

## Endnotes

NB: 'Scollay' refers to Susan Scollay, ed., *Love and Devotion: from Persia and beyond*, Melbourne: Macmillan Art Publishing in association with the State Library of Victoria and the Bodleian Library, 2012; reprinted with new covers, Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2012.

### 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.
- 4 For a recent survey of the issues at stake, see Abbas Amanat and Farzin Vejdani, eds., *Iran Facing Others: identity boundaries in a historical perspective*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; the series of lectures on the *Idea of Iran*, supported by the Soudavar Memorial Foundation, has now spawned five volumes, edited by Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart, vols. 1-4, and E. Herzig and Sarah Stewart, vol. 5, published by I. B. Tauris, London, 2005-11.
- 5 See the picture of 'Iskandar enthroned', from the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, now in the Louvre, Paris, reproduced in Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, eds, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: courtly art and culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353*, New York, New Haven and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002, p. 53, fig. 51.
- 6 Charles Melville, 'The Royal Image in Mongol Iran', in Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville, eds, *Every Inch a King: comparative studies on kings and kingship in the ancient and medieval worlds*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 347-48; see also Adel T. Adamova, 'The St. Petersburg Illustrated *Shahnama* of 733 Hijra (1333 AD) and the Injuid School of Painting', in Robert Hillenbrand, ed., *Shahnama: the visual language of the Persian Book of Kings*, Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004, esp. pp. 52-54, and Adel T. Adamova, *Medieval Persian Painting: the evolution of an artistic vision*, trans. and ed., J. M. Rogers, New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 2008, pp. 15-29.
- 7 Stephen F. Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, and Douglas E. Streusand, *Islamic Gunpowder Empires: Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2011.
- 8 See Elisabeth Beazley and Michael Harverson, *Living with the Desert: working buildings on the Iranian Plateau*, Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips, 1982.
- 9 See e.g. A. K. S. Lambton, 'Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship', *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, vol. 17, 1962, pp. 91-119, and Julie S. Meisami, 'History as Literature', in Charles Melville, ed., *Persian Historiography, A History of Persian Literature*, vol. X, London: I. B. Tauris, 2012, esp. pp. 1-6.
- 10 Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.
- 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.

- 12 See Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: the formative period*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- 13 See the recently discovered 'Alinama by Rabi', dating from 1089 CE, eds, Reza Bayat and Abolfazl Gholami, Tehran: Miras-e Maktoob, 2010; and Ibn Husam's *Khavaran-nama*, composed in 1427, in which the heroic feats of the *Shahnama* characters are transferred onto early Muslim personalities, see Charles Melville, 'Ibn Husam's *Hāvarān-nāma* and the *Šāh-nāma* of Firdausī', in M. Bernardini, M. Haneda and M. Szuppe, eds, 'Liber Amicorum. Etudes sur l'Iran médiéval et moderne offertes à Jean Calmard', *Eurasian Studies*, no. 5/i-ii, 2006, pp. 219-34.
- 14 Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and power in the Safavid Empire*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2004, esp. pp. 114-20.
- 15 Rashid al-Din, *Jami' al-tawarikh*, ed. by M. Raushan and M. Musavi, Tehran: Alborz, 1383 [2004]), vol. 1, p. 33; trans. W. M. Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah, Jami'u'tawarikh: compendium of chronicles: a history of the Mongols*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998, pp. 17-18.
- 16 See Kishwar Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: architecture, religion and power in early modern Iran*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2011.
- 17 Kishwar Rizvi, 'Religious Icon and National Symbol: the tomb of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran', in *Muqarnas: an annual of Islamic art and architecture*, no. 20, 2003, pp. 209-24. We should also note the alleged tomb of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib in Mazar-i Sharif, N. Afghanistan; see R. D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: four hundred years of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 26-36.
- 18 Dick Davis, 'Sufism and Poetry: a marriage of convenience?', in *Edebiyat*, no. 10, 1999, pp. 279-92.
- 19 Charles Melville, 'History and Myth: the Persianisation of Ghazan Khan', in É. Jeremías, ed., *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th-17th Centuries*, Piliscsaba, Budapest: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2003, pp. 133-60.
- 20 Charles Melville, 'Wolf or Shepherd? Amir Chupan's attitude to government', in J. Raby and T. Fitzherbert, eds, *The Court of the Il-khans, 1290-1340*, Oxford: Studies in Islamic Art, no. 12, 1996, pp. 79-93; Jurgen Paul, 'Scheiche und Herrscher im Khanat Čağatay', *Der Islam*, no. 72, 1990, pp. 278-321; Jean Aubin, *Matériaux Pour la Biographie de Shah Ni'matullah Wali. Textes persans publiés avec une introduction*, Teheran and Paris: Institut Français d'Iranologie de Téhéran, 1982, pp. 8-18.
- 21 Charles Melville, 'Shah 'Abbas and the pilgrimage to Mashhad', in C. Melville, ed., *Safavid Persia*. Pembroke Papers, no. 4, London: I. B. Tauris, 1996, pp. 191-229; for Shahrukh's patronage, see Lisa Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1969, esp. pp. 82-84.
- 22 One can recognise the source of Khomeini's popularity here.
- 23 Nizami 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahar Maqala*, trans. E. G. Browne, London: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1921, repr. 1978, p. 45.
- 24 Kamal al-Din Husain Gazurgahi, *Majalis al-'Ushshaq*, ed., Ghulamriza Tabataba'i Majd, Tabriz: Zarrin, 1375 [1996]), pp. 166-67.
- 25 Gazurgahi, pp.100-01.
- 26 Gazurgahi, p. 141.
- 27 Gazurgahi, pp. 186-88.
- 28 Gazurgahi, pp. 315-16.
- 29 For a contemporary copy of his *Divan*, dated 1500, see *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: the Islamic world*, intro. Stuart Cary Welch, New York: The Museum, 1987, pp. 92-93.
- 30 See Lâle Uluç's chapter, 'Meetings of Lovers: the Bodleian *Majalis al-'Ushshaq*, MS. Ouseley Add. 24', in Scollay, pp. 83-89, and illustrations throughout the volume.
- 31 See the chapters by Barbara Brend, 'Love and Devotion in the *Shahnama* of Firdausi' and Firuza Abdullaeva, 'Women in the Romances of the *Shahnama*', in Scollay, pp. 23-39, 41-45.

- 32 Abu 'l-Qasim Firdausi, *Shahnama*, ed. Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. I, Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1987, p. 9, verse 84.
- 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*.
- 35 *Shahnama*, vol. V, p. 220, verse 9.
- 36 Firuza Abdullaeva and Charles Melville, *The Persian Book of Kings: Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnama*, Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2008.
- 37 See recent articles by Gabrielle van den Berg, 'Demons in the Persian Epic Cycle: the *Div Shabrang* in the Leiden *Shabrangnama* and in *Shahnama* manuscripts', in Charles Melville and Gabrielle van den Berg, eds, *Shahnama Studies II: the reception of Firdausi's Shahnama*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 35-47; Marjolijn van Zutphen, 'Faramarz's Expedition to Qannuj and Khargah: mutual influences of the *Shahnama* and the longer *Faramarznama*', in Melville and van den Berg, pp. 49-78.
- 38 E.g. the picture in 'Arifi's, *Osmannama*, 'Ghazi Rahman enters Aydos castle', reproduced in Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda and Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting*, trans. Ellen Yazar, Ankara: Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2010, p. 101, fig. 60.
- 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.
- 40 Karin Ruehrdanz, 'The Samarqand *Shahnamas*: the context of dynastic change', in Melville and van den Berg, eds., *Shahnama Studies II*, pp. 213-33.
- 41 Charles Melville, 'The *Tarikh-e Dilgoshay-e Shamshirkhani* by Tavakkol Beg and the Reception of the *Shahnama* in India', paper presented at the Fourth Association for the Study of Persianate Societies conference, Lahore, 28 February 2009, to be published; see also, Pasha M. Khan, 'Marvellous Histories: reading the *Shahnamah* in India', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, no. 49, 2012, pp. 527-56.
- 42 Karin Rührdanz, 'About a Group of Truncated *Shahnamas*: a case study in the commercial production of illustrated manuscripts in the second part of the sixteenth century', *Muqarnas*, vol. 14, 1997, pp. 118-34; also Jan Schmidt, 'The Reception of the *Shahnama* among the Ottomans', in Melville and van den Berg, eds., *Shahnama Studies II*, 121-39, esp. 127, 137.
- 43 See the double frontispiece in a 16th-century manuscript of Sa 'di, *Bustan*, National Library of Russia, PNS 269, fols. 2v-3r, reproduced in M. M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII Centuries: miniatures from U.S.S.R. Collections*, Dushanbe, Tajikistan: Irfon, 1974, pp. 90-91, fig. 74-75.
- 44 E.g. British Library, Ms. J.60-2, with an illuminated page for the opening *ghazal*.
- 45 Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, *Duvalrani & Khizr Khan*, Bukhara, 1598. NLR, PNS 276, f. 87v, reproduced in E. Yu. Yusupov, ed., *Miniatures Illuminations of Amir Hosrov Dehlevi's Works*, Tashkent, Uzbekistan: Fan, 1983, fig. 42; Nizami, *Khamsa*, Kabul, 1662. Delhi inv. 50, 137, fol. 140v, 'Majnun on Leili's grave', reproduced in E. Yu. Yusupov, ed., *Miniatures Illuminations of Nisami's "Hamsah"*, Tashkent, Uzbekistan: Fan, 1985, fig. 209.
- 46 'Meeting of lovers', from Nava 'i, *Divan*, c. 1530, Topkapi Palace Library, R 804, fol. 145v, reproduced in Serpil Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, p. 58, fig. 26.
- 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 Yayınları, 2006.

- 48 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.
- 49 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.
- 50 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.
- 51 See the 11th-century gold jewellery from Iran, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, p. 38, fig. 25.
- 52 *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).
- 53 Abdullaeva and Melville, *The Persian Book of Kings*, p. 27, fig. 12.
- 54 Reproduced in *Masterpieces of Persian Painting*, Tehran: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005, p. 67.
- 55 Reproduced in Barbara Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi*, London: Philip Wilson, 2010, frontispiece and pp. 164-65, pl. 76.
- 56 Free Library of Philadelphia, Mss. O. 51 and O. 55.
- 57 Linda Komaroff, ed. *Gifts of the Sultan: the arts of giving at the Islamic courts*, Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011.
- 58 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, *Şehinşehname*, vol. 2, Topkapi Palace Library, B 200, fols. 36v-37r; Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, p. 482, fig. 354, and p. 489, fig. 360.
- 59 *Treatise on Calligraphy* by Sultan-'Ali Mashhadi, Ardabil, text c. 1514-20, binding 1560-70. NLR, Dorn 454, reproduced here as figure 9. Also in Olga Vasiliyeva, 'From the Ardabil Shrine to the National Library of Russia', in *Gifts of the Sultan*, pp. 200-01.
- 60 Edward Kasinec and Robert Davis, 'Graphic Documentation of Gift Exchange between the Russian Court and its Islamic Counterparts, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Century', in Linda Komaroff, ed., *Gifts of the Sultan*, pp. 189-99; and Firuza I. Melville, 'Khosrow Mirza's Mission to St Petersburg in 1829', in Stephanie Cronin, ed., *Iranian-Russian Encounters: empires and revolutions since 1800*, Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2013, pp. 69-94.
- 61 Layla S. Diba, 'Introducing Fath 'Ali Shah: production and dispersal of the *Shahanshanama* manuscripts', in Charles Melville, ed., *Shahnama Studies I*, Cambridge: Centre of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 2006, pp. 239-57.

## 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*, *Eurasiatica*, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Studi Eurasiatici, 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.odl.ox.ac.uk/gsdll/cgi-bin/library?e=d-000-00---0orient02-00-0-0-0prompt-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).
- 3 D. S. Rice, 'The Seasons and Labors of the Months in Islamic Art', *Ars Orientalis*, no. 1, 1954, pp. 1-41.
- 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).
- 5 For a general introduction to Abu Ma'shar, see Charles Burnett, 'Abū Ma'shar', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 3, Brill Online, 2013: [http://www.encyquran.brill.nl/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abu-mashar-SIM\\_0032](http://www.encyquran.brill.nl/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/abu-mashar-SIM_0032) (accessed 31 January 2013).
- 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.
- 7 Respectively, Monica Miró, ed., *The Book of Felicity*, Barcelona: Moleiro Editor, 2007 and Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in The Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997, pp. 71-84, no. 22.
- 8 Stefano Carboni, 'Ginn del *Kitab al-bulhan* e scienza talismanica nel mondo islamico', *Annali di Ca' Foscari, Rivista della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell'Università di Venezia*, 'Serie Orientale 17', vol. XXV, no. 3, 1986, pp. 97-108.
- 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 Zawba'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](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.
- 12 The most recent edition in Arabic of the *Shams al-ma'arif al-kubra'* was published in Beirut: Al Nour Library, 2006.
- 13 The most thorough study on the subject is Jaako Hämeen-Anttila, *The Last Pagans of Iraq: Ibn Wahshiyya and his Nabatean agriculture*, Leiden: Brill, 2006.

- 14 See, for example, the catalogue of the exhibition: Jacques Mercier, ed., *Le Roi Salomon et les Maîtres de Regard: art et médecine en Ethiopie*, Paris: Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, RMN Ed., 1992.
- 15 A brief analysis of this illustration is in Stefano Carboni, 'Ricostruzione del ciclo pittorico del *Kitab al-bulhan* di Oxford: le miniature delle copie ottomane mancanti nell'originale', *Annali di Ca' Foscari, Rivista della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell'Università di Venezia*, 'Serie Orientale 19', vol. XXVII, no. 3, 1988, pp. 97-126.
- 16 Images of this extraordinary creature from the two earliest extant copies of al-Qazvini's text (in Munich, see note 4 above and in London, British Library, Or. 14140, early-14th century) can be found in Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image & Cosmos in Medieval Islam*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011, figs. 52-53. For the latter codex see also Stefano Carboni, 'The London Qazvini: an early-14th century copy of the *'Aja'ib al-Makhlūqat*', *Islamic Art*, vol. 3, 1988-89, pp. 15-31.
- 17 Charles Burnett, 'The Legend of the Three Hermes and Abu Ma'shar's *Kitab al-Uluf* in the Latin Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, vol. 39, 1976, pp. 231-34.
- 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.
- 19 Sverre Bøe, *Gog and Magog*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neue Testament 2. Reihe 135, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- 20 *The Thousand and One Nights* is published in many editions in all languages. It is worth mentioning the Arabic edition edited by Muhsin Mahdi in 1984: *The Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa Layla)*, Leiden: Brill, 1984, 2 volumes followed by a lengthy introduction in English and indexes, 1994, which is the result of thorough research of the earliest sources. The new Penguin Classics translation in three volumes (2008) by Malcolm C. Lyons and Ursula Lyons of the so-called Calcutta II edition in Arabic of 1841 has also been welcomed as one of the best English-language publications. Robert Irwin, *Arabian Nights: a companion*, London: Allen Lane-The Penguin Press, 1994, is essential reading on the subject.
- 21 Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam: a study of the place of pictorial art in Muslim culture*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928, most recent reprint Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002, pl. XV.
- 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 (Istanbul, 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.
- 27 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Arab. 2583), cited above, note 10. The codex, which also includes the four illustrations of Iblis and the Kings of jinns mentioned in the same note, has not been properly studied. See Edgar Blochet, *Musulman Painting XIIIth-XVIIth Century*, London: Methuen & Co., 1929, pls. 32-33 and by the same author, *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Paris: Éditions de la Gazette de Beaux-Arts, 1926, pl. 20.
- 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*

- 1 The poet provides the precise date of completion of the work as the end of the month of Rajab AH 584 (24th September 1188 CE). Hakim Nizami Ganjavi, *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, Tehran: Nashreghatreh, 1390 [2011-12]), p. 29, lines 13-14. For a further discussion on the date of completion, see: G. H. Darab, *Makhzanol Asrar: the treasury of mysteries of Nezami of Ganjeh*, London: Arthur Probsthain, 1948, pp. 37-38.
- 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 Azerbaijan. 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.
- 4 *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 26, line 2.
- 5 *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 26, lines 3-13.
- 6 *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 61, line 14.
- 7 Ali Asghar Seyed-Gohrab, *Layli and Majnun: love, madness and mystic longing in Nizami's epic romance*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003, p. 244.
- 8 For a discussion on the veils between the divine and creation, see, for example: Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali, *The Mishkat al-Anwar*, trans. by W. H. T. Gairdner, New York: Cosimo Classics, 2010, p. 88. ff.
- 9 *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 62, line 9.
- 10 Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani*, p. 114, <http://www.alwaraq.net/Core/AlwaraqSrv/bookpage?book=9&session=ABBBVFAGFGFHAAWER&fkey=2&page=1&option=1> (accessed 10 February 2013).
- 11 See, for example: <http://www.maajim.com/%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%B3> (accessed 10 February 2013).
- 12 Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani*, p. 115.
- 13 Abu Bakr al-Walibi, *Diwan Qays ibn al-Mulawwah*, ed. by Yusri 'Abd al-Ghani, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1999, p. 123.
- 14 For a discussion of this, see, for example: <http://www.ahlaltheeth.com/vb/showthread.php?t=275554> and Ibn Babawayh (al-Shaykh al-Saduq), *Ma'ani al-Akhbar*, 237-238 <http://shiaonlinelibrary.com/> (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." Available from <http://www.alwaraq.net/> (accessed 10 February 2013).

- 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-'Atifiyah bayn al-'Udhriyah wa-al-Sufiyah*, Cairo: Dar Nahdat Misr, 1976, pp. 17-43.
- 19 Muhammad Ghunaymi Hilali, *al-Hayah al-'Atifiyah*, p. 36.
- 20 Stendhal, *De L'Amour*, Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1868, p. 177. ff. Available online at <http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=1rA9AAAACAAJ&pg=PR3#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed 10 February 2013).
- 21 See also: Renate Jacobi, 'Udhri', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, Brill Online, 2013 (accessed 10 February 2013). [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/udhri-SIM\\_7679](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/udhri-SIM_7679).
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- 23 Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani*, p. 116.
- 24 Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani*, p. 114. ff.
- 25 DihKhuda, *Lughatnamah*, entry for Layla. Available online at <http://www.loghatnaameh.org/dehkhodaworddetail-f62c02dd4d2247538809e133cffb2896-fa.html> (accessed 10 February 2013).
- 26 Nizami, *The Story of Layla and Majnun*, trans. by R. Gelpke, Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1978, p. 201.
- 27 *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 57, lines 10-11.
- 28 *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 60, lines 10, ff.
- 29 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ahmad Jami, *Masnavi-yi Haft Awrang*, Tehran: Intisharat-i Mahtab, 1375 [1996-97], p. 766, ff.
- 30 *Layli u Majnun*, ed. H. W. Dastgirdi, p. 223, line 10.
- 31 Nizami, *The Story of Layla and Majnun*, tr. R. Gelpke, Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1978, p. 184.
- 32 Al-Ibshihi al-Muhalla, *al-Mustatraf fi kull Fann Mustazraf*, Beirut: Dar al-Adwa', 1995, p. 323.

### Taheri, *Women in Rumi's Spiritual Circle*

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- 2 Jalāl al-Din Mawlavī. *Masnavī-ye Ma'navī*, ed. Reynold Nicholson, Tehran, 1375 (1955), vol. 1, p. 109.
- 3 *Masnavī*, ed. Nicholson, vol. IV, p. 558.
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- 5 *Ma'āref*, ed. Badi' al-Zamān, pp. 327-28.
- 6 *Ma'āref*, ed. Badi' al-Zamān, p. 182.
- 7 Jalāl al- Din Rumi, *The Masnavi of Jalal al-din Rumi*, trans. Reynold A. Nicholson, London, 1926, vol. 1, p. 133.
- 8 Fatemeh Keshavarz, 'Pregnant With God: the poetic art of mothering the sacred in Rumi's Fihi MaFih', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, vol. xxii, no. 1-2, 2002, pp. 90-99.
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- 11 Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi. *Maktūbāt*, ed. Towfiq Sobhānī, Tehran, 1371 (1951), Rumi, pp. 132-33.
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- 13 Aflākī, p. 340.
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- 15 Aflākī, pp. 899, 995.
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- 19 Aflākī, p. 406.
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- 21 Aflākī, pp. 787-88.
- 22 Aflākī, pp. 912-13, 924. Gūlpīnārī, pp. 125-28.
- 23 Aflākī, pp. 869-70.
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- 25 Aflākī, pp. 287-88.
- 26 Aflākī, p. 601.
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- 34 Aflākī, p. 681.
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- 44 Aflākī, p. 889.
- 45 Gūlpīnārī, p. 133.
- 46 Aflākī, p. 919.
- 47 Gūlpīnārī, pp. 502-03.
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- 49 Gūlpīnārī, p. 328.

### **Kambaskovic-Sawers, *Plato’s Loves and Shakespeare’s Women***

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  - 3 Marsilius Ficinus, Oration I, *Sopra lo amore o ver' convito di Platone*, in Firenze per Neri Dortelita Con Friviltgio di N.S. di Novembre M.D. XXXXIII [1544].
  - 4 Mario Equicola, *Libro di Natura d'Amore*, cited in Charles Nelson, *Renaissance Treatises on Love*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, p. 70.
  - 5 Süleyman Derin, *Love in Sufism: from Rabia to Ibn al-Farid*, Istanbul: Insan Publications, 2008, p.11. For further discussion of theories of Sufi love and their associations with Plato's theory of love, see pp. 20-24.
  - 6 Danijela Kambaskovic-Sawers, 'The Two Faces of Love: devotion and terror in Medieval and Renaissance Europe', in Scollay, pp. 140-49.
  - 7 William Shakespeare, *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt, et al., New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997. I have used this edition for all citations of Shakespeare's work.
  - 8 Jean Calvin, *Commentary on I Cor. 7:6*, 1546, CR 49, cited by Wim Francois, 'Consummation: sin or remedy? Body and soul in Guilelmus Estius' "rigorist" Catholic contribution to the early modern theological debate on marital sex', in *Conjunctions: Body and Soul in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Danijela Kambaskovic-Sawers, forthcoming from Springer, History of the Philosophy of Mind Series, 2013.
  - 9 Paul Siegel, 'Christianity and the Religion of Love in Romeo and Juliet', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 4, Autumn, 1961, pp. 371-392.
  - 10 Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore et de Amoris Remedio*, Straßburg: C.W., 1473-1474, *Andreas Capellanus On Love*, ed. with an English trans. by P. G. Walsh, London: Duckworth, 1982; Bernard de Gordon, *Opus Lilium medicinae inscriptum, de morborum prope omnium curatione, septem particulis distributum, una cum aliquot aliis ejus libellis . . . omnia quam unquam antehac, emendatiora ...* Lugduni: Apud Gulielmum Rovillum, 1550, Timothie Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie*, by T. Bright, *Doctor of Physicke*, imprinted in London by Thomas Vautrolier, dwelling at the Black Friars, 1586; Jacques Ferrand, *Traité de l'essence et guérison de l'amour, ou De la mélancholie érotique, par M. Jacques Ferrand, . . .* Toulouse: impr. de Vve J. et R. Colomiez, 1610; *De la maladie d'amour: ou, Melancholie érotique. Discours curieux qui enseigne à cognoistre l'essence, les causes, les signes, & les remedes de ce mal fantastique . . .* Paris, Denis Moreau, 1623, published in English as *Treatise on Lovesickness* in Oxford in 1640; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy vvhat it is. VVith all the kindes, causes, symptomes, prognostickes, and seuerall cures of it. In three maine partitions with their seuerall sections, members, and subsections. Philosophically, medicinally, historically, opened and cut vp. By Democritus Iunior. With a satyricall preface, conducting to the following discourse*, Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield and Iames Short, for Henry Cripps, Anno Dom. 1621; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. and intro. Holbrook Jackson, and with an intro. by William H. Gass, New York: The New York Review of Books, 2001; Pierre Pettit, *De lacrymis libri tres*, Parisiis: Apud Claudium Cramoisy, 1661, Pettie, George. *A Petite Palace of Pettie His Pleasure: containing many pretie histories, by him set forth in comely colours, and most delightfully discoursed*, London: printed by Thomas Dawson for R. Watkins, ca. 1585; Franciscus Valleriola. *F. Valleriote . . . obseruationum medicinalium lib. vj. Denuo editi . . . adjectis duobus indicibus, etc.* Apud Antonium Candidum: [Geneva,] 1588; André du Laurens, *Discours de la conservation de la veue; des maladies melancholiques; des catarrhes; et de la vieillesse. Reveuz de nouveau et augmentez de plusieurs chapitres*, Paris, 1597; Jean Aubery, *L'Antidote d'amour: Auec un ample discours, contenant la nature et les causes d'iceluy, etc.*, Paris: C. Chappelet, 1599; Jean de Veyries, *La Généalogie de l'amour divisée en deux livres, par Jean de Veyries*, Paris: A. L'Angelier, 1609. For a discussion of the impact of treatises on love-madness on society, see also Michal

- Altbauer-Rudnik, 'Love, Madness and Social Order: love melancholy in France and England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', *Gesnerusi*, vol 63, 2006, pp. 33–45.
- 11 See also A.D. Cousins, *Shakespeare's Sonnets and Narrative Poems*. Harlow, England/ New York: Longman, 2000; Peter Holbrook, *Literature and Degree in Renaissance England: Nashe, bourgeois tragedy, Shakespeare*, Newark : University of Delaware Press/ London: Cranbury/ N.J.:Associated University Presses, 1994; Peter Holbrook, *Shakespeare's Individualism*, Cambridge, UK/ New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
  - 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 York: Palgrave, 2002, pp. 41-53.
  - 13 Although, to be fair, these words are reported by the nurse, not spoken directly.
  - 14 Janet Adelman, *Suffocating Mothers: fantasies of maternal origin in Shakespeare's plays, Hamlet to The Tempest*, New York, NY and London: Routledge, 1992.
  - 15 David Wilbern, 'Rape and Revenge in *Titus Andronicus*', in *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 8, 1978, pp. 159–82; Marion Wynne-Davies, "'The Swallowing Womb": consumed and consuming women in *Titus Andronicus*', in *The Matter of Difference: materialist feminist criticism of Shakespeare*, ed. Valerie Wayne, New York, NY and London: Harvester, 1991, pp. 129–51.
  - 16 Deborah Willis, "'The gnawing vulture": revenge, trauma theory, and *Titus Andronicus*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 1, Spring 2002, pp. 21-52.
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  - 18 Jane Kingsley-Smith, 'Titus Andronicus: a violent change of fortunes', *Literature Compass*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2008, pp. 106-21, especially pp. 112-14.
  - 19 Douglas E. Green, 'Interpreting "Her Martyr'd Signs": gender and tragedy in *Titus Andronicus*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 3, 1989, pp. 317-26, 317.
  - 20 Macbeth praises Lady Macbeth by suggesting she should birth only boys. *Macbeth*, 1.7.73-75. Baldesar Castiglione reiterates Galenic views that female-bearing gestation is faulty. Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), trans. Charles S. Singleton, Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1959, III: II.
  - 21 'Fictional Elements in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Sonnet Sequences and Early Modern Fictions', *Parergon, Journal of ANZAMEMS*, vol. 29, no. 1, July 2012; *Constructing Sonnet Sequences in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance: a study of six poets*, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010; "'Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords": ambiguous speaker and storytelling in Shakespeare's Sonnets', *Criticism*, vol. 49, no. 3, Summer, 2007, pp. 70-115.
  - 22 See also Kathryn Schwarz, 'Will in Overplus: recasting misogyny in Shakespeare's Sonnets', *English Literary History*, vol. 75, no. 3, 2008, pp. 737-66.
  - 23 And a number of potential sexual scandals; Margreta de Grazia, 'The Scandal of Shakespeare's Sonnets', *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 46, 1993, p. 49, and Robert Matz, 'The Scandals of Shakespeare's Sonnets', *English Literary History*, vol. 77, no. 2, 2010, pp. 477-508, articles which should be read in conjunction.

- 24 Katherine Duncan-Jones, ed., *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, London: Arden Shakespeare, 2003 [1997], Introduction, pp. 69-70.
- 25 See also M. L. Stapleton, '“My False Eyes”: the Dark Lady and Self-Knowledge', *Studies in Philology*, vol. 90, no. 2, Spring, 1993, pp. 213-30.

### **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.
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- 4 Wilfrid Blunt, *Isfahan: pearl of Persia*, London: Pallas Athene, 2009, p. 147.
- 5 Reported by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, quoted in Blow, p. 139.
- 6 Tavernier, quoted in Blow, p. 142.
- 7 Anne-Marie Touzard, 'France vii. French travellers in Persia, 1600–1730', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Online Edition, 15 December 2000, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/france-vii-french-travelers-in-persia-1600-1730> (accessed 29 March 2012).
- 8 Roger Stevens, 'European Visitors to the Safavid Court', *Iranian Studies*, vol. 7, no. 3/4, Summer-Autumn 1974, p. 424.
- 9 Tavernier, quoted in Stevens, p. 435.
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- 11 Tavernier, quoted in Blow, p. 142.
- 12 Jean de Thévenot, quoted in Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 44.
- 13 A. Lovell, preface to Jean de Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*, London: H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Skegnes and T. Newborough, 1687, fol. (b) iv.
- 14 Thévenot, quoted in Stevens, p. 430.
- 15 John Emerson, 'Sir John Chardin', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 5, 1991, p. 369.
- 16 Lalah Labib-Rahman, 'Sir Jean Chardin, the Great Traveller (1643–1712/3)', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. 23, no. 5, 1981, p. 309.
- 17 Ronald W. Ferrier, *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's portrait of a seventeenth-century empire*. London: I. B. Taurus, 1996, p. 18.
- 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.
- 24 Judith Still, 'Enlightenment Hospitality: the case of Chardin', *French Studies*, vol. 60, no. 3, July 2006, pp. 366–67.
- 25 Chardin, quoted in Blunt, p. 152.
- 26 Blunt, p. 96.

- 27 Dew, p. 5.
- 28 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- 29 Still, p. 366.
- 30 Still, p. 365, note 6.
- 31 Chardin, quoted in Stevens, p. 448.

### **Meagher, Politics and Persian Mythology in Irish Poetry**

- 1 Letter to Moore, 28 August 1813, Leslie Alexis Marchand, ed., *Byron's Letters and Journals*, 13 vols, London: John Murray, 1974, III, 101.
- 2 See Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: a literary and intellectual history*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004, pp. 7, 9-13, 25-26, 30-36 and 59.
- 3 Marilyn Butler, 'Orientalism', in *The Romantic Period*, ed. by David B. Pirie, 'The Penguin History of Literature', vol. 5, London: Penguin, 1994, pp. 395-447 (419-21).
- 4 For a full account of the Round Tower controversy, see Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: patterns in the historical and literary representation of Ireland in the nineteenth century*, 'Critical Conditions: Field Day Essays and Monographs', vol. 4, Cork: Cork University Press, 1996, pp. 108-26.
- 5 The religion practised in Persia and parts of Central Asia prior to the arrival of Islam.
- 6 Thomas Salmon, *Modern History*, London: Printed for Messrs. Bettesworth and Hitch . . . [etc.], 1739, vol. 1, p. 398. Quoted in *The Poems of Thomas Gray, William Collins, Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, London: Longman, 1989, p. 369.
- 7 Quoted by Wallace Cable Brown, 'Thomas Moore and English Interest in the East', *Studies in Philology*, vol. 34, no. 4, Oct. 1937, pp. 576-88 (576).
- 8 Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh*, London: Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1817, p. 229.
- 9 *Lalla Rookh*, p. 290.
- 10 For this section within the full text of *Lalla Rookh* see <http://www.knowledgerush.com/pg/etext05/7cptom10.txt>.
- 11 Badi ' al-Din Manuchihr al-Tajiri al-Tabrizi, *Dilsuznama*, 1455-56, MS. Ouseley 133, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, fol. 62r. Quoted in Susan Scollay, 'An Ottoman "Garden of Love": The Oxford *Dilsuznama*, the "Book of Compassion"', Scollay, pp.119-33 (122).
- 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.

- 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.
- 3 See in 'Hafiz Nameh', Ah! Let the whole world slide and sink. / Hafiz with thee alone the strife / Of song I seek. / *Twin-brothers* we, / Our pain, our pleasure common be! / To love like thee, like thee to drink, / Shall be my pride, shall be my life', in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-Eastern Divan*, in twelve books, trans. Edward Dowden, London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1914 (hereafter Goethe 1914, trans. Dowden), p. 26.
- 4 See the first complete translation into German of Hafiz' *Divan*: Hafis/Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall: *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-din-Hafis. Aus dem Persischen zum erstenmal ganz übersetzt von Joseph v. Hammer*, 2 vols, Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta 1812/1813 (1814), reprint Hildesheim and New York, 1973.
- 5 The original project title of a 'German Divan' can be traced back to a draft original title page from 14 December 1814, featuring 'ein Deutscher Divan', in J. W. Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens, Münchner Ausgabe*, vol II.I.2, ed. Karl Richer, Munich and Vienna: Carl Hanser, 1998 and Random House, 2007, (hereafter, Goethe, *Münchner Ausgabe*, 1998) p. 291 (with editorial notes, p. 879).
- 6 In his contribution 'Goethe, Islam and the Orient: the impetus for and mode of cultural encounter in the West-östlicher Divan', Yomb May refers to the Goethe-Hafiz relationship as a 'premise of an intercultural paradigm' and regards 'the *Divan* phase of Goethe's writing' and his 'engagement with the Orient as *pars pro toto* for his universal thinking', arguably directed towards a progressive *universal* poetry. In *Encounters with Islam in German Literature and Culture*, J. Hodgkinson and J. Morrison, eds., Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009, pp. 100,104.
- 7 See Barbara Stemmrich-Köhler's detailed examination of the role of oriental poetry in Goethe, Herder and Hegel, in particular her analysis of 'poets and prophets,' 'Poeten und Propheten,' in *Zur Funktion der Orientalischen Poesie bei Goethe, Herder, Hegel*, Bochumer Schriften zur deutschen Literatur, vol. 31, Frankfurt, Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1992, p. 111 ff.
- 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 Jahreshften', 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 'Fergendienst – 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.

- 12 A lineage of *Henologies* (derived from *το ἒη* [to hen], 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'.
- 13 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 dehyphenation.
- 14 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*.
- 15 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!" / Thous 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.
- 16 For a commanding overview and historic contextualisation of the candle and moth metaphors in Hafiz' *Divan* see A. A. Seyed-Gohrab, 'Waxing Eloquent: The Masterful Variations on Candle Metaphors in the Poetry of Hafiz and his Predecessors' in *Metaphor and Imagery in Persian Poetry*, ed. Ali Asghar Seyed-Gohrab, Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 81-124.
- 17 R. E. Dye presents an ironic interpretation of this elitist caveat in the light of the poem's 'relative obscurity' through a close philological examination of the poem in "'Selige Sehnsucht" and Goethean Enlightenment' in *PMLA*, Modern Language Association, vol. 104, No. 2, 1989, pp. 190-200.
- 18 The *constellational rivalry* with Hafiz permeates obliquely the entire *West-Eastern Divan* (see also notes 3 & 9): 'Hafiz, thy equal e'er to be / were dream insane!'; Goethe 1914, trans. Dowden, p. 27.
- 19 See Brecht's journal entry on 27 October 1941 in Bertolt Brecht, *Arbeitsjournal 1938-1955*, ed. Werner Hecht, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1973, vol. 1, p. 221.
- 20 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.
- 21 Detailed accounts of the first and subsequent encounters in 1814 are provided in Dagmar von Gersdorff, *Marianne von Willemer und Goethe. Die Geschichte einer Liebe*, Frankfurt and Leipzig, Insel, 2003 (ch. V, 'Begegnung'), and in Siegfried Unseld, *Goethe und der Ginkgo – Ein Baum und ein Gedicht*, Frankfurt and Leipzig: Insel, 1998, (hereafter Unseld 1998) pp. 35-41.
- 22 The original analytic and historic part called 'Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständniß' -intended for a 'better comprehension' of Goethe's own *Divan* – exceeds the poetic part by a far and represents a considerable attempt by Goethe to provide a comprehensive personal synopsis of his oriental research.
- 23 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, Goethe claimed that 'all is simply metamorphosis', Boisserée 1978, p. 263 (trans. M. Stamm).
  - 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, oder zwei die sich in eins verbinden. So war der Inhalt des Verses.' Boisserée 1978, p. 269.
  - 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 take!' Goethe (trans. Dowden, p. 100). H. A. Korff – as is also noted by von Gersdorff, 2003, p. 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 in zeitlicher Folge*, Leipzig, Stuttgart and Zürich: S. Hirzel, 1947, p. 23.
  - 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 Boisserée 1978, p. 268.
  - 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, *Münchener 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, *Münchener 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.
- 41 For an engagement with Schubert's songs of the period see Richard Capell, *Schubert's Songs*, London: E. Benn, 1973, 'The Divan Songs', particularly pp. 154-57 and more recently Lorraine Byrne's commanding publication, *Schubert's Goethe Settings*, London: Ashgate 2003, with an instructive section on the Divan songs, ch. 13, pp. 368-82.
- 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'.
- 45 Goethe's diary of 16 June 1825 states laconically, 'Consignment from Schubert of Vienna, compositions of some of *my* songs', translation by Eric Blom (italics M. Stamm), in O. E. Deutsch, ed., *Schubert – A documentary Biography*, London: J. M. Dent & Sons and Da Capo Press, 1977, letter no. 561, p. 422. Only a week earlier than Goethe's diary entry, on 9 June 1825, Marianne's West-wind poem (*Suleika II*, Op. 31, D717) had been given its public premiere, performed by A. Milder-Hauptmann, however not in Weimar, but in Berlin; see Weitz, *Goethe Briefwechsel*, 1995, p. 519.
- 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.
- 47 See Emilie Kellner's recollection of Marianne's words of remembrance in E. Beutler, 'Die Boisserée-Gespräche von 1815 und die Entstehung des Gingo-biloba-Gedichtes', in E. Beutler, *Essays um Goethe*, Frankfurt and Leipzig: Insel, 1995, pp. 389-422 (particularly p. 421 f.), as well as the oblique report of the last visit in Unseld 1998, p. 75 (trans. M. Stamm).
- 48 The German original inscription reads 'Die Liebe höret nimmer auf,' quoted in Carmen Kahn-Wallerstein, 1985, p. 283 (trans. M. Stamm).

## **Brend, *From Persia and Beyond***

- 1 State Library of Victoria, RARESF 745.670955 AM5K. Acquired at auction at Christie's, London, 13.4. 2010, lot 123. There are twenty illustrations (for wider cycle see Barbara Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting: illustrations to Amir Khusrau's Khamsah*, London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, pp. 265-78):

- 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 *Za'farani* pavilion
  - 16) 185r, Bahram Gur in the *Rihani* pavilion
  - 17) 189r, Bahram Gur in the *Gulnari* pavilion
  - 18) 195v, Bahram Gur in the *Bunafsh* pavilion
  - 19) 203r, Bahram Gur in the *Sandali* pavilion
  - 20) 208v, Bahram Gur in the *Kafuri* pavilion
- 2 Centres such as Mashhad or Bakharz.
  - 3 Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian art and culture in the fifteenth century*, Los Angeles and Washington D.C.: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1989, Appendix III, p. 377, shows this composition as very stable in the previous century.
  - 4 Foot massage is already portrayed in a pavilion scene of the late-15th century, Basil Gray, ed., *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia: 14th-16th centuries*, Paris and London: UNESCO and Serindia, 1979, pl. LXVII. For an early-17th century couple embracing in a light wooden structure see Eleanor Sims, *Peerless Images: Persian painting and its sources*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002, pp. 243-44, and no. 159.
  - 5 See Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 376.
  - 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.
  - 8 For example, Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Timûrides*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954, pl. LXXX; Lentz and Lowry, p. 379.
  - 9 Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, p. 97, pl. 24.
  - 10 Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 120; Barbara Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizami*, London: British Library, 1995, figs. 17 and 20.
  - 11 Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, pl. 38 and 95. Barbara Brend, 'Akbar's *Khamsah* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi', *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XLIX, nos. 3 / 4, pl. 7; in colour, John Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot of India: the Walters Art Museum Khamsa of Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2001, pl. XIV.
  - 12 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 378; Brend, *Akbar's Nizami*, fig. 21.
  - 13 Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, p. 191; Sheila R. Canby, *Persian Painting*, London: British Museum Press, 1993, no. 56.
  - 14 For a 14th-century example see Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: the illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980, no. 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.
  - 19 Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 297, cat. 140.
  - 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.

- 1 I. G. Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, p. 19.
- 2 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1633-1634*, ed. by John Bruce, London: Longman and Co., 1863, pp. 476-77. I am grateful to Bruce Barker-Benfield for identifying this reference for me.
- 3 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Or. 149. J. Seyller, *Workshop and Patron in Mughal India: the Freer Rāmāyana and other illustrated manuscripts of ‘Abd al-Rahīm*, Zurich and Washington, DC: Artibus Asiae and Freer Gallery of Art, 1999, pp. 257-63, suggests that this album can be attributed to the painting workshop of ‘Abd al-Rahim (1556-1626), the *Khankhanan* or commander-in-chief of the Mughal armies.
- 4 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Elliott 254.
- 5 For a more comprehensive overview see A. Topsfield, *Paintings from Mughal India*, Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2008.
- 6 E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London: Burns, Oates and Co., 1932, p. 24.
- 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.
- 8 *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī: or memoirs of Jahāngīr*, trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, 2nd. ed., 2v., Delhi: Munshiram Manoharial, 1968, henceforth cited as *Jahāngīr*, vol. 2, pp. 43-44.
- 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).
- 10 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Pers. d.102.
- 11 James Atkinson, *Lailī and Majnūn; a poem. From the original Persian of Nazāmi*. London: Valpy, 1836, (hereafter Atkinson, *Lailī*).
- 12 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Pers.d.102, p. 47.
- 13 Atkinson, *Lailī*, line 1266.
- 14 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Elliott 254.
- 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.
- 16 W. Beloe, *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, vol. 4, London: Rivington 1810, pp. xiv-xvii.
- 17 See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Elliott 254, fol. 10r.
- 18 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Elliott 254, fol. 9r.
- 19 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce Or. a. 1.
- 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

- marked by Douce in his copy of the sale catalogue, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce CC 301 (5), p. 116.
- 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 *Jahāngīr*, vol.1, p. 129.
  - 23 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce Or. a. 1, fols. 32v, 'Akbar kills a lion', and 33r, 'Jahangir kills a lioness'; see R. Skelton, 'Two Mughal Lion hunts' in *Victoria & Albert Museum Yearbook*, I, London: The Museum, 1969, pp. 40-41. For further information relating to Mughal hunting see, for example, E. Koch, *Dara-Shikoh Shooting Nilgais: hunt and landscape in Mughal painting*, Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1998.
  - 24 I am indebted to my former colleague, Colin Wakefield, for this translation.
  - 25 See W. M. Thackston, 'Calligraphy in the albums' in E. Wright, *Muraqqa' : Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library Dublin*, Alexandria, VA: The Marg Foundation, 2008, pp. 155-56.
  - 26 See D. Haldane, *Islamic Bookbindings in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London: V&A Museum Publishing, 1983, p. 70.

### 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

- 1 See Hans Christian Andersen, 'The Muse of the Coming Age', in Hans Christian Andersen, *Stories and Tales*, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1870, pp. 442-47.
- 2 Nowadays, the scholarly bibliography on the *Shahnama* is substantial and widespread in many languages, although, given its length, most works naturally tend to focus on only certain aspects of the poem, so that innumerable themes are yet to be explored. A new, highly acclaimed edition of the *Shahnama* has been published over the course of the last twenty years: Abu-'l-Qasim Firdausi, *Shahnama (Book of Kings)*, ed. Djalal Khaleqi Motlagh, Albany, NY: University of New York Press-Persian Heritage Foundation, 1987-2007. A general bibliographical survey can be found in Iraj Afshar, *Kitabshinasi-i Firdausi va Sahnama az aghaz-i nivisht-ha-yi pazhuhishi ta sal-i 1385*, Tehran: Miras-i maktub, 2010. Among recent scholarly studies in the English language, including for general readership, are the following: Dick Davis, *Epic and sedition: the case of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh*, Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1992; Olga M. Davidson, *Poet and hero in the Persian Book of King*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994; Robert Hillenbrand, ed., *Shahnama: the visual language of the Persian book of kings*, Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2004; A. Shapur Shahbazi, *Ferdowsi: A critical biography*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publisher, 2010 (first edition, 1991); Barbara Brend and Charles P. Melville, *Epic of the Persian Kings: the art of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh*, London/New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010. A modern and valuable – almost complete – translation in prose, interspersed with brief sections in verses, is Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh. The Persian Book of Kings*, trans. Dick Davis, London/New York: Penguin Books, 2006 (First edition published in three volumes by Mage Publishers, 1997, 2000, 2004).
- 3 Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, 'Une lecture du *Livre des Rois* de Ferdowsi', *Studia Iranica*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1976, pp. 171-202: 171.
- 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 glavnye versii na vostokey*,

- Moscou et Leningrad, Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1948; Armand Abel, 'La figure d'Alexandre en Iran', in *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1966, pp. 119-36; Mino S. Southgate, *Iskandarnamah. A Persian Alexander-Romance*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1978; Mario Casari, *Alessandro e Utopia nei romanzi persiani medievali*, Supplement no. 1 to the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Rome: Bardi Editore, 1999; Laurence Harf-Lancner, Claire Kappler et François Suard, eds, *Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures occidentales et proches orientales*, Nanterre: Centre des sciences de la littérature de l'université Paris X, 1999; François de Polignac, ed., *Alexandre le Grand, figure de l'incomplétude, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, vol. 112, no. 1, 2000; *Alexandre le Grand en Iran. Le Dârâb Nâmeh d'Abu Tâher Tarsusi*, ed. Marina Gaillard, Paris: Boccard, 2005; Yuriko Yamanaka, *Alekušandâ hensô (The Allegoresis of Alexander)*, Nagoya : Nagoya University Press, 2009.
- 5 See Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh*, trans. Dick Davis, 2006, p. 605.
  - 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 Bahrâm Gūr 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.
  - 7 See Enrico Cerulli, 'Una raccolta persiana di novelle tradotte a Venezia nel 1557', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, s. VIII, vol. 18, no. 4, 1975, pp. 247-363; Angelo Michele Piemontese, 'Gli "Otto Paradisi"', mentioned above.
  - 8 See the works mentioned in the previous note. See also Carlo Ginzburg, 'Spie. Radici di un paradigma indiziario', in Aldo Gargani, ed., *Crisi della ragione*, Torino: Einaudi, 1979, pp. 56-106; Robert K. Merton, Elinor Barber, *The Travels and Adventures of Serendipity: a study in sociological semantics and the sociology of science*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
  - 9 Angelo Michele Piemontese, 'Leggere e scrivere "orientalia" in Italia', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, 3rd series, 23, 1993, pp. 427-53; Robert Jones, 'The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1614) and the Impact of Its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe', in Gül A. Russell, ed., *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, Leiden: Brill, 1994, pp. 88-108; Mario Casari, 'Eleven Good Reasons for Learning Arabic in Late-Renaissance Italy: a Memorial by Giovan Battista Raimondi', in M. Israëls, L. Waldman, eds., *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2012, pp. 528-40; *La via delle lettere. La Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Florence, October 2012 – June 2013, ed. Sara Fani, Margherita Farina, Florence: Mandragora, 2012. On the general state of Persian Studies immediately before and after Raimondi's enterprise, see the informative article by Paola Orsatti, 'Prodromi degli studi europei sul persiano nel Rinascimento', in M. Tavoni, ed., *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento/Italy and Europe in Renaissance linguistics*, 2 vols., Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1996, II, pp. 551-67.
  - 10 See Angelo Michele Piemontese, 'G. B. Vecchiotti e la letteratura giudeo-persiana', *Materia Giudaica*, 15-16 (2010-11), pp. 483-500. More generally on the Vecchiotti brothers, recent essays include:

- Francis Richard, 'Les frères Vecchiotti, diplomates, erudits et aventuriers', in Alastair Hamilton, Maurits H. van den Boogert, Bart Westerweel, eds., *The Republic of letters and the Levant*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 11-26; Michele Bernardini, 'Giovan Battista and Gerolamo Vecchiotti in Hormuz', in Rudi Matthee, Jorge Flores, eds., *Portugal, the Persian Gulf and Safavid Persia*, Leuven: Peeters, 2011, pp. 265-82.
- 11 See above, note 2. On the discovery of the *Shahnama* manuscript in Florence National Library, see Angelo Michele Piemontese, 'Nuova luce su Firdawsī. Uno "Šāhnāma" datato 614 H./1217 a Firenze', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, vol. 40, 1980, pp. 1-38, 189-242.
  - 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.
  - 13 For an initial reading of the development of Persian Studies in Europe after the 17th century, see the special issue of *Iranian Studies*, vol. 20, 1988, devoted to Iranian Studies in Europe and Japan, with articles by Bert G. Fragner, Johannes Thomas Pieter de Bruijn, Bernard Hourcade, Angelo Michele Piemontese, and others. Relevant articles and bibliographies can be found also in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, published by the Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation-Columbia University, under the respective entries (France, Germany, Italy, and so on; the *Encyclopaedia* is also accessible online: [www.iranicaonline.org](http://www.iranicaonline.org)). On the particular cases mentioned above, see also Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth Century France*, London/Oxford: The Arcadian Library/Oxford University Press, 2004; Éva M. Jeremiás, 'Grammatical rule and standard in the first Persian grammars written in Latin (XVIIth century)', in M. Tavoni, ed., *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento/Italy and Europe in Renaissance linguistics*, 2 vols., Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1996, II, pp. 569-80.
  - 14 Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1697, p. 347.
  - 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, *Poeseos 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'.
  - 16 Fragmentary translations and abridgements were produced in English by Joseph Champion, 1788; James Atkinson, 1814 and 1832; Stephen Weston, 1815; William Tulloh Robertson, 1829, and Louisa Stuart Costello, 1845; in French: Louis Langlès, 1788; Jacob von Wallenbourg, 1810; in German, by S. F. G. Wahl, 1793, then Grafen von Ludolf, 1811; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, 1813, and Wahl once more, in 1816. The last three were published in the Viennese journal *Fundgruben des Orients*. Interesting surveys and notes concerning the European acquaintance with the *Shahnama* can be found in Hans Heinrich Schaefer, 'Firdosi und die Deutschen', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 88, 1934, pp. 118-29; John D. Yohannan, *Persian Poetry in England and America: a 200-year history*, Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1977; Javad Hadidi, *Az Sa 'di ta Aragon. Ta' sir-e adabiyat-e farsi dar adabiyat-e faranse* ['From Sa 'di to Aragon. The influence of Persian literature on French literature'], Tehran, Markaz-i nashr-i danishgahi, 1373 (1994), in particular, pp. 247-90.
  - 17 *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'lkasim 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.



- 18 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.
- 19 Jones, *The works*, p. 424.
- 20 Joseph Champion, *The Poems of Ferdosi*, London: Cadell and Debrett, 1788, vol. I, pp. xi-xii. A comment in the same vein was delivered in that same year by Louis Langlés, 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 Hellenistic 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 Firdawsî to Sa 'dî*, 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.
- 21 For example, the episode appears in the otherwise deeply hafezian *West-Östlicher Divan* by Goethe; see Wolfgang Goethe, *West-Östlicher Divan*, Stuttgart: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1819, pp. 276-78.
- 22 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.
- 23 Friedrich Rückert, *Rostem und Suhrab. Eine Heldengeschichte*, Stuttgart: S. G. Liesching, 1846, p. 3.
- 24 John D. Yohannan, *Persian Poetry in England and America*, Delmar, New York 1977, p. 78.
- 25 See Matthew Arnold, *Poems*, Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1856, pp. 55-56. An interesting comparison between the two different versions of the episode by Arnold and Zhukovski (who also translated Homer's *Odyssey* into Russian) is in Martin Bidney, 'Žukovskij and Arnold: Two Mid-Nineteenth-Century Versions of the Sohrab-Rustum Episode', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1989, pp. 16-33.
- 26 For a general discussion of this question, see the excellent volume Stephen Vernoit, ed., *Discovering Islamic Art: scholars, collectors and collections, 1850–1950*, London/New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000, and the collective volume by Linda Komaroff, ed., *Exhibiting the Middle East: collections and perceptions of Islamic art*. Special issue of *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 30, 2000 On the iconography of the *Shahnama* see Robert Hillenbrand, ed., *Shahnama: the visual language of the Persian book of the Kings*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004. On the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, see Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: the illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- 27 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*

*Mo'ayyad on his 80th Birthday: 24 essays on Persian literature, culture and religion*, Leiden : Leiden University Press, 2010, pp. 63-68: 67.

- 28 On the epigraph, the Persian text is accompanied by an Italian translation, drawn from Pizzi's version of the poem: Firdusi, *Il Libro dei Re. Poema epico recato in versi italiani da Italo Pizzi*, 8 vols. Turin: Vincenzo Bona, 1886-1888, II, p. 538, V, p. 186.

### **Alizadeh, *Sufis of the Antipodes***

- 1 Kenneth Avery and Ali Alizadeh, *Fifty Poems of Attar*, Melbourne: re.press, 2007, p. 13.
- 2 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books, 1994, p. 168.
- 3 David Lodge, *The Art of Fiction*, London: Penguin Books, 1992, p. 159.
- 4 Alain Badiou, *Second Manifesto for Philosophy*, trans. Louise Burchill, Cambridge: Polity, 2011, pp. 98-99.
- 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.
- 6 Philip Mead, *Networked Language: culture and history in Australian Poetry*, North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008, p. 298.
- 7 Judith Wright, 'Memory', *Australian Poetry Library*, <http://www.poetrylibrary.edu.au/poets/wright-judith/memory-0541038#> (accessed 9 April 2012).
- 8 Kirsten Holst Peterson and Anna Rutherford, 'Sojourn in the Sky: conventions of exile in Philip Salom's *Sky Poems*', *Westerly*, vol. 33, no. 2, 1988, p. 67.
- 9 Philip Salom, 'Erotic Ghazals', *Australian Poetry Library*, <http://www.poetrylibrary.edu.au/poets/salom-philip/erotic-ghazals-0489008> (accessed 9 April 2012).
- 10 For a comprehensive discussion of identifiably postmodernist literary tropes and techniques see Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism*, London and New York: Routledge, 1988.
- 11 Andy Jackson, 'Ghazal – Kolkata, Siliguri, Kalimpong', *Another Lost Shark*, <http://www.anotherlostshark.com/streetlife-issue/andy-jackson/> (accessed 28 October 2012).
- 12 Debbie Lim, 'The Irregular Self: Debbie Lim reviews Andy Jackson's *Among the Regulars*', *Mascara Literary Review*, <http://mascarareview.com/the-irregular-self-debbie-lim-reviews-andy-jacksons-among-the-regulars-2/> (accessed 28 October 2012).
- 13 Andy Jackson, 'Ghazal', *Mascara Literary Review*, [http://www.mascarareview.com/article/196/Andrew\\_Jackson/](http://www.mascarareview.com/article/196/Andrew_Jackson/) (accessed 9 April 2012).
- 14 Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, London and New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 21.
- 15 Slavoj Žižek, 'Badiou: Notes from an Ongoing Debate', *Lacanotcom*, <http://www.lacan.com/zizou.htm> (accessed 30 October 2012).
- 16 Ali Alizadeh, 'Rupturing Dante: John Kinsella's "Divine Comedy"', in *Hidden Agendas: unreported poetics*, ed. Louis Armand, Prague: Litteraria Pragensia Books, 2010, p. 134.

### **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](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.
- 3 Deborah Young, 'Shirin', *Hollywood Reporter*, 27 August, 2008. <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/review/shirin-125655> (accessed 14 November 2011).
  - 4 Ronnie Scheib, Shirin, *Variety*, 1 September 2008 (accessed 14 November 2011).
  - 5 Terri Ginsberg and Chris Lippard, *The Historical Dictionary of Middle Eastern Cinema*, Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow, 2010, p. 236.
  - 6 David Bordwell's website on cinema, *David Bordwell's Observations on Cinema*, David Bordwell, 2009, 'The Movie looks back at us', <http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/2009/04/01/the-movie-looks-back-at-us/> (accessed 20 February 2012).
  - 7 JonathanRosenbaum.com, Jonathan Rosenbaum, 2008, 'Kiarostami's Shirin: A Fiction', <http://www.jonathanrosenbaum.com/?m=200808> (accessed 20 February 2012).
  - 8 Ronnie Scheib, 'Shirin', *Variety*, 1 September 2008 (accessed 14 November 2011).
  - 9 JonathanRosenbaum.com, Jonathan Rosenbaum and Mehmaz Saeed-Vafa, 2009, 'A Dialogue about Abbas Kiarostami's Shirin', <http://www.jonathanrosenbaum.com/?m=200910> (accessed 20 February 2012).
  - 10 Young, 'Shirin'.
  - 11 Richard Brody, 'Iran, Inside and Out', *New Yorker*, 14 August 2009, <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/movies/2009/08/iran-inside-and-out.html> (accessed 16 December 2011).
  - 12 Shahrouz Nazari, 'Representing the Body', *Art Press*, May-June-July 2010, pp. 55-57.
  - 13 Michael M. J. Fischer, *Mute Dreams, Blind Owls, and Dispersed Knowledges: Persian poesis in the transnational circuitry*, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2004, p. 72.
  - 14 Peter Chelkowski, 'Nezami's Iskandarnamah in Colloquio sul poeta persiano Nizami e la leggenda iranica di Alessandro magno, Roma, 1977, p. 13: cited in Khosrow and Shirin Wikipedia, reference 1 [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khosrow\\_and\\_Shirin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khosrow_and_Shirin) (accessed 10 November 2011).
  - 15 Michael Barry, *Figurative Art in Mediaeval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzad of Herat (1465-1535)*, Paris: Flammarion, 2004, p. 253.
  - 16 Fatemeh Keshavarz, 'Taming the Unruly King: Nizami's Shirin as lover and educator' in Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, eds, *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003, p. 186.
  - 17 Kamran Talattof, 'Nizami's Unlikely Heroines: a study of the characterizations of women in classical Persian literature' in Kamran Talattof and Jerome W. Clinton, eds, *The Poetry of Nizami Ganjavi: knowledge, love and rhetoric*, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p. 53.
  - 18 Young, 'Shirin'.
  - 19 Negar Mottadeh, *Displaced Allegories: post-Revolutionary Iranian cinema*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2008, pp. 8-10.
  - 20 Radio Farda, Charles Recknagel, 'Iranian Censors' Heavy Hand Falls On A Persian Classic', [http://www.rferl.org/content/iranian\\_censors\\_heavy\\_hand\\_falls\\_on\\_a\\_persian\\_classic/24299532.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/iranian_censors_heavy_hand_falls_on_a_persian_classic/24299532.html) August, 2011 (accessed 15 November 2011).
  - 21 Mehrnews.com, 'Kiarostami's "Shirin" to open Image of an Artist festival', February 17 2010, <http://www.mehrnews.com/en/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsID=1036376> (accessed 17 February 2012).
  - 22 Mohammad Attebai, email to author, 16 March 2012.
  - 23 Fischer, *Mute Dreams*, p. 255.
  - 24 Mohammad Jafar Yousefian Kenari and Mostafa Mokhtabad, 'Kiarostami's Unfinished Cinema and its Postmodern Reflections', *International Journal of Humanities*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2010, p. 27.
  - 25 Jalal al-Din Rumi, Masnavi-i Ma'navi, II, vi, 'Love endures hardships at the hands of the beloved', E. H. Whinfield translation, London: Trubner, 1887.

- 26 Mehrnews.com, 'International Festivals to Assay Iran's "Gold and Copper"', 9 August 2010, <http://www.mehrnews.com/en/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsID=1130988> (accessed 19 February 2012).
- 27 Mohammad Attebai, email to author, August 9, 2012.
- 28 Mehrnews.com, 'International Festivals to Assay Iran's "Gold and Copper"', 9 August 2010, <http://www.mehrnews.com/en/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsID=1130988> (accessed 19 February 2012).
- 29 Mohammad Attebai, email to author, 16 March 2012.
- 30 Tom Ellis, 'Asian American Film Festival 2011: "Gold and Copper" – Review and Trailer', *Filmbalaya*, March 5, 2011, <http://filmbalaya.com/2011/03/05/asian-american-film-festival-2011-gold-and-copper> (accessed 18 February 2012).
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### 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.

- 1 This article covers some material previously presented in Gay Breyley, "'Washing Hypocrisy's Dust": Persian Poetry and Iranian Popular Music', *TAASA Review: the journal of The Asian Arts Society of Australia*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2012, pp. 14-16.
- 2 Shahram Nazeri is quoted in Laudan Nooshin, 'Shahram Nazeri', *Songlines*, no. 47, 2007, p. 54.
- 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.
- 4 Mohsen Namjoo, 'In Praise of the Minor Key, A – The Third Note', *TehranAvenue*, March 2006, [www.tehranavenue.com/article.php?id=528](http://www.tehranavenue.com/article.php?id=528) (accessed 31 October 2012).
- 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](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qSiSdSGCucM) (accessed 31 October 2012).
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- 7 Touraj Daryaei, 'Mohsen Namjoo: a new music and poetry for modern Iran', Huffington Post, 10 December 2010, [www.huffingtonpost.com/touraj-daryaei/mohsen-namjoo-a-new-music\\_b\\_794887.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/touraj-daryaei/mohsen-namjoo-a-new-music_b_794887.html) (accessed 31 October 2012).
- 8 Namjoo's translation of his version. See YouTube, Mohsen Namjoo, uploaded by majmaj1980, 2007, 'Zolf bar baad', [www.youtube.com/watch?v=6rgt5hzMvCI](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6rgt5hzMvCI) (accessed 31 October 2012). Namjoo notes: 'The music for this video was first composed for the animation *Marg-e Marg* ("Death of Death") by {Fatima Yathrebi} in 2003 based on a poem by {Hafez}. It was rerecorded as a Persian New Year gift. Director of photography and concept {Hamed Safaei} with actress {Zahra Amirebrahimi}.' Namjoo, 'Tresses in the Wind', *TehranAvenue*, March 2007, [tehranavenue.com/article.php?id=675](http://tehranavenue.com/article.php?id=675) (accessed 31 October 2012).
- 9 Text provided by Nazila, translated by Mehrnaz Shoushtarian. I am grateful to both for their generous support.
- 10 Ramin Sadighi and Sohrab Mahdavi, 'The Song does not Remain the Same', *Arts & Opinion*, vol. 8, no. 5, 2009, [www.artsandopinion.com](http://www.artsandopinion.com) (accessed 4 August 2010).

## **Aidani, On Devotion and Friendship in Maulana Jalal al-Din Rumi's Poetry**

- 1 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd rev. edn., trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, New York: Crossroad, 1991, p. 388.
- 2 Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p. 300.
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- 4 Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, p. 290.
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- 11 Helminski, *Ruins of the Heart*, pp. 19-20.
- 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 Heminski, *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.
- 16 M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. M. Holquist, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- 17 Gadamer, *Truth and Mankind*, p. 335.

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