pl. LXVI, fig. 69; Watson 1975, 71–72, list no. 6 (no illustration); Watson 1985, 197, list no. 137 (no illustration); Kanda 2017, 282–83, TSL-3b (no illustration).

CTL-5

Technique: Frit body (?); molded and in-glaze painted in blue and luster-painted on an opaque white (?) glaze

Date: 5 Jumādā II (?) 896h/April 15, 1491

Name of the Deceased: “Bibi Khand Khatun”

Size: d. 20.2 cm, h. 31 cm, th. 3.2 cm

Description: The Sotheby’s catalogue describes this example as follows:

A Persian lustre decorated Tombstone, dated AH896/1491 AD, of rectangular form, with a raised mihrab-shaped frame, and a plain outer border, decorated in pale underglaze cobalt blue, with further lustre decoration and inscriptions on a cracked-cream coloured ground...The tombstone of Bibi Khand Khatun, dated 5th *Jumadi* [sic] 896/15th April 1491...it is interesting that the earliest recorded such tombstone is for another lady, Bibi Malik Khatun, dated 1481, just 10 years before the present example; she could conceivably be her mother...⁷

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: n/a

Contents of the Inscriptions: n/a

Location: current whereabouts unknown

Date of Accession: n/a

Provenance: n/a

Published: Sotheby’s 1990, 46, lot. 142 (no illustration).

⁷ Sotheby’s London, 46, lot no. 142. “[T]he earliest recorded such [i.e. post-fifteenth century lustre-painted ceramic] tombstone” known at the time of this auction was CTL-03.

CTL-6

Technique: Frit body (?); molded and in-glaze painted in blue and luster-painted on an opaque white glaze

Date: “the last day of Jumādā I 905h”/January 2nd, 1500/“the Dai month” 878 A.P.

Name of the Deceased: Ustād Nizām al-Dīn Shavva

Size: h. 14.4 cm, w. 28 cm

Description: The lower and upper parts of this tombstone are missing. The central panel is surrounded by a raised boarder in-glazed in cobalt blue. The inscriptions are composed of two parts: (1) the one surrounding the border and (2) another filling the main field inside the border.

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions:

- (1): *naskh*; Arabic; the prayer for God to bless Muḥammad, ‘Alī, and al-Mahdī (a break exists between ‘Alī and al-Mahdī)
- (2): *naskh*; a mixture of Arabic and Persian; the name of the demised, the prayer for him, and the year of his death in *hijrī* and the *jalālī* calendars. There is also inscribed with the *khānī* calendar.

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- (1):

اللهم صل على المصطفى و المر [تضى...]
[...] الحجة القائم محمد المهدي
[...] صاحب الزمان عليه السلام

Oh God! Bless the Chosen and the Approved [...]

[...] the Proof, the Upholder, Muḥammad al-Mahdī

[...] the Master of the Time, peace be upon him.

- (2):

[...]
وفات مرحوم سعيد مغفور
مبرور استاد غياث الدين بن
استاد نظام الدين شوا طاب ثراه
و جعل الجنة مأواه بتاريخ سلخ جمادى
الأولى سنة خمس و تسعمائة مطابق ديمه جلالى
[...] خانبة [...]

[...] the death of late, blessed, forgiven, pious Ustād Nizām al-Dīn Shavva.

May [God] make his earth light and place the heaven to his shelter. At the late day of the Jumādā I month of 905[h], corresponding to the Dai month of the

jalalī calendar, [...] *khānī* calendar [...]

Location: current whereabouts unknown

Date of Accession: n/a

Provenance: n/a

Published: Christie's 2004, lot no. 24; Kanda 2017, 283, TSL-4 (no illustration).

CTL-7

Technique:

Date: 914h/1508–9

Name of the Deceased: n/a

Size: n/a

Description: n/a

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: n/a

Contents of the Inscriptions: n/a

Location: Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 23482

Date of Accession: n/a

Provenance: n/a

Published: Watson 1985, 197, list no. 139 (no illustration); Kanda 2017, 283, TSL-5 (no illustration).

CTL-8

Technique: Frit body (?); molded and luster-painted on an opaque white glaze

Date: “three days before Naurūz”, “21 Sha‘bān”: most likely 21 Sha‘bān 940h/March 7, 1534/Isfand 26, 912 A.P.⁸

Name of the Deceased: Mīr Muḥammad

Size: h. 34.3 cm, w. 24.7 cm

Description: The central panel is surrounded by a poly-robed raised arch enclosed by a rectangular raised frame. Below the arch is a pendant mosque lamp flanked by floral spandrels. The inscriptions are composed of two parts: (1) the one surrounding the border and (2) another filling the main field inside the border.

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions:

- (1) *naskh*; Arabic
- (2) *nasta‘līq*; Persian

Contents of the Inscriptions:

- (1):

اللهم صل على محمد و آل محمد و عجل فرجهم
على و الزكى الحسن العسكرى و صل على
الحجة القائم محمد المهدى صاحب الزمان صلوات الله
و سلامه عليه و عليهم اجمعين

O God! Bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad and bring about the release from their suffering quickly. ‘Alī and al-Zakī al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī. And bless the Proof, the Upholder, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the Master of the Time. The exaltations of God be upon him and all of them.

- (2):

گشت
بریده ازو
پاره ز خون جگر
سه روز مانده به نوروز کان جوان عزیز
وداع کرد ز یاران ازین رباط دود
شب بیست و یک چون ماه شعبان بد
وفات میر محمد دریغ ان گوهر
بصدق فاتحه خوانید نفر مغفرتش

⁸ <https://keisan.casio.jp/exec/system/1343025617#>

دعا کنید بإخلاص مومنان یکسر

three days before Naurūz. The death of Mīr Muḥammad, alas, the precious, it was the night of 21 the Sha‘bān month. Truly, recite the first chapter of Qur’ān.

Location: current whereabouts unknown

Date of Accession: n/a

Provenance: unknown

Published: Christie’s 1994, lot no. 315; Christie’s 2011, lot no. 123; Kanda 2017, 283, TSL-6 (no illustration; this work was incorrectly referred to as “[u]ndated, early sixteenth century”).

CTL-9

Technique: Frit body; luster-painted on an opaque white glaze

Date: 25 Jumada II 967h/March 23, 1560

Name of the Deceased: Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Mu‘arrif al-Shīrāzī

Size: n/a

Calligraphy and Language of the Inscriptions: See subsection II-3-3.

Contents of the Inscriptions: See subsection II-3-3.

Location: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, inv. no. 1960

Date of Accession: Before December 1921

Provenance: unknown

Published: Ettinghausen 1939, 1688, no. 137 (no illustration); Watson 1975, 74, list no. 9, pl. 5; Watson 1985, 197, no. 139 (no illustration); Kanda 2017, 283, TSL-7, figs. 2 and 3.

Appendix 3: Catalogue raisonné of Iranian Luster-painted Ceramic Tombstones, from 1476–7 to 1560



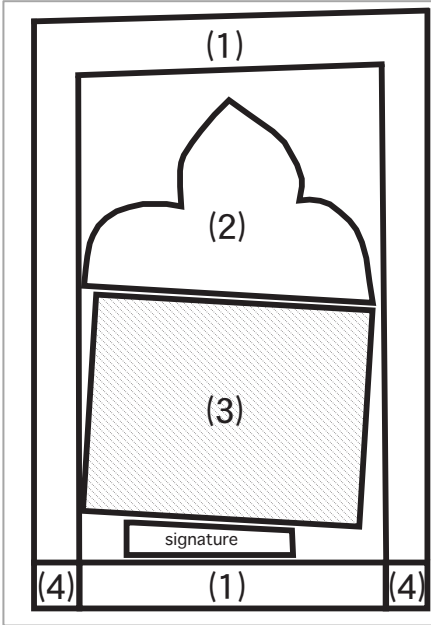
[CTL-1]

Luster-painted ceramic
tombstone for
Zayn al-Ābidīn,
the son of Sayyid Mīr ‘Alī
(d. 1476–77)

881h/1476–77

Iran (most likely Kashan)
The al-Sabah Collection (Kuwait),
inv. no. LNS 515 C

Composition of the inscriptions of
luster-painted ceramic tombstone for
Zayn al-Ābidīn (d. 1476–77)
(diagram by the author)



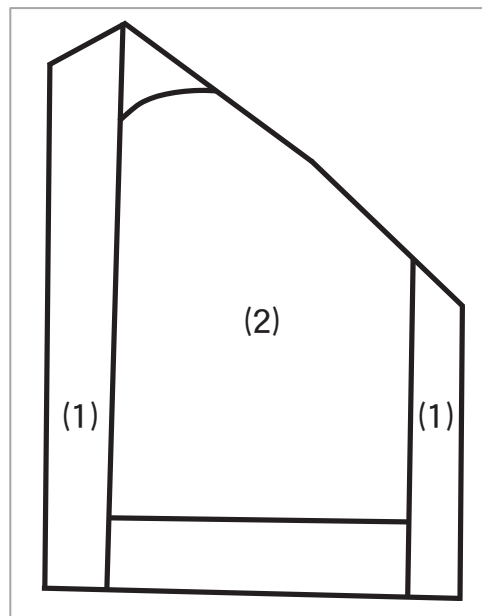
[CTL-2]
**Luster-painted ceramic tombstone
 for Sayyid 'Alā al-Dīn Faṭḥallah,
 the son of Sayyid Shāh Ḥusayn
 (d. 1478)**

Rajab 883h/October 1478

Iran (most likely Kashan)

National Museums Scotland (Edinburgh)

inv. no. A.1984.392



**Composition of the inscriptions of
 luster-painted ceramic tombstone for
 Sayyid 'Alā al-Dīn Faṭḥallah (d. 1478)**

(diagram by the author)

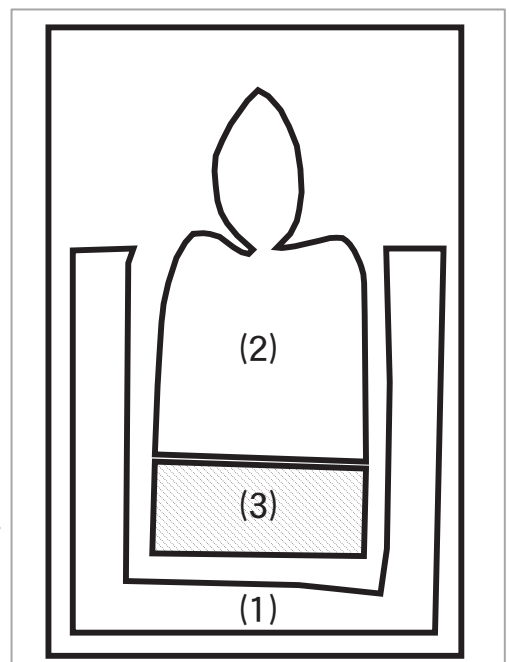


[CTL-3]

Luster-painted and in-glazed
ceramic tombstone for
Bībī Malik Khātūn,
the daughter of Muḥammad,
the son of Pākīza (d. 1481)

Rabi' I "886h"/June 1481/
"the beginning of Tīr" 860 A.P
Iran (most likely Kashan)

Musée de Sèvres (Sèvres), inv. no. 19335



Composition of the inscriptions of
luster-painted and in-glazed ceramic tombstone for
Bībī Malik Khātūn (d. 1481)

(diagram by the author)



◀ [CTL-4-a]

▼ [CTL-4-b]

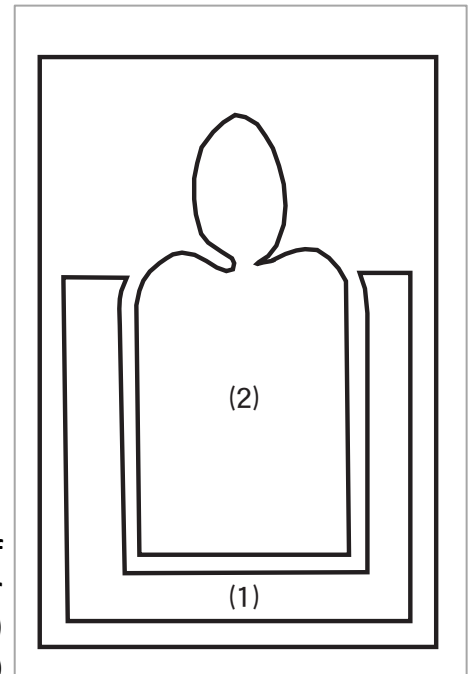


A pair of Luster- and underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones for Ustād Muḥammad, the son of Maḥmūd, the son of Muḥammad Maḥmūd, Khaiyāṭ-i Ārānī (d. 1486)

1st Ramaḍān 891h/August 31st, 1486
Iran (most likely Kashan)

CTL-4-a (Left): Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago), inv. no. 16.145
after <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/71828/tomb-stone-tile>
(accessed June 21st, 2020)

CTL-4-b (Right): Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo (Cairo), inv. No. 8170
after Grube 1974, pl. LXVI, fig. 69



Composition of the inscriptions of
a pair of luster- and underglaze-painted ceramic tombstones for
Ustād Muḥammad Khaiyāṭ-i Ārānī (d. 1486)
(diagram by the author)

[CTL-6]

Luster-painted ceramic tombstone
for Ustād Ghiyās al-Dīn,
the son of Ustād Niẓām al-Dīn Shavvā
(d. 1500)

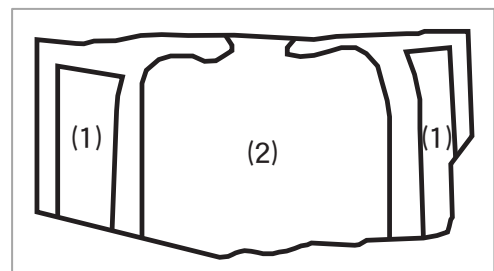
“the last day of Jumādā I 905h”/
January 2nd, 1500/

“the Dai month” 878 A.P.
Iran (most likely Kashan)

after Christie’s London 2004, pl. 24



Composition of the inscriptions of
a luster-painted and under-glazed ceramic tombstone for
Ustād Ghiyās al-Dīn (d. 1500)
(diagram by the author)

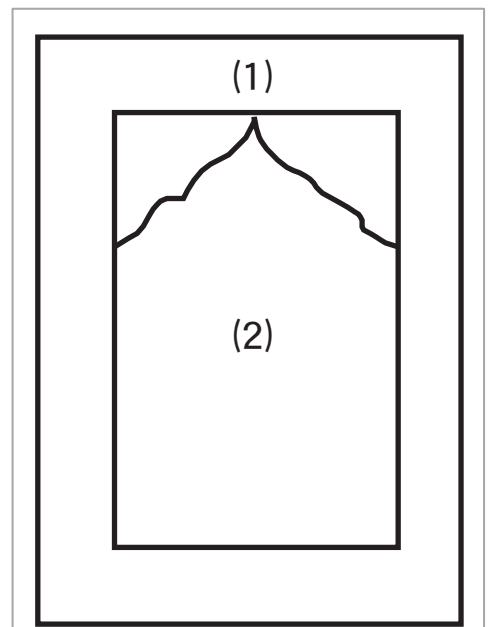




[CTL-8]

Luster-painted
ceramic tombstone for
Mīr Muḥammad
(d. 1534?)

"21 Sha'bān,
three days before Nawrūz"
most likely 21 Sha'bān 940h/
March 7th, 1534/
Isfand 26th, 912 A.P.
Iran (most likely Kashan)
after Christie's 1994, pl. 315



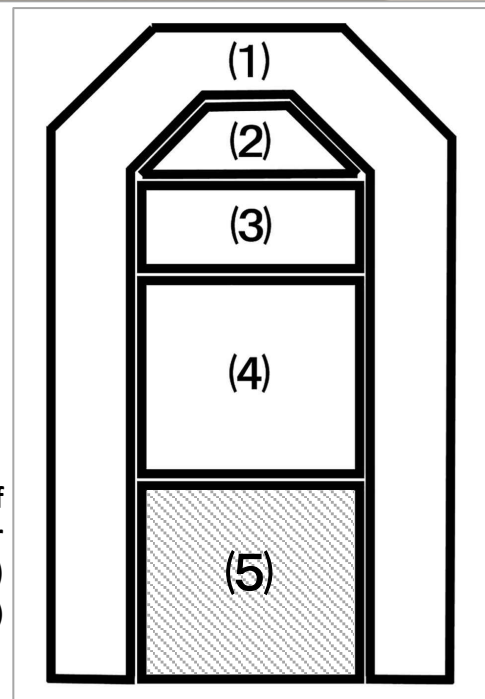
Composition of the inscriptions of
a luster-painted ceramic tombstones for
Mīr Muḥammad (d. 1534?)

(diagram by the author)



[CTL-9]
Luster-painted
ceramic tombstone for
Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd
al-Mu'arrif al-Shīrāzī (d. 1560)

25 Jumada II 967h/
March 23, 1560
Iran (almost certainly Kashan)
Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Hamburg),
inv. no. 1960.64

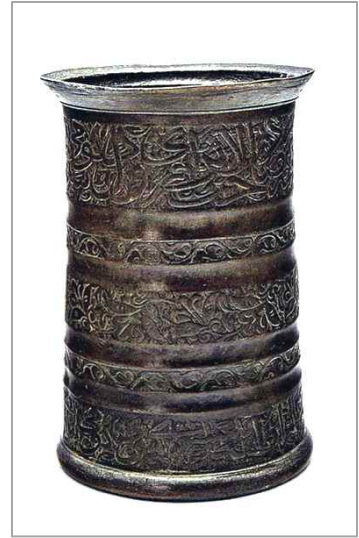


Composition of the inscriptions of
a luster-painted ceramic tombstones for
Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Mu'arrif al-Shīrāzī (d. 1560)
(diagram by the author)

**Appendix 4: Catalogue raisonné
of Iranian Candleholders
Inscribed with Persian Verses,
c. 1550–1650 (Plates)**



M_SHM_01 (inv. no. IR-2196)



M_SHM_02 (inv. no. IR-2197)



M_SHM_03 (inv. no. IR-2201)



M_SHM_06 (inv. no. IR-2204)

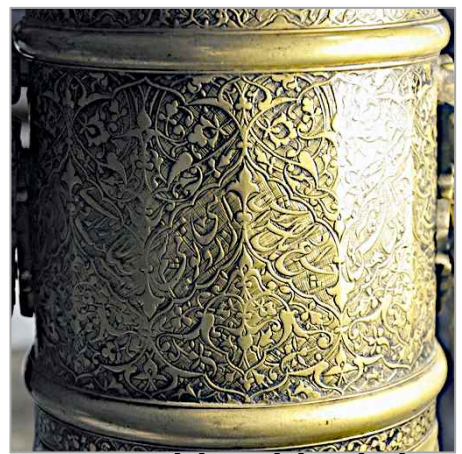




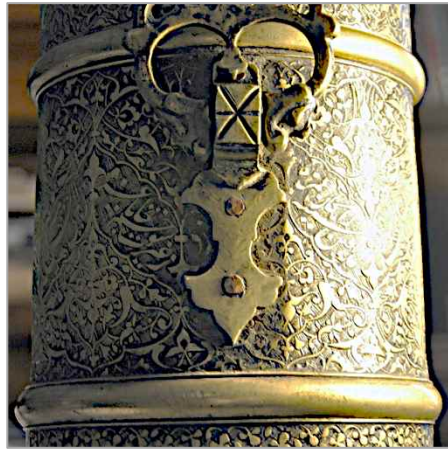
M_SHM_04 (inv. no. IR-2202)



[6] [5] [4]



[3] [2] [1] [14]



[14] [13] [12] [11]



[10] [9] [8] [7]



[7] [6] [5] [4]



[3] [2] [1] [14]



[1] [14] [13] [12]



[11] [10] [9] [8]

M_SHM_04
(inv. no. IR-2202)



M_SHM_05 (inv. no. IR-2203)
Dated 987h/1579–80



M_SHM_05 (inv. no. IR-2203)
Dated 987h/1579–80



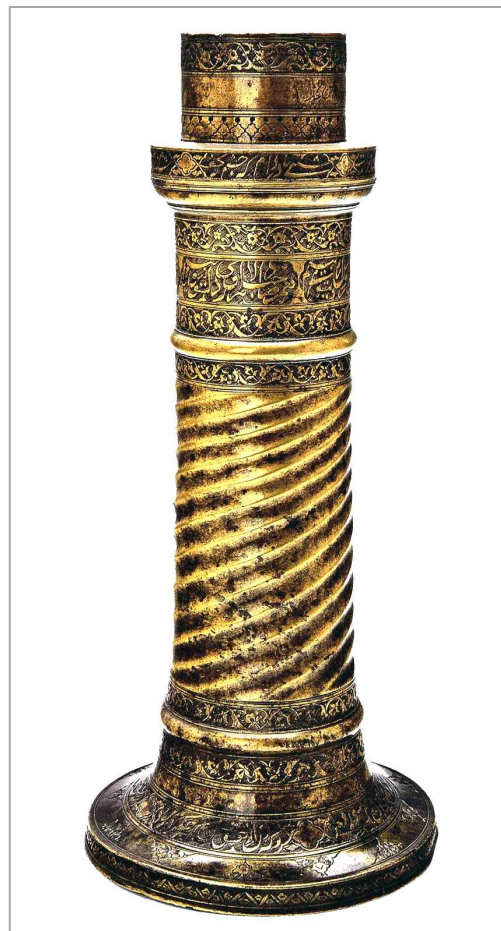
M_SHM_07 (inv. no. IR-2206)



M_SHM_08 (inv. no. IR-2207)



M_SHM_09 (inv. no. IR-2208)



M_SHM_10 (inv. no. IR-2209)





M_SHM_13 (inv. no. IR-2212)



M_SHM_11 (inv. no. IR-2210a, b)



M_SHM_12 (inv. no. IR-2211a, b)



M_SHM_14 (inv. no. IR-2213)



M_SHM_15 (inv. no. IR-2214)



M_SHM_16 (inv. no. IR-2215)



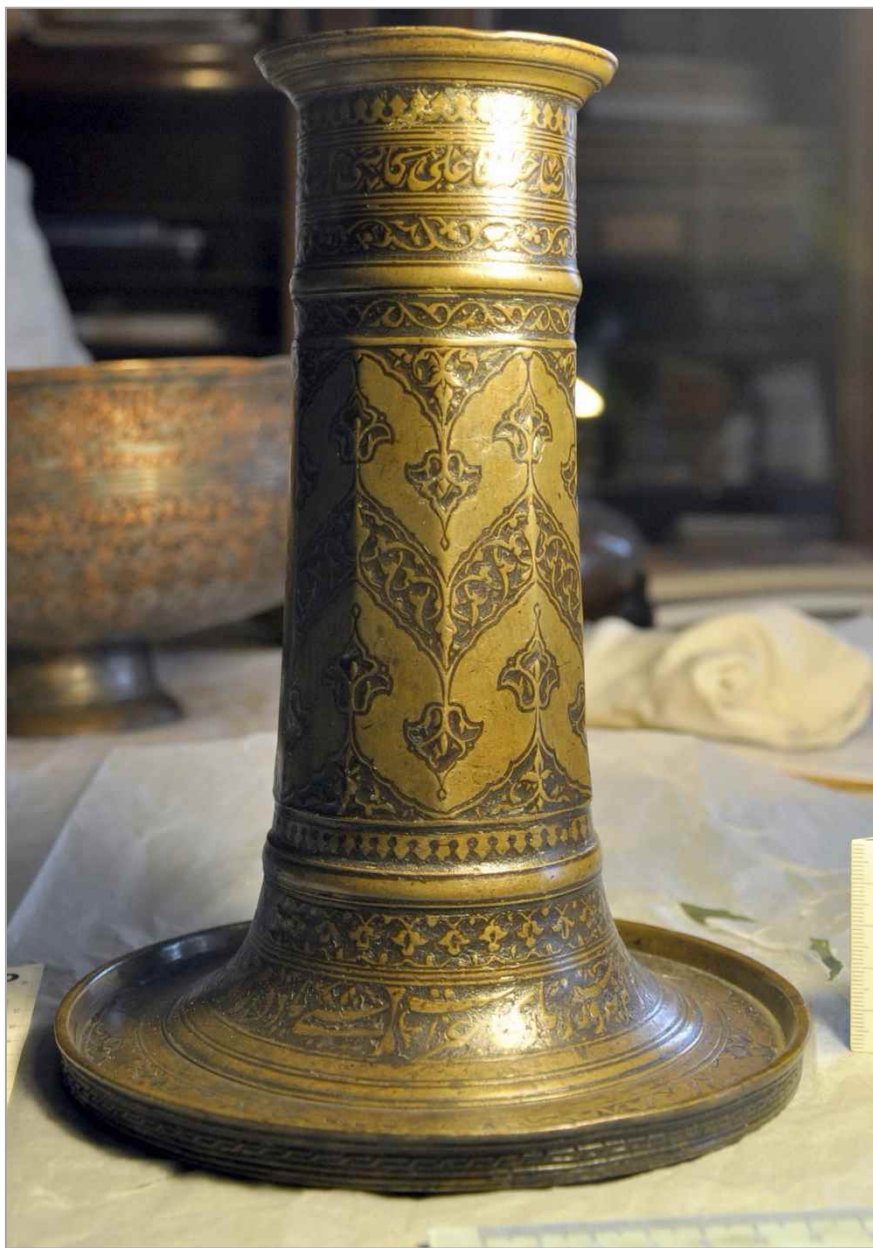
M_SHM_17 (inv. no. IR-2265 a, b)



M_SHM_18 (inv. no. IR-2266)



M_SHM_19 (inv. no. IR-2267)



M_SHM_20 (inv. no. IR-2290)



M_Louvre_01 (inv. no. AD5602)



M_Louvre_02 (inv. no. AD5603)

Dated 99xh/1582-91



M_Louvre_03 (inv. no. OA6037)



M_Louvre_04 (inv. no. AD17604)



M_V&A_01 (inv. no. 44-1870)



M_V&A_02 (inv. no. 481-1876)



M_V&A_03 (inv. no. 483-1876)



M_V&A_04 (inv. no. 411 K-1880)

Dated 98xh/1572–1582





M_V&A_05 (inv. no. 790-1901)



M_V&A_06 (inv. no. 792-1901)



M_V&A_07 (inv. no. 1526-1903)



M_V&A_08 (inv. no. M.33-1923)



M_Doha_01 (inv. no. MW.21.1997)



M_Doha_02 (inv. no. MW.45.1998)



M_Doha_03 (inv. no. MW.46.1998)



M_Doha_04 (inv. no. MW. 9.1999)

Dated 1012h/1604–5



M_Doha_05 (inv. no. MW.152.1999)
"Doha candlestick"



M_Doha_06 (inv. no. MW.219.2003)



M_Doha_07 (inv. no. MW.2014.121)



M_Doha_08 (inv. no. MW.2014.124)



M_MMA_01 (inv. no. 89.2.197)



M_MMA_02 (inv. no. 91.1.554a)



M_MMA_03 (inv. no. 91.1.573)



M_MMA_04 (inv. no. 91.1.579)



M_MMA_05 (inv. no. 29.53)
Dated 986h/1578–79



[M_Tehran_01]
National Museum of Iran, Tehran, inv. no. 3602



[M_Tehran_02]

National Museum of Iran, Tehran, inv. no. 3619



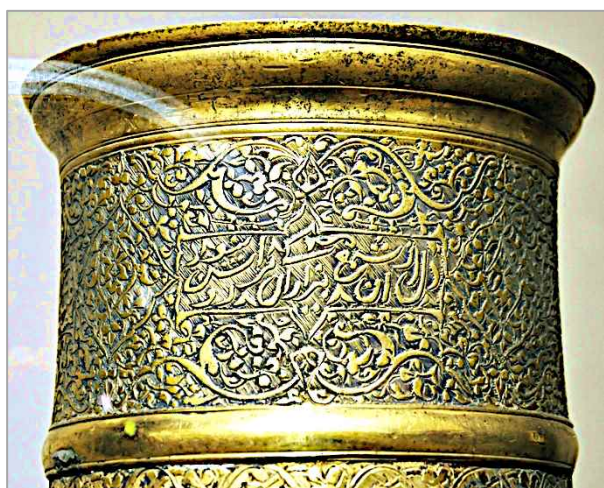
[M_Tehran_03]

National Museum of Iran, Tehran, inv. no. 3621



[M_Tehran_04]

National Museum of Iran, Tehran, inv. no. 3626



[M_Tehran_05]
National Museum of Iran, Tehran, inv. no. 23741



M_AKM_01 (inv. no. AKM613)



M_AKM_02 (inv. no. AKM614)



M_SMB_01 (inv. no. S1199)



M_SMB_02 (inv. no. I. 3608 a-b)





M_MFAB_01 (inv. no. 22.548)



M_HAM_01 (inv. no. 1955.92.D)



M_SL_01 (inv. no. 54.100)



M_SL_02 (inv. no. 54.102)



M_Auc.C_01



M_Auc.C_02



M_Auc.C_03



M_Auc.C_04



M_Auc.C_05



M_Auc.C_06



M_Auc.C_07



M_Auc.C_08
dated 988h/1580–81



M_Auc.C_09



M_Auc.C_10



M_Auc.C_11-a, b, and c
one of them dated 976h/1568–69



M_Auc.C_12



M_Auc.C_13



M_Auc.C_14



M_Auc.C_15



M_Auc.C_16



M_Auc.C_17



M_Auc.S_01
dated 1027a/1577-78



M_Auc.S_02



M_Auc.S_03



M_Auc.S_04



M_Auc.S_05



M_Auc.S_06



M_Auc.S_07



M_Auc.S_08



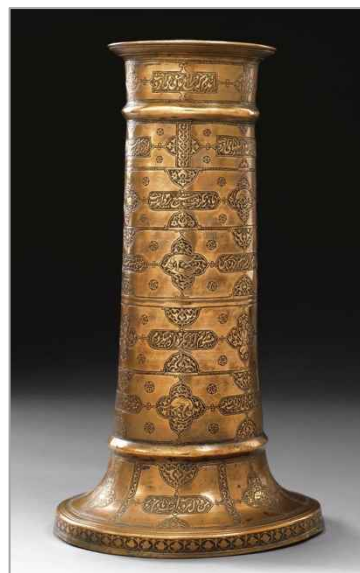
M_Auc.S_09
dated 1027a/1577-78



M_Auc.S_10



M_Auc.S_11



M_Auc.S_12



M_Auc.S_13



M_Auc.S_14



M_Auc.S_15



M_Auc.S_16



M_Auc.S_17



M_Auc.S_18



M_Auc.S_19



M_Auc.S_20

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|-----------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|-------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_SHM_01 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2196 | torch stand | - | - | 28.0 | n/a | 2 | × | stripe (horizontal) | diagonal hatchings | thuluth |
| M_SHM_02 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2197 | torch stand | - | - | 15.0 | n/a | 1 | × | stripe (horizontal) | diagonal hatchings | thuluth |
| M_SHM_03 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2201 | torch stand | - | - | 35.8* | 16.5 | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_04 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2202 | torch stand | - | - | 51.0* | 30.0 | 5 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| | | | | | | | | | × | stripe (diagonal) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| | | | | | | | | | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_05 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2203 | torch stand | - | 987h/1579–80 | 32.5* | 17 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_06 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2204 a, b | torch stand | - | - | 35.6* | 21.3 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_07 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2206 | torch stand | - | - | 30.6 | n/a | 3 | ○ | palmettes on plane ground | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_08 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2207 | torch stand | - | - | 42 | n/a | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_09 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2208 | torch stand | - | - | 29.5 | n/a | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_10 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2209 | torch stand | - | - | 36* | 17.2 | 3 | × | stripe (diagonal) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_11 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2210 a, b | torch stand | - | - | 36.5* | 20 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|---|---|---|--|---|--------------|---|---|--|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–2) [1] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (3–4) + Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> prologue (1–2) + Daqīqī, (1–2) [1] | - | n/a | n/a | Ivanov 2014, 104–05, no. 32. | n/a | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–2) [1] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (3–4) [1] | n/a | n/a | 1925 | Ivanov 2014, 105, no. 33. | ex-P. V. Charkovsky collection | |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1 –4) [4] | 1925 | Ivanov 2014, 110–13, no. 38. | ex-P. V. Charkovsky collection | * height without lid (height including lid: 43 cm) |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4)** [8]+ Amīr Khusraw Dihravī <i>ghazal</i> A (1– 2)*** [4]+ Amīr Khusraw Dihravī <i>ghazal</i> C (1) [2] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (4) [4] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (4) [4]// Ahlī Turshīz ī, <i>ghazal</i> (4) [4] | 1925 | Pope (1938–39) 12: pl. 1382; Loukonine and Ivanov (1996), cat. no. 203; Ivanov (2014), 113–17, no. 39. | ex-P. V. Charkovsky collection | * height without lid (height including lid: 60.5 cm). ** The first few words of the third hemistich are covered with a handle. *** The last few words of the second hemistich are covered with a handle. |
| | | ṣāhibu-hu Sayyid <i>Muḥammad b.</i> <i>Sayyid Jān Sirvā</i> <i>nī</i> | | | | | | |
| | | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] + Ḥāfiẓ <i>ghazal</i> no. 248 (1–2) [2] + Unidentified A (1–4) [8] | | | | | | |
| <i>ṣāhibu- hu Ḥājī Chilibī</i> 987 | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [12] // Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [12] // Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [12] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4]// <i>ṣāhibu-hu</i> <i>Ḥājī Chilibī</i> 987 | 1925 | Piotrovsky and Vrieze (2000), 176– 77, cat. no. 132; Ivanov (2014), 117– 19, no. 40. | ex-A. A. Bobrinsky collection | * height without lid (height including lid: 40.7 cm) |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [8] + Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> A (1–2) [4] | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | Unidentified B (1 –4) [4]; Saʿdī, <i>Bū</i> <i>stān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | 1925 | Ivanov (2014), 119– 21, no. 41. | ex-A. B. Lobanov- Rostovsky collection | * height without lid (height including lid: 43.1 cm) |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4)* [4] | - | - | n/a | 1925 | Ivanov (2014), 122– 23, no. 43. | ex-A. A. Bobrinsky collection | * Few words are missing. See Ivanov 2014, 122. |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [8] | - | n/a | 1925 | Ivanov (2014), 123– 25, no. 44. | ex-P. V. Charkovsky collection | |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4] | n/a | 1925 | Ivanov (2014), 125– 26, no. 45. | ex-A. A. Bobrinsky collection | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4)* [4] | <i>ṣāhibu-hu</i> <i>Ḥusayn Jān b.</i> <i>Muḥammad</i> // Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | 1925 | Ivanov (2014), 126– 28, no. 46. | ex-P. V. Charkovsky collection | * height without lid (height including lid: 43 cm) |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [8] + Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> A (1–2) [4] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4] | 1925 | Ivanov (2014), 128– 30, no. 47. | ex-A. B. Lobanov- Rostovsky collection | * height without lid (height including lid: 43 cm) |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|-------|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_SHM_12 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2211 a, b | torch stand | - | - | 35* | 15 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_13 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2212 | torch stand | - | 1027a/1577–78 | 33.5* | 16.8 | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq, Armenian |
| M_SHM_14 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2213 | torch stand | - | - | 33 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_15 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2214 | torch stand | - | - | 32.4 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_16 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2215 | torch stand | - | - | 33.8 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_17 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2265 a, b | torch stand | - | - | 34.3* | n/a | 3 | × | stripe (diagonal) | diagonal hatchings | thuluth |
| M_SHM_18 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2266 | torch stand | - | - | 28 | n/a | 3 | ○ | incised zig-zag (double) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_19 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2267 | torch stand | - | - | 40.7 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SHM_20 | State Hermitage Museum | IR-2290 | torch stand | - | - | 22.8 | n/a | 3 | ○ | incised zig-zag (single) with palmette | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_LM_01 | Louvre Museum | AD5602 | torch stand | - | - | 34.8 | 16.7 | 3 | × | stripe (diagonal) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_LM_02 | Louvre Museum | AD5603 | torch stand | - | 99xh/1582–91 | 34.4 | 19.2 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_LM_03 | Louvre Museum | OA6037 | torch stand | - | - | 35.0 | 20.0 | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (triple) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_LM_04 | Louvre Museum | AD17604 | torch stand | - | - | 31.8 | 16.5 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|---|--|--|--|--|--------------|--|--|---|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–2) [4] | - | - | - | n/a | Ivanov (2014), 131–33, no. 48. | n/a | * height without lid (height including lid: 40.2 cm) |
| Armeni an | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | 1935 | Ivanov (2014), 133–35, no. 49. | purchased from E. A. Ryazantsev | * height without lid (height including lid: 40.8 cm) |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | n/a | 1950 | Ivanov (2014), 136–37, no. 50. | purchased from G.I. Gidayeva (Kubachi) | |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | n/a | 1923 | Ivanov (2014), 137–39, no. 51. | received from GMF | |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | n/a | Ivanov (2014), 139–40, no. 52. | n/a | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–2) [2] // <i>ṣāḥibu-hu Bik Khān b. ‘Alī Khān Ḥalvātī</i> // Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–3) [1] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–2) [1] | - | - | 1925 | Ivanov (2014), 167–68, no. 71. | ex-A. A. Bobrinsky collection | * height without lid (height including lid: 38.4 cm) |
| - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [2] | - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | n/a | 1926 | Ivanov (2014), 166–67, no. 70. | ex-P. V. Charkovsky collection | |
| - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | 1925 | Ivanov (2014), 168–69, no. 72. | ex-A. A. Bobrinsky collection | |
| - | <i>ṣāḥibu-hu Āqā ‘Alī Kāshī</i> + Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> prologue (1–2) [3] | - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | n/a | 1923 | Ivanov (2014), 169–71, no. 73. | received from GMF | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4)* [4] | - | - | n/a | 1890 | Melikian-Chirvani (1973), 124–25; Labrusse (2007), 341, cat. no. 202. | ex-Eugène Piot collection | * The inscription is finished in the middle of the last hemistich. The line breaks of each verse do not correspond to the rhythm of the poem. |
| ṣāḥibu- hu Ḥājī Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Qā sim Ḥasan Ibūrū 99[x] | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | 1890 | Melikian-Chirvani (1973), 110–11; Labrusse (2007), 186, 342, cat. no. 203. | ex-Eugène Piot collection | |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4)* [4] | - | - | n/a | 1905 | | | * The first, second, and last hemistiches are modified to second person single. |
| - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] + Unidentified H (1–2) [2] | - | n/a | 1911 | Melikian-Chirvani (1973), 116–17 | ex-M. Atherton-Curtis collection | |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|----------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|-------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_V&A_01 | Victoria and Albert Museum | 44-1870 | torch stand | black | - | 28.0 | 14.6 | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_V&A_02 | Victoria and Albert Museum | 481-1876 | torch stand | black | - | 30.7 | 17.1 | 3 | ○ | repeated quatrefoils | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_V&A_03 | Victoria and Albert Museum | 483-1876 | torch stand | black | - | 30.0 | 19.2 | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_V&A_04 | Victoria and Albert Museum | 411 K-1880 | torch stand | - | 98xh/1572-82 | 28.5 | 15.9 | 3 | × | stripe (horizontal) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_V&A_05 | Victoria and Albert Museum | 790-1901 | torch stand | black | - | 31.6 | 18.0 | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (triple) | | nasta'liq |
| M_V&A_06 | Victoria and Albert Museum | 792-1901 | torch stand | | - | 26.2 | 14.9 | 3 | × | stripe (horizontal) | | nasta'liq |
| M_V&A_07 | Victoria and Albert Museum | 1526-1903 | torch stand | | - | 27.3* | 15.9 | | ○ | interlacing plants | | nasta'liq |
| M_V&A_08 | Victoria and Albert Museum | M.33-1923 | torch stand | black | - | 33.2 | 17 | 4 | × | stripe (diagonal) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|-----------------|--|--|--|-------------|--------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | 1870 | Melikian-Chirvani (1982), 310–11, no. 138; https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O114730/torch-stand/ (accessed August 7, 2020) | | |
| - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch.3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | 1876 | Melikian-Chirvani (1982), 309–10, no. 137; https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O114680/torch-stand/ (accessed August 7, 2020) | | |
| (owner's name)* | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | 1876 | Melikian-Chirvani (1982), 311–12, no. 139; https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O114683/torch-stand/ (accessed August 7, 2020) | | * "An owner called ‘Ābed had his name incised in <i>naskhī</i> on the sloping lip not later than the 18th century" (Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 312). The current author did not have an access to the photograph of this side. |
| - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | The inscriptions have been worn away and unreadable. | | n/a | 1880 | Melikian-Chirvani (1982), 298–99, no. 130; http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1297869/lampstand/ (accessed August 7, 2020) | | |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī A* (2) + unidentified B (2) | - | - | n/a | 1901 | Melikian-Chirvani (1982), 313–14, no. 140; https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O114731/torch-stand/ (August 7, 2020) | | * The second hemistich starts from " <i>bisūkht</i> " instead of " <i>gudākht</i> ". |
| | | | | n/a | 1901 | Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 299–300; no. 130a http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O379210/torch-stand/ (accessed August 7, 2020) | | |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī A (4) | - | Ḥayratī Tūnī A (4) | - | 1903 | Melikian-Chirvani (1982), 314–15, no. 141; http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O76932/torch-stand-unknown/ (accessed August 9, 2020) | | * height without lid (lid: 3.4 cm) |
| - | Jāmī, <i>tarjī‘-band</i> no. 3, band 1 (1–2) [1–2] | - | Jāmī, <i>tarjī‘-band</i> no. 3, band 1 (1–2) [1–2] + <i>ṣāhibu-hu Mīr Aḥmad Dāmghānī</i> | n/a | 1923 | Melikian-Chirvani (1982), 319–20, no. 144 | ex-Alfred Williams Hearn collection | |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_Doha_01 | Islamic Museum of Art, Doha | MW.21.1997 | torch stand | | - | 72 | 30 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Doha_02 | Islamic Museum of Art, Doha | MW.45.1998 | torch stand | - | - | 61 | 28 | 4 | × | stripe (diagonal) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Doha_03 | Islamic Museum of Art, Doha | MW.46.1998 | candle stick | red | - | 22.5 | 18 | n/a | n/a | cartouches and medallions | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Doha_04 | Islamic Museum of Art, Doha | MW.99.1999 | torch stand | - | 1012h/1604–5 | 36 | 19 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Doha_05 ("Doha candlestick") * | Islamic Museum of Art, Doha | MW.152.1999 | candle stick | - | - | 11.4* | 22.5 | n/a | n/a | cartouches and medallions (animals) | spiral scrolls infilled with diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Doha_06 | Islamic Museum of Art, Doha | MW.219.2003 | torch stand | - | - | 61 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (triple) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Doha_07 | Islamic Museum of Art, Doha | MIA.2014.121 | torch stand | - | - | 39.7 | 21.2 | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Doha_08 | Islamic Museum of Art, Doha | MIA.2014.124 | torch stand | | - | 36.6 | 21.2 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq, Armenian |
| M_MMA_01 | Metropolitan Museum of Art | 89.2.197 | torch stand | - | - | 30.1 | 18.4 | 3 | ○ | interlocking circles | spiral scrolls infilled with diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_MMA_02 | Metropolitan Museum of Art | 91.1.554a | torch stand | red and black | - * | 47.3 | n/a | 3 | × | interlacing plants | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|--------------|---|---|--|--|--------------|---|---|--|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| - | Amīr Khusraw Dihravī <i>ghazal</i> A (4)* | Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> A (4 [8])** + Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> B (2 [4]) | Ahlī Turshīzī (4 [8]) + Abū Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khayr (2 [4]) | Qāzī Astrābādī (4) | 1997 | Pope 1938–39, vol. VI, pl. 1381; Falk 1985, 287–88, cat. no. 298; Sotheby's London 1997b, lot no. 23; Allan 2002, 75–76, cat. no. 22. | Sotheby's London, October 16, 1997; ex-T. L. Jacks collection | |
| - | Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 416 (1–2) [2] + <i>Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, ghazal</i> C (1–2) [2] | waqf inscription* | - | n/a | 1998 | Falk 1985, cat. no. 299; Sotheby's London 1997a, lot no. 51; https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/torch-stand/-gEyKQ5BeNN3lw (accessed August 20, 2020) | Sotheby's London, April 24, 1997 | |
| - | <i>ṣāhibu-hu ʿAliya Bīgum bint Mullā Ḥaydar</i> | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | n/a | 1998 | unpublished | ex-Khuzmalli collection | |
| - | <i>ṣāhibu-hu Sulṭān Ḥusayn 1012 hijrī</i> [1] + Kamāl Khujandī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 1027 (2) [2] | - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | n/a | 1999 | unpublished | not available | |
| n/a | n/a | Doha verse A (identified as the verses by Khalī fah Asadullāh; see Ch.3) | Doha verse B (identified as the verses by Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī; see Ch.3) | n/a | 1999 | Kanda 2019 | ex-Humayzi collection | * There is a waqf inscription on the back side (see Ch.3). ** The upper part of this candlestick is missing. |
| - | Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 78 (1–4) [4] | - | - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | 2003 | Christie's London, 2003, lot no. 115* | ex-Amir Pakzad collection | * It is possible that Sotheby's London 1993, lot no. 170 is the same piece. |
| n/a | Unidentified A (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | 2014 | Falk 1985, cat. no. 300; Fraser 2008, 477, no. 468 | ex-Honar collection | |
| Armenian | <i>bandah-i ʿAlī-i ʿAlī Ismaʿīl</i> + Armenian | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | 2014 | Fraser 2008, 479, no. 470 | ex-Honar collection | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī (4[4]) | unidentified E (2[2]) + unidentified D (1[1]) + Saʿdī, <i>mufradāt</i> (1[1]) | Muḥtasham Kāshānī, <i>ghazal</i> (4[4]) | n/a | 1889 | Ekhtiar 2011, 237–39, cat. no. 163; https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/443176 (accessed August 1, 2020) | ex-Joseph W. Drexel collection | |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> B (2[2]) + ʿabd-hu Ḥaydar al-Ḥusaynī | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> B (2[2])** | Vaḥshī Bāfqī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 193 (1–2)[2] | n/a | 1891 | Melikian-Chirvanhi 2007, 452–53, cat. no. 184; https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/444554 (accessed August 1, 2020) | ex-Edward C. Moore collection | * Melikian-Chiravani believes that this piece was executed for "le prince" Haydar al-Ḥusaynī and dated "1027/29 d'écembre 1617–18," but the current author could not confirm his claim from the inscriptions. ** These two lines are the continuation of the poem inscribed in the upper part. |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|--------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|---|---------------------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_MMA_03 | Metropolitan Museum of Art | 91.1.573 | torch stand | - | - | 26 | n/a | 3 | × | animals in medalion | spiral scrolls infilled with diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_MMA_04 | Metropolitan Museum of Art | 91.1.579 | torch stand | - | - | 34.6 | 18.1 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq, Armenian |
| M_MMA_05 | Metropolitan Museum of Art | 29.53 | torch stand | red and black | 986h/1578–79 | 33.7 | 16.8 | 3 | ○ | zigzag with inscriptions | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Tehran_01 | National Museum of Iran | 3602 | torch stand | - | - | n/a | n/a | 3 | × | stripe (diagonal) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Tehran_02 | National Museum of Iran | 3619 | torch stand | - | - | n/a | n/a | 3 | ○ | repeated cartouches, quatrefoils and medallions | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Tehran_03 | National Museum of Iran | 3621 | candle stick | black | - | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | cartouches and medallions | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Tehran_04 | National Museum of Iran | 3636 | torch stand | red and black | 1008h/1599–1600 | 50.4 | 32.2 | 4 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| | | | | | | | | | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | |
| M_Tehran_05 | National Museum of Iran | 23741 | torch stand | - | - | n/a | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (triple) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|--|--|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|---|---|---|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī (4[2]) | unidentified F (2[1]) // unidentified D' (1[3]) // unidentified G () // unidentified D' (1[3]) | - | n/a | 1891 | Pope (1938–39), 12: pl. 1383A; http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/444573 (accessed August 1, 2020) | ex-Edward C. Moore collection | |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> B (4[4]) | Ahlī Turshīzī (3[6])* | - | n/a | 1891 | Blair and Bloom 1994, 178, pl. 221; https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/444579 (accessed August 1, 2020) | ex-Edward C. Moore collection | * Armenian characters are inscribed on the ring connecting the body and lower part. |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> B (4[4]) | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> B (1 –5[10]) + <i>sana-'i</i> 986 // Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> A (1–2[4]) + Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> B (3–4[4]) + Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> B (1–2[2]) // Ahlī Turshīzī (1 –4[8]) + Kātibī Turshīzī (1–2[2]) | - | n/a | 1929 | Pope (1938–39), 12: pl. 1384A; Canby 2009, 85, fig. 72; Ekhtiar 2011, 237–39, cat. no. 164; https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/448240 (accessed August 1, 2020) | ex-Mrs. Daniel Z. Noorian collection | |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4] | - | - | n/a | n/a | | Ardabil* (?) | * The caption reads "[d]iscovered in Ardabil." |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4] | ... <i>Ḥājī Malik</i> <i>Dabbaq Tabrīzī</i> | - | several lines of poetry* | n/a | | Isfahan** (?) | * The inscriptions have been worn away and not decipherable. ** The caption reads "[d]iscovered in Isfahan." |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–2) [2] // Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (3– 4) [2] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4] + Sa'dī, <i>Bū</i> <i>stān</i> ch. 3 (1–2) [2] | - | - | n/a | | Ardabil* (?) | * The caption reads "[d]iscovered in Ardabil." |
| Jāmī, <i>tarjī</i> 'band (3–6) [4] | waqf inscription* // Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 2, 5–6**) [4] | - - | Unidentified C, 1 –6 [6] | n/a | n/a | Melikian-Chirvani 2007, 374–75, cat. no. 135. | Isfahan*** (?) | * See Ch. 3. ** Melikian-Chirvani does not read the fifth and sixth hemistchs of this poem. *** The caption reads "[d]iscovered in Isfahan." |
| - | Unidentified A (1 –4) [4] | several lines of poetry* | - | - | n/a | | Isfahan** (?) | * The inscriptions have been worn away and not decipherable. ** The caption reads "[d]iscovered in Isfahan." |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|-------------------|--|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------|------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_AKM_01 | Aga Khan Museum | AKM613 | torch stand | - | - | 37.9 | n/a | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants and zig-zag inscriptions | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq, Armenian |
| M_AKM_02 | Aga Khan Museum | AKM614 | torch stand | - | - | 43.2 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SMB_01 | Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin | S1199 | torch stand | - | - | 34 | 19.7 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SMB_02 | Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin | I.3608 a-b | torch stand | - | - | 36.5 | 15 | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (quadruple) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_MFAB_01 | Museum of Fine Arts, Boston | 22.548 | torch stand | - | - | 28 | n/a | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants and horizontal inscriptions | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_HAM_01 | Harvard Art Museums | 1955.92.D | torch stand | - | - | 40 | 22.5 | 3 | × | octagonal star- and cross-shaped | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SL_01 | Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture & Design | 54.100 | torch stand | red and black | - | 26.4 | 16.4 | 3 | × | stripe (horizontal) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_SL_02 | Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture & Design | 54.102 | torch stand | - | - | 25.4 | 15.7 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_01 | Christie's, London, April 26, 2018 | 58 | torch stand | red and black | - | 33.6 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (triple) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|---------------|--|--|---|--|--------------|---|--|---|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| Armeni an* | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [8] + Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> A (1–2) [4] | - | n/a | 2005 | Christie's London, 2005, lot no. 381; https://agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/candlestick-shamdan-akm613 (accessed August 17, 2020) | ex-Edmond Foule collection | * According to the auction catalogue, there is "a near contemporaneous Armenian inscription within a hatched cartouche around the rim." |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | Ḥāfīz <i>ghazal</i> no. 343 (1–2) [2] + ? [x]* | n/a | n/a | https://agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/torch-stand-akm614 (accessed August 18, 2020) | n/a | * The backside of this torch stand is not published. It is possible that Ḥāfīz <i>ghazal</i> no. xxx continued till the last cartouche. |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– 4) [4] | - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | n/a | n/a | http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1521098&viewType=detailView (accessed August 18, 2020) | n/a | |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | <i>ṣāḥibu-hu Mīrzā ʿAlī ibn Karandāl ī</i> | n/a | http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=1526831&viewType=detailView (accessed August 18, 2020) | n/a | |
| - (?)* | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1– x) [x] + ? [x]** | - | n/a | 1922 | https://collections.mfa.org/objects/144898/candlestick-with-arabesque-designs-and-persian-inscriptions (accessed August 19, 2020) | ex-James W. Paige collection | * The website of the MFAB notes the existence of the following inscription: "Its owner is Reza, son of the merchant from Mahabad." ** The backside of this torch stand is not published. |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 255 (1– 4) [4] | n/a | 1955 | https://hvr.dartmouth.edu/216818 (accessed August 19, 2020) | ex-William H. Folwell collection | |
| - | - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–2) [2] // Saʿd ī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (3– 4) [2] // // | - | n/a | 1954 | https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/candlestick/oQHSc0rt2DKeww (accessed August 20, 2020) | | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | 1954 | https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/engraved-lamp-stand-with-floral-and-arabesque-motifs/bgFFwg-qwMGTBA (accessed August 20, 2020) | | |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 2018, lot no. 58 | n/a | |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|---------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_Auc.C_02 | Christie's, South Kensington, April 26, 2013 | 665 | torch stand | - | - | 28 | n/a | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_03 | Christie's, South Kensington, April 26, 2013 | 666 | torch stand | - | - | 27 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_04 | Christie's, London, April 25, 2013 | 119 | torch stand | - | - | 27.5 | n/a | 3 | ○ | cartouches and medallions | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_05 | Christie's, London, April 25, 2013 | 120 | torch stand | red, black and green | - | 27.7 | n/a | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_06 | Christie's, London, October 4, 2012 | 115 | torch stand | - | - | 32.8 | n/a | 4 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| | | | | | | | | | ○ | interlacing plants | | |
| M_Auc.C_07 | Christie's, London, October 4, 2012 | 118 | torch stand | - | - | 34.3 | n/a | 4 | × | stripe (diagonal) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| | | | | | | | | | × | stripe (diagonal) | | |
| M_Auc.C_08 | Christie's, London, October 4, 2012 | 119 | torch stand | - | 988h/1 580–81 | 47.4 | n/a | 3 | ○ | open work | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_09 | Christie's, London, October 6, 2011 | 182 | torch stand | - | - | 36 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_10 | Christie's, London, October 6, 2011 | 216 | candle stick | - | - | 43.8 | 20.3 | n/a | n/a | cartouches and medallions | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_11-a | Christie's, London, April 7, 2011 | 210* | torchs | - | 976h/1 568–69 | 8.5 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_11-b | | | | | | 14 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_11-c | | | | | | 16.8 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_12 | Christie's, London, April 7, 2011 | 211 | torch stand | - | - | 29.2 | n/a | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|---|--|--------------|---|----------------------------------|--|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | n/a | n/a | Christie's South Kensington 2013, lot no. 665 | ex-Adrienne Minassian collection | |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | n/a | Christie's South Kensington 2013, lot no. 666 | ex-Adrienne Minassian collection | |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 2013, lot no. 119 | n/a | |
| names of owners * | Daqīqī [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 2013, lot no. 120 | n/a | * The auction catalogue notes the existence of the following inscriptions: "sah[i]buhu dara khan ibn mahmud nakhjavandi" and "sahibuhu mashhadi muhammad 'ali" |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | n/a | Christie's London 2012, lot no. 115 | n/a | |
| | | - | | | | | | |
| owner's inscriptions* | | // | - | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 2012, lot no. 118 | n/a | * "sahibuhu mashhadi muhammad 'ali" |
| | | // | | | | | | |
| "engraved owner's date underneath the rim of 988[h]" * | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | "waqf inscription with owner's name"* | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 2012, lot no. 119 | n/a | * Remarks in the published edition of the auction catalogue. The backside of this torch stand is not published. |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] // | n/a | Christie's London 2011b, lot no. 182 | n/a | |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | Christie's London 2011b, lot no. 216 | n/a | |
| n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | n/a | Christie's London 2011a, lot no. 210 | n/a | * The catalogue describes these objects as "THREE SAFAVID OR POSSIBLY DECCANI TORCHSTAND (SHAMDAN) FINIALS IRAN OR CENTRAL INDIA, ONE DATED AH 976/1568-69 AD, THE OTHERS 17TH CENTURY." |
| n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | The inscriptions (probably poetic) have been worn away and unreadable. | n/a | | | |
| n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | "dedication to Qutb al-Dīn al-Shuja'i" // poetic inscriptions | n/a | | | |
| - | Ḥājī 'Alī Qulī ibn ... + poetic inscriptions | - | | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 2011a, lot no. 211 | n/a | |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|-------------------|---|---------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_Auc.C_13 | Christie's, Paris, November 5, 2008 | 273 | torch stand | - | - | 33.5 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_14 | Christie's, London, October 15, 2002 | 86 | torch stand | - | - | 32 | n/a | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | not visible in the photograph | nasta'liq, Armenian |
| M_Auc.C_15 | Christie's, London, April 28, 1998 | 401 | torch stand | - | 1008h/1599–1600 | 25.5 | n/a | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | not visible in the photograph | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.C_16 | Christie's, London, April 25, 1995 | 311 | torch stand | - | - | 85.5 | n/a | 5 | × | stripe (diagonal) | not visible in the photograph | nasta'liq |
| | | | | | | | | | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | | |
| | | | | | | | | | × | stripe (diagonal) | | |
| M_Auc.C_17 | Christie's, London, October 19, 1993 | 379 | torch stand | - | - | 38.8 | - | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | not visible in the photograph | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_01 | Sotheby's, London, June 10, 2020 | 112 | torch stand | - | 1027a/1577–78 | 46 | 24 | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants and zig-zag inscriptions | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_02 | Sotheby's, London, October 25, 2017 | 151 | torch stand | red, black and green | - | 32.4 | - | 4 | ○ | interlacing plants | inlaid and not visible | nasta'liq |
| | | | | | | | | | ○ | interlacing plants | | |
| M_Auc.S_03 | Sotheby's, London, October 5, 2011 | 258 | torch stand | - | - | 40.5 | - | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (single) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_04 | Sotheby's, London, April 6, 2011 (The Stuart Cary Welch Collection, Part I) | 77 | torch stand | - | - | 30.5 | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants and horizontal inscriptions | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_05 | Sotheby's, London, April 6, 2011 (Arts of the Islamic World) | 333 | torch stand | - | - | 39 | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|------------------------|---|--|--|---|--------------|--|---|--|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] // Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | Christie's Paris 2008, lot no. 273 | n/a | |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | Armenian inscriptions | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 2002, lot no. 86 | n/a | |
| owner's name and date* | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 1998, lot no. 401 | n/a | * "sahibi khojeh ' Abd al...1008 (Its owner Khojeh ' Abd al-... 1008" |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 1995, lot no. 311 | n/a | |
| | | - | | | | | | |
| | | - | | | | | | |
| - | Unidentified A (1–4) [4] // waqf inscriptions* | - | owner's name** | n/a | n/a | Christie's London 1993, lot no. 379 | n/a | * "Given in waqf by Muhammad Ja'far b. Mirza Sharaf al-Hadi to the blessed shrine of Sayyid 'Ala al-Din Husayn b. Musa al-Riza" ** "Darvish Muhammad b. Shaykh Wais Marandi" |
| Armenian* | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [x] + Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 416 (1–2) [4] + Amīr Khusraw Dihravī, <i>ghazal</i> no. C (1–2) [4] | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2020, lot no. 112 | n/a | * "On the rim, in Armenian: 'Marut son of Mateos (Mathew) 1027 (Armenian era) in the 18 leading month, inscribed it' (18 January [?] 1578 AD)." |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2013, lot no. 129; Sotheby's London 2017, lot no. 151 | n/a | |
| | | - | | | | | | |
| - | Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2011c, lot. 258 | n/a | |
| - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4]* | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2011a, lot no. 77 | ex-Stuart Cary Welch collection; ex-Moustafa Avigdor collection | * The auction catalogue notes the existence of the later ownership mark. |
| - | - | - | - | Sa'dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | Sotheby's London 2011b, lot no. 333 | n/a | |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|-------------------|--|---------------------------------|-------------|-------|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_Auc.S_06 | Sotheby's, Paris, March 30, 2011 | 107* | torch stand | - | - | 26.5 | - | 3 | × | stripe (diagonal) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_07 | Sotheby's, London, October 6, 2010 | 200 | torch stand | - | - | 29.5 | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_08 | Sotheby's, London, October 6, 2010 | 203 | torch stand | - | - | 30.5 | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_09 | Sotheby's, London, October 6, 2010 | 205 | torch stand | - | 1027a/1577–78 | 31 | - | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq, Armenian |
| M_Auc.S_10 | Sotheby's, London, April 14, 2010 | 157 | torch stand | red | - | 30.4 | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | inlaid and not visible | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_11 | Sotheby's, London, October 7, 2009 | 112 | torch stand | - | - | 29.3 | - | 3 | × | stripe (diagonal) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_12 | Sotheby's, London, April 1, 2009 | 116 | torch stand | - | - | 37 | - | 3 | × | cartouches and medallions (animals) | spiral scrolls infilled with diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_13 | Sotheby's, London, April 1, 2009 | 117 | torch stand | - | - | 25 | - | 3 | × | stripe (horizontal) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_14 | Sotheby's, London, October 8, 2008 | 153 | torch stand | - | - | 33 | - | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_15 | Sotheby's, London, April 9, 2008 | 199 | torch stand | - | - | 38.6 | - | 3 | × | stripe (diagonal) | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_16 | Sotheby's, London, October 11, 2006 (Important Spanish & Iznik Pottery from a European Private Collection) | 85 | torch stand | - | - | 28.5 | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|-------------|--------------|---|------------|--|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | Doha verse B (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's Paris 2011, lot no. 107 | n/a | * The catalogue describes these objects as "Chandelier en bronze à décor gravé dédicacé à Shams al-Din Ali, Iran, art safavide, XVII siècle" |
| owner's name* | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2010b, lot no. 200 | n/a | * "On the rim, owner's name as: 'Its owner, Ismaʿil [son of] Ahmad'" |
| mark* | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2007, lot no. 122; Sotheby's London 2010b, lot no. 203 | n/a | * "the letter mim" |
| date* | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2010b, lot no. 205 | n/a | * "On the rim in Armenian: [Presented to] Labaninay son of Martiros in the year 1027" |
| - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2010a, lot no. 157 | n/a | |
| - | Doha verse B (x–4) [x] | - | - | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2009b, lot no. 112 | n/a | |
| "A Persian couplet and owner's name*" | | // // // //Doha verse A (1–4) [4]/** | | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2002, lot. 85; Sotheby's London 2009a, lot no. 116 | n/a | |
| - | Daqīqī, (1–2) [2] + ? [x] | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2009a, lot no. 117 | n/a | |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2008b, lot no. 153 | n/a | |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] + "later owner's name"* | "[o]riginal owner's name"*** | - | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2008a, lot no. 199 | n/a | * "Mehdi al-Husayni" *** "For its owner Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Hasani" |
| - | Saʿdī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] + owner's name* | - | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2006b, lot no. 85 | n/a | * "Its owner Muhammad Ibrahim ibn Shams al-Din Muhammad Tashi (Tashti?)" |

| | collection/auction | inventory number/ lot number | shape | inlay | date | size | | of segments (body) | vertical facets (body) | decoration type | background of the inscriptions | script |
|--|---|---------------------------------|--------------|-------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|-----------|
| | | | | | | height (cm) | diameter (cm) | | | | | |
| M_Auc.S_17 | Sotheby's, London, October 11, 2006 (Arts of the Islamic World) | 133 | torch stand | - | - | 36 | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_18 | Sotheby's, London, April 5, 2006 | 122 | torch stand | - | - | 30 | - | 3 | × | stripe (diagonal) | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_19 | Sotheby's, London, October 19, 1995 | 95 | torch stand | - | - | 26.5 | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | not visible in the photograph | nasta'liq |
| M_Auc.S_20 | Sotheby's, London, April 16–17, 1985 | 146 | candle stick | - | - | 42.5 | - | n/a | n/a | cartouches and medallions | spiral scrolls infilled with diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| Sotheby's candlestick [figs. 3-22-a, b, c] | Sotheby's, London, April 14, 2010 | 159 | candle stick | - | 1007h/1598–99 | 37.5 | 30.5 | n/a | n/a | animals in medallion | spiral scrolls infilled with diagonal hatchings | nasta'liq |
| Kashan-Mashhad torch stand [fig. 3-24-a, b, c] | Museum of Āstān Quds Rażavī | n.a. | torch stand | - | - | - | - | 3 | ○ | chamferd zig-zag (double) | not visible in the photograph | nasta'liq |
| Kashan-Samarra torch stand [fig. 3-25] | Iraq Museum | 10469 | torch stand | - | - | - | - | 3 | ○ | interlacing plants | criss-cross hatchings | nasta'liq |

| inscriptions | | | | | reg. year | bibliography | provenance | notes |
|---------------------------|--|------|--------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| lip | upper part | body | lower part (foot) | lid (torch) | | | | |
| "various owners' names" * | Kātibī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> no. 25 (1–4) [4] | - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 1999, lot no. 100; Sotheby's London 2006c, lot no. 133. | n/a | * "For its owner, Khanom, the daughter of Sharaf al-Dīn Hasan Baqqal," "Its owner, Sharaf al-Dīn Hasan Baqqal," "Its owner, Abu Talib, ... 1211[h/1796–97]," "Its owner, Haji Muhammad Nasir" |
| - | Ḥairatī Tūnī, <i>ghazal</i> (1–4) [4] | - | "the owner's name"* | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 2006a, lot no. 122 | n/a | * "Niyaz Quli Beg" |
| - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 1981b, lot. 184; Sotheby's London 1995, lot no. 95 | n/a | |
| - | Sa‘dī, <i>Būstān</i> ch. 3 (1–4) [4] | - | - | n/a | - | Sotheby's London 1985, lot no. 146 | n/a | |
| - | an endowment deed* | - | - | - | - | See ch. 3 | ex-Mr. Yanni Petsopoulos collection | *endowed to the mausoleum of Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim, Kazimayn (Iraq) by Khizr ibn Bābā Chūlakī Nihāvandī, the vizier of Kashan between 1001h/1592–93 and 1016h/1607 |
| - | Unidentified A (1–4) [4] | - | an endowment deed* | - | - | See ch. 3 | - | *endowed to Mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Riẓā, Mashhad (Iran) by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī Kāshānī |
| - | an endowment deed*, Ahlī Turshīzī, <i>ghazal</i> | - | - | - | - | See ch. 3 | - | *endowed to Joint-mausoleum of Imām ‘Alī al-Naqī and Imām Ḥusayn al-‘Askarī, Samarra (Iraq) by Shams al-Dīn Kātibī Kāshī |

Appendix 5: List of Persian Verses Cited as Inscriptions on Iranian Candleholders, c. 1550–1650¹

I. List of the Persian verses whose sources have been identified

▪ **Daqīqī (d. c. 976),**

بکام تو بادا همه کار تو
خداوند گیتی نگه دار تو²

May all of your lots be in accordance with your wishes
May the God of the world be your protector

(meter: U - - / U - - / U - - / U -³)

▪ **Sa‘dī Shīrāzī (d. 1291–92), *Būstān*, Prologue, panegyric on Abū Bakr b. Sa‘d b. Zangī**

جهانت بکام و فلک یار باد
جهان آفرینت نگه دار باد⁴

May the world fulfill [your] wishes and heaven be [your] friend
May the Creator of the world be [your] protector

(meter: U - - / U - - / U - - / U -⁵)

▪ **Sa‘dī Shīrāzī (d. 1291–92), *Būstān* Chapter 3, Episode 25**

شبی یاد دارم که چشمم نخفت
شنیدم که پروانه با شمع گفت
که من عاشقم گر بسوزم راست
ترا گریه و سوز باری چراست
بگفت ای هوادار مسکین من⁶

I remember a night when my eyes did not sleep
I heard a moss (*parvānah*) telling a candle (*sham*),
“That I’m in lover; no wonder if I get burnt.
You on the other hand, why do you cry and burn (*sūz*)?”

¹ I thank Dr. Marjan Shokouhi for proofreading this section. Any remaining errors are my own.

² Daqīqī 1994, 109, l. 1284.

³ The meter of this poem is *mutaqālib*. See also, Finn Thiesen 1982, 235, no. 73.

⁴ Sa‘dī Shīrāzī 1891, 11.

⁵ The meter of this poem is *mutaqālib*. See also, Thiesen 1982, 235, no. 73.

⁶ Sa‘dī Shīrāzī 1891, 132.

[The candle] replied, "Oh, my poor lover,"

(meter: U - - / U - - / U - - / U -⁷)

Comment: It was Anatoli Ivanov who identified the author of this verse for the first time.⁸

▪ **Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī (d. 1325), *ghazal* no. 416**

زمانی نیست کز عشق تو جان من نمیسوزد
کدامین سینه را کان غمزۀ پر فن نمیسوزد⁹
همه شب زار می سوزم بتاریکی و تنهایی
که با من هیچ دلسوزی درین مسکن نمی سوزد
چراغ من نمیسوزد شب از دمه‌ای سرد من
چراغ خانه همسایه هم روشن نمی سوزد¹⁰
غم خسرو همی دانی و نادان می کنی خود را
مرا این سوخت ورنه طعنۀ دشمن نمی سوزد¹¹

There is no single moment when my soul is not burning for your love
What kind of heart does not burn from that artful coquetry?
Every night I burn with laments, in darkness and in loneliness
For in this abode, no sweetheart burns with me
My lamp (*chirāgh*) does not burn at night because of my cold sighs
The lamp (*chirāgh*) of the neighbor's house does not burn brightly either
You know Khusrau's agony [of love], but pretend that you are unaware of it
That burnt me away; otherwise, taunts of the enemy would not hurl at me

(meter: U - - - / U - - - / U - - - / U - - -¹²)

Comment: It was Anatoli Ivanov who identified the author of this verse for the first time.¹³

▪ **Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī (d. 1325), *ghazal* C**

⁷ The meter of this poem is *mutaqālib*. Ivanov 1960, 344. See also, Thiesen 1982, 235, no. 73.

⁸ Ivanov 1960, 344, inscription 2; Ivanov 1971: 98n12.

⁹ Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī 1964, 144, no. 416, ll. 1–2. There are three couplets after *nīmīsūzad* in the published edition of this *ghazal*.

¹⁰ Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī 1964, 144, no. 416, ll. 9–12. There is one couplet after *mīsūzad* in the published edition of this *ghazal*.

¹¹ Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī 1964, 144, no. 416, ll. 15–16.

¹² The meter of this poem is *hazaj*. Thiesen 1982, 236, no. 84.

¹³ Ivanov 1971, 98n13.

ز غیرت سوختم جاناً چو در غیرم زدی آتش
تو آتش می زنی در غیر و غیر از من نمی سوزد

I burned from jealousy, my beloved, when you set light to anyone other than me
You set light to another, but it burns no other person than me

(meter: U - - - / U - - - / U - - - / U - - -¹⁴)

▪ Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 1390), *ghazal* no. 78¹⁵

ساقی بیا که یار ز رخ پرده برگرفت
کار چراغ خلوتیان باز درگرفت
آن شمع سرگرفته دگر چهره برفروخت
وین پیر سالخورده جوانی ز سر گرفت¹⁶

Cup-bearer, come on! For, the beloved lift [her] veil from her face
The light (*kār-i chirāgh*) of solitaires was turned on again
The candle (*sham*) whose wick had been trimmed away lit [her] face again
And this old-aged one restored youth

(meter: - - U / - U - U / U - - U / - U -¹⁷)

▪ Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 1390), *ghazal* no. 248

خوشست خلوت اگر یار یار من باشد
نه من بسوزم و او شمع انجمن باشد¹⁸

Joyful is the solitary corner with the sweetheart, if [she] is but my own
Not that I burn (*bisūzam*) and [she] be the candle (*sham*) of the banquet

(meter: U - U - / U U - - / U - U - / - -¹⁹)

Comment: It was Anatoli Ivanov who identified the author of this verse for the first

¹⁴ The meter of this poem is *hazaj*. Thiesen 1982, 236, no. 84.

¹⁵ The number of *ghazal* presented here corresponds to Bakhtiyārī's edition of Ḥāfiẓ's collection of poems.

¹⁶ Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī 1939–40, 44, no. 78.

¹⁷ The meter of this poem is *muẓārī*. Thiesen 1982, 248, no. 182.

¹⁸ Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī 1939–40, 138–39, no. 248.

¹⁹ The meter of this poem is *mujtass*. Thiesen 1982, 232, no. 30.

time.²⁰

▪ **Hāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 1390), *ghazal* no. 343**

در وفای عشق تو مشهور خوبانم چو شمع
شب نشین کوی سربازان و رندانم چو شمع²¹

In loyalty to your love, I am known amongst the best like a candle (*sham*)
An all-night vigil among the sentinels and drunkards I am, like a candle (*sham*)

(meter: - U - - / - U - - / - U - - / - U -²²)

▪ **Kamāl Khujandī (d. 1400–1), *ghazal* no. 1027**

دلم را بداغ جفا سوختی
مرا مانده دل را چرا سوختی²³

You burnt my heart (*sūkht-ī*) with the scar of distress
Me aside, why did you burn (*sūkht-ī*) the heart?

(meter: U - - / U - - / U - - / U -²⁴)

Comment: The current author identified this poem. Kamāl Khujandī and Kātibī Turshīzī (see below) are both mentioned as forerunners of *sabk-i Ṣafavī* by Iḥsān Yār-Shāṭir.²⁵

▪ **Kātibī Turshīzī (d. 1434–35), *ghazal* no. 25**

شبی که ماه رخت شد چراغ خلوت ما
گداخت شمع نیاورد تاب صحبت ما
دمی که از رخ چون مه نقاب برفکنی
بود بر آمدن آفتاب دولت ما
به خاک ما چو رسی چشم اگر نپوشانی
ز باغ خلد بود روزنی به تربت ما²⁶

The night when [your] moon face became the lamp (*chirāgh*) of our solitude
The candle (*sham*) melted down, not being able to bear our conversation

²⁰ Ivanov 2014, 114, no. 39.

²¹ Hāfiẓ Shīrāzī 1939–40, 187, no. 343.

²² The meter of this poem is *ramal*. See, Thiesen 1982, 244, no. 150.

²³ Kamāl Khujandī 2003–4, 357, *ghazal* no. 1027.

²⁴ The meter of this poem is *mutaqālib*. See, Thiesen 1982, 235, no. 73.

²⁵ Yār-Shāṭir 1955, 142–43.

²⁶ Kātibī Turshīzī 2003, 28, no. 25.

The moment when you throw the veil off [your] face of moon
 The sun of our good fortune will rise
 If you do not cover your eyes while crossing our tomb
 From the garden of heaven will open window to our grave

(meter: U - U - / U U - - / U - U - / - -²⁷)

Comment: It was Ivanov who identified the author of this verse for the first time.²⁸

▪ **Kātibī Turshīzī (d. 1434–35), *ghazal* no. 255**

همچو شمع همه شب رشته جان می سوزد
 گر یکی آه کشم هر دو جهان می سوزد
 بر حذر باش ز دود دل پر آتش من
 که ز سوز دل من کون و مکان می سوزد²⁹

I am like a candle, the wick of [my] soul burns all night long
 If I heave a sigh once, two worlds burn each time
 Beware of the smoke of my heart full of fire
 Because from the pain of my heart, the universe burns

(metre: - U - - / U U - - / U U - - / - - -)

▪ **Jāmī (d. 1492), *tarjīʿ* band no. 3, band 1**

ای بروی تو چشم جان روشن
 و ز فروغ رخت جهان روشن
 رخ براه تو سوده مه که چنین
 تا بد از اوج آسمان روشن
 هر شب از شعله های آتش دل
 همچو شمع شود زبان روشن
 دیده بخت مقبالان نشود
 جز بدان خاک آستان روشن³⁰

Oh, with your face, the eyes of the soul [became] illuminated (*raushan*)
 And with the brightness of your face, the world [became] illuminated (*raushan*)
 The moon burnt its face while following your path [the moon is a follower of

²⁷ The meter of this poem is *mujtass*. Ivanov 1960, 344. See also, Thiesen 1982, 232, no. 30.

²⁸ Ivanov 1960, 343–44, inscription 1. See also, Ivanov 1971, 98n14.

²⁹ Kātibī Turshīzī 2003, 138, no. 255.

³⁰ Jāmī 1962, 105, ll. 2152–55, *tarjīʿ*-band 3, band 1.

your beauty]
 until a master in the highest position of the sky [became] illuminated (*raushan*)
 Every night, flames of the fire of [my] heart
 illuminate (*raushan*) [my] tongue as if I am a candle (*sham 'am*)
 The seers of the fortune would not become those blessed with good luck
 except for within the dust of this illuminated (*raushan*) Threshold
 (metre: - U - - / U - U - / - -³¹)

▪ **Jāmī (d. 1492), *ghazal* no. 202**

ز آتش عشقت علم زد رشته جانم چو شمع
 اشک شد یکسر تنم و ز دیده می رانم چو شمع³²

From the fire of love for you, the wick of my soul raised its banner like a candle
 (*sham '*)
 My whole body turned into tears and they run out of my eyes like a candle
 (*sham '*)

(metre: - U - - / - U - - / - U - - / - U -³³)

▪ **Jāmī (d. 1492), *ghazal* no. 283**

گرچه سوزد دل پروانه ز سودای چراغ
 نکند پیش مه روی تو پروای چراغ
 آتش سوق تو در جانِ چراغ افتاده ست
 پرده از عارض اگر وا نکنی وای چراغ³⁴

Though the heart of the moss grieves in desire for the lamp (*chirāgh*)
 In front your moon-like face, it [=the heart of the moss] does not have the
 concern about the lamp (*chirāgh*)
 The fire of impulse to you has fallen in the soul of the lamp (*chirāgh*)
 If you do not lift the veil from [your] face, Oh the lamp (*chirāgh*)

(meter: - U - - / U U - - / U U - - / U U -³⁵)

³¹ The meter of this poem is *khafīf*. See, Thiesen 1982, 243, no. 137.

³² Jāmī 1999, 2: 600, no. 202.

³³ The meter of this poem is *ramal*. Thiesen 1982, 244, no. 150.

³⁴ Jāmī, *Dīvān-i Jāmī*, 2: 254, no. 283.

³⁵ The meter of this poem is *ramal*. Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 300, no. 130a. See also, Thiesen 1982, 242, no. 134. The meter of the third line (- U - - / U U - - / U U - - / - - -) is one of the variations of the same meter.

Comment:

- **Ahlī Turshīzī (d. 1527–28),**

چراغِ اهلِ دل را روشن از روی تو میبینم
همه صاحبِ دلان را رویِ دلِ سوی تو میبینم
تو ی مقصودِ عالم کم مبادا از سرت موی
که عالم را طفیلِ یکسر موی تو میبینم³⁶

I see the lamp (*chirāgh*) of the people of heart illuminated by your face
I see all the possessors of heart facing [their] hearts towards you
You, the intention of the world, may a single hair not lessen from your head
For I see the world as a trifle compared to a single hair of your head

(meter: U - - - / U - - - / U - - - / U - - -³⁷)

Comment: The author of this poem was identified for the first time by Melikian-Chirvani.³⁸

- ***Maulānā Ni‘matī Kāshānī (d. 1552–53), *ghazal* (?)**

شمع از گلِ رخسارِ تو آفرودختنِ آموخت
پروانه بگردِ سرِ تو سوختنِ آموخت

The candle (*sham*) learned how to illuminate from the red flower of your face
The moth (*parvānah*) learned how to burn, turning around your head

(meter: - - U / U - - U / U - - U / U - -³⁹)

Comment: At least two examples of pillar-shaped torch stands are inscribed with the poem cited above.⁴⁰ It seems possible that the author of this hitherto unidentified couplet is Maulānā Ni‘matī Kāshānī (d. 1552–53), a poet who lived in Kashan and was

³⁶ BnF MS. Sup. Pers. 1408, fol. 48a.

³⁷ The meter of this poem is *hazaj*. Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 327, cat. no. 148; Thiesen 1982, 236, no. 84.

³⁸ Melikian-Chirvani 1974, 557.

³⁹ The meter of this poem is *hazaj*. Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 314, cat. no. 140; Thiesen 1982, 246, no. 167.

⁴⁰ State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg), inv. no. IR-2196 (M_SHM_01) and Victoria and Albert Museum (London), inv. no. 790-1901 (M_VA_04).

contemporary with Ḥayratī Tūnī (d. 1554) who spent last years of his life in this town. He was among the Kashan-based figures for whom Muḥtasham Kāshānī (d. 1588) composed a chronogram poem on the occasion of his death.⁴¹ The biographies of Ni‘matī are recorded in at least two *tazkirahs* compiled in Kashan: *Tuḥfah-’i Sāmī* (comp. 1550–1) by Sām Mīrzā⁴² and *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār va zubdat al-afkār* (Summary of the Poems and of Essence of the Thoughts; comp. 1577–78) by Taqī Al-Dīn Kāshānī.⁴³ With the exception of few words, the couplet inscribed on the torch stands are identical to two lines from one of the *ghazals* recorded in *Khulāṣat al-ash‘ār* under the heading of “Maulānā Ni‘matī”:

شمع از مه رخسار تو آفروختن آموخت
پروانه ز آه دل ما سوختن آموخت⁴⁴

The candle (*sham* ‘) learned how to illuminate from a moon of your face
The moth (*parvānah*) learned how to burn from sighs of our hearts

(meter: - - U / U - - U / U - - U / U - -)

A possible explanation for the difference in the second hemistich might be that a determiner of the inscriptions had decided to modify few words from “from sighs of our hearts (*zi āh-i dil-i mā*)” to “at around your head (*ba-gard-i sar-i tū*)” so as to link the content of the inscriptions with the object itself.

▪ Ḥayratī Tūnī (d. 1554), *ghazal*

گه دل از عشق بتان گه جگرم میسوزد
عشق هر لحظه بداغ دگرم میسوزد
همچو پروانه بشمع سروکارست مرا
که اگر پیش روم بال و پر میسوزد

Sometimes the heart, sometimes the liver burns from the love of beautiful
women
Every moment, love leaves another burn-scar on me
I am like a moss (*parvānah*) around a candle (*sham* ‘)

⁴¹ Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī 2005, 686.

⁴² Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 285, no. 478.

⁴³ Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī 2005, 675–93, no. 8.

⁴⁴ Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī 2005, 680. The current author underlined the words which are different from those inscribed on the brass torch stands.

If I move forward, my wings and feathers burn

(meter: - U - - / U U - - / U U - - / - -⁴⁵)

Comment: It was Ivanov who identified the author of these two couplets for the first time. As pointed out by Ivanov, these verses are said to have been presented by Ḥayratī Tūnī to Humāyūn (r. 1530–40, 1555–56), the second Mughal emperor, during his exile in Iran.⁴⁶

▪ **Khalīfah Asadullāh (d. 1562–63), *rubāʿī***

شمعی که بسوخت جان غم پروردم
تا گفت که پروانه خویشت کردم
می‌میرم اگر نمی‌میروم نزدیکش
می‌سوزم اگر بگرد او می‌گردم

The candle that burnt my grieving soul
Said to me that “I will make you my own moth”
If I do not get close to [him], I will die
I’ll burn if I turn around [him]

▪ ***Vaḥshī Bāfqī (d. 1583), *ghazal* no. 193**

پروانه‌ام و عادت من سوختن خویش
تا پاک نسوزم دلم آسوده نگرده⁴⁷

I am a moss (*parvānah*) and my habit is to burn itself
My heart would not become calm until I do not burn myself away

(meter: - - U / U - - U / U - - U / U - -⁴⁸)

Comment:

▪ **Muḥtasham Kāshānī (d. 1588), *ghazal***

رخش شمع است دود آن کمند عنبر آلودش

⁴⁵ The meter of this poem is *ramal*. Ivanov 1960, 345; Thiesen 1982, 242, no. 134.

⁴⁶ Ivanov 1960, 344–45, inscription 3, citing Ghani 1930, 24. For the published edition of the source which Ghani had consulted, see, Biyāt 2003–4, 38. The first couplet of this *ghazal* is also recorded in *Tuḥfah-ʿi Sāmī*, suggesting its popularity in Iran during the mid-sixteenth century. See, Sām Mīrzā Ṣafavī 2005–6, 183.

⁴⁷ Vaḥshī Bāfqī 1984, 74, *ghazal* no. 193. I was not able to gain access to the Ḥusayn Nakhāʿī’s edition of Vaḥshī Bāfqī’s collected poems, which is said to be “the only one that may safely be cited in the academic context.” For this remark, see, Beers 2015, 199.

⁴⁸ The meter of this poem is *hazaj*. Thiesen 1982, 246, no. 167.

عجب شمعى كه از بالا به پايان ميرود دودش
 چو گنجشكيست مرغ دل به دستِ طفلي بيباكي
 كه پيش من عزيزش دارد اما ميكشد زودش⁴⁹

His face is a candle (*sham ʿī*), its smoke is ambergris-soaked lasso
 What a candle (*sham ʿī*) it is, whose smoke flows from above to below!
 The bird of [my] heart is like a sparrow in the hands of a reckless child
 Who treasures it in front of me, but soon kills it

(meter: U - - - / U - - - / U - - - / U - - -⁵⁰)

Comment:

II. List of the Persian verses whose sources have not been identified

■ Unidentified A “Mashhad”

عشق بايد در دلِ تاريك تا روشن شود
 شمع اگر آتش نبيند از كجا روشن شود
 گر فروزد صد هزاران شمع بي رخسارِ تو
 دل از آن شمع هزاران كي مرا روشن شود

There should exist love in order to lighten up a gloomy heart
 If a candle (*sham ʿī*) is not set alight, how can it turn bright
 If a thousand candles (*sham ʿī*) are lit, without your face,
 when would my heart light up from that several thousand candles (*sham ʿī*)?

(meter: - U - - / - U - - / - U - - / - U -⁵¹)

■ Unidentified B

من از بت سوختم جانا دلت بر من نميسوزد
 مرا از تب بسوزد ... ترا دامن نميسوزد
 بشام ني نوای عزاء هم نيست دلسوزی

⁴⁹ Muḥtasham Kāshānī 2001, 2:997, *ghazal* no. 161; In the published version of this *ghazal*, there are two couplets between the second line and the third line (i.e. between the word “*dūdāsh*” and “*chū*”).

⁵⁰ The meter of this poem is *hazaj*. Thiesen 1982, 236, no. 84.

⁵¹ The meter of this poem is *ramal*. Ivanov 2014, 114, no. 39. See also, Thiesen 1982, 244, no. 150.

ولی او آه هم سرد من روشن نمیسوزد⁵²

I burnt [with love] for the beloved, oh my sweetheart, [whereas] your heart
does not burn for me

I burnt with love [for you], ... as for you, [your] skirt does not burn

In the evening of reed flute, there is no melody of mourning, oh my
sweetheart

But nor does she warm up my cold sigh

(meter: U - - - / U - - - / U - - - / U - - -)

▪ Unidentified C “Shah Zayd b. Imam Musa Kazim”

یار بنشست به مجلس بنشانند چراغ
روی او نور نخلست میخویند چراغ
آفتابست که طالع شد ز همسایه ماه
نه شبست این که ز همسایه تابند چراغ
خانه را روئینی از چشم چراغست امشب
بگذارند همه شمع بنمایند چراغ

The beloved joined the banquet, [and] they lit the lamp

His face is a light spreading like a palm-tree, and they are looking for a
lamp!

It is the sun which has risen from the neighborhood of the moon

It is not the night, in need of the light of the lamp from the neighbor's lamp

There is a light in the house tonight for the of the presence of beloved [the
eyes of the light]

They will all put aside the candles and show the light

▪ Unidentified F

امشب ای شمع گر نسوزی تو
از برای کدام روزی تو

Tonight, oh candle (*sham*), if you are burning,
for whom, are you sweating out?

(meter: - U - - / U - U - / - -⁵³)

⁵² Ivanov 2014, 120, no. 41.

⁵³ The meter of this poem is *khafif*. Thiesen 1982, 146, no. 137.

Unidentified H

در غم عشق تو میسوزم و سوزی دانست
عز شمعى که به بالای سرم میسوزد

I am burning in agony of love for you, and a pain knows
the glory of the candle (*sham 'ī*) which burns above my head

Comment: These two lines, inscribed on M_LM_04, are published for the first time in 1973 by Melikian-Chirvani. Though he explains these two lines as the third distich of frequently cited verses by Ḥayratī Tūnī, it is not possible to confirm this claim from the primary sources I have consulted.



[fig. 1-1] **Chart of handwriting by “Giyās”**
(after Schmidt 1935, 222, pl. 173)



[fig. 1-2-b] ↓
**Close-up of
silk textile
fragment
signed by
“Giyās”**



[fig. 1-2-a] **Silk textile fragment signed by
“Giyās”** (no. 1 in [fig. 1-1])

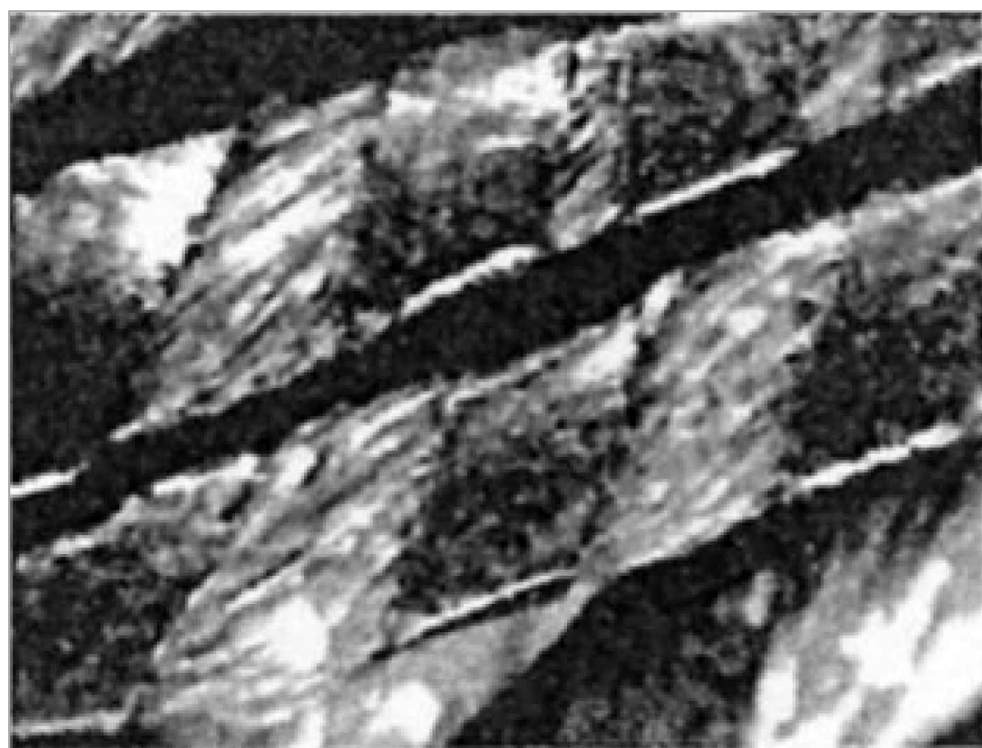
Late 16th to early 17th century, Iran

silk and metal-wrapped silk

69 cm x 68 cm

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 28.17

(after <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/66868>)



[fig. 1-3]
**Close-up of
Metal-wrapped silk**

(after Abe 2020, 543, pl. 1)



[fig. 2-1] A local copy of Yuan Blue-and-White porcelain excavated from Hama
 (After http://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;ISL:sy;Mus01;34;en)



[fig. 2-2-a]
 An illustration from Khvājū Kirmānī's *Kulliyāt*
 1396, Baghdad
 (After http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_18113_fs040r#)



[fig. 2-2-b]
 Close-up of [fig. 2-2-a]



[fig. 2-3] Underglaze-painted tile
 "made at the site of Qumishah"
 dated 5 Rabi' II 939h/November 4, 1532
 (after Golombek et al. 2014, fig. 4.2)



[fig. 2-4]
 Underglaze-painted vessel inscribed with the words
 "for Mawlānā Hussām al-Dīn Shīrāzī,
 completed in the Shrine of Rizā [in Mashhad] 848
 [h/1444–45]"
 (after Golombek et al. 1996, pl. 55)



[fig. 2-5] Lamentation of King Faridūn, from Shāhnāmah commissioned by Shāh Ṭahmāsp
Early sixteenth century, Iran
Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, (after Canby 2014, 98, fol. 49b)



[fig. 2-6] **Tombstone for Muḥammad Karīm b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq**
1122h/1709-1710
Victoria and Albert Museum (London), inv. No. 546-1878



[fig. 2-7] **Luster-painted ceramic tile signed by Yūsuf b. Alī Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir**
originally a miḥrāb of mausoleum of 'Alī b. Ja'far in Qum
Iran National Museum (Tehran)



[fig. 2-8] **Luster-painted ceramic bowl signed by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nīshāpūrī, dwelling at Qāshān**
ca. 1220, Kashan
Victoria and Albert Museum (London), inv. no. C. 162-1977



[fig. 2-9] **Luster-painted ceramic star tile produced "at the place of Kashan at the workshop of the Sayyid of Sayyids, Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad"**
738h/1337
Holy Shrine Museum (Qum)



[fig. 2-10] Luster-painted ceramic tile installed at the tomb of Sulṭān Yalmān Mūsā Shāh 902h/1496–97 (after Akbarī 2019)



[fig. 2-11] Luster-painted ceramic tombstone for Al-Ṣadr [...] al-Dīn Manūchihr Nā ‘īnī Safar 720h (March–April 1320) 67 x 31 cm. Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, inv. no. 2002.183 a, b.



[fig. 2-12] luster-painted cenotaph of Fāṭimah bint Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 816)

Rajab 602h/
February–March 1206
Holy Shrine of Fāṭimah (Qum)



[fig. 2-13]

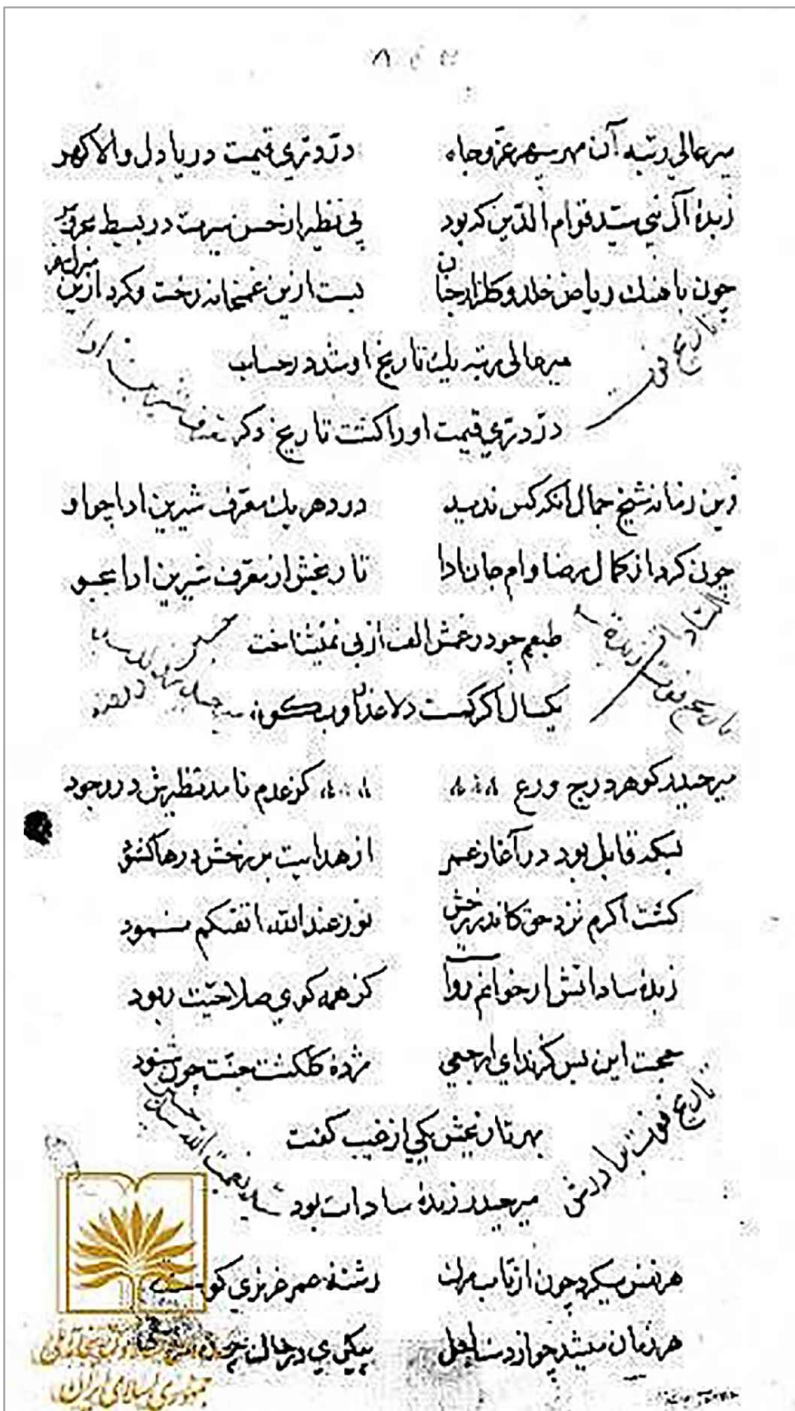
Cuerda seca tombstone for

Mīr Ḥabīballāh b. Mīr Rafī' al-Dīn Muḥammad

dated Jumada I 1055h/June-July 1645

Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 23.939

(after Day 1941, fig. 4)



[fig. 2-14]

Qit'a that commemorates

the death of *mu'arrif-i shīrīn-adā*

in the earliest dated manuscript of

Haft dīvān-i Muḥtasham Kāshānī

compiled by Taqī al-Dīn Ḥusaynī Kāshānī

National Library of Iran (Tehran), MS. 458

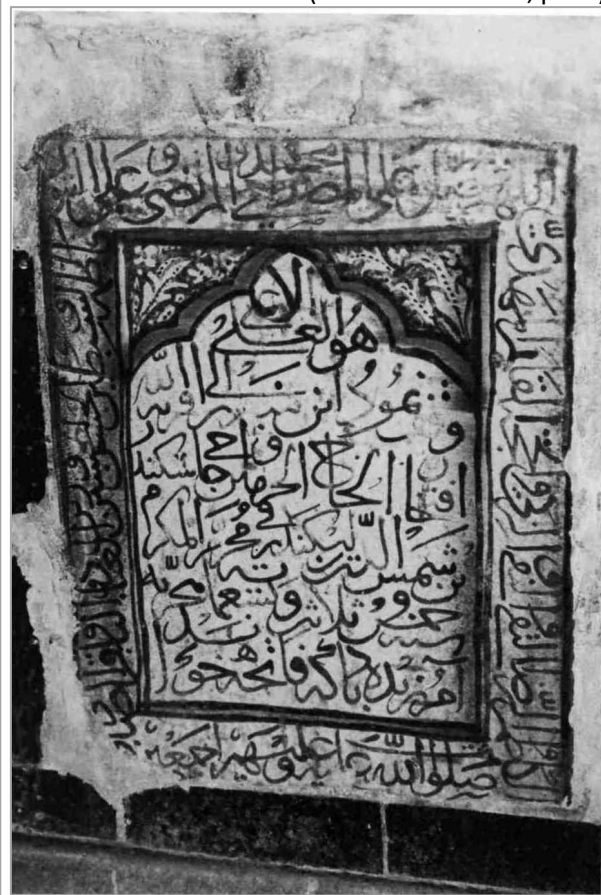
[fig. 2-15]

A waqf inscription panel installed at

the **Masjid-i Jami'** of Kuhpayah

Muharram 935h/September-October 1528

(after Watson 1975, pl. IV)





[fig. 3-1]
Doha candlestick (front side)

brass; cast and engraved
h. 11.4 cm, d. 22.5 cm
Museum of Islamic Art, Doha
inv. no. MW.152.1999
(M_Doha_05)



[fig. 3-2-d]



[fig. 3-2-c]



[fig. 3-2-b]



[fig. 3-2-a]



[fig. 3-3-d]



[fig. 3-3-c]



[fig. 3-3-b]



[fig. 3-3-a]



[fig. 3-4-d]



[fig. 3-4-c]



[fig. 3-4-b]



[fig. 3-4-a]



[fig. 3-5-d]



[fig. 3-5-c]



[fig. 3-5-b]



[fig. 3-5-a]

[fig. 3-6]

Candlestick inscribed with the Persian verses featuring candle metaphors (front side)

13th century, Azerbaijan or Anatolia
brass, silver; cast, engraved, and inlaid
h. 20.5 cm, d. 19.5 cm
Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. no. I. 3577



[fig. 3-7-a]

Candlestick inscribed with the Persian verses featuring candle metaphors (upper part), inscribed with the verses by Šālihī Khurāsānī

880h/1475–6, Iran (probably Khurasan)
brass; cast and engraved
h. 10.0 cm, d. 14.2 cm
State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. IR-2005



[fig. 3-7-b]

Dated front side of fig. 3-7-a



[fig. 3-8-a]

Pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed with the Persian verses featuring candle metaphors, including Doha verse A (M_Auc.S_12)

circa 1600, Iran

brass; cast, soldered, and engraved

h. 37 cm

[fig. 3-8-b] **Close-up of the body of fig. 3-8-a**
(compare with fig. 3-3-d)



[fig. 3-9-a]

Pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed with the Persian verses featuring candle metaphors, including Doha verse B (M_Auc.S_06)

1570s–1600s, Iran

brass;

cast, soldered, and engraved

h. 26.5 cm

[fig. 3-9-b] **Close-up of the foot of fig. 3-9-a**
(compare with fig. 3-5-x)



[fig. 3-9-c]

Pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed with the Persian verses featuring candle metaphors, including Doha verse B (M_Auc.S_11)

1570s–1600s, Iran

brass;

cast, soldered, and engraved

h. 29.3cm

[fig. 3-9-c] **Close-up of the foot of fig. 3-9-a**
(compare with fig. 3-5-x)





[fig. 3-10-a]

**Moth (*farāsh*) from a manuscript of Qazwīnī's
'*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt***

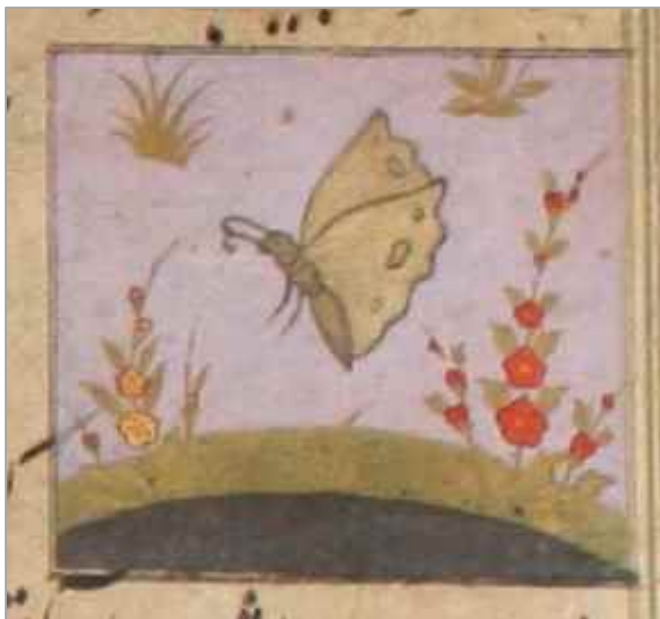
16th Jumādā II 974h/December 29th, 1566, Iran

ink, opaque watercolor, gold on paper

h. 35 cm, w. 24 cm

Cambridge University Library, MS Nn. 3. 74, fol. 249a

[fig. 3-10-b] Close-up of fig. 3-10-a



[fig. 3-11-a] Close-up of a moth (*farāsh*) from
a manuscript of Qazwīnī's '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*

25th Jumādā I 952h/August 4th, 1545, Shiraz

Chester Beatty Library, Per 212, fol. 511b

© The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin



[fig. 3-11-b] Close-up of a moth (*farāsh*) from
a manuscript of Qazwīnī's '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*

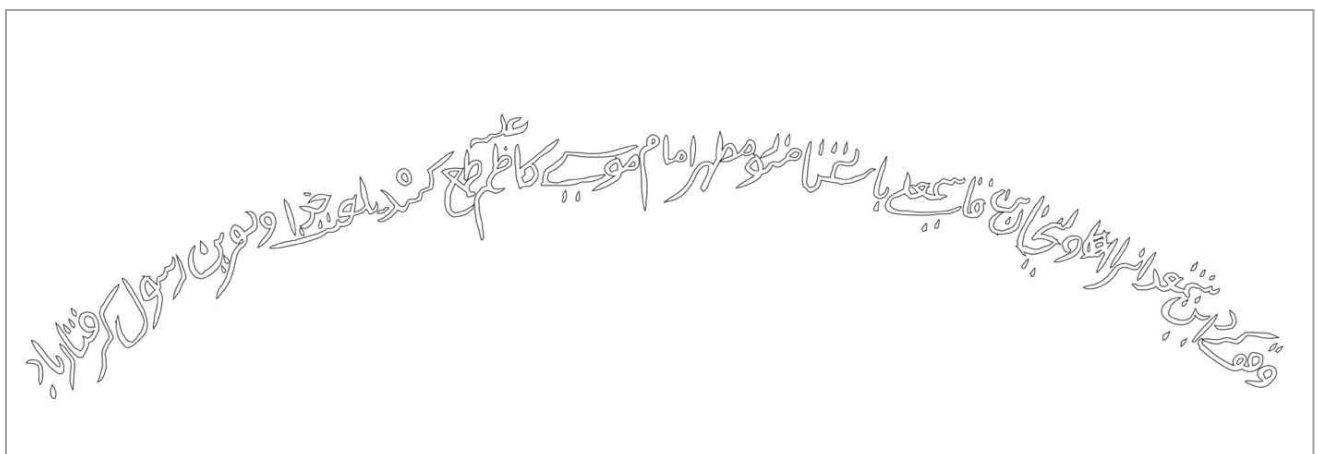
1540s, Iran (probably Shiraz)

New York Public Library, Spencer Collection

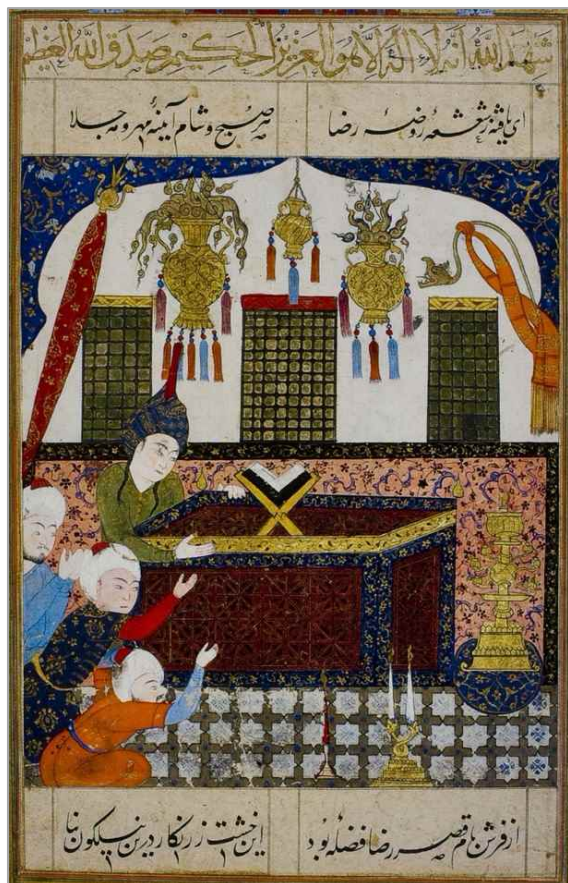
Pers. MS. 49, fol. 368a



[fig. 3-12-a] Doha candlestick (back side)



[fig. 3-12-b] Drawing of the Waqf inscription on the Doha candlestick

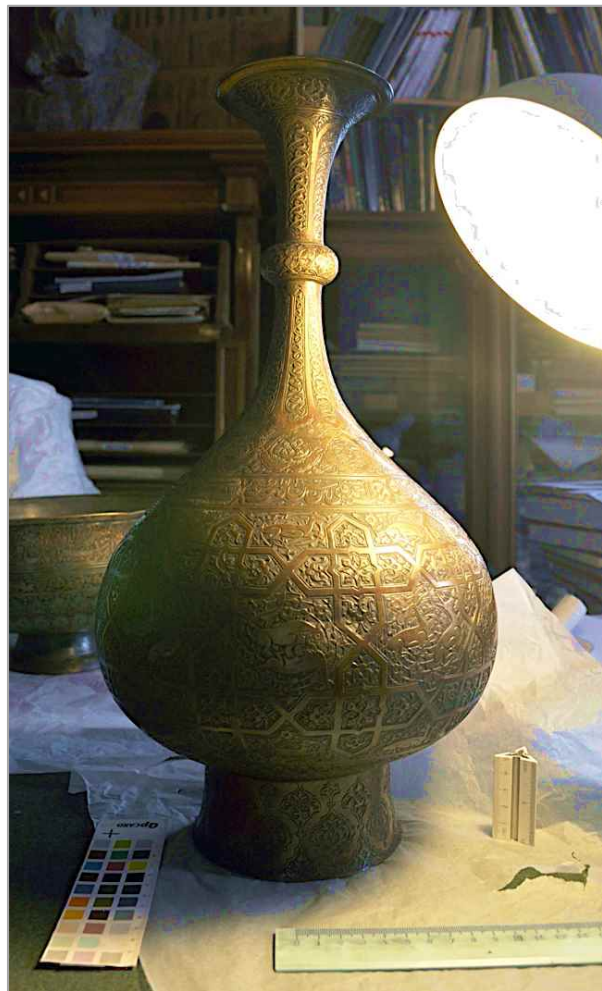


[fig. 3-13] **Worshipper at the tomb of Imām 'Alī al-Rizā**
from a manuscript of *Fālnāma* (Book of Omens)

1570s, probably Iran

Topkapi Sarai Museum, Hazine 1702, fol. 43b

After Farhad (2009), 251, fig. 9.5.



←[fig. 3-15-a]
Flask inscribed
with animal motifs
and Persian verses

1014h/1605–6, Iran

brass; cast and engraved

h. 43.3 cm

State Hermitage Museum,

inv. no. VC-701

↓[fig. 3-15-b]
Detail of State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. VC-701



[fig. 3-14-a] **Close-up of the field of**
Medallion and Animal Carpet

c. 1580–1620, Iran

wool pile on cotton, wool, and silk

h. 594.3 cm, w. 320 cm

Miho Museum, SS1308



[fig. 3-14-b] **Close-up of the boarder of**
Medallion and Animal Carpet



**[fig. 3-16-a] Bowl inscribed with animal motifs, Persian verses
and the Arabic prayer to the Fourteen Infallibles**

999h/1590–1, Iran

brass; cast and engraved

h. 25 cm, d. 47 cm

State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. IR-2260



[fig. 3-16-b] Detail of State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. IR-2260



[fig. 3-17-a] Ewer inscribed with animal motifs

1011h/1602–3, Iran

brass; cast and engraved

h. 32 cm, d. 19 cm

Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 458-1876

[fig. 3-17-b] Detail of
Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 458-1876



[fig. 3-18-a] Pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed
with animal motifs and Persian verses

c. 1600, Iran

brass; cast and engraved

h. 26 cm

Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 91.1.573

[fig. 3-18-b] Detail of
Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 91.1.573



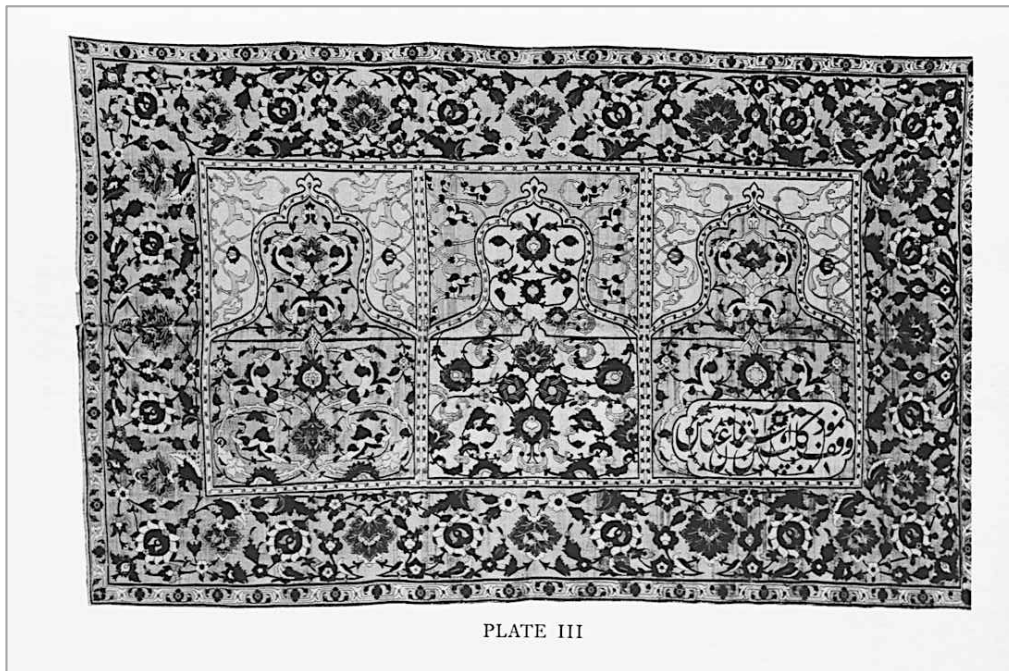


[fig. 3-19-a] **Candlestick inscribed with animal motifs and waqf inscription (Sotheby's candlestick)**

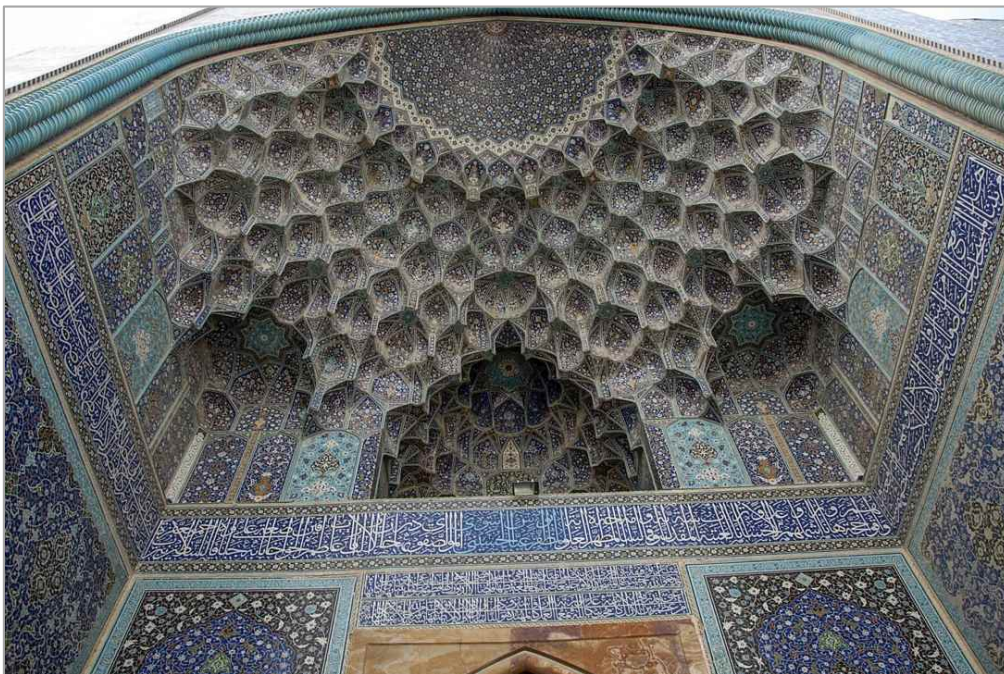
1007h/1598–9, Iran
 brass; cast and engraved
 h. 37.5 cm, d. 30.5 cm
 Current whereabouts unknown
 After Canby (2009), 212, pl. 103



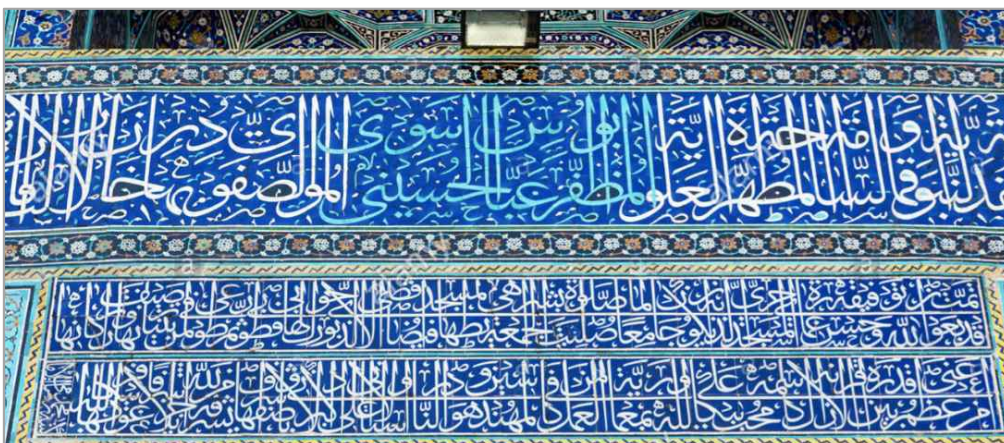
[fig. 3-19-b] **Detail of Sotheby's candlestick**



[fig. 3-20] Rug inscribed "the dog of this Threshold, 'Abbās, donated"
 Early seventeenth century, Iran
 Wool; brocaded with gold and silver
 180 cm x 298 cm
 After Ağa-Oğlu (1941), pl. III



[fig. 3-21-a]
 Main Portal of Masjid-i Shāh
 1025h/1616–7, Isfahan



[fig. 3-21-b]
 Close-up of the Main Portal of
 Masjid-i Shāh, showing the
 name of the patron,
 "Abū al-Muẓaffar 'Abbās
 al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūṣāwī"
 (i.e. Shāh 'Abbās I)



[fig. 3-22-a]

**Pillar-shaped torch stand
inscribed with the name of
Shāh Zayd-i Kabīr b. Imām Mūsā Kāẓim
and Persian verses
(= M_Tehran_04 in Appendix 4)**

1008h/1599–1600,

**Iran (reportedly discovered in Isfahan) brass;
cast, engraved, and stained with black and
red pigments**

h. 50.4 cm

National Museum of Iran, inv. no. 3626



[fig. 3-22-b] **Detail of the upper-most section of National Museum of Iran, inv. no. 3626:**

“Shāh Zayd-i Kabīr, the son of immaculate Imam, Imām Mūsā Kāẓim
–May Allah send blessings upon him and all of them– ”



[fig. 3-22-c] **Detail of the upper-most section of National Museum of Iran, inv. no. 3626:**

“such Imam as people clean the dust of his door with [their] eyelashes
and angels [clean the dust of his door] with [their] feathers ”



[fig. 3-23-a]

Pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed with Persian verses on Imām 'Alī al-Rizā

1 Jumādā II 946h/October 14, 1539

India ("product of Lahore")

brass; cast and engraved

h. 92 cm

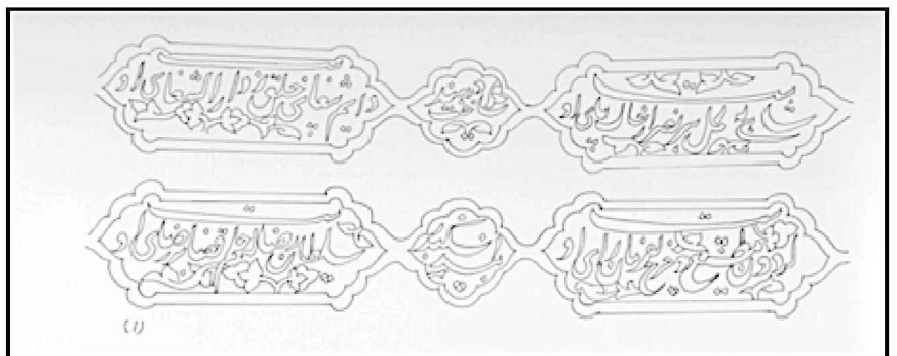
Museum of Āstān Quds Rażavī, inv. no. 1253

After Amīr-Kulā'ī et al. (2018), 8



[fig. 3-23-b] **Detail of the upper-most section of Museum of Āstān Quds Rażavī, inv. no. 1253**

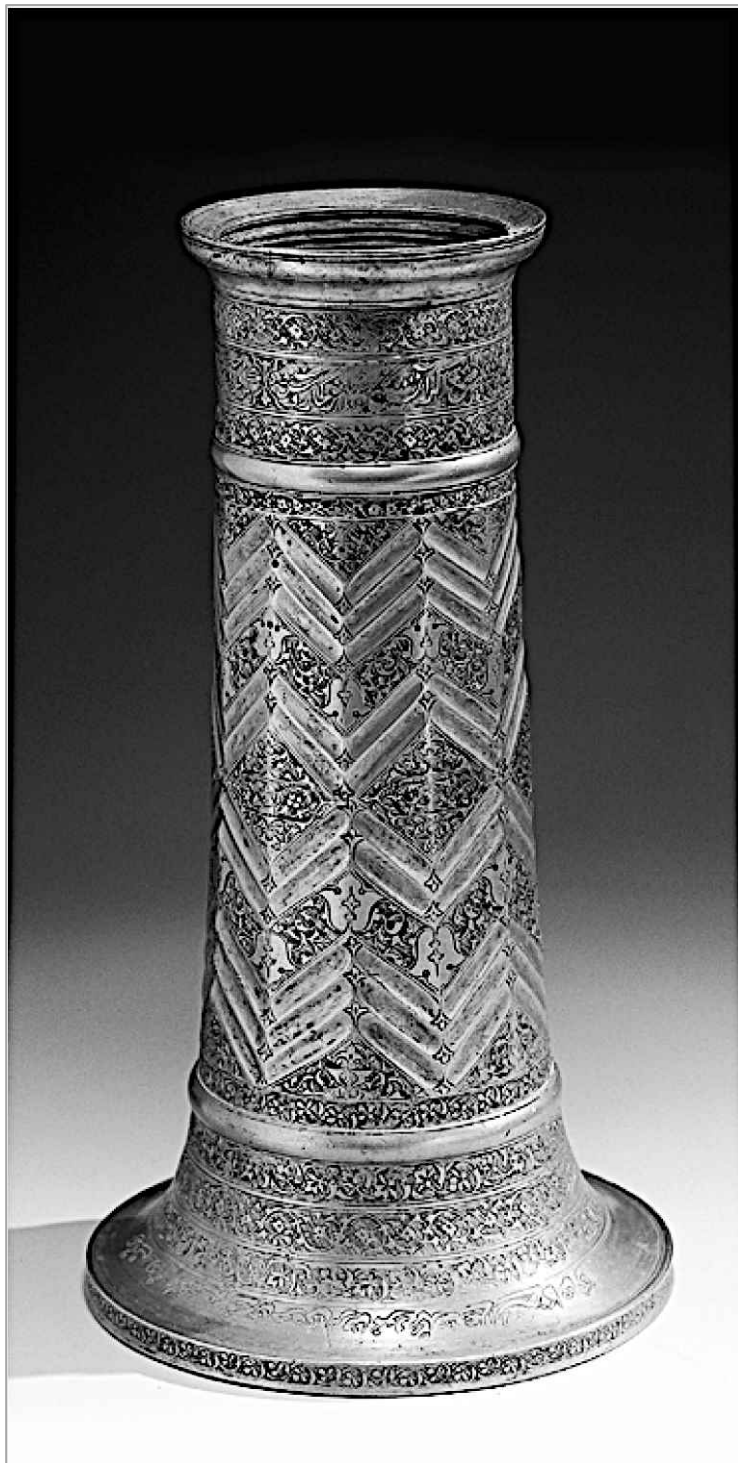
After Amīr-Kulā'ī et al. (2018), 8



کتیبه‌های نام سازنده و محل ساخت و بانی شمعدان ساخت لاهور (هند)

[fig. 3-23-c] **Drawing of the inscriptions of Museum of Āstān Quds Rażavī, inv. no. 1253**

After Kafīlī (2012), 114



[fig. 3-24-a]

Pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed with Persian verses (unidentified C) and waqf inscription (Kashan-Mashhad torch stand)

c. 1560–1600, Iran
brass; cast and engraved
h. 43 cm

Museum of Āstān Quds Rażavī, inv. no. n.a.
After Shāyistahfar and Muḥammadiān (2009 [1388 A.P.]),
59, fig. 6



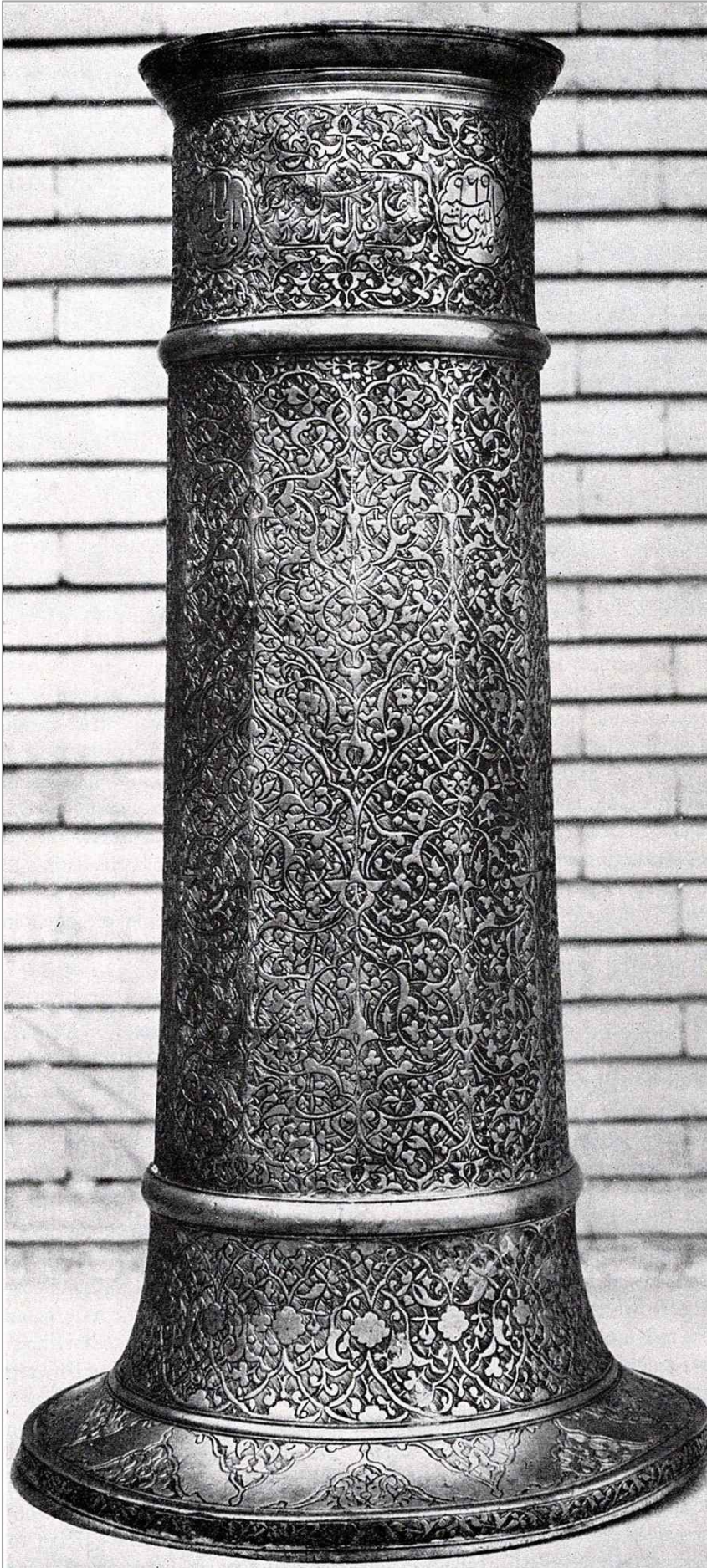
[fig. 3-24-b] **Detail of the upper-most section of Kashan-Mashhad torch stand**

After Amīr-Kulā'ī et al. (2018 [1397]), 7

[fig. 3-24-c] **Detail of the foot of Kashan-Mashhad torch stand, inscribed with waqf inscription**

After Amīr-Kulā'ī et al. (2018 [1397]), 7





[fig. 3-25]

**Pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed with
Persian verses by Ahlī Turshīzī and
waqf inscription
(Kashan-Samarra torch stand)**

969h/1561–62, Iran

brass; cast and engraved

Iraq Museum, inv. no. 10469

After Melikian-Chirvani (1982), 265, fig. 65



[fig. 3-26-a] **Back side of the brass magic bowl
signed as “the work of Ḥusayn Kāshānī”**

3 Sha‘bān 959h/July 25, 1552

brass; cast and engraved

State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. IR-2192



[fig. 3-26-b] **Front side of
State Hermitage Museum, IR-2192**



[fig. 3-27-a] **Pillar-shaped torch stand inscribed with
Persian verses “Unidentified A” (M_SHM_04)**

c. 1560–1600, Iran, brass; cast and engraved

State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. IR-2202

h. 51.0 cm



[fig. 3-27-c]



[fig. 3-27-b]

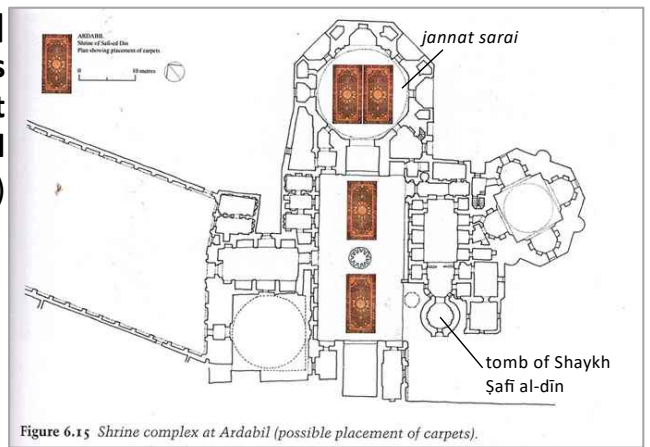


[fig. 3-27-e]



[fig. 3-27-d]

[fig. 4-3]
Suggested layout of a pair of Ardabil carpets
at the mausoleum of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn at
Ardabil
(after Blair 2014, 251)



[fig. 4-1-a] Ardabil carpet, 946h/1539–40
1051 cm x 534 cm, wool knotted pile on silk foundation
Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 272-1893



[fig. 4-1-b] Inscription of Ardabil carpet (V&A)



[fig. 4-2-a] Ardabil carpet, 946h/1539–40
719 cm x 400 cm,
wool knotted pile on silk foundation
Los Angeles County Museum of Art,
inv. no. 53.50.2

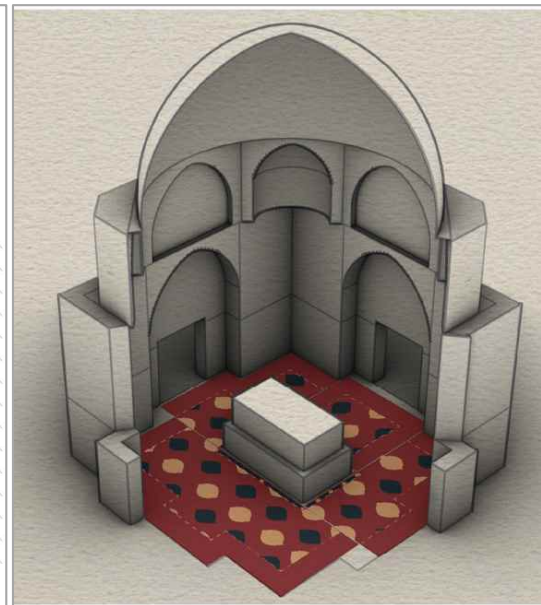
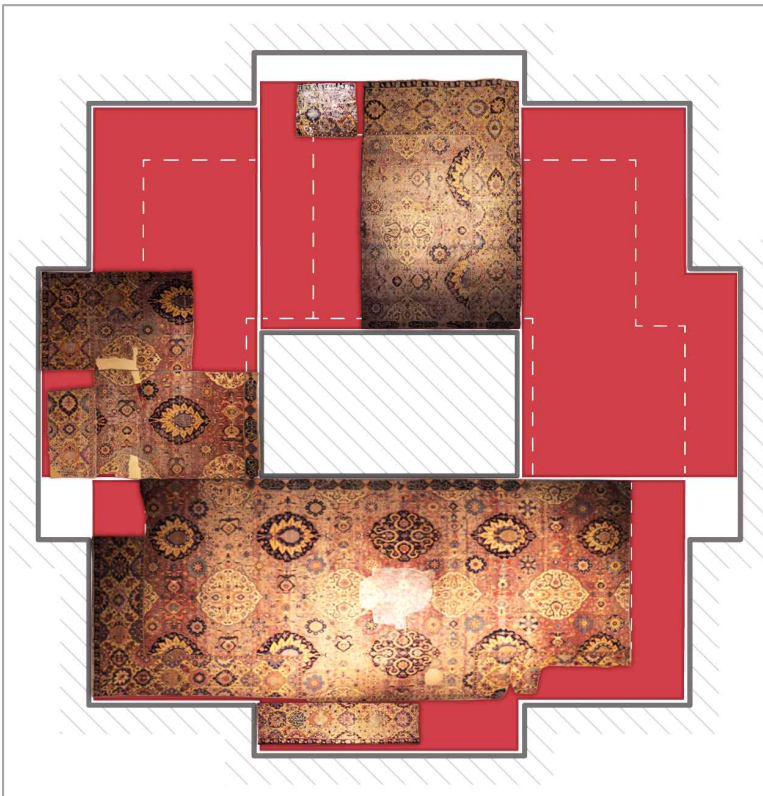


[fig. 4-2-b] Inscription of Ardabil carpet (LACMA)



[fig. 4-4] **The largest fragment of Mahan carpet, 1067h/1656–57**
365 cm x 700 cm

National Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina
inv. nos. 2111/l, a, b; 2112/l, a, b;
2113/l, a, b, c
(after Žutić 2018)



[fig. 4-5-b] **Placement of the cenotaph and carpets**
(after Žutić 2018)

[fig. 4-5-a]
Suggested placement of the Mahan carpet within the mausoleum of Shāh Ni'matallāh Valī in Mahan
(after Žutić 2018)



[fig. 4-6-a] **Poetical Inscriptions of the largest fragment of the Mahan carpet (right side)**



[fig. 4-6-b] **Poetical Inscriptions of the largest fragment of the Mahan carpet (left side)**



[fig. 4-7-a] **Silk covering inscribed with Persian verses (Cincinnati covering)**
Late sixteenth century, Iran, silk. 104 x 300 cm.
Signed by Muḥammad Jaʿfar Kāshānī. Cincinnati Art Museum, inv. no. 1953.124.



[fig. 4-7-b]



[fig. 4-7-c]



[fig. 4-7-d]

[fig. 4-8-a] Main field



[fig. 4-8-b] Floriated frame



[fig. 4-8-c] Multi-headed tree in the main border



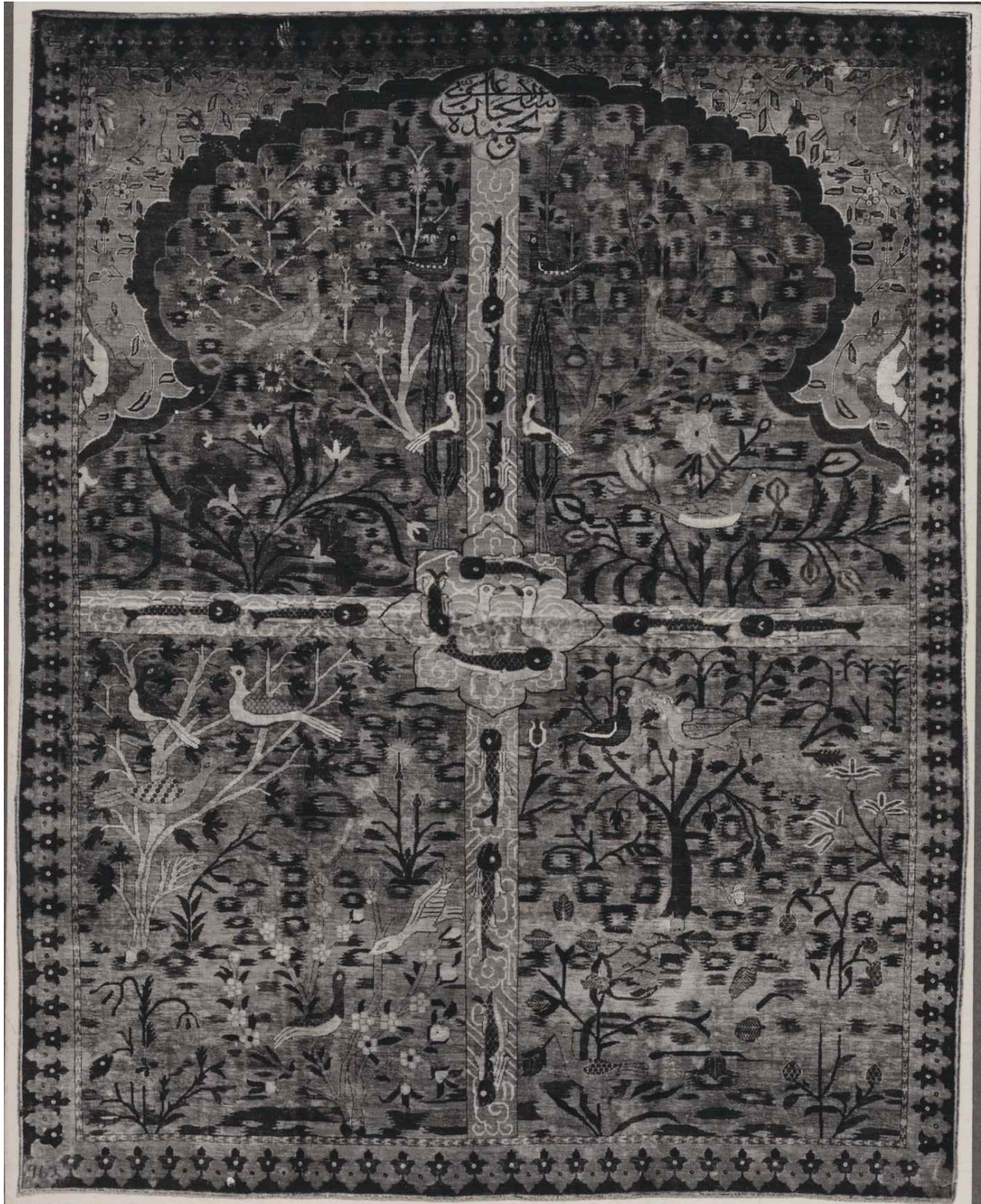
[fig. 4-8-d] Lion mask in the main border



[fig. 4-8-e] Angels in the main border



[fig. 4-9] **A carpet with the image of garden of paradise.**
Reportedly from the Shrine of Fāṭimah, Qum.
Sixteenth- to early seventeenth- century, Iran.
(after Harvard Fine Arts Library Archive)





[fig. 4-10]
Sixteenth-century Iranian silk textile with multi-colored winged angels

detail of "Wiener Jagdteppich."
 Museum für angewandte Kunst,
 Vienna, inv. no. T8336

[fig. 4-11]
A fragment of carpet with multi-headed scrolls

attributed to north India,
 sixteenth to early seventeenth century
 Musée du Louvre, Paris, AD 5212
 (after <https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/15-654743-2C6NU0A7SXUGF.html>)



[fig. 4-12]
Illustration of a tent with a scrolling pattern with animal as blossom

Zafarnamah
 1467–68, Herat
 illustrated by Kamāl ad-Dīn Biḥzād
 (after Bahari 1996)



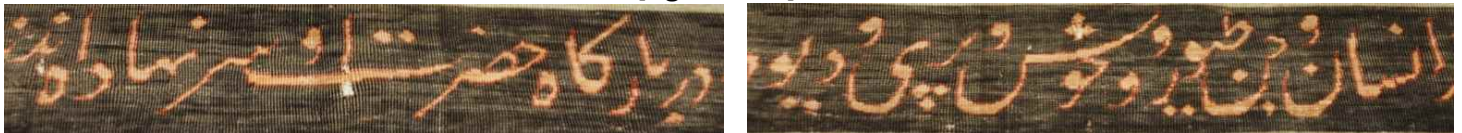
[fig. 4-13] **Floriated flame of Ardabil carpet**
 1539–40, Iran. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 272-1893

Inscriptions on the Cincinnati covering

[fig. 4-14-a]



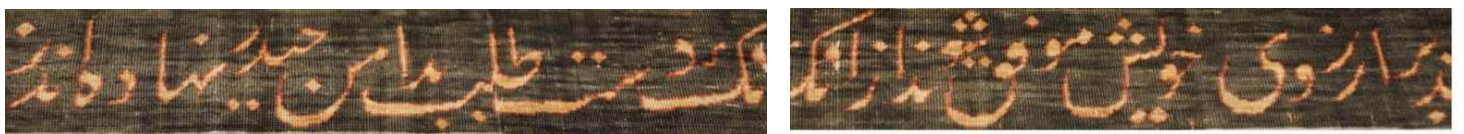
[fig. 4-14-b]



[fig. 4-14-c]



[fig. 4-14-d]



[fig. 4-14-e]



[fig. 4-14-f]



Inscriptions on the Cincinnati covering

[fig. 4-14-g]



[fig. 4-14-h]



[fig. 4-14-i]



[fig. 4-14-j]



[fig. 4-14-k]



[fig. 4-14-l]





[fig. 4-15] **Cenotaph of Shāh ‘Abbās I**
in the mausoleum of Ḥabīb b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim
in Kashan



[fig. 4-16]
Cenotaph of Shāh ‘Abbās II at
mausoleum of Fāṭimah bint Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Qum
(after <https://chardinperse.aa-ken.jp/detail.php>)



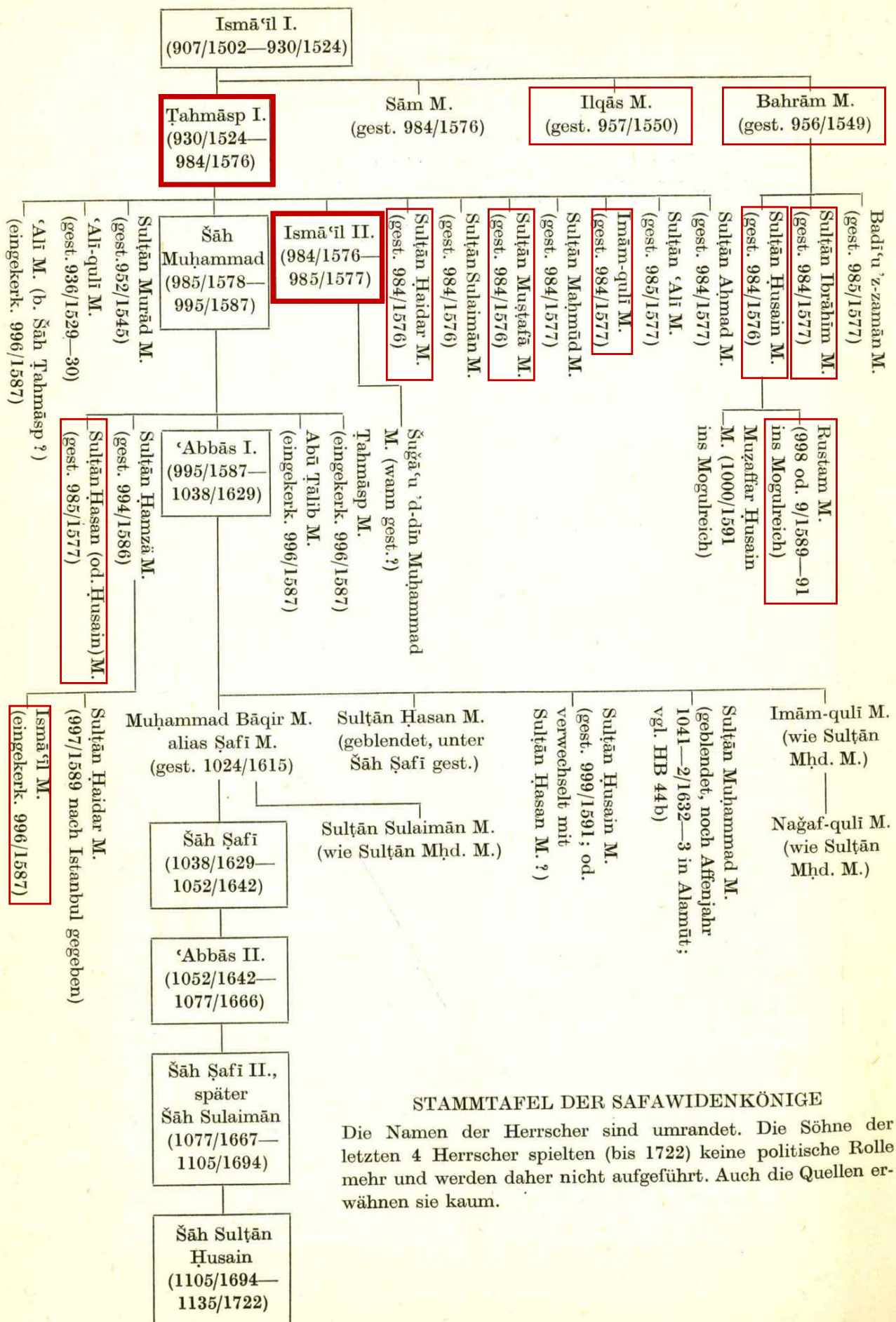
[fig. 4-18]
Plaque commemorating the death of
“Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā
al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsavī al-Ṣafavī,”

dated 984h/1577

(After Allan 2003, 213, fig 8.8)

[fig. 4-17] Male members of the Safavids and the Bahrāmī Safavids buried in the Shrine of Imām Riżā, Mashhad

After Röhrborn (1966); highlighted in red by the author.



STAMMTAFEL DER SAFAWIDENKÖNIGE

Die Namen der Herrscher sind umrandet. Die Söhne der letzten 4 Herrscher spielten (bis 1722) keine politische Rolle mehr und werden daher nicht aufgeführt. Auch die Quellen erwähnen sie kaum.

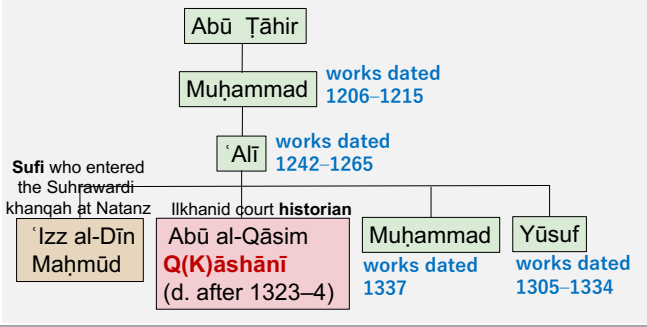
[fig. 4-19]

Silk tomb cover, inscribed with unidentified Persian verses

Late sixteenth century.

Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, inv. no. T113.

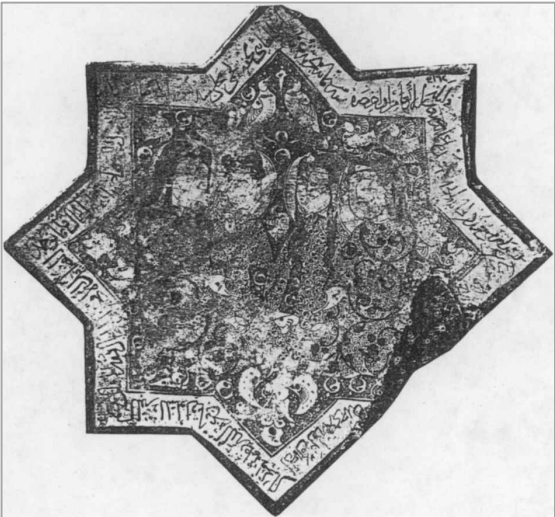




[fig. 5-1]
Family tree of Abū Ṭāhir family of potters in Kashan
 (reconstructed after Blair 2008)



[fig. 5-2]
An enamel-painted *minā'i* ware
 4 Muharram 582/
 March 27, 1186
 Metropolitan Museum of Art,
 New York, inv. no. 64.178.



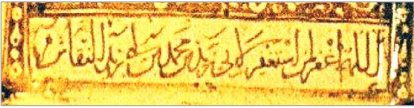
[fig. 5-3] (after Ettinghausen 1936, fig. 3)

A luster-painted tile
 Safar 600h/October–November 1203
 Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 3162



[fig. 5-4-a]
A luster-painted plate signed by Abū Zayd
 Ashmolean Museum,
 inv. no. EA1978.2320

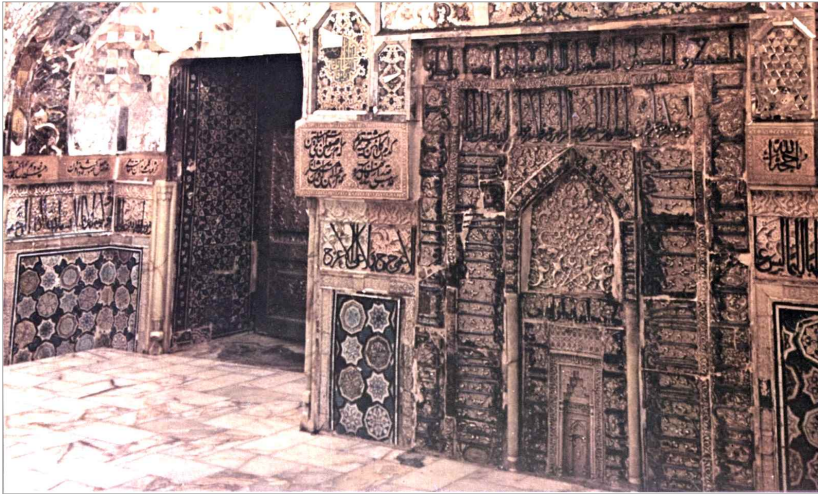
[fig. 5-4-b]



[fig. 5-5-b]

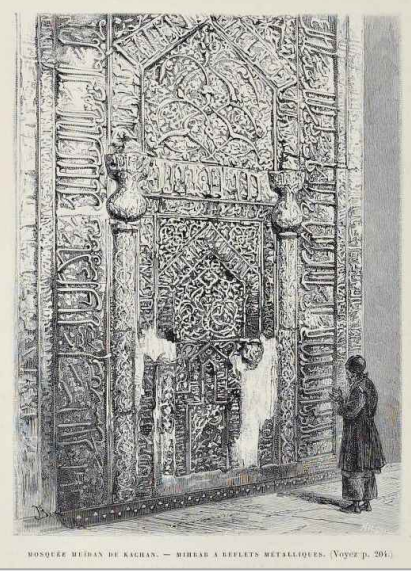


[fig. 5-5-c]



[fig. 5-5-a]

[fig. 5-5]
A large mihrāb at the mausoleum of Imām 'Alī al-Riṣā in Mashhad
 Jumada II 612h/September–October 1215



[fig. 5-6]
**A large mihrāb at
 the Maydān mosque
 in Kashan**

Safar 623h/
 February–March 1226

[fig. 5-6-a]
 (after Dieulafoy
 [1887] 1989,
 206, pl. 204)



[fig. 5-6-b]
 Museum of Islamic Art,
 Berlin,
 inv. no. I.5366



[fig. 5-7] **The luster-painted cenotaph of Ḥabīb b.
 Mūsā al-Kāzīm**

National Museum of Iran, inv. no. 3289

[fig. 5-8] **A pair of luster-painted foundation plaque
 dated 1 Shawwal 711h/February 10, 1312**



[fig. 5-8-a] Museum of Sèvres, inv. no. MNC22688



[fig. 5-8-b] Museum of Sèvres, inv. no. MNC26903