

## Original Research Article

## «Pir Budaq», Patron of Art and Book Design in the Qara Qoyunlu Era

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## Abstract

**Introduction:** The patrons of art have always been influential in the artistic developments of Iran, and the activities of the Qara Qoyunlu rulers and the effects they have left on Iranian culture, especially during the "Pir Budaq" era, are remarkable and worthy of attention. Valuable manuscripts from this era are available in libraries around the world. Nowadays, these Divans and poetry collections are valuable literary and artistic works that need research and study. The reign of Pir Budaq has been less attractive even from a historical perspective; primarily, what he did as a patron of art has been less seen and recounted. Pir Budaq, the son of Shah Jahan, came to power in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H. During his two decades of rule, he provided a lot of support in the field of artistic and cultural affairs and the preparation of luxuriously illustrated manuscripts and collections of poems. His library has been the place of several painters, calligraphers, writers, and poets. This research aims to introduce Pir Budaq, the works in the library, and his activities as a patron of art, as well as to examine the features and visual values of the manuscripts that were made during his time. Finally, "How did Pir Budaq's supporting activities appear in the artworks of his lifetime?" will be answered.

**Research Method:** This research is qualitative, and the results are presented descriptively and analytically using a historical and monographic approach. Data was collected using museum and private collectors' documentary, library, and internet resources. In this research, important documents and books, including twenty-two illustrated and non-illustrated manuscripts with arrays and illuminations, have been classified into four groups: Documents, non-illustrated manuscripts, illustrated manuscripts, and collections of poems and Anthologies (Jong). These categories have been examined and analyzed according to the data.

**Findings:** Pir Budaq's artistic view and exceptional support for book design and the manuscripts prepared for him have caused a magnificent manifestation of the art and poetic literature of the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H. of Iran. Due to his supreme artistic taste, this patron gathered the best artists, calligraphers, illuminators, and painters of his era in his library so that they could work in the style of his artistic vision.

**Conclusion:** This research shows that Pir Budaq's taste and support were influential in the preparation of illustrated manuscripts, and the aesthetics of the art of book design improved during his time. He was the artistic inheritor of the Baysonqor and Shahrukh period and its transfer to Shiraz and Baghdad, and his activity caused the transfer of illustration art from Herat to the court of the Turkomans and then the Safavids.

## Keywords

Pir Budaq, Patron of Art, Illustrated Manuscript, Poem Collection, Anthology (Jong), Book Design

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### **Introduction and Problem Definition**

The history of Iranian miniature has involved many fluctuations and developments. Most of these studies were conducted by researchers interested in this field in Europe and America. These studies were done on historical and cultural aspects and stylistics; their patrons or artists are rarely addressed. Also, these studies have primarily focused on the Timurid and Safavid periods, and the Turkoman era has received less attention. At the same time, this tribe was the contemporary of the Timurids and ruled in the west of Iran. Although non-Iranian researchers previously introduced the manuscripts and analysis of Pir Budaq's library, knowing more about this period is essential. Determining the identity and values of the position of each patron of art will lead to the recognition and superiority of their activities and also to the identification of the style and effects of artistic eras. Reviewing the pictures of these manuscripts will help better identify Pir Budaq, this patron of art. This research tries to achieve this by gathering and examining the manuscripts of this period. It should be noted that some of these pictures have not been published in Persian sources, such as *The Divan of Hafez* and the *Divan of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi*. Pir Budaq, like Timurid princes, was a patron of science and art. There is not much information about his birth and life. He was a book lover and poet patron who was very interested in preparing literary works and poetry collections, and only information about his reign and the time of his death is available in historical biographies. In this article, an attempt is made to introduce the documents, books, and manuscripts prepared under Pir Budaq's patronage and examine the features and visual values of the above manuscripts. The primary purpose of this research is to introduce Pir Budaq as a patron of art, to address the research problems, including the introduction of documents, books, and manuscripts prepared under his patronage, as well as the characteristics and visual values of the manuscripts produced during his time.

### **Research Method**

The current research is one of the qualitative studies conducted with a historical-analytical and monograph approach based on documentary data. Library sources have been used in the form and content collection. The statistical community of the current research is made up of documents, illustrated and non-illustrated manuscripts, and a collection of poetry Anthologies (Jongs). In the present study, first, the role and position of Pir Budaq in his period were analyzed, and then, the works of his library were introduced and analyzed.

### **Research Background**

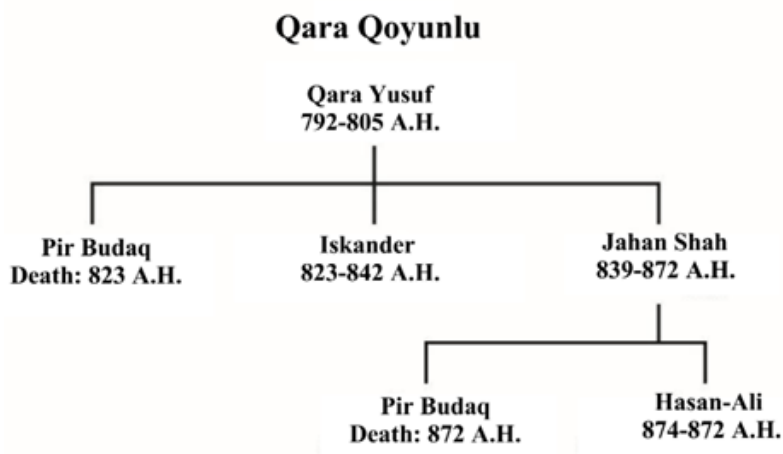
The first significant research related to the current research was done by "Titley" (1983), the former librarian of the British Museum. In his book entitled *"Persian Miniature Painting"*, he introduced and described the activities of Pir Budaq and analyzed them from the art and style perspective. The second source is the studies of "Richard", the head of the National Library of Paris, which dealt with the manuscripts prepared during the time of Pir Budaq. Richard's studies (2004) were published in the *"Results of Persian Art"* book. Another study is the book entitled *"Persian Albums 1400-1600"* by "Roxburg" (2005). In this book, he talks about the Anthologies (Jongs), Safinas, and collections preserved in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, which were prepared during the reign of Pir Budaq. The latest research article in Persian sources belongs to "Sa Seki" (2009), a Japanese Iranologist.

He has studied the manuscript of "Tarjiyat Sarkari", belonging to the era of Pir Budaq, which is kept in the library of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. In general, no independent research has been published about this patron of the art of the Qara Qoyunlu era. Since the overt and covert dimensions of the history of Iranian art can elevate the culture of this country and increase awareness and knowledge in the field of painting and miniature, influential research in this field is necessary from book design and historical perspective. Also, among other reasons that drew the author's attention to writing this article, there is a significant historical note in "Khamsa of Nizami" (H-762) dated 866 A.H., on pages 316b and 317a, which is kept in Topkapi library. This note refers to the creation of this illustrated manuscript by five patrons of the art, which took place over fifty years (860-911 A.H.); one of these patrons is Pir Budaq<sup>1</sup>. In general, most of the materials about Pir Budaq in non-Persian language sources and internal sources are based on the historical and codicology approach, and no independent research or article has been found in this regard. In the current research, an attempt has been made to consider more comprehensive dimensions of this patron of art with a monographic approach. Various dimensions of art, poetry Divans, and manuscripts such as Anthologies (Jong) and collections have been discussed by introducing different manuscripts from his library.

### **The Qara Qoyunlu and Pir Budaq**

After the death of Shahrokh in 850 A.H., despite his efforts to keep the Timurid Empire uniform, the unity of Iran was lost. Timur's children and relatives fought successive wars with each other, causing other powers to emerge, including the Turkmen. The period of the Qara Qoyunlu's rule was short in the history of Iran, and it was constantly faced with various wars and conflicts. Their government organization was almost similar to the structure of Ilkhanids, Jalayirid, and Timurids. Jahan Shah's rule lasted 31 years, and his son, Pir Budaq, lasted 18 years. During Jahan Shah's time (823-872 A.H.), his son, Pir Budaq (866-871 A.H.), ruled Shiraz, Yazd, and Baghdad<sup>2</sup>. Pir Budaq had helped his father conquer Herat, gained a large area up to Baghdad, and took control of affairs. Due to his dissatisfaction with his father, Jahan Shah, and his peace with Abu Sa'id, made out of weakness, he refuses to follow him and declares independence<sup>3</sup>. Jahan Shah did not endure this action of the son and ordered to kill him and "finally surrounded him by his brother Muhammad Mirza and several Emirs and then killed him in 871 A.H." (Mirjafari, 2016, 258). Like the Timurid princes, he was one of the supporters of literature and book lovers. After his father conquered Herat, he brought a group of painters, calligraphers, and poets to Shiraz and his court. From this point of view, "he can be regarded as the leader and inheritor of Baysunghur and Shahrokh libraries" (Richard, 2004, 61). "The Qara Qoyunlu kings also contributed significantly to the spread of Persian literature and culture. In their capitals in Tabriz and Shiraz, they gathered well-known writers, scribes, and historians, held meetings, and socialized with poets and masters of science and literature. This attention to Persian texts remained until the Safavids came to power. A collection of at least 30 illustrated manuscripts produced for the Emirs of the two Turkmen tribes, Aq Qoyunlu and Qara Qoyunlu (residents of the western regions of Iran), is a true testimony to the strenuous efforts of the Turkmen Emirs on the way to this goal; especially Qara Qoyunlu Emir named Pir Budaq who ruled in Shiraz and then in Baghdad" (Ferrier, 1995, 208). Paying attention to cultural affairs, in addition to writers, poets, artists, and architects, was one of the court

affairs and basis of the ruling, which was considered necessary by the patron of art over the years. Pir Budaq, the son of Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu, gained the rulership of Shiraz in 857 A.H. There are many manuscripts attributed to him that were prepared and produced with his support in the libraries of Shiraz and Baghdad when he was the ruler of Shiraz (857-867 A.H.) and then in Baghdad (867-871 A.H.). Jahan Shah had a talent for poetry; he wrote poems in Persian and Turkish. He had a poetry Divan, which he sent a copy of to Jami. In response, Jami sent an eloquent poem to him in his appreciation and gratitude. One of the essential works of this period is the Blue Mosque in Tabriz, which was built in 870 A.H. This building is considered one of the most valuable buildings of this period and after, in terms of its unique architecture and tiling. The portal of the Imam Mosque in Isfahan is one of the brilliant buildings of the Qara Qoyunlu era, which has similarities in tiling with the Blue Mosque (Mirjafari, 2016, 276). Among other cases of this period, Pir Budaq built a garden in Baghdad that was still famous years after him (Monshi, 1971, 134). It should be mentioned that "Ahmed bin Hossein Kateb Yazdi" dedicated the new history of Yazd to him when Pir Budaq came to Yazd and ruled the southern regions of Iran on behalf of his father, Jahan Shah (Kateb Yazdi, 2007, 12) (Fig. 1).



**Fig. 1.** Diagram of Qara Qoyunlu Dynasty.  
Source: Soudavar, 2001, 127.

### Dowlatshah's Narration from Jahan Shah and Pir Budaq

Dowlatshah, in his book entitled "Tadhkirah al-Shuara," has explained the personality of Pir Budaq and Jahan Shah; "Pir Budaq was a courageous and benevolent young man, and Jahan Shah was worldly-wise, skillful, cunning, and intelligent". Regarding the conflict between these two kings, both poets used literary terms and poetry in their conversation. The two-year siege of Baghdad by Jahan Shah and the unexpected killing of Pir Budaq by his brother provided the ground for their destruction because, after a short time, their government was destroyed<sup>4</sup> (Dowlatshah, 2003, 518).

### Library of Pir Budaq: Shiraz, Yazd (857-867 A.H.) and Baghdad (867-871 A.H.)

Pir Budaq extended the tradition that early patrons had begun in the art of book design. Rulers and book-loving princes, including "Sultan Ahmad Jalayir", "Iskander Sultan", "Baysunghur" and "Pir Budaq" are examples supporting this development. Their libraries reflect their preferences or represent what a worthy ruler should have. The style quality of the Timurid manuscripts and their visual development, decorative style, gilding, book-binding, and calligraphy have been persistently selected by the newly crowned Qara Qoyunlu rulers. The remarkable point that remains about the bookmaking art of Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu from 853 A.H. onwards is that they did not simply recreate the aesthetics of the early Timurid editions; instead, they combined the multicultural style of Herat and Shiraz, which is entirely different in the Timurid period. During the Aq Qoyunlu era, artists and calligraphers considered the sons of "Uzun Hasan", "Khalil", "Ya'qub," and "Rostam" to be enthusiastic supporters. The Aq Qoyunlu style spread to the lands around the Caspian Sea (Roxburg, 2005a, 200). The library of Pir Budaq in Shiraz was managed by a calligrapher from Herat named "Sheikh Mahmoud al-Heravi al-Ja'fari" from 863 A.H. onwards. It seems that during Jahan Shah's conquest of Herat, this calligrapher was in the service of Pir Budaq. He went to Baghdad with Pir Budaq in 865 A.H. and served him until he was killed in 871 A.H. After that, "Sheikh Mahmoud Heravi" went to the court of "Ya'qub Agh Qoyunlu" and served him and died around 895 A.H. The Mehr va Moshtari manuscript, kept in the National Library of Paris, was prepared under his supervision. The arrival of Pir Budaq Qara Qoyunlu as a ruler of Fars, along with a group of artists who lived in Herat at that time, led Herat's painting style to Shiraz and calligraphy. Pir Budaq later became the ruler of Baghdad. There, he prepared manuscripts that were written along the lines of the activities of the Baysunghur workshop in Herat in the same style ("Mehr va Moshtari" manuscript). It seems that the manuscripts were written on gilded (Zarafshan) paper around the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century A.H. (this article is recorded in the Library of Pir Budaq). The first sample of it (a collection of "Hafez" poems, 855 A.H.), in addition to the gilding style that became common during this period, was the use of colored papers and high-quality and precious papers and colors for the preparation of manuscripts in the Library of Pir Budaq. Innovative methods of decorating the pages of poetry Anthologies (Jongs) were used for the first time in these workshops. Also, in this period, the technique of color piece decoration appeared (Fig. 17), which includes strange patterns of geometric shapes and animal and human ghosts. The first works of this style can be found in the poetry Anthology dated 853 A.H., prepared in Yazd (Richard, 2004, 64). The British Library has a gilded manuscript of the Divan of Hafez dated 864 A.H. numbered (OR-11846) dedicated to Pir Budaq. However, elegant illustrated manuscripts were available in specific collections such as Chester Beatty (P.137), India Office Library (Ms No:138), Topkapi Palace Library (Hazine 761 and Revan 1021) with two editions, and also in Indiana Office (In the last case, Robinson considers the location of six miniature painting of Khamsa of Jamali dated 1465 A.D. in Baghdad) (Titley, 1986, 62). The collection of the remaining works of Pir Budaq, related to the same period, is divided into groups. First, historical documents, including royal seals, petitions, and his decree. Second, non-illustrated manuscripts. Third, exquisite illustrated manuscripts; fourth, Anthology and lyric poems collection. According to researchers, there are a significant number of illustrated manuscripts from the era of



Turkmen Emirs, most of which were prepared under the patronage of Pir Budaq. "Until the death of Pir Budaq (871 A.H.), the creation of manuscripts in the first Turkman style had begun. This style, called Turkmanan, has a wide range of quality. Before Pir Budaq's support, the manuscripts that were produced in the central cities of Iran, such as Yazd and other cities, had simple aspects; however, after him, due to Pir Budaq's support, these two styles were combined by attracting artists from Herat to the center of Baghdad, Shiraz, and Isfahan. At the same time, illustrated manuscripts were produced in Yazd; however, they were not the same number as those of Herat and Shiraz, and the painting style was simple and local" (Tittley, 1986, 61-63). From the author's point of view, it seems that Pir Budaq also had a library in Yazd.

### Government Documents, Seal, and Decree

**1. Seal of Pir Budaq:** A government seal of Pir Budaq is available (Fig. 2). "The Timurid and Turkmen dynasties used circular seals until the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H. The inscription on the seal is written in the Thuluth script: *ان يامر بالعدل والاحسان، پير بوداق بن جهان شاه* (To enjoin justice and benevolence, Pir Budaq bin Jahan Shah) and the inscription on this seal is the same as the seal that was used forty years later by Sultan Ya'qub" (Soudavar, 2001, 129).

**2. Offering dedicated to Pir Budaq:** A Shamsa of a Shahnameh devoted to Pir Budaq is available. The text of this writing, which is written in Reqa' script, is as follows: «*این کتاب خطی معروف و مشهور شاهنامه به سلطان معظم تقدیم می‌شود، کسی که سالار و سرور ملت‌هاست*» ("This famous and well-known handwritten book of the Shahnameh is dedicated to the Supreme Sultan, who is the leader and master of the nations..."). Then, it follows with descriptions about this king (Fig. 3). "In the text, it is unclear whether this manuscript was first compiled by Seyed Ali, who is an unknown person and then presented to the prince, or whether this book was available and then it was decided to dedicate it to Pir Budaq. The generous use of gold in the decoration of the Shahnameh gave it a stunning beauty, and it is worthy of the book lover for whom such manuscripts were processed and compiled" (Soudavar, 2001, 132).

**3. Pir Budaq's decree:** The administrative organizations of the Qara Qoyunlu were similar to the Mongols and almost similar to the Jalayirids and the Timurid system, and in imitation of their predecessors, this dynasty used the epithets of Khagan, Bahadur, and Noyan along with their names in decrees, seals, titles, and in the offering of Divans and illustrated books (Mirjafari, 2016, 258). There is an example of Pir Budaq's decree in stylish Nastaliq script with the title "Bahadur," written in Yazd city (dated 864 A.H.), which was to bring and find painting colors for him. The content of the decree emphasizes the importance of painting and picture materials and supplies for his library, and it is written in its text: "Abu'l-Fath Pir Budaq Bahadur, Sheriff and the officials and stewards of the Yazd should know that they inform Humayun that on that side there is Lapis Lazuli, Sylvi Khatai, and Farangi (European) Dahanaj. When they are informed about Humayun's order, they should collect the said items and hand them over to a trustee so that they will not be blamed for this when they take the responsibility and bring them to the Humayun. Written on the nineteenth of Ramadan Al-Mubarak in the year sixty-four and eight" (Thackston, 2001, 48), this inscription is located in a Murraqqa in Topkapi Palace (141b - H.2153) (Fig. 4).

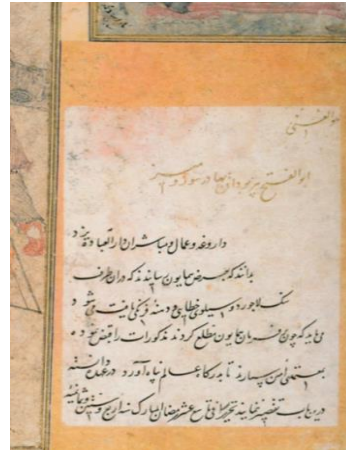


**Fig. 2.** Seal of Pir Budaq, probably Shiraz, around 857 A.H. Engraved Jasper, thickness 2.7 cm. Writings on seal by Pir Budaq. Source: Soudavar, 2001, 139.



**Fig. 3.** Shamsa of a Shahnameh, apparently prepared in Shiraz on the date of 858 A.H., ink and gilding, page size 23×1.32 cm. The text of the offering was written on this Shamsa.

Source: Soudavar, 2001, 132.



**Fig. 4.** Manuscript of Pir Budaq's decree, Topkapi Palace Museum, Murraqqa No. (141b - H.2153).

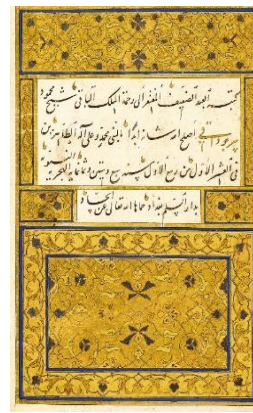
Source: Topkapi Palace Museum.

## Non-Illustrated Manuscripts

**1. The Divan of Hafez:** There is an exquisite manuscript of the Divan of Hafez belonging to the Pir Budaq library, written in Baghdad in 867 A.H. by Sheikh Muhammad Pir Budaqi. This manuscript was sold at one of Sotheby's art auctions in London in 2020. This manuscript has two opening pages with a beautiful design in which Pir Budaq's name appears (Fig. 5). In the colophon of the book, impressive decorative plates are placed around the frame, and the name and specifications of Sheikh Mahmoud Pir Budaqi can be seen in the middle frame as well (Fig. 6).



**Fig. 5.** The first two pages of the Divan of Hafez were prepared in Library of Pir Budaq in Baghdad (867 A.H.). Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DivanofHafez5.jpg>



**Fig. 6.** Colophon page of the Divan of the Hafez.

Source:

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DivanofHafez5.jpg>

**2. The Poems of Hafez:** Manuscripts of poetry Divans have been identified in some libraries with decorations or gilded papers with beautiful scripts prepared for Pir Budaq. The first sample of the manuscript, the gilded pages, is in the collection of Hafez's poems, transcribed for Pir Budaq in 855 A.H. (Richard, 2004, 64).

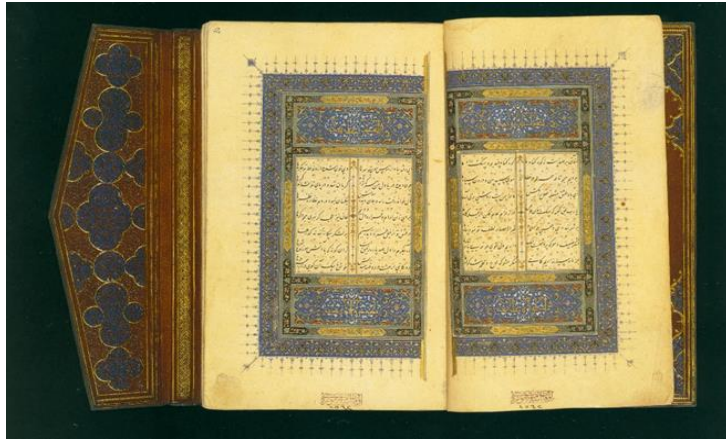
**3. The Poems of Ibn Yamin:** A manuscript written by "Maulana Azhar" during the reign of Pir Budaq is available in Yazd. "... Azhar rewrote the manuscript of Ibn Yamin's poems in 860 A.H. in Yazd" (this manuscript is currently in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul. Manuscript 1927) (Soudavar, 2001, 134).

**4. Manuscript of "Ibn Yamin's Moqatta'at":** In this regard, "Bayani" also mentioned the following from the same poet: "A manuscript of Ibn Yamin's Moqatta'at in Khafi Scrip, written for Pir Budaq, and has the following date and signature: "تمت في رابع شهر رجب المرجب سنة اربع وستين وثمان مائه بمشهد الرضوية عليه اسلام و التحية اظهر Istanbul..." and is dated 864 A.H. (Bayani, 1966, 72).

**5.6.7. The Divan of "Katebi Torshizi", "Mantiq al-Tair (Conference of the Birds)", Sa'di's "Bustan":** Among the collections of the National Library of France, there is a manuscript that was transcribed for Pir Budaq. This is the manuscript of the Divan "Ketebi Torshizi" (Persian supplement, No. 1833), which has conjoined gilded papers on pages 1 (back) and 2. In the central circle of page 1, the name of the person for whom the manuscript was prepared can be seen (AbulFath Pir Budaq Bahadur Khan). The very fine gilding reminds us of the manuscripts that were prepared in the Shiraz library at the same time. The number of them in the *Mehr va Moshtari* manuscript is minor, and the paper used in writing the manuscript is very delicate and of the same type as the paper used in a manuscript of "Mantiq al-Tair" that was prepared in the same era. Another sample is Sa'di's Bustan manuscript (Persian supplement, No. 657) (Richard, 2004, 84).

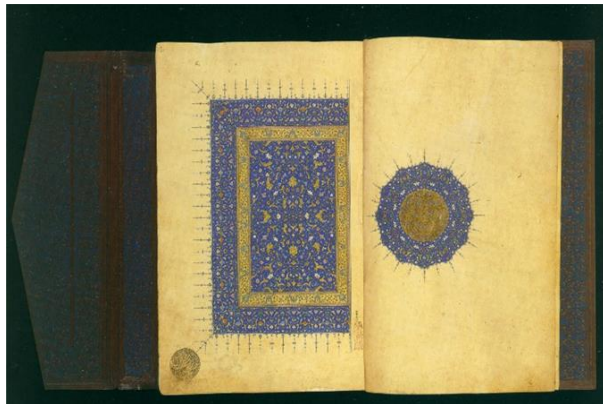
**8. The Divan of "Katebi":** Two pages from the Divan of "Katebi" (Fig. 7), written by "Abd al-Rahim Khwarazmi ", are dedicated to Pir Budaq, dated Jumada I 860 A.H. in Shiraz. These two facing pages have exquisite gilding and title frames, and according to the size of the manuscript, they have been executed with a high degree of elegance. It should be mentioned that this calligrapher is Anisi, the scribe of Khamsa. The Divan of "Katebi" is the first known manuscript prepared under Pir Budaq's patronage. Several manuscripts attributed to him were provided in Shiraz and Baghdad. The dominant style of the early manuscripts is a response to the local traditions of Shiraz. In contrast, the Baghdad manuscripts show the influence of the tradition developed in Herat under the patronage of Baysunghur. This sample shows Pir Budaq's overall manuscript style. Most of them are manuscripts of poetry Divans without pictures, whether they are Divans of an independent poet or Anthologies (Jongs) and collections of different poets, or long poems of poets such as "Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi" and " Amir Khosrow Dehlavi". Each manuscript has features such as (high-quality) paper, exquisite calligraphy, luxurious book-binding, and creative decorations. Some of the most prominent calligraphers of Pir Budaq's time did not understand his pure taste enough and could not reflect it; including "Sheikh Mahmoud" and "Azhar", both of whom were students of "Ja'far Baysunghur" who managed the library of Herat and "Abd al-Rahman Khwarazmi" who is attributed to inventing the new Nastaliq style. His children "Abd al-Rahim" and "Abd al-Karim" also worked for the Turkmen supporters of Aq Qoyunlu. All these calligraphers were active during the ninth century (Roxburg, 2005a, 430).





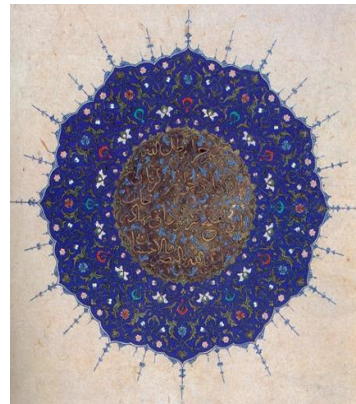
**Fig. 7.** The Divan of "Katebi", number 1986, size 21×12 cm, page 131, pages 1b, 2a, made in Shiraz. Source: Museum of Turkish and Islamic works in Istanbul.

**9. The Divan of "Qasemi":** Another manuscript of this Divan is available in the museum of Istanbul called "The Divan of Qasemi" written by "Sheikh Mahmoud Pir Budaqi" dated 863 A.H. in Shiraz. In the Shamsa offering of this manuscript, it is written: خزانه ظل الله ابو الفتح پير بوداق بهادر (The treasury of Zalullah Abul Fath Pir Budaq Bahadur) (Fig. 8). This copy is preserved in the Turkish and Islamic Museum and has two-page gilding, one page of which is missing and a page of Shamsa accompanies it. Its scribe is Sheikh Mahmoud Pir Budaqi, and it was dedicated to Pir Budaq. This Shamsa and its gilding are considered among the noble works of this era. This is the second well-known collection of poems that Pir Budaq contributed to its preparation. This collection includes the "Lyric Poems of Qasim-i Anvar", a contemporary poet of Shahrokh and his son, Baysunghur. This manuscript has the title "Pir Budaq" on both the cover and the first page. Like all the manuscripts made for Pir Budaq, it is accompanied by beautiful decorations in all the elements of the book, such as the offering page and the headings, which is evident in the first two pages. At the same time, it was presented at the end of the lower part of the opposite page of the offering, and in all the pages of the manuscripts, the style and design can be seen in an entirely non-traditional (innovative) way (Roxburg, 2005a, 429). To understand the values and artistic genius used in the manuscripts, especially in the implementation of gilding and Shamsas in Pir Budaq library, this Shamsa from the manuscript of the Divan of Ghasemi is worthy of reflection (Fig. 9). In the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H., two-page miniatures were often accompanied by an introductory page at the beginning of the manuscript and were usually framed with a decorative margin. Like other artists, Shiraz's gilders created a distinctive style with exceptional color and design skills. Rich colors can be seen during the patronage of Iskandar Sultan and dark blue and gold in the manuscripts of 863-874 A.H. by Pir Budaq. The simpler design and simultaneous strong use of blue and gold in Turkmen decorative manuscripts are all quite distinguishable (Titely, 1986, 236).



**Fig. 8.** The Divan of Ghasemi 863 A.H., number 1986, page 232, Shamsa, page 2a, made in Shiraz.

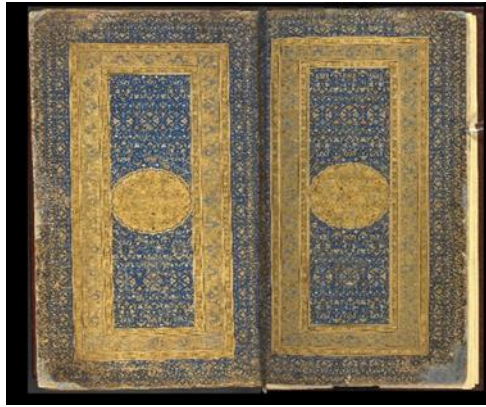
Source: Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul.



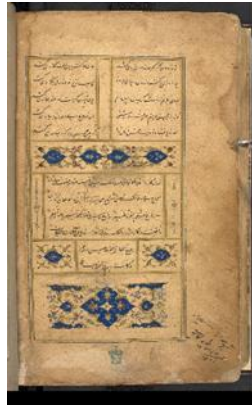
**Fig. 9.** The Divan of Ghasemi, the magnified image of Shamsa, page 232, page 2a-1b. Source: Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul.

**10. The Divan of "Hafez Sa'd Tabrizi":** There are two manuscripts of this Divan with different inscriptions. The first manuscript of Divan is "Sa'd Tabrizi", whose author is introduced as "Jalal al-Din Sa'dullah Tabrizi", and it is preserved in the library of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, number 87065, in Nastaliq script, which was written in 864 A.H. by "Mahmoud bin Mohammad bin Mahmoud Khomari", one of the court scribes of Pir Budaq during the lifetime of the poet. This manuscript includes a medallion, a title frame, and a one-sided stamped cover. Another manuscript of the same Divan is kept in the British Museum, No. 11846.OR, was written by "Sheikh Mahmoud Heravi Pir Budaqi" in 864 A.H. (Haj Ahmadipoor Rafsanjani & Poormokhtar, 2013).

**11. The Divan of "Sa'd Hafez" (British Museum Manuscript):** No illustrated manuscript is provided for Pir Budaq in the British Library. However, there is a very exquisite manuscript, with decorations and gilding, from the court of Sa'd Hafez, dated 864 A.H., number (OR.11846), which includes an offering to him (Titley, 1986, 62). The book is 130×257 mm, and it has two luxurious gilded pages. In the middle Shamsa on one of the pages, his name and nickname (Pir Budaq Abul Fath Bahadur Khan) are written (Fig. 10). This manuscript is very finely executed in terms of frames and page decorations. In some pages, colored arrays are used in headings (Fig. 11) and also includes exquisite title-frames. In the colophon of this book, the name of Sheikh Mahmoud Pir Budaqi, the author of the manuscript, the date 867 A.H., and the place, Shiraz, are mentioned (Fig. 12).



**Fig. 10.** Two gilded pages of the Divan of Sa'd.  
Source: <https://museum.ganjoor.net/items/hafezsaad>.



**Fig. 11.** Page 149b. Title frames and decorations in the Divan of Sa'd.  
Source: <https://museum.ganjoor.net/items/hafezsaad>.

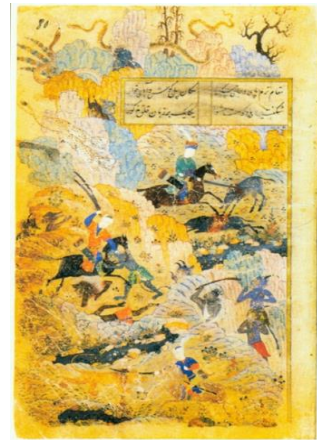


**Fig. 12.** The colophon page of the Divan of Sa'd, inscribed in Shiraz, British Museum (OR.11846).  
Source: <https://museum.ganjoor.net/items/hafezsaad>.

## Illustrated Manuscripts

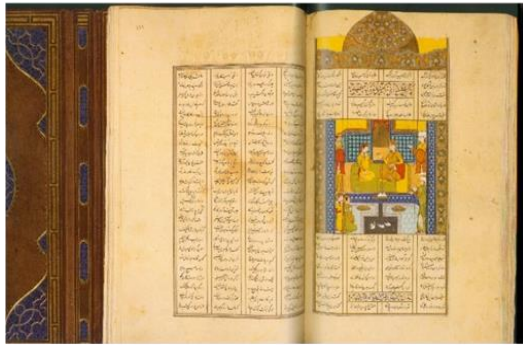
**1. Mehr va Moshtari; Assar Tabrizi:** The Assar Tabrizi's manuscript of Mehr va Moshtari was prepared in Baghdad around 865-870 A.H. The story of Mehr va Moshtari, which is also called Eshghnameh, was written in 778 A.H. during the reign of Jalayirid Dynasty by "Maulana Shamsuddin Haji Mohammad Assar Tabrizi". He was a mystic, mathematician, astronomer, and literate. This manuscript has seven stunning paintings. The painting on page 80 shows the battle of Jupiter (Moshtari), Moon (Badr), and Sun (Mehrab) with wild boars, a lion, and some demons in the Alborz mountains. Unfortunately, like other paintings in the book, this painting lacks a date and signature. "Basil W. Robinson", identified the painter of these paintings to be the same artist who illustrated Kalila and Demna and several other manuscripts for Pir Budaq in Baghdad around 865-870 A.H. Therefore, the paintings in this manuscript are the arts of one of the masters of the Pir Budaq library in Baghdad. This manuscript was made under the supervision of "Sheikh Mahmoud al-Heravi", the librarian of Pir Budaq Library (Fig. 13) (Titley, 1986, 84).

**2. Illustrated Manuscript of the Divan "Amir Khosrow Dehlavi":** This manuscript (No. Revan 1021) was prepared for Pir Budaq on Shawwal 867 A.H. by "Mahmud Kateb" in Baghdad (Fig. 14). This manuscript includes eight miniature paintings. In the landscapes of these paintings, the early effects of the Herat School can be seen, and the design of the figures is related to the compositions with exceptional elegance (Fig. 15) (Titley, 1986, 63).



**Fig. 13.** Assar Tabrizi, *Mehr va Moshtari*, in Baghdad, around (865-870 A.H.), National Library of Paris (1964 issue), page 80. Source: Titley, 1986, 84.





**Fig. 14.** Manuscript of the Divan "Amir Khosrow Dehlavi" (867 A.H.), in Baghdad, (No. Revan 1021), Topkapi Palace Museum (pages 165b & 166a), ink and gold on paper. Source: Titley, 1986, 63.



**Fig. 15.** (Page 48a), the feast in the meadow. Source: Titley, 1986, 63.

**3. "Khamasa" of Nizami (H.761):** An illustrated manuscript scribed by two calligraphers, "Sheikh Mahmoud Pir Budaqi" and "Fakhruddin Ahmad", dated 866 and 881 A.H. in Shiraz (Fig. 16). This manuscript is preserved in Topkapi Palace. The first part of this manuscript, up to two hundred pages, was made for Pir Budaq. This manuscript includes 16 miniature paintings. Also, in terms of style, it shows a connection with a repeating chain of similar compositions, such as "Humay and Humayun" of Jalayirid (814-815 A.H.), which were produced along with the combined illustrated manuscripts of Shiraz under the patronage of "Baysunghur" and "Shahrokh", simultaneously and also during the period of Sultan Hussein in Herat, at the late 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H. The second part of this manuscript is not illustrated, and it was completed by order of "Abul Fath Sultan Khalil". The entire manuscript was intended to be dedicated to his father, "Uzun Hasan", the ruler of Aq Qoyunlu (Titley, 1986, 63). In the text of the page, it is said: "Every child is busy learning out of hope and fear". In this assembly, "Layla and Majnun" are depicted in a school, and children and teenagers, boys and girls, are studying. In this two-page picture, on the right page, the text is executed with very delicate triangular arrays. On the left page, the space of a luxurious school is depicted.



**Fig. 16.** "Khamasa" of Nizami (No. H.761), Lesson Assembly, Topkapi Palace Museum, paper painting (105b-106a), size: 20.2×30.7 cm. Source: Titley, 1986, 63.



**Fig. 17.** "Khamasa" of Nizami, (No. H.762), "Bahram Gur assembly in the Green Dome". Source: Topkapi Palace Museum.

**4. Khamsa (No. H.762) (861-882 A.H.):** This manuscript of Khamsa, one of the most essential samples for its miniature paintings, is in the same Topkhai Palace library. The original writing of this manuscript is by "Maulana Azhar", a student of "Jafar Tabrizi". Its text states that it was started during the time of "Timurid Abul-Qasim Babur" and its continuation was completed by Pir Budaq and continued by "Sultan Khalil", then the library of "Sultan Ya'qub" was responsible for doing it. Finally, it was completed during the time of "Safavid Shah Ismail". The text says: "After that, Pir Budaq Mirza became obsessed with this claim. Not yet victorious, his life ended with death. He also did not reach this victory and drew the robe of existence on the house of nothingness" (Thackston, 2001, 50). It is not clear how much work was done on this manuscript during Pir Budaq's time. In this painting, "Bahram Gur" is depicted in the green dome. This manuscript includes 19 miniature paintings (Fig. 17).

**5. "Khamsa" of Nizami (H.753):** Another exquisite illustrated manuscript of the "Khamsa" of Nizami related to this period (No. H.753) is available in the library of Topkapi Palace Museum. It is probably located in Shiraz and was prepared around 862-864 A.H. It includes 325 pages, some of which are illustrated. The miniature paintings of this "Khamsa" are essential for illustration. In this picture, "Mani", the painter, is seen drawing a dead dog on water. The space of the painting and the relationship with the background of the trees are well-considered. In Turkmen's miniature paintings, the motif of nature and landscape is remarkable (Fig. 18).

**6. "Khamsa" of Jamali:** Another manuscript is available from the library of Pir Budaq, which belongs to 869 A.H. in Baghdad. In terms of style, this manuscript has a link with "Baysunghur Shahnameh" and "Mohammed Juki's Shahnameh". Also, in the implementation of landscapes and plants, the design of figures, and the arrangement of the pages, a trace of the school of Sultan Hossein can be seen (Canby, 2003, 69). Although the figures are designed in a Turkmen style, the influence of the miniature paintings in the manuscript of the Pir Budaq library is evident in the background and landscape (Fig. 19).



**Fig. 18.** "Khamsa" of Nizami, (H.753), size 1.25×35.3 cm, two pages in front of the text, pages 304b-305a, about 862-864 A.H. Source: Topkapi Palace Museum.



**Fig. 19.** "Khamsa" of Jamali; Humay and Humayun Assembly, Baghdad, 870 A.H., size 22.9×26 cm. Source: London East India Library.

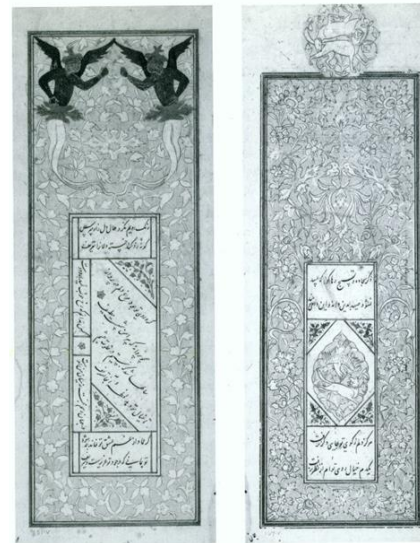


### Collections and Poetry Anthologies (Jongs)

**1. One Anthology (Jong) and Two Safinas of Lyric Poems (853 A.H.):** Two Safinas and one Anthology (Jong)<sup>5</sup>, among other manuscripts provided to Pir Budaq, shows that his taste and relationship was towards collections, especially poetry collections. These two Safinas and one Anthology (Jong) were prepared in Shiraz when he was the ruler of that region (Fig. 20). The first collection of manuscripts is in response to the local traditions of Shiraz. At the same time, it shows the Baghdad manuscripts' essence and the influence of Herat traditions, which are also influenced by the Baysunghur style. One of his Anthologies (Jongs) is a literary poem, the epistle of "Hessam Ibn Mohammad Rashid Saraf Khwarazmi". This manuscript was written in 860 A.H. by "Sheikh Mahmoud", one of the students of "Ja'far Tabrizi Baysunghuri". He duplicated Pir Budaq's first two Safinas when Pir Budaq's father ordered his son to return to Baghdad. The first Safina contains "Khayyam's quatrains" (1123) and "Khwaja Afzal Kashi" (1307-8), and the Ethical Masnavi Dasturnameh of "Nizari Quhistani" (1320-21). The second Safinas contains many poets. These three manuscripts represent a continuation of the habit of Jong-making, or manuscript-making, of custom-made collections of poetry to suit the patrons' preferences. Although Pir Budaq's Safinas show a taste that includes creating a new type of decoration, according to the evidence of the middle years of the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.H., new techniques such as stencils seem limited to anthologies (Jongs). One of the most remarkable is a Safina of lyric poems of poets, which was completed in 856 A.H. Among them, the names "Sa'di", "Khajawi Kermani", "Hassan Dehlavi", "Iraqi," and "Awhadi" can be seen (Fig. 21). This Anthology (Jong) also contains lyric poems (Ghazal) of contemporary Timurid poets who were with Baysunghur. These short lyric poems (Ghazal), whose subject deals with human beings or legendary loves, include five to twelve verses and are suitable for the format of the Safina. Like other books, decorations in the 856 A.H. Safina are important. It seems that the single motifs integrated with the empty spaces of the text belong to the style of Nastaliq's master, "Sheikh Mahmoud". Also, the decorative style is limited to prominent motifs and color palettes and is formed with gilding on papers with delicate color ranges. This restriction of technique and materials is a sign of the return to the control of the production of manuscripts in Herat in the time frame of around 824 A.H. In this return, Pir Budaq and Sheikh Mahmoud adopted the Baysunghur manuscripts as their model. There is a poetry Divan by "Youssef Amiri", a poet of the Baysunghur period, the introduction of which includes the appreciation of the Timurid prince; however, a part of the aesthetics of Pir Budaq's Safinas can be described as a kind of visual economy. It can also be said that the calligraphers simultaneously produced many single-page pieces whose structure was coordinated with the layout of the text in the Safina (Roxburg, 2005, 156-158).



**Fig. 20.** Three pages from an Anthology (Jong) and lyric poems (Ghazal), 853 AH, Shiraz, size 7.7x2.21 cm, front page, 42b, 32b, & 1a. Source: Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



**Fig. 21.** Two pages from an Anthology (Jong), 853 A.H., Shiraz, size 7.7x2.21 cm. Source: Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



**Fig. 22.** Probably Yazd and Isfahan, about 855 A.H., number 1798, page 72 (back) and page 73, size 19x2.8 mm. Source: Eastern branch of the National Library of Paris

**4. Anthology (Jong) of Persian Poems (about 855 A.H.), place, probably, the center of Iran (Isfahan, Yazd):** It seems that this Anthology (Jong) was prepared in the same workshop as Anthology (Jong) of Persian lyric poems dated 853 A.H. Anthology of lyric poems is kept in the Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin. Unfortunately, the beginning and the end of the manuscript have been removed, and it has only one colophon on page 33, which does not include the name or date. In addition to some quatrains (Pages 20-35, 36-37(back)) and some riddles (poetry riddles on pages 26-33), this manuscript contains lyric poems (Ghazal) by different poets (Richard, 2004, 83) (Fig. 22). The present disorder prevents us from ascertaining whether these poems were initially arranged in any particular order; however, in these same papers, you can also find the names of many poets: "Azari", "Ibn Emad", "Ibn Yamin Owahadi", "Basati", "Jalal", "Hafez", "Hasan", "Khosrow", "Khaju", "Khiali", "Sa'di", "Salman", "Shahi", "Shams-Tabrizi", "Taleb", "Tousi", "Esmat", "Attar", "Qasem", "Qasemi", "Qadimi", "Katebi", "Kamal", "Movali", "Naseh", and "Naser". Among the later poets are: "Esmat" (Death: 841 A.H.), "Katebi" (around 840-838 A.H.), "Khiali" (around 851 A.H.), "Shahi" (Death: Around 860 A.H.) and "Azari" (Death: 868 A.H.). Since Jami's name is not mentioned in this collection, the date of its writing can be estimated as around 855 A.H. However, the life history of some poets, including "Mawali", is unknown. From the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H., many Anthologies (Jong) are found in rectangular frames (in a way of old origin). These collections were trendy in the Timurid courts and then the Turkmen ones, where poetry and poets had a special status. Its unique page layout attracts attention more than anything else in this manuscript. Verses are written in a variety of ways. Some lines are so intertwined that it is difficult to distinguish the words of a hemistich before or after. In these cases, only the rhymes help the reader by giving clues. Some of the manuscript pages are of fine paper, and others were painted in

ocher, purple, and rose. On one side (page) of some papers, a color similar to melting with red or brown color is used. Like the Dublin manuscript, the most significant element of this manuscript is the presence of attached arrays on the 7 (back), 8 and 28 (back), 29 and 33 (back), 34, 38 and 41 (back), 42 and 56 (back), and 57 etc. On pages 97 (back) and 98, this type of decoration is attached on painted paper. These arrays, which consist of one or more colors and are executed only on one side of the paper, on two facing pages, include various background motifs. Shapes such as the Waq principle and geometric designs, angels and fairies, animals (monkey, gazelle, fish, etc.), the branches of the Waq-Waq tree (page 72 (back) and page 73), and a few other mixed subjects can be seen. In addition to these noteworthy decorations, on page 108 (back), a stunning gilded title frame can be seen, which contains a short phrase "الحمد" (Al-Hmd). Despite its simplicity, it is very similar to the title frame of the Dublin manuscript (Richard, 2004, 83).

**5. Collection of "Tarjiyat Sarkari" (Shahaneh), dated 866 A.H.:** This Collection is one valuable sample of the library of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. This manuscript, numbered 970, is a relic of the era of Qara Qyunlu, prepared and compiled in the court of Pir Budaq Ibn Jahan Shah in Shushtar and Baghdad. This book is significant regarding the status of calligraphy, royal calligraphers, poets whose poems are included, and book design. This manuscript was scribed in 866 A.H. and had 212 pages, measuring 26×15.5 cm. This manuscript has been restored, but its original format is unknown. Also, the papers in this manuscript are disordered, and their list is disheveled. The research found that this collection's compilation plan was made in Shushtar, and it was done by scribes, some in Shushtar and some in Baghdad. This manuscript was completed in 866 A.H. (Sa Seki, 2009). This exquisite manuscript includes several title frames, and among the pages, there are several complete one-page poems executed in gold (gilding) (Fig. 23). The names of fifteen poets can be seen in the "Tarjiyat Sarkari" collection, whose names are as follows: "Sa'di", "Salman Savoji", "Khawaju Kermani", "Naser Bokharaie", "Fazlallah Astarabadi", "Emadi Nasimi", "Mohammed Shirin Maghrebi", "Amir Makhdoom", "Homamuddin Golbari", "Khawja Ubayd Zakani", "Ashraf", "Jami", "Awhadi Maraghai" and "Fakhr al-Din Iraqi". The names of seven scribes can also be seen in the "Tarjiyat Sarkari" collection in the court of Pir Budaq, who were probably the masters of calligraphy, such as "Abd al-Rahman Khwarazmi" and "Sheikh Mahmoud", the librarian of Pir Budaq. The rest are unknown, and their connection to the Pir Budaq library is recorded and remembered by their pen in the "Tarjiyat Sarkari" manuscript. The names of the seven calligraphers of Tarjiyat are as follows: "Sharafuddin Hossein Mashhadi", "Maulana Mirak Shirazi", "Abd al-Rahman Khwarazmi", "Mahmoud Kateb", "Sultan Mohammad Mashhadi", "Mohammad Bin Khomari", and "Fakhruddin Ahmad". It should be said that although these calligraphers' works are rarely found and their names and biographies are not found in artistic, historical, and literary sources, they were among the appointed scribes of the mighty king of Shiraz, the cultural center of Iran in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century. Also, notable artists were active in the court of Qara Qoyunlu, whose names are hidden from us (Sa Seki, 2009). According to the books and literary and artistic Divans left from Pir Budaq's time, we find out that he, during his short reign, was able to prepare and produce numerous and significant manuscripts, each of which alone tells a part of Iranian culture. It should also be acknowledged that the painters and calligraphers of his library had good skill and taste in performing their works.



**Fig. 23.** Tarjiyat, gilded (Halkari) paper, page 35a, number 970 of Pir Budaq court library (866 A.H.). Source: Islamic Consultative Assembly Library.



### Discussion

In the various discussions presented in the present research, more emphasis was placed on introducing manuscripts and illustrated Divans. Moreover, the quality of the pictures and their artistic values were discussed to some extent, while Pir Budaq had exceptional support for the poets and calligraphers of his era. Writing poems was emphasized by him, and the Divan of famous poets of the past and contemporary young poets with good taste who lived in his time were not hidden from his attention. By recording their poems, he has connected the cultural past with his era and has been able to do an excellent service for the literature of his time. Divans of poetry, Anthologies (Jongs), and valuable literary collections prepared with the support of Pir Budaq reflect a significant part of the history of literature of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, which has not yet been adequately studied and requires specialized research by researchers in this field. Also, the lives and works of poets whose names are mentioned in these collections, some of which are mentioned for the first time, as well as the biographies of prominent calligraphers and artists in his library, are of particular importance and require research, which is beyond the scope of this study. Since Pir Budaq was a poet himself, he was interested in producing illustrated and non-illustrated manuscripts, which caused the growth and expansion of book design. Perhaps compared to the periods before and after it, his era is at a higher level in terms of quality and rare in terms of richness.

### Conclusion

In addition to his merit and bravery in wars, state affairs, and governance, Pir Budaq gained a privileged position in promoting cultural and artistic affairs with the cooperation of his court artists. In a short period, he created significant works, and the manuscripts of his library gained a valuable position in book design, which caused the authority and power of the Qara Qyunlu reign. Pir Budaq was one of the patrons of art and poetry. Accordingly, he was enthusiastic about ordering manuscripts such as Anthology (Jong), lyric poems (Ghazal), precious arrays, and calligraphy. He was an expert in the art of book design. The works of his library had such elegance that distinguished him from other patrons. The luxurious illustrated and non-illustrated Divans of this period are among the era's masterpieces in painting, gilding, and book design. These works are a treasure from a period in the history of Iranian art. The pure taste of Pir Budaq in the preparation of books, especially in the use of materials, including high-quality paper and pure colors such as blue and gold, as well as the execution of gilding and luxurious covers with a combination of Herat and Shiraz designs, based his own taste, produced manuscripts distinct from the previous era. The aesthetics of the poetry manuscripts, especially the rectangular literary Anthologies (Jongs) with unique decoration provided for Pir Budaq, reflect a manifestation of the taste of Iranian art that can rarely be seen. The works of this patron are a reasonable basis for clarifying the culture and art of this era. Undoubtedly, Pir Budaq's support and artistic taste played an essential role in transferring the art of calligraphy and painting to the court of the Aq Qoyunlu Turkomens, Sultan Khalil, and Ya'qub, and also left a significant artistic heritage for the Safavid libraries and the rulers of the southern Caspian Sea. Therefore, his role can be considered fundamental in the transition period of image art from east to west of Iran.

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Not appreciation

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The author (s) declare that there are no potential conflicts of interest related to this research, in writing, and publication of this article

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### Appendix

1. See the book entitled "Iranian Islamic Design Art", Appendix 3, page 127, note attached to the manuscript of "Khamsa of Nizami", dated 866 A.H., Topkapi Palace, Istanbul.
2. Dowlatshah wrote about Jahan Shah as follows: "Jahan Shah lived seventy years. "Shahrokh Sultan" reigned in Azerbaijan for thirteen years and after his death, he ruled independently for twenty-two years in Iraqayn, Azerbaijan, Fars, Kerman, and Hormuz. The kingdom of Jahan is happiness and contentment, a happy heart whose profession is industr (شاهیء جهان خرسندی و قناعتست، خوشا دلی که این حرفه اش صناعتست) (Dowlatshah, 2003, 462).
3. It is stated in "Jawahar Al-Akhbar": Let's start with Mirza Pir Budaq. He was the eldest son of Jahan Shah. First of all, when the father was in Khorasan, he went to his father by way of Yazd, welcomed him, left Neyshabur, and came back to Shiraz. Mirza Jahan Shah, who had settled in Isfahan, Pir Budaq's rebellion to him revealed (Monshi Qazvini, 1999, 67).
4. Dowlatshah writes in Tadhkirah al-Shuara: "There was a real disagreement between father and son and no consensus was reached. The brother came to the city of Baghdad and when Pir Budaq was sitting in oblivion for half a day, he came to his house and killed that chivalrous and kindhearted man. "Pir Budaq was one of the pillars of Jahan Shah's reign, and the intention of killing a child, especially an elegant son, caused the failure of Jahan Shah's government in the world and in religion. This action was not propitious to him, and his government was demolished" (Dowlatshah, 2003, 518-519).
5. Anthology (Jong), Safina, Ghazal (Lyric Poems), and poetry collections: Anthologies (Jongs), or poetry collections are collections of lyric poems or selected poems of contemporary or different poets, which were opened and bound horizontally in a rectangular frame from the small side. Its pages were decorated with plant decorations, poetry, gilding, and embellishment, and they were mostly prepared in Yazd and Shiraz during the Timurid period and during the Pir Budaq period. The most important of these collections are kept in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, the National Library of Paris, and the Islamic Consultative Assembly Library in Tehran.

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