Endnotes


Melville, The ‘Arts of the Book’ and the Diffusion of Persian Culture

1 This article is a revised version of the text of the ‘Keynote’ lecture delivered in Melbourne on 12 April 2012 to mark the opening of the conference Love and Devotion: Persian cultural crossroads. It is obviously not possible to reproduce the high level of illustrations that accompanied the lecture; instead I have supplied references to where most of them can be seen. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those at the State Library of Victoria who worked so hard to make the conference such a success, and for their warmth and hospitality that made our visit to Melbourne an unrivalled pleasure. A particular thanks to Shane Carmody, Robert Heather and Anna Welch.

2 The exhibition Love and Devotion: from Persia and beyond was held in Melbourne from 9 March to 1 July 2012 with a second showing in Oxford from 29 November 2012 to 28 April 2013. It was on display at Oxford at the time of writing.

3 Scollay.


11 Firuza Melville (Abdullaeva), ‘Sudaba against Siyavosh: legal case or love story?’, paper presented at the Fifth Association for the Study of Persianate Societies conference, Hyderabad, India, 6 January 2012, to be published, draws parallels with the story of Yusuf and Zulaykha.


22 One can recognise the source of Khomeini’s popularity here.


25 Gazurgahi, pp.100-01.

26 Gazurgahi, p. 141.

27 Gazurgahi, pp. 186-88.

28 Gazurgahi, pp. 315-16.


33 *Shahnama*, vol. I, p. 185, verse 319, with a further reference to the danger posed by Zal’s ‘love’, p. 221, verse 846.

34 *Shahnama*, vol. II, p. 382, verse 44, actually reads *mehr* (‘love’), for the usual ‘*ishq*.


39 E.g. ‘Rustam rescues Bizhan from the pit’, in Serif’s *Sehname-i Turki*, reproduced in Serpil Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, p. 117, fig. 77.


44 E.g. British Library, Ms. J.60-2, with an illuminated page for the opening *ghazal*.


47 It is impossible to illustrate all these elements in detail here. Several examples will be found in the numerous studies devoted to the Islamic arts of the book. Apart from Scollay, I have drawn a few examples from the rich collection covered in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: the Islamic world* (see note 29), as well as the superbly illustrated work of Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: sixteenth century Shiraz manuscripts*, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayımları, 2006.
See the binding of a copy of ‘Attar’s *Mantiq al-tair*, Isfahan, c. 1600, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pp. 108-9, fig. 80, showing also the protective flap; and the binding and doublure of a copy of the *Majalis al-*‘*Ushshaq*, Shiraz, c. 1550, in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; together with a second lacquer cover on another copy of the same work, Shiraz, c. 1585, in Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, p. 185, fig. 131; 188, fig. 133; and 199, fig. 141. For other examples of covers and doublures from 16th-century Shiraz, see also p. 255, fig. 196; pp. 350-51, figs. 259-61; p. 452, figs. 344-45, on mss. of Firdausi, Amir Khusrau and the Qur’an.

Carpet page from *Kulliyat* (‘Collected works’) of Sa’di, c. 1515, Bodleian Library, MS. Fraser 73, I, fol. 2v; reproduced in Scollay, pp. 212-13.

For the Ardabil carpet, see for example R. W. Ferrier, ed., *The Arts of Persia*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989, p. 120, fig. 4. Many familiar recurring patterns can also be seen, for instance, in the 17th-century floor covering from India, probably Gujarat, in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, p.161, fig. 122.

See the 11th-century gold jewellery from Iran, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, p. 38, fig. 25.

*Shamsa* from the ‘Kevorkian’ album made for the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (c. 1645), in *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 147, p. 149, fig. 114. See also Scollay, p. 224, for the dedication of a manuscript of Rumi’s *Masnavi* to Abu ‘l-Fath Pir Budaq Bahadur Khan, the Black Sheep Turkmen prince (d. 1466).

Abdullaeva and Melville, *The Persian Book of Kings*, p. 27, fig. 12.


The embassy of 1567 to congratulate Selim II on his accession, presenting the famous Shah Tahmasp *Shahnama*, is depicted in Seyyid Lokman, *Şehname-i Selim Han*, dated 1591, Topkapi Palace Library, A 3595, fols. 53v-54r; see also the record of another gift of books brought by Ibrahim Khan for the circumcision ceremony of Mehmed in 1582, in the reign of Sultan Murad III. Lokman, *Şehṅehname*, vol. 2, Topkapi Palace Library, B 200, fols. 36v-37r; Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, p. 482, fig. 354, and p. 489, fig. 360.


Carboni, The ‘Book of Surprises’ (Kitab al-bulhan)

1 Catalogued MS. Bodl. Or. 133. The manuscript comprises 176 pages and measures 245 x 160 mm. It was donated to the Bodleian Library as part of the Nathaniel Palmer Bequest in 1717.

2 The only comprehensive study is based on my dissertation and is therefore available only in Italian: Stefano Carboni, Il Kitab al-bulhan di Oxford, Eurasia, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Studi Eurasiani, Università degli Studi di Venezia, Torino: Editrice Tirrenia Stampatori, 1988. The entire manuscript is available in digital form through the Oxford Digital Library of Oxford University at http://www2.odd.ox.ac.uk/gsdl/cgi-bin/library?e=d-000-00---0orient02-00-0-0-0-prompt-10-4------0-11--1-en-50---20-about---00001-001-1-1isoZz-8859Zz-1-0&a=d&cl=CL2.2.1&d=orient002-aab (accessed 31 January 2013).


4 The earliest known copy, now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Cod. Or. 464) was finished in 678 (1280) when the author was still alive. Zakariya ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Qazvini (1203-83) was a judge and polymath of Persian origin who lived most of his life in Iraq when it was under Ilkhanid rule (1256-1353).


6 Fol. 81r of the Kitab al-bulhan is written in Turkish and an ownership note at fol. ir mentions a certain Yahya ibn Muhammad from Edirne in about 1608-10. These are clear clues that the manuscript was in Ottoman Turkey.


9 One of the best surveys of Lilith in different cultural areas and times is Filomena Maria Pereira, Lilith: the edge of forever, ‘Woman in History’, vol. 18, Las Colinas, TX: Ide House, 1998.

10 One notable exception being in a copy of Abu Ma’shar’s Kitab al-mawalid (‘Book of Nativities’) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Arab. 2583), which includes two folios at the beginning (fols. 2-3) with four full-page illustrations of kings of the jinns in a similar format as those in the Kitab al-bulhan. They represent Iblis (Satan), King Tarish, King Sawba’a and the Red King. The dating of these illustrations, however, is uncertain since they were bound at a later time and may not belong to the original text, which bears a date corresponding to the year 1300. The four images are available in b/w in the Warburg Institute Iconographic Database at http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/subcats.php?cat_1=3&cat_2=418&cat_3=1119&cat_4=1493&cat_5=1210&cat_6=900 (accessed 31 January 2013).

11 The British Museum houses one of these full-page talismans, identical in format but larger in size (c. 270 x 190 mm.), which shows evident signs of having been folded into sixteen parts, fitting in a talismanic box about 70 x 50 mm. It represents a jinn named Jazrafil who rides an elephant (inv. 1934-12-8-01). It was attributed to c. 1200 by Basil Gray, ‘Islamic Charm from Fostat’, British Museum Quarterly, vol. IX, no. 4, 1935, pp. 130-31, pl. XXXVII.


Endnotes


18 The Lighthouse or Pharos of Alexandria was originally built in the 3rd century BCE in the Ptolemaic period and stood as one of the tallest building in the world for a long time, becoming one of the Seven Wonders of Antiquity. French archaeologists claimed to identify its ruins in the Eastern Harbour of Alexandria in 1994: see http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/sunken (accessed 31 January 2013). A recent history of the Lighthouse is Thomas C. Clarie, _Pharos: a lighthouse for Alexandria_, Portsmouth, NH: Back Channel Press, 2008.


22 Such is the rule established with the Munich Qazvini (see note 4 above) of 1280, at fol. 60r. A notable exception is provided by another early copy of this text, dated 1322 (İstanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Yeni Cami 813), at fol. 47v, which illustrates the tree from which heads grow in a similar way to fruit, as in the _Kitab al-bulhan_ and must be regarded as the earliest such image extant.

23 The first descriptions of the qualities of the salamander as a reptile able to extinguish fire and survive in it hark back to Aristotle (384–322 BCE), Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE), Augustine (354–430) and Isidore of Seville (560–636). See John Ashton, _Curious Creatures in Zoology_, London: Nimmo, 1890, pp. 323-26.

24 See the translation, p. 24

25 See the discussion, pp. 24-25.

26 Munich: Staatsbibliothek, cod. Arab. 464, finished 678 (1280) in Wasit, Iraq, London: British Library, Or. 14140, attributed to c. 1300–10 in Mosul, Iraq, Gotha: Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MSS A.1506, attributed to c. 1310–20 in Fars, Iran, Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Yeni Cami 813, finished 722 (1322) likely in Shiraz, Iran, and Doha: Islamic Arts Museum, MSS 647, attributed to c. 1350 in Mamluk Syria. For images and more information on these manuscripts see the
bibliography cited in note 15 above and the monographic study on the British Library (Or. 14140) codex by Stefano Carboni, Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming.


28 Stefano Carboni, ‘Two Fragments of a Jalayirid Astrological Treatise in the Keir Collection and in the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo’, *Islamic Art*, vol. 2, 1987, pp.149-86. Sadly, the Sarajevo portion of the manuscript was destroyed together with thousands of other codices when the building of the library of the Oriental Institute was shelled by Serbian military forces in May 1992.

**Watson, From Qays to Majnun**


2 *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 29, lines 10-11. The poet himself tells us that ‘these four thousand verses and more, were told in months less than four’ and that had he forbidden himself any other work he could have completed the poem within fourteen nights.

3 Now Şirvan, a region of modern-day Azerbayjan. In *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 26, f.n. 6, the editor states that Shirvan, the common form of transliteration of this Turkic name, is an error which arose in early Safavid times and that the correct form is Sharvan.


11 See, for example: http://www.maajim.com/%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%B3 (accessed 10 February 2013).


15 Ibn Qutaybah al-Dinawari, *al-Shi’r wa-al-Shu’ara*’, p. 89. ‘A Bedouin Arab from the tribe of ’Udhrah was asked: “What is it with your hearts; it is as if they are the hearts of birds which
dissolve away like salt in water? Can you not be stronger than this?” He said: “It is because we look at eyes which you do not look at.” Another was asked: “From what tribe are you?” He said: “From a tribe whom if they love they die.” A girl who had heard this said: “I swear he is from ‘Udhrah.”


16 Qur’an: 12: 23-29.
17 Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Kitab al-Aghani, p. 1801.
18 For a discussion on the rise of the ‘udhri phenomenon, see Muhammad Ghunaymi Hilali, al-Hayah al-ʿAtifiyah wa-al-Sufiyah, Cairo: Dar Nahdat Misr, 1976, pp. 17-43.
19 Muhammad Ghunaymi Hilali, al-Hayah al-ʿAtifiyah, p. 36.
22 Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Kitab al-Aghani, p. 115.
12 Aflākī, pp. 90-93, 441, 585.
13 Aflākī, p. 340.
14 Aflākī, pp. 752, 777.
15 Aflākī, pp. 899, 995.
16 ʿAbd al-Baqī Gülpınarlı, Mawlawīya pas az Mawlānā, trans., Towfīq Sobhānī, Tehran, 1382 (1962), pp. 149-54.
18 Aflākī, pp. 869-70.
20 Aflākī, pp. 772-4.
21 Aflākī, pp. 787-88.
22 Aflākī, pp. 928, 873.
23 Aflākī, pp. 916.
24 Aflākī, p. 889.
26 Aflākī, pp. 375-76.
27 Aflākī, pp. 490.
28 Aflākī, p. 555.
30 Rumi, Maktūbāt, pp. 118-19.
31 Rumi, pp. 228-29.
32 Aflākī, p. 681.
33 Aflākī, p. 681.
34 Aflākī, p. 395.
35 Aflākī, p. 560.
36 Aflākī, pp. 787-88.
37 Aflākī, pp. 375-76.
38 Aflākī, p. 490.
40 Manāqeb-e Awhad, pp. 184-85.
42 Aflākī, pp. 928, 873.
43 Aflākī, p. 916.
44 Aflākī, p. 889.
45 Gülpınarlı, p. 133.
46 Aflākī, p. 919.
47 Gülpınarlı, pp. 502-03.
48 Gülpınarlı, pp. 463-545.
49 Gülpınarlı, p. 328.

Kambaskovic-Sawers, Plato's Loves and Shakespeare's Women
from Plato.


3 Marsilius Ficinus, *Sopra lo amore o ver’ convito di Platone*, in Firenze per Neri Dortelita Con Friviltgio di N.S. di Novembre M.D. XXXIII [1544].


12 ‘Woman together with man is the image of God, so that the whole substance is one image. But when she has the role of helpmate, which pertains to her alone, she is not the image of God. But with regard to man alone, he is the image of God, just as fully and completely as he is joined with the woman into one’. St Augustine, De Trinitate / On the Trinity 12.7.10 ed. Gareth B. Matthews, trans. Stephen McKenna, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. ‘If one rejects giving birth to children as the reason why woman was created, I do not see for what other help the woman was made for the man’. St Augustine, De Genesi ad Litteram / The literal meaning of Genesis 9.5.9 trans. and annotated by John Hammond Taylor, New York: Newman Press, c.1982. See also the excellent analysis by E. Ann Matter, ‘The Undebated Debate: gender and the image of God in Medieval Theology’ in Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance, ed. Thelma S. Fenster and Clare A. Lees, New Y ork: Palgrave, 2002, pp. 41-53.

13 Although, to be fair, these words are reported by the nurse, not spoken directly.


Endnotes


**Williamson, Safavid Persia Through the Eyes of French Travellers**

1 I have used the term Persia here, rather than Iran, to reflect the term generally used in Europe throughout the period that I am discussing. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of guest co-curator and editor, Susan Scollay, and my colleagues Shane Carmody and Anna Welch in the preparation of this paper.
5 Reported by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, quoted in Blow, p. 139.
6 Tavernier, quoted in Blow, p. 142.
9 Tavernier, quoted in Stevens, p. 435.
11 Tavernier, quoted in Blow, p. 142.
14 Thévenot, quoted in Stevens, p. 430.
18 Emerson, p. 374.
19 Jean Chardin, quoted in Stevens, p. 447.
20 Chardin, quoted in Stevens, p. 445.
21 Chardin, quoted in Ferrier, p. 135.
22 Chardin in Ferrier, p. 155.
23 Chardin, quoted in David Young, 'Montesquieu's View of Despotism and his Use of Travel Literature', *Review of Politics*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 1978, p. 400.
25 Chardin, quoted in Blunt, p. 152.
26 Blunt, p. 96.
Meagher, Politics and Persian Mythology in Irish Poetry

5 The religion practised in Persia and parts of Central Asia prior to the arrival of Islam.
9 Lalla Rookh, p. 290.
10 For this section within the full text of Lalla Rookh see http://www.knowledgerush.com/pg/etext05/7cptm10.txt.
12 Wordsworth memorably defines poetry as ‘the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquility’ in the preface to Lyrical Ballads (1800).

Stamm, ‘Twofold and Yet One Am I’

1 The ‘Constellation Research’ paradigm was developed as a particular heuristic to investigate the dynamics of force fields of creative interaction in aggregates of people. It was introduced and finessed over a period of more than twenty years in the context of philosophical research conducted under the title ‘Jena-Project’ by Dieter Henrich and a research group including the author at Munich University from 1986 onwards. At its core stood an attempt to re-construct and explain the eruptive emergence of German Idealism in the wake of the historically prevalent paradigm of Kant’s ‘critical philosophy’. While designed as a specific case study of a period of less than ten years from 1789, the historic ‘Jena-Project’ allowed for an extrapolation of its methodological premises so as to provide a powerful tracking heuristic for the unfolding of creative scenarios more generally. It is a specific interest of the author to explore the relevance and potentials of the paradigm of constellation research to our understanding of the condition and dynamics of creativity at large. See M. Stamm, ‘Konstellationsforschung – Ein Methodenprofil: motive und perspektiven’, in M. Mulsow and M. Stamm, eds, Konstellationsforschung, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2005, pp. 31-73.
Endnotes

2 While this relationship attracted the interest of researchers during Goethe’s life-time, a proper investigation of its constellational nature has not yet been undertaken. For a recent contribution, however, that resonates with the constellational paradigm, see Rüdiger Safranski, Goethe und Schiller: geschichte einer freundschaft, München: Hanser, 2008.


8 The constellational premise is turned into promise ‘With force far-flung the Orient rose, / And passed the Midland Sea! Alone / For him who Hafiz loves and knows / Ring right the songs of Calderon’, Goethe 1914 (trans. Dowden), p. 87.

9 Goethe published his reflection on his Hafiz-crisis as early as 1815 in ‘Aus den Tag- und Jahresheften’, reprinted in Goethe, Werke, Hamburger Ausgabe, vol. 10: Autobiographische Schriften II, Hamburg and Munich: Beck, 2003; ‘I had to take a productive stance against it, for otherwise I would not have been able to exist further in the face of such a powerful appearance’, p. 514 (trans. M. Stamm).

10 The notion of transposition is of fundamental relevance to constellation research. It moves beyond a sense of translation if confined to a linguistic trans-literation regarding languages, and refers to the original meaning of trans-latio as a way of taking something from one shore (side) to another shore (side), e.g. by boat; see Axell Gellhaus’ acute reflections on Paul Celan as a ‘translator’ in this original sense and with regard Heidegger in ‘Ferdien - Einleitende Gedanken zum Übersetzen bei Paul Celan’ in Fremde Nähe – Celan als Übersetzer, Marbacher Kataloge 50, ed. Axell Gellhaus, Marbach: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft,1997, pp. 9-16, for the present context particularly pp. 12-14.

11 Reminiscent of the Platonic and neo-Platonic ascent model of the ‘spirit’ towards the ‘sun’, which includes important Patristic proponents such as Augustine, a masterful projection of the model of ascent philosophy into Hegel’s speculative idealism as a way of dialectic ascension has been provided by H. S. Harris under the indicative title, Hegel’s Development, Toward the Sunlight 1790 – 1801, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
A lineage of Henologies (derived from τo ἑ that, Ancient Greek: the one) from Plotinus to Hegel is marked by attempts to develop doctrines regarding the notion one-ness and investigate the ultimate nature of 'singularity' and 'unity' as senses of the one-ness of 'the One'.

Albrecht Fabri briefly sketches the core argument alluded to here for the transposition of the paradox of love into the henological paradigm, in Der schmutzige Daumen, Gesammelte Schriften, I. Fabri and M. Weinmann, eds, Frankfurt: Zweitausendeins, p. 293. By way of a speculative etymology, 'alone' can be derived from 'all-one', where German allows to proceed from 'All-Einheit' and 'all-ein' [all-oneness/all-one] to 'Alleinheit' and 'allein' [aloneness/alone] by mere de-hyphenation.

The dialectic nature that underpins this formula of the mutual necessitation of the poles of the 'creativity paradox' foregrounds that this dependency is itself an instance of a constellation of notions in terms of a second order constellation.

The German original of the respective line in the last stanza reads 'Stirb und Werde!', translated by Dowden as 'Die and be new-born' (see Goethe 1914, Dowden-transl. p. 19: ' . . . And, last / enamoured of the light, / A moth art in the flame consumed, / And while thou spurnest at the best, / Whose word is „Die and be new-born!” / Thou bidest but a cloudy guest / Upon an earth that knows not morn.' The original stand-alone title of the poem with the title 'Selige Sehnsucht' in Goethe's Divan was 'Vollendung', i.e. fulfilment, perfection or completion. The poem was finished on 31 July 1814, at the time of Goethe's first personal encounter with Marianne von Willemer in Wiesbaden.


The constellation rivalry with Hafiz permeates obliquely the entire West-Eastern Divan (see also notes 3 & 9): 'Hafiz, thy equal e'ter to be / were dream insane!', Goethe 1914, trans. Dowden, p. 27.


Brecht highlights this character (at the expense of Rilke) by stating that it is this very banality that bestows the entire poem with an elemental strength. [Brecht points out, daß das gelegentliche Ausgleiten ins Banale, wie in der Zeile »dieses stirb und werde« in dem großen Hafisgedicht [sic], gerade dem Ganzen das gewisse Elementare verleiht!'], Brecht, in Hecht 1973, p. 221.


Goethe's announcement to be able to serve as master of love, 'The man who loves will never go astray, / Though shadows close around him and above, / Leila and Medschnun, if they rose to-day, / From me might understand the path of love. Goethe 1914, trans. Dowden, p. 100, is followed by a
daunting affirmation of the hitherto impossible: ‘Is it possible, sweet love, I hold thee close! / Hear the divine voice pealing, musical! / Always impossible doth seem the rose, / And inconceivable the nightingale’, p. 101.

24 Goethe’s poetic lines which accompanied the parcel that returned all letters written by Marianne von Willemer shortly before his death characterise the correspondence as testifying the ‘most beautiful of times’: ‘Back to chest from which they sprung those sheets should return, testimony of the most beautiful of times’ [‘Zu der Brust, der sie entquollen, / diese Blätter wandern sollen, / Immer liebevoll bereit, / Zeugen allerschönster Zeit.’] in Unseld 1998, p. 73 (trans. and italics M. Stamm). Goethe’s appraisal is mirrored by Marianne’s recollection of the period as ‘the happiest time of [her] life’ in a letter to Hermann von Grimm, 21 January 1857, in H. J. Mey, ed., Im Namen Goethes – Der Briefwechsel Marianne von Willemer und Herman Grimm, Frankfurt: Insel 1988, p. 240.

25 On 24 May 1815 Goethe formulates in Eisenach on his way to Frankfurt, ‘That, charmed, Zuleika upon Jussuf hung / Is no such marvellous case; Young was he, youth is warranty for grace, / Fair was he, shaped, they say, all hearts to mad, / And she was fair, each could make other glad./ But that thou – O thou, waited for so long, / On me shouldst let youth’s eyes of passion rest, / Shouldst love me now, hereafter make me blest,/ Such wonder must my songs acclaim For me Zuleika ever be thy name’, Goethe 1914, trans. Dowden, p. 89, (italics M. Stamm).

26 For a detailed description of the events of 28 August 1815, at Goethe’s birthday, which was anxiously anticipated by Marianne and celebrated memorably at the Gerbermühle, see Von Gersdorff 2003, ch VII, pp. 94-103. Marianne, musically gifted, sang Goethe poems set to music by Beethoven, and Sulpiz Boisserée, a close friend, reports that Marianne performed with deep inner commotion and intensity, in Sulpiz Boisserée: Tagebücher I, 1808 – 1823, ed. H.-J. Weitz, Darmstadt: Roether 1978, (hereafter Boisserée 1978), vol. 1, p. 270.

27 The indirectness of this utmost declaration establishes a constellational setting of particular consequence, as it will allow the two agents to use the archetypal foliage of Zuleika and Yusuf in unprecedented ways. Once the equation of Marianne with the figure of Zuleika is established, Goethe refers to himself as Hatem: ‘Now that Zuleika is thy name / I should also named be. / When thy beloved thou dost acclaim / Hatem that the name shall be.’ Goethe 1914, trans. Dowden, p. 98, (italics M. Stamm).

28 The confidence acquired in January 1815 to be able to show potentially tragic lovers ‘the path of love’ at this stage translates into Goethe’s assuredness (see note 23) to be able to constellate with Marianne von Willemer. As a consequence, Goethe inserts the lines dedicated to Layla and Majnun at the very point where Zuleika (Marianne) and Hatem (Goethe) assume the roles of the couple whose re-appearance had been the subject of speculation nine months earlier: ‘If they rose today’ manifest in the summer of 1815. This is both Goethe’s poetic construct as well as existential reality – through Marianne and Goethe. For a thorough philological and historic discussion of the Zuleika and Hatem-Thai ascriptions see Katharina Mommsen, Goethe und die arabische Welt, Frankfurt: Insel 2001, pp. 540-44.

29 The specific circumstances and timing of Marianne’s marriage to Johann Jakob Willemer, her once adoptive father, have lead – understandably – to speculations as to its motivational context, however is not material to this paper. Nevertheless, a possible intention to shelter Marianne and Goethe is noteworthy in this context as Goethe’s advancement and Marianne’s response(s) do occur despite – or one might surmise: are facilitated by – Marianne’s marital setting. For biographic details and further speculations see Unseld 1998, pp. 38-40.

30 The importance of this day and the following weekend is reflected in details of two drawings directly related to the weekend as reported in Boisserée’s diary entries from 15 – 17 September (in Boisserée 1978, p. 268-270) with matching details such as e.g. Goethe standing on the balcony
exhibiting an experiment related to his doctrine of colours (p. 271). Secondly, Goethe’s version of
the poem ‘Ginkgo Biloba’ is backdated to the 15 September 1815 to commemorate a constellational
moment of union: ‘Your stream, the grove, the terrace, this, / Has bound me to, as wedded mate; / Here
shall my spirit, till love’s last kiss, to you be dedicate.’ Goethe, trans. Dowden, p. 102.

31 Only one week earlier, while Goethe was still in Frankfurt on 8 September 1815, Boisserée reports
him as explaining ‘Nature is such that the trinity could not improve it [nature] in any way. [Nature]
is an organ on which the Lord plays, and the devil beats the bellows’. In the same conversation,

32 Boisserée’s original note reads ‘Goethe hatte der Wilmer [sic] ein Blatt des Gingo [sic] biloba als
Sinnbild der Freundschaft geschickt aus der Stadt, Man weiß nicht ob es eins, das sich in 2 theilt,

33 The two middle stanzas of the Marianne’s poem read: ‘Since of my joys your love is chief / I chide
not Opportunity; / For if with you she played the thief, / How has her booty gladdened me. // But
wherefore “theft”? Of free choice give / Yourself to me! Though for my part / Too willingly would
I believe – / Yes, I am she who stole your heart. // What you have given / thus freely brings / noble
return, to match your stake – / My rest, my opulent life; these things / I joy to give; ’tis yours to
290 – speaks rightly about a ‘poetic marriage’ in his introduction to his serial edition of the love
poems of Goethe’s Divan, in Korff, Hermann August, Die Liebesgedichte des West-östlichen Divan

34 See Book VIII as the Book of Zuleika, Goethe, trans. Dowden, p. 97-143, with Marianne’s East Wind
and West Wind poems inserted on pp. 129f. and 132f., respectively.

35 Of the numerous translations of this seminal poem, Paul Carus’ from 1915 is the unrivalled
best, capturing the seamlessness and monumental simplicity of the closing formula as no other
translation, ‘Ginkgo Biloba: Leaf of Eastern tree transplanted / Here into my garden’s field / Hast
me secret meaning granted / Which adepts delight will yield. -- Art thou one – one living being / Now
divided into two? -- Art thou two, who jointed agreeing / and in one united grew? -- To the
question, pondered duly, / Have I found the right reply: / In my poems you see truly / Twofold
and yet one am I.’ in P. Carus, Goethe with Special consideration of His Philosophy, Chicago: The
Open Court Publishing Company, 1915, p. 223 (italics M. Stamm). Boisserée’s diary entry of 15
September reveals traces of a possible ‘eidetic gearing’ towards crossing and unification points
in Goethe, as complementary or inverse to the Ginkgo leaf’s indentation, given that both were
exposed to Gothic architecture while on their way to Frankfurt. An investigation of such micro-
phenomonological instances – the small drawing of a Gothic arch in Boisserée’s diary evidences
the ‘two-in-one’ motif under scrutiny in mid-September 1815 and manifest in an architectural
form would be a promising project, aiming to reconstruct Goethe’s eidetic and creative archive, see

36 ‘Ginkgo Biloba’ mirrors the riddle nature that characterises the die-and-become formula of
its precursor, the moth emblem. For the facsimile edition of its twin-poem’s 1817 stand-alone
publication under the title ‘Fulfillment/Perfection’ [Vollendung], before it was inserted into the
Divan, see Goethe, Münchner Ausgabe, 1998 facsimile p. 290 with a commentary p. 879. The
‘Ginkgo Biloba’ poem also mirrors its twin’s esoteric caveat of strict exclusivity, the idea of insight
only reserved to the ‘wise’ and ‘knowing’ or ‘adepts’, in which both formulas – ‘die and become’ and
‘twofold and yet one’– are enveloped. While both formulas do address the one same paradox of
love, or for that matter, love’s constitutive indeterminacy, the first formula with its moth emblem
rest upon the idea of procedural indeterminacy, whereas the second with the leaf emblem would
propagate ontological indeterminacy.

37 The question arises whether all constellations are ultimately auto-constellations, i.e. constellations
of the creative self with the self’s ‘other’ given that immanent twofoldness is a primordial constellational condition of creativity.

38 The origin and compositional context of this letter was first mentioned outside her relationship with Goethe by Marianne three years before her death in a letter to Hermann Grimm, who by that time had become the only late confidant to whom she could no longer deny her authorship of a series of the poems in the Divan. For the history and context of the revelation of Marianne’s secret which she kept until her death, see H. J. Mey, ed., Im Namen Goethes, Frankfurt: Insel, 1988, in particular letter no. 81, pp. 239-41, as well as Hermann Grimm, Goethe und Suleika in E. Lohner, ed., Studien zum West-östlichen Divan Goethes, Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1971, pp. 285-309.

39 Marianne’s chiffre letter text is provided here in its entirety:

‘I wish to reveal my heart to you, just as I long to hear of yours. / My heart feels only sadness at this world and what it may bring to me, for my innermost is filled by you and you alone, my friend./ My resolution is clear as the shine of the morning candle: That I wish to dedicate all my life only to this love. / I have thought of you always, and my heart has been bleeding deeply all the time. I can do nothing but love you in silence, when there is no-one to embrace. / What will come of me? / I wish to confer with nobody else, so fond have I become of the words of my friend whom I know is unrivalled in fidelity and grace. / Who, in the name of kindness, remains true to me? Who? / My breast is emptied of all and everything that lies within it, of all but the sorrow over you, which will stay for ever./ Your love has settled so deeply within me, that even if I should lose my mind, love will not cease. / O, fire of separation – so much have I already suffered in you that, like a candle, there is nothing but for me to burn away, too. / My heart is longing for your lips, Always’ (trans. M. Stamm).

Given the text’s formal genesis, Goethe felt licensed to publish Marianne’s outcry of love’s despair in 1819 in his ample appendix of treatises and fragmentary oriental studies in first edition of the Divan as a Hafiz-compilation and illustration of a chiffre-letter. See Goethe, Münchner Ausgabe, 1998, pp. 200f. and commentary pp. 803-05.

40 The letter is signed with ‘Suleika’ in Arabic letters, however spelled ‘Suleiha’, a detail commented on by C. Michel in his notes on the facsimile publication of the chiffre letter in Goethe, Münchner Ausgabe 1998, p. 200f., (with C. Michel’s observations p. 881). Marianne’s signature obviously mirrored Goethe’s idiosyncratic spelling as it probably first appeared in the Heidelberg castle garden scene in late September 1815 where Goethe drew ‘her’ name into the sand, a gesture Goethe reiterated in his letter to Marianne from 21 September 1815, to which Marianne responded in the 18 October chiffre letter. Her original chiffre piece was not included in the convolute of all letters returned to her by Goethe in 1832, as she notes in a missive from 21 Jan 1857, H. J. A. Mey, ed., Im Namen Gottes, Der Briefwechsel Marianne Willemer und Herman Grimm, Frankfurt: Insel, 1988, letter nr. 81, p. 240. Instead, it survived amongst Goethe’s material for the publication of the West-östlicher Divan, inserted into his copy of his Hammer-Purgstall translation (see note 3) of Hafiz’s Divan, and is now kept in the Goethe National Museum, Weimar.


42 While V. Savile provides an elegant translation in O. E. Deutsch, ed., Franz Schubert’s Letters and Other Writings, New York: Vienna House, 1974, p. 91. The translation given here intends to capture the exact nuance of Schubert’s somewhat clumsy missive, ‘Your Excellency, If, by the dedication of this setting of your poems, I could succeed in expressing my unlimited veneration for Your Excellency, and perhaps in gaining some recognition of my insignificant self, I should regard the
favourable outcome of this wish as the happiest event of my life. With the greatest respect, Your humble and devoted servant, Franz Schubert.' (trans. M. Stamm).

43 For an acknowledgement of these extraordinary confluences, including the details surrounding the receipt of a complimentary copy of Schubert's Suleika I, D. 720, see Marianne's account in her letter to Goethe from 16 April 1825, in Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Sollst mir ewig Suleika heissen, Goethes Briefwechsel mit Marianne und Johann Jakob Willemer, ed. Hans.J. Weitz, Frankfurt & Leipzig: Insel, 1995, letter no. 143, p. 164.

44 Byrne 2003, p. 378 quotes Brahms as calling Opus 14, 1 'the loveliest song in the world'.


46 In constellational terms the Goethe-Schubert relationship was barred from an intensification and personalisation which could have had potentially far-reaching consequences, leading to a possible 'meeting of creative minds' – as opposed to an 'unseen bond' (see. S. Whitton below); it represents a manifest failure to constellate – from Goethe's side – next to his unique capacity to achieve this in relation to Schiller, Hafiz and Marianne von Willemer. For a comprehensive evaluation of Goethe's constellational indifference towards Schubert see Joseph Wechsberg, Schubert: his life his work his time, New York: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1977, pp. 102-05, and more recently Kenneth S. Whitton, Goethe and Schubert: the unseen bond, Portland: Amadeus Press, 1999.


Brend, From Persia and Beyond


1) 29r, The king and the stoker
2) 35r, The pilgrims who die of thirst
3) 47r, Youth and Age
4) 66v, Khusrau received by Mihin Banu
5) 73r, The ten youths and ten maidens
6) 80r, Shakar entertained at Khusrau's lodging
7) 82r, Shirin visits Farhad at work
8) 89v, Khusrau, disguised as a shepherd, visits Farhad
9) 98r, Khusrau before Shirin's castle
10) 136r, The battle of the clans
11) 144r, Majnun visited by his friends
12) 149v, Layla visits Majnun
13) 172v, Bahram Gur listens as Dilaram enchants the animals
14) 175r, Bahram Gur in the Mushkin pavilion
15) 180r, Bahram Gur in the Zaʿfarani pavilion
16) 185r, Bahram Gur in the Rihani pavilion
17) 189r, Bahram Gur in the Gulnari pavilion
18) 195v, Bahram Gur in the Bunafshi pavilion
19) 203r, Bahram Gur in the Sandali pavilion
20) 208v, Bahram Gur in the Kafuri pavilion

Centres such as Mashhad or Bakharz.


6 First noted in Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art*, London: British Museum Press, 1991, p. 141; repeated in *Perspective on Persian Painting*, p. 32, and elsewhere. The illustrations are out of scale with the text, and at one point a verse appears in both text and picture.

7 Dr Abdullaeva has discussed the telling of the tale in the work of the three poets, see Firuza Abdullaeva, ‘Women in the Romances of the *Shahnama*’, in *Scollay*, pp. 42-44.


12 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 378; Brend, Akbar’s Nizami, fig. 21.


15 Brend, ‘Akbar’s Amir Khusrau’, pl. 1; in colour, Seyller, *Pearls*, no. V.

16 Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, pl. 44.

17 Seyller, *Pearls*, no. II.

18 Seyller, *Pearls*, no. IX.


20 Brend, ‘Akbar’s Amir Khusrau’, pl. 3; in colour, Seyller, *Pearls*, no. X.
Forbes, *Behind the Scenes*

*I thank Emilie Savage-Smith for kindly commenting on a draft of this paper.*


7. Here in a direct copy (of the two figures) Kesu Das portrays St Matthew writing his gospel in a volume held by an attendant angel, who also holds the ink-pot – a subject that was copied from an engraving by Philip Galle after Maerten van Heemskerck a 16th-century Dutch painter, first published in 1562 or 3.


9. The three manuscripts and folios displayed were: 17th century album of paintings and calligraphy (MS. Douce Or. a.1, fols. 45v-46r, depicting two princes), a late-16th century copy of the Persian literary classic *Layla u Majnun* by Nizami (MS. Pers. d. 102, pp. 65-6) and a late-16th century copy, made in the imperial workshops, of Jami’s *Baharistan*, (MS. Elliott 254, fols. 17v and 35v).


15. In the early-19th century both Gore Ouseley and Francis Douce were said by a contemporary fellow bibliophile to be able ‘expiate [on Persian art] with the happiest effect’, T. F. Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron: or ten days pleasant discourse upon illuminated manuscripts*, vol. 3, London: Printed for the Author by W. Bulmer and Co., 1817, p. 471.


17. See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Elliott 254, fol. 10r.


20. It was purchased by Douce at the Leigh and Sotheby sale held on Saturday 1 May 1790, lot 3153, the last lot of the fifteen-day sale of the libraries of the Chauncy (or Chauncey) brothers. Of 3153 items only 37 were manuscripts and only two were not European. In the Leigh and Sotheby sale catalogue (*A Catalogue of the Elegant and Valuable Libraries of Charles Chauncy M. D. F.R.S. and F.S.A. and of His Brother, Nathaniel Chauncy, Esq. Both Deceased . . .*, London, 15 Apr. 1790), this manuscript was described as ‘Variety of Beautiful Specimens of Persian and Arabick Writing’. It was sold to Douce for the sum of 20 and a half guineas, i.e. 21 pounds 10 shillings and 6 pence, as

21 As observed by A. Topsfield, 'Images of Love and Devotion: illustrated Mughal Manuscripts and Albums in the Bodleian Library' in Scollay, p. 103.

22 Jahangir, vol.1, p. 129.


24 I am indebted to my former colleague, Colin Wakefield, for this translation.


Casari, ‘The Conceits of Poetry’

"I would like to thank the organisers of the conference Love and Devotion: Persian Cultural Crossroads for inviting me to discuss my research, together with the presenters of many very interesting papers, on the occasion of the outstanding exhibition held at the State Library of Victoria (see the fine volume edited by Susan Scollay). Particular thanks to Shane Carmody, Robert Heather, Constant Mews, Susan Scollay, and Anna Welch.


4 A selection of works from the vast bibliography concerning the figure of Alexander the Great in Persian literature, may well include: T. Nöldeke, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans’, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch Historische Classe, vol. 39, no.5, 1890; E. E. Bertel’s, Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnii versii na vostoke,


6 ‘He took no interest in arms, but was particularly devoted to archery. There are many who have more than once seen him slay a hundred wild beasts of different kinds on his Alban estate, and purposely kill some of them with two successive shots in such a way that the arrows gave the effect of horns. Sometimes he would have a slave stand at a distance and hold out the palm of his right hand for a mark, with the fingers spread; then he directed his arrows with such accuracy that they passed harmlessly between the fingers’; see Suetonius, The Lives of the Caesars, ed. and transl. by J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols, London: Heinemann-Loeb Classical Library, 1913, II, pp. 380-81. On this matter, see Maria Vittoria Fontana. La leggenda di Bahram Gār e Āzāda. Materiale per la storia di una tipologia figurativa dalle origini al XIV secolo, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1986; Angelo Michele Piemontese, ‘Gli “Otto Paradisi” di Amir Khusrau da Delhi. Una lezione persiana del “Libro di Sindbad” fonte del “Peregrinaggio” di Cristoforo Armeno’, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie, s. IX, vol. 6, no. 3, 1995, pp. 313-418.


10 See Angelo Michele Piemontese, ‘G. B. Vecchietti e la letteratura giudeo-persiana’, Materia Giudaiaca, 15-16 (2010-11), pp. 483-500. More generally on the Vecchietti brothers, recent essays include:


12 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cl. XXXVII.131, ff. 2v-3r. See also Angelo Michele Piemontese, ‘The Emergence of Persian Grammar and Lexicography in Rome’, Rivista degli Studi Orientali, vol. 83, 2010, pp. 399-415.


15 This is an extract from a History of the Persian language that was written in order to be added to Jones’ Grammar of the Persian language, for one of its later reprints. See The Works of Sir William Jones. In Thirteen Volumes, London: John Stockdale, 1807, vol. V, pp. 424-26. See also William Jones, Poesos Asiaticae Commentariorum Libri Sex, Lipsia: Weidmann, 1777, p. 294. We can observe a remarkable change in this piece with respect to the quite different judgement Jones had expressed in his earlier essay ‘On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations’, in William Jones, Poems, consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages, London: Conant, 1772, (consulted in the edition of 1777, pp. 163-90: 186): ‘the spirit and invention of Homer have ever continued without a rival: for which reason I am far from pretending to assert that the poet of Persia is equal to that of Greece’.


17 Le Livre des Rois par Abou ʾIkasim Firdousi, publié traduit et commenté par M. Jules Mohl, 7 vols., Paris: Imprimerie Royale / Nationale, 1838-1878; the last volume was edited on the basis of Mohl’s work by Charles Barbier de Meynard, after Mohl’s death in 1876.
Firdusi, *Il Libro dei Re. Poema epico recato in versi italiani da Italo Pizzi*, 8 vols. Turin: Vincenzo Bona, 1886-1888. Pizzi’s translation was criticized by some scholars, among them the eminent German philologist Thomas Nöldeke. The Torinese professor’s efforts instead received a warm reception from illustrious representatives of high Italian culture, such as Giosuè Carducci and Giuseppe Verdi. There was, of course, a nationalist component to this Italian appreciation of the extraordinarily rich and somehow familiar Iranian epos.


Joseph Champion, *The Poems of Ferdosi*, London: Cadell and Debrett, 1788, vol. I, pp. xi-xii. A comment in the same vain was delivered in that same year by Louis Langlès, in his substantial entry on Firdausi, in *Bibliothèque Choisie de Contes Orientaux et Fables Persanes*, Paris, 1788, pp. 117-76: ‘les Européens n’ont rien composé qui approchât autant de la sublime majesté d’Homère’, p. 141. However, it has been noted that the tendency to overpraise the *Shahnama* in the first half of the 19th century might have been connected, at least partially, to ‘the classical or Hellenic sentiment prevalent at the time, which tended to exalt the genius of the Aryan at the expense of Semitic peoples.’ See Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia. Vol. II. From Firdausi to Sa’di*, London: Fisher Unwin 1906, p. 143. Browne confessed that he did not share the enthusiasm for the *Shahnama* that was common among Iranians, and also Western specialists of Persian literature.

For example, the episode appears in the otherwise deeply hafezian *West-Östlicher Divan* by Goethe; see Wolfgang Goethe, *West-Östlicher Divan*, Stuttgart: Cottaische Buchhandlung, 1819, pp. 276-78.

Heinrich Heine, *Romanzero*, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1851, pp. 72-80. English translation by Joseph Massaad: […] ‘With shouts and cries the caravan went straight, / Entering the town through the western gate. / The trumpets sounded, the drums beat loud, / And triumphal songs rang through the crowd. / “La Illah Illa Allah!” this jubilant cry / Shouted the camel drivers as they went by. / But through the east gate, at the other end / Of Thus, as the same time, sorrowing went / The funeral train, with a most mournful pace, / Bearing dead Ferdusi to his resting place.’ Heine’s sources for the poem were probably Hammer-Purgstall’s works and Goethe’s *West-Östlicher Divan*. The poem probably was intended as a veiled criticism of Frederick William IV, who – in the view of Heine and many of his contemporaries – had deceived and betrayed his people during the revolution of 1848-49; see Gerlinde Röder-Bolton, *George Eliot in Germany, 1854-55: ‘Cherished Memories’*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, p. 144.


Lecture given at Stanford University on 29 November 2007, published in Franklin D. Lewis and Sunil Sharma, eds., *The Necklace of the Pleiades. Studies in Persian Literature Presented to Heshmat*


Alizadeh, Sufis of the Antipodes
5 By mentioning that medieval Persia was the birthplace of the ghazal, I neither wish to undermine the influence of Arabic poetry on the form’s development nor marginalise the form’s deployments in Urdu literature. By referring to this genre as a *Persian poetic form* I simply aim to reflect the general view that the ghazal reached its classically standardised form, as we know it today, in the verse of Persian-speaking poets of the Middle Ages.

Démy-Geroe, Persian or Islamic?
1 See the article by Marcelo Stamm in this issue.
2 Iran Heritage Foundation, Jamsheed Akrami, 2005, ‘Cooling Down a “Hot Medium”’ [Abstract for Conference Paper], http://www.iranheritage.org/kiarostamiconference/abstracts_full.htm. (accessed 11 February 2012). Akrami used this term prior to the production of Shirin. He has agreed in email to the author (16 September 2012) that the term would apply to Shirin. However,
we have not discussed his further reading of the film.


10 Young, ‘Shirin’.


18 Young, ‘Shirin’.


22 Mohammad Attebai, email to author, 16 March 2012.

23 Fischer, Mute Dreams, p. 255.


Endnotes


27 Mohammad Attebai, email to author, August 9, 2012.


29 Mohammad Attebai, email to author, 16 March 2012.


Breyley, ‘The Language of Love’

* This paper is dedicated to the memory of Nazila (1987-2012) whose love and devotion brought light and hope to the lives of all who knew her.


3 For more on the significance of Rumi and his poetry, see Franklin D. Lewis, Rumi, Past and Present, East and West: the life, teachings and poetry of Jalal al-Din Rumi, Oxford: Oneworld, 2000.


5 This translation is provided by Darya for Mohsen Dai-Nabi and Pedram Derakhshani’s musical setting of the text. See YouTube, Mohsen Dai-Nabi and Pedram Derakhshani, uploaded by akaDarya, 2011, Akharin Ghazal-e Rumi (The Last Sonnet of Rumi), www.youtube.com/watch?v=qSiSdSGCucM (accessed 31 October 2012).


9 Text provided by Nazila, translated by Mehrnaz Shoushtarian. I am grateful to both for their generous support.

Aidani, On Devotion and Friendship in Maulana Jalal al-Din Rumi’s Poetry

2 Gadamer, Truth and Method, p. 300.
8 In the following discussion ‘Maulana’ and ‘Rumi’ will be used interchangeably.
12 Ghulam Abbas Dalal, Ethics in Persian Poetry, New Delhi: Abhnau Publications, 1995, p. 120.
13 Helminski, Ruins of the Heart, pp. 10,18.
14 Helminski, Ruins of the Heart, p. 17.
15 This is the translation of the word ‘devotion’ used in the exhibition, ‘Love and Devotion: from Persia and beyond’ at the State Library of Victoria in 2012.
17 Gadamer, Truth and Mankind, p. 335.
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