CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS

A TREATISE BY QĀDĪ AHMAD, SON OF MĪR-MUNSHĪ
(circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)

Translated from the Persian
by V. Minorsky

With an Introduction by B. N. Zakhoder

Translated from the Russian
by T. Minorsky

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Featuring a new introduction, illustrations, and updated bibliography

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Calligraphers and Painters: The Foundational Translation of a Late Sixteenth-Century Persian “Treatise” on the Arts of the Book
A New Introduction

The Rose Garden of Art—as Gulistan-i Hunar translates from the Persian—was composed by Qadi Ahmad in Iran around 1600. It consists of hundreds of succinct “entries” on artists, mainly calligraphers, in a literary genre called tazkira, or biographical compendium (Roxburgh 2001:211). Four versions of the Gulistan-i Hunar, dated between 1596 and 1606, are known. Each introduces variations, an indication that Qadi Ahmad spent a great deal of time editing and refining his work. The text seemed to sink into oblivion until the 1920s, when it was rediscovered not in Iran but in Russia. Moscow’s Museum of Oriental Cultures owns what was then thought to be a rare, if not unique, copy. Iranist Boris N. Zakhoder wrote an article about the Gulistan-i Hunar in 1935, and twelve years later, in 1947, he published a full translation of the manuscript in Russian. Another decade passed before Vladimir F. Minorsky’s 1959 translation into English, titled Calligraphers and Painters, first generated interest in Qadi Ahmad’s work. It shed new light on the arts of pre-modern Iran and prompted fresh directions of research into the topic.

As A. G. Wenley, then director of the Freer Gallery of Art, acknowledged in the foreword to Calligraphers and Painters, “the importance of this translation cannot be overestimated.” Certainly, its publication was critically significant to the study of the arts of the book from the Islamic world, and from Iran in particular, at a time when few primary sources were available to Western art historians. Due to the lack of

Reclining Prince. Attributed to Aqa Mirak, Iran, Tabriz, Safavid period, ca. 1520. Purchase–Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.300.
linguistic skills and proficiency in Arabic, Persian, or Ottoman Turkish at that time, treatises and biographies were seldom accessible to Western scholars before Minorsky’s translation of Qadi Ahmad’s work. One source was Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l’Orient musulman, Clément Huart’s compilation of three Ottoman texts translated into French and published in Paris in 1908. It includes notably parts of the sixteenth-century Menāqıb-i Hünér-verān by Mustafa ʿĀli and the eighteenth-century Tuhfe i Hattatin by Müstakimzāde. Although these texts were published some twenty years after Huart’s work in their original Ottoman Turkish form (Istanbul, 1926 and 1928), they were available to only a few Westerners.

The interest of scholars and specialists of the Islamic and Persian book arts in translations of primary sources and documents is reflected in the 1933 publication of Persian Miniature Painting, an English summary of Dust Muhammad’s preface to the so-called Bahram Mirza album (Topkapi Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, H. 2154) by L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray. Not long afterward, in 1939, Ernst Kühnel remarked on the importance of such material—although without mentioning Dust Muhammad—in Survey of Persian Art, edited by Arthur U. Pope. Kühnel noted that “the Oriental sources have not yet been adequately explored. . . . Until the relevant passages have been culled from all the old Oriental documents . . . a really adequate history of miniature painting in Iran cannot be written.” This observation foreshadows the impact of the publication of Calligraphers and Painters two decades later.

Minorsky’s interest in Qadi Ahmad’s work was sparked by Zakhoder’s 1947 translation of the Gulistan-i Hunar. In fact, Calligraphers and Painters begins with Zakhoder’s introduction, which Minorsky’s wife Tatiana translated from Russian into English. The Encyclopaedia Iranica entry on Minorsky (written by Edmund Bosworth) documents the scholar’s prolific career. Through studies and translations of important Iranian works—notably the 1943 publication of Mirza Samiʿa’s Tazkirat al-Muluk, an eighteenth-century “manual” from the Safavid state administration—Minorsky significantly shaped the field of Persian studies for decades to come. Calligraphers and Painters is briefly mentioned in Bosworth’s entry, along with Minorsky’s catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts and miniatures in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Both publications confirm Minorsky’s interest in the arts of the book and the study of manuscripts, which one might think would be peripheral to his work as an historian. It is also worth remembering that Minorsky was the author of the short catalogue that accompanied the 1931 Persian art exhibition at Burlington House.

If the Gulistan-i Hunar is fundamental to the study of the arts of the book in Iran, it is primarily because Qadi Ahmad’s work—more than any other source—provides a wealth of information about artists,
patrons, and their networks from the reigns of the Timurid and the Safavid dynasties until the treatise was completed at the eve of the seventeenth century. In addition, Minorsky’s translation came at a key moment, when the history of the arts of the Islamic world started to be considered a field in its own right. From this perspective, the expanded translation of the *Gulistan-i Hunar*, with its more than six hundred footnotes—most of them accompanied Zakhoder’s edition in Russian, while many other notes in brackets were added by Minorsky—paved the way for the translation of other primary sources that deal with artistic production in Islamic lands, and particularly in Iran. Although other copies of the *Gulistan-i Hunar* have been discovered since then (Porter 1988:207-223), and the work definitely deserves to be the subject of a new translation and scholarly edition, Minorsky’s *Calligraphers and Painters* remains a cornerstone for anyone interested in the Persian arts of the book and, more importantly, in the historiography of Persian studies.

**Simon Rettig**  
*Assistant Curator of Islamic Art*  
*January 2017*
Further Reading

Editions and Translations of the Gulistān-i Hunar


The Gulistān-i Hunar


Qādi Aḥmad


Sixteenth-century Calligraphic Treatises


For a comprehensive bibliography on Persian artistic treatises, see Yves Porter, Textes persans sur les arts (12e-19e s.): Essai d’inventaire et de bibliographie critique:

Arts of the Book in Pre-Modern Iran


**Safavid Painting and Calligraphy: A General Overview**


**Vladimir Fed’orovich Minorsky**
FOREWORD

Based as it is on three manuscripts as well as on earlier work done by Professor B. N. Zakhoder and Mrs. C. Clara Edwards, the importance of this translation cannot be overestimated. The Freer Gallery of Art, therefore, is more than pleased to have the opportunity of publishing this work of great scholarship which Professor Minorsky and his wife have produced.

Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of our staff undertook the editing of this work, ably assisted by Mrs. Emily Boone, Miss Sarah Alexander, Lloyd E. Langford and Mrs. Bertha M. Usilton, librarian.

To all these, and above all to Professor and Mrs. Minorsky, we are most grateful.

A. G. Wenley
Director, Freer Gallery of Art

Washington, D. C.
May 19, 1959
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1. Ms. E, folio 84, recto.
3. Ms. E, folio 19, recto, Yāqūt Mustaʿṣīmi on a Minaret Engaged in Writing.
PREFACE

For over three centuries the name of Qādī Aḥmad ibn Mir-Munshi al-Ḥusaynī seemed to have been completely forgotten, when, by a strange coincidence, it was suddenly heard of in several entirely independent quarters, in the U.S.S.R., in Persia, Germany, India, and Great Britain. The story of this re-emergence of the Persian author has already been told by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder ¹ and we shall simply translate it from the Russian.

"The name of Qādī Aḥmad appeared first in 1925 in an article by Prof. A. A. Semenov ² in which the author, speaking of the grave of the painter Behzād, referred to 'a remarkable illustrated MS.' belonging to the Ars Asiatica Museum in Moscow (now The Museum of Asiatic Cultures). Ten years later I [i.e., B. N. Zakhoder] published a special article on this truly remarkable 'Treatise on calligraphers and artists' ³ and at the same time, at the suggestion of the board of the Museum, began to work systematically on the manuscript.

"It seemed then that Qādī Aḥmad was an entirely unknown author and that the Moscow MS. was unique. Such, too, was apparently the impression of the German Orientalist, Dr. W. Hinz, with regard to another work of the same Qādī Aḥmad, when, toward the end of the same year, he published an article on the fifth volume of the historical chronicle Khulāṣat al-akhbār.⁴

"Basing herself on Dr. Hinz's statement, the British Orientalist, Mrs. Clara C. Edwards, was able to establish the authorship of the MS. on calligraphers and artists belonging

to her. In this acephalous copy the author hints at his name only once by referring to his other works, the Khulāṣat al-
akhbār (see above) and the anthology Majmaʿ al-shuʿārā.

“The Russian articles had remained unknown to Mrs. Edwards, but, while her article was still in the press, her as-
sumption that her manuscript was unique was invalidated by a notice in a Tehran review which revealed the existence of a
MS. of the Treatise in Hyderabad (Deccan).”

“It can be added that the third of the above-mentioned works of Qāḍī ʿAḥmad, namely, the anthology called Majmaʿ
al-shuʿārā, seems to have survived, for we have found a
mention of it in the article on Persian anthologies by
S. Khwānsāri.”

In 1947, 12 years after the appearance of his first article,
Prof. B. N. Zakhoder published a Russian translation of
Qāḍī ʿAḥmad’s Treatise based on the Moscow MS., with an
elaborate introduction, numerous notes, an index, and a photo-
graphic reproduction of 16 pages of the original.

In view of the importance of Qāḍī ʿAḥmad’s Treatise for
students of Persian art, it was at first thought possible to
present his book on the basis of the Russian translation alone,
but, through the kindness of my late friend, Mr. A. Cecil
Edwards, I was put in possession of the manuscript on which
my former pupil and friend, Clara C. Edwards, had begun to
work. Finally, the Indian MS. was also identified in the Salar
Jung Library in Hyderabad, Deccan, and through the courtesy
of its trustees and the kind mediation of my friend Prof. M.
Nizamuddin, a photographic copy of it was obtained.

With the help of these two manuscripts it has proved pos-

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6 Armaghān, vol. 19 (1937), No. 6, p. 67. [By chance I was able to inform
Mrs. Edwards of this “Letter to the Editor” in which an Indian Muslim student
inquired whether other copies of the Treatise were known, and at the last
moment Mrs. Edwards (loc. cit., p. 211), was able to add a reference to it. I
learned later that the Indian’s plan to publish the Treatise as a thesis for the
M.A. degree at the University of Hyderabad had been abandoned. V. M.]


8 Qāḍī ʿAḥmad, Traktat.
sible to complete practically all the lacunae in the text carefully marked out by Zakhoder, as well as those passages which he intentionally omitted in view of their rhetorical and bombastic character; it was also possible to add to it many new facts contained in the Hyderabad text, which represents a later and revised version of Qāḍī Aḥmad’s Treatise (see below, p. 36). In view of these additional facilities, my translation from the Persian is entirely independent and in many places will be found to differ from Professor Zakhoder’s interpretations. I cannot, however, fail to acknowledge the advantages I have derived from the existence of a previous translation. It must be admitted that the poetical tidbits with which Qāḍī Aḥmad tried to enliven his rather stylized characterizations of the calligraphers and artists often present great difficulties, owing to their extreme artificiality and the fact that many of them are quoted out of context.

On the other hand, B. N. Zakhoder’s introduction to the Treatise is based on a very close study of the text and extensive research in contemporary sources, and shows, moreover, the author’s interest and competence in Persian art. It has, therefore, been reproduced here in a translation from the Russian made by my wife. Similarly, Professor Zakhoder’s valuable notes on the text have been retained with only insignificant abridgments and alterations rendered necessary by the consultation of MSS. E and H. My own notes in the English translation have been marked by the initials V. M.

Despite the numerous explanations and commentaries on the text, I wish to make it clear that the present book is only a translation of Qāḍī Aḥmad’s Treatise, and is not meant to be a new treatise on the general problems of the artistic life of Persia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

V. MINORSKY
ABBREVIATIONS

ʿĀlam-ārā ............ See Bibliography under author, Iskandar-munshi.
GMS .................. Gibb Memorial Series.
Ḥābib al-siyar ....... See Bibliography under author, Khwandamir.
Izvestiya .............. Izvestiya Akademii Nauk.
J.As .................... Journal Asiatique.
Muntazam-i Nāšīrī .. See Bibliography under author, Šanīʿ al-daula, Muḥammad Ḥasan.
Nuzhat al-qulūb ....... See Bibliography under author, Ḥamdullāh Mustaūfi.
Sharaf-nāma .......... See Bibliography under Sharaf khan, Scheref-NAMEH.
Tadhkirat ............. See Bibliography under [Shāh Ṭahmāsp].
Tajārib al-salaf ....... See Bibliography under author, Hindūshāh ibn Sanjār.
Tuhfa-yi Sāmī ........ See Bibliography under author, Sām Mīrzā, Abūl Naṣīr.
ZDMG .................. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZVO .................... Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva.
Zayn al-ʿĀbidin ...... See Bibliography, Manuscripts, Zayn al-ʿĀbidin.

The titles quoted in the footnotes are given only in abbreviated form as all pertinent bibliographical data are given in the list of Manuscripts and Books Quoted, pp. 202–208.
I. THE AUTHOR

Qādī Ahmad ibn Mīr-Munshī al-Ḥusaynī, as the author calls himself (MS. 4), came from the town of Qum, which lies about 125 km. to the south of Tehran; thus the appellation "Qumi," applied both to himself and to his father (MS. 36). His ancestors on both sides had also lived in Qum (MS. 32, 34). Already in the fourteenth century the town was one of the main Shi'ite centers: the tomb of Fāṭima, the sister of the Eighth Imām, who was buried there, was much revered and attracted numerous pilgrims. Quite naturally the noble families of the local Shi'ite clergy occupied a prominent position in the town and district, even before the Shi'a had become the established creed. One such influential family was that of the author’s paternal great-grandfather, Qādī Sharaf al-dīn 'Abd al-Majid Qumi, of whom the calligrapher Qanbar (a native of Abyssinia, like the famous Yāqūt), called himself a ghulām (servant-slave). In 1497–98, during the troubled days of the later Aq-qoyunlu he refused to open the town gates to Aybe-sulṭān who was besieging the town, for which he was put to death, together with his whole family (MS. 32, 33). An equally important personage was the author’s maternal grandfather Aqā Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn Musayyibi Qumi, builder of a khānqāh (MS. 34). On both his mother’s and father’s side our author belonged to the same branch of the descendants of the Prophet as the members of the Ṣafavid dynasty, which began to rule in the first years of the sixteenth century.

9 All the quotations by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder refer to MS. M (see below, p. 34).
10 Hinz, ZDMG, p. 315.
11 In fact, the maternal grandfather of the author’s father. V. M.
12 By mistake C. C. Edwards, p. 200, calls Qādī Ahmad a descendant of this Qanbar and assumes that he came from a line of calligraphers.
Belonging to a sayyid family, and even to that particular branch of sayyids, was in itself no guarantee of success in life. Not all the sayyids, by any means, belonged to the wealthy land-owning nobility. As the title of "sayyid" was widely spread, one can assume that among its bearers were people in every walk of life. The head of the Capuchin mission in Isfahan in the seventeenth century, Raphaël du Mans, interpreted the title as "gentilshommes" or noblemen. As a rule they formed the backbone of the government officials who filled the various offices, but we often find such sayyids, or mirs, as they were more often styled, under the Safavids, on very different and sometimes very low rungs of the social ladder.

The author's father, Sharaf al-din Husayn Qumi (MS. 35), whom Shah Tahmasp called "Mir-Munshi" (MS. 35), i.e., "Sayyid-Secretary," began his career in distant Herat as one of the amanuenses of the munshi in the chancery of the governor of Khorasan, Sām-mīrzā, son of the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shah Ismā'īl I. Sām-mīrzā's well-known anthology (composed circa 1550), which is also a kind of chronicle, contains no mention of either Sharaf al-din's name or his title. As the "Mir-Munshi" died in 990/1582 at the age of 76 (MS. 37), he was only 20 years old during Sām-mīrzā's governorship in Khorasan, when he naturally could not have held any important post. Nor does the young "Mir-Munshi" seem to have achieved much distinction in the three years spent in the capacity of munshi to the High Divān during the vazirate of Aḥmad-beg Nūr Kamāl, i.e., approximately in the period from 936/1529-30 to 942/1535-36. The highest post in the bureaucratic world that he succeeded in attaining was a 10-year vazirate in Mashhad, under Prince Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, son of Bahrām-mīrzā, Shah Tahmāsp's favorite brother. Apparently the "Mir-Munshi" was induced to

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15 Aḥmad-bek Nūr Kamāl, a native of Isfahan, remained vazir during six years until the return from captivity in Gilān of Qāḍī-yi Jahān (*ʻAlam-ārā*, p. 117), which occurred in 942/1535-36 (*Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 187).
16 The history of Shah ʻAbbās I by Iskandar-munshi, called *ʻAlam-ārā*, which
serve Ibrāhīm-mīrzā not for gain and advancement alone, but by virtue of the close relations which existed between this line of the Safavid dynasty and the author's family. Evidence to this effect is found in Qādī Aḥmad's mention of his father's friendship with Bahrām-mīrzā (MS. 20) on the grounds of a common enthusiasm for calligraphy; similar information is contained in the biography of the Mīr-Munṣhī's brother and Qādī Aḥmad's uncle, Khalilullāh, who was a master of the nasta'liq and an intimate of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, with whom he shared various interests in art and sport (MS. 120, 121). As calligraphy, painting, and poetry were highly popular at the court of the first Safavids, a common interest in these arts played quite an important role.

Among the sons and grandsons of the founder of the Safavid dynasty, the names of Bahrām-mīrzā and Ibrāhīm-mīrzā hold a distinguished place. Both princes not only patronized artists but were themselves gifted amateurs in several branches of the arts. Shah Ismā'īl's son Abūl-Fāṭeh Bahrām-mīrzā (MS. 140) was known as master calligrapher, poet, musician, and artist (MS. 140). In his kitāb-khana there worked such outstanding masters as Niẓām al-dīn of Būkharā (MS. 34, 35), Rustam-'Ali, son of Behzād's sister (MS. 102), and others.

Still more gifted was Bahrām-mīrzā's second son, Abūl-Fāṭeh Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, born 1543–44, i.e., six years before Bahrām-mīrzā's death, of a mother belonging to a noble family of Shirvān. We know very little about the administrative

is a profuse source of information on official appointments, does not mention the "Mīr-Munṣhī," and this silence seems still more strange if we credit the statement of our Treatise about Iskandar-munṣhī's being on intimate terms with Qādī Ahmad (MS. 53). [This statement is repeated even in the later revised version of the Treatise which meanwhile adds new material on the Mīr-Munṣhī's career; see below, p. 78.]

18 MS. 34–35, gives a sample of Bahrām-mīrzā's epigrams.
19 Tuhfa-yi ʿĀbādī, p. 9.
20 In medieval works the term kitāb-khāna includes both the library itself and the workshop in which the work of restoring and producing manuscripts decorated with painting was carried on.
21 According to the 'Ālam-ārā, p. 103, at the time of his death (in 984 H.) Ibrāhīm-mīrzā was 34 years old; cf. MS. 117, 118.
career of this prince. Apparently Ibrāhīm-mīrzā did not play an important role in the political life of the time, a fact that might explain Shah Tahmāsp's kind feelings toward his young nephew, who from childhood showed himself to be a talented artist, poet, and scholar. In 963/1555-56 Tahmāsp married Ibrāhīm-mīrzā to his daughter, Gauhar-sultān begum, and gave him the governorship of Mashhad, whither, according to Qādī Aḥmad, the Prince proceeded in the following year 964/1556-57 (MS. 98).

We do not know the duration of this governorship. According to the Mir-Munshi's biography, it lasted 10 years (MS. 36). The Sharaf-nāma tells of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's presence in Mashhad in 972/1564-65. From then on we have no further information about him until the fatal year, 984/1577. Was the Prince ruling in Mashhad during all that time? Where was his permanent residence? The ‘Ālam-ārā asserts that at the time of Tahmāsp's death the Prince was in Qazvin, at the court, where he held the post of eshik-aqasi, and does not refer to Mashhad.

Neither the governorship of Mashhad, nor the charge of eshik-aqasi at the shah's court seem particularly important for a member of the dynasty. Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's place in the history of Persia in the sixteenth century is due not to his official position but to the role he played in the arts and scholarship of the time. Despite the artificial and hyperbolic style of the pages which Qādī Aḥmad devotes to the Prince, they are full of warm feeling and admiration which make it difficult to suspect the author of deliberate flattery and servility, espe-

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22 Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 209. The name of Tahmāsp's daughter is quoted according to the ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 102; in the Sharaf-nāma she is styled “khānum” and not “begum.”


24 See ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 103. [The eshik-aqasi were chamberlains and masters of ceremonies. Their head, eshik-aqasi-bashi, was the grand master of ceremonies; see Tadhkirat al-mulūk, p. 118. It is more likely that the Prince held this latter office. V. M.]

25 I.e., apparently only of this town, and not of the whole great province of Khorasan. [More facts about his governorship are found in MS. H; see below, p. 163. V. M.]
cially as he was writing some 20 years after the death of his patron. The image of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā which he presents is that of an exceptionally gifted man.

Like all the Safavid princes, Ibrāhīm-mīrzā was a Shi'ite, and here the term should be taken not only in its religious and political connotations, but also with that mystical and pantheistic content which was invariably associated with the Shi'a and which can be designated as “Ṣūfism.” Khorasan, where, as in an immense laboratory, the Ṣūfī-Shi'ite doctrine had been elaborated throughout many centuries, became the spiritual home of many men of the time, with the sacred town of Mashhad as its main center. Bahram-mīrzā was buried in Mashhad, and it was here, too, “at the gateway of the sanctuary and revered flower-garden,” that Ibrāhīm-mīrzā left orders to have himself buried (MS. 118). Several bayts and one rubā‘ī quoted in the Treatise as samples of the poetical gifts of the Prince, who composed a divān of 5,000 verses (MS. 113), are impregnated with this Shi'ite-Ṣūfī mysticism veiled in an outwardly erotic form.

Ibrāhīm-mīrzā also attracted the attention of his other contemporaries. In describing this Prince as a man of great accomplishments, the Sharaf-nāma refers to those fields of activity in which his talents and art found their expression as “unaccustomed sciences.” Qādī Aḥmad’s Treatise enables us to draw up a more detailed catalogue of these branches of knowledge which are certainly unusual for the majority of noblemen. They are: Calligraphy (MS. 110, 112), painting (MS. 113, 115, 140), medicine, mathematics, astronomy and music (MS. 113), poetry (MS. 113, 114), the epistolary art (MS. 114, 115), various sports (MS. 114, 115), and handicrafts down to glovemaking [for falconry? V. M.] and cookery (MS. 116), and, seemingly in the last place, theology (MS. 112, 113). However exaggerated the compliments addressed by the author of the Treatise to the Prince, “equal in dignity

26 [In the second version of the Treatise, completed still later, the praise is still more profuse. V. M.]

to the planet Mars," the above list undoubtedly testifies to Ibrāhīm-mirzā’s encyclopedic knowledge.

It is hardly necessary to say that the kitāb-khāna, belonging to so gifted an owner, was in itself an uncommon institution, even in sixteenth-century Persia. A careful study of Qādī Aḥmad’s memoirs compels one to abandon the accepted ideas about the organization of artistic life in the Muslim East and seek comparisons far to the West. Much as in the Florence of the Medicis, the notions of “palace” and “studio” were blended, and the studio was the constant background of the high-born Maecenas, entirely devoted to his artistic pursuits. One readily imagines Ibrāhīm-mirzā surrounded by poets, little known today but popular in their time, whose humorous correspondence is recorded in the Treatise (MS. 114, 115). This refined dilettante and patron of the arts, with his amiable disposition (MS. 116, 117) and a self-control that did not abandon him even in moments of irritation (MS. 117), was bound to be regarded as a model and an arbiter of the standard behavior for his time and milieu. “Jāhī laid down for the world the rules and practices of passion” (MS. 117); this autobiographical hemistich appears as worthy of credit as the author’s right to his pen name “Jāhī,” the Glorious, the Magnificent.

It was natural for the majority of “the excellent masters of writing, painting, artists, illuminators and gilders” to have worked in the “flourishing kitāb-khāna” of the Prince (MS. 114). The Treatise gives us a description of the composition of Ibrāhīm-mirzā’s studio and of the aesthetic ideals of the “magnificent” patron and his entourage. Ibrāhīm-mirzā was a pupil of Maulānā Mālik who in 964/1556-57 accompanied the Prince to Mashhad (MS. 98). It was apparently after the departure of his master, whom Shah Tahmāsp had summoned to Qazvin about 1561 to decorate the palace buildings, that Ibrāhīm-mirzā pronounced himself a follower of Mīr-‘Ali’s style (MS. 111, 112). According to the Treatise, “without exaggeration, half of what Maulānā Mīr-‘Ali had written in the course of his lifetime was preserved in every
shape and form in the well-ordered kitāb-khāna of that light of the eyes of the world and its dwellers” (MS. 111). Under Ibrāhīm-mīrzā’s influence the author’s uncle, Khalilullāh (MS. 121), then 30 years old, went over from the ta‘līq to the nasta‘līq. The following master calligraphers are named in the Treatise as employed in Ibrāhīm-mīrzā’s kitāb-khāna: Rustam-‘Ali, formerly of Bahram-mīrzā’s library (MS. 102), his son Muḥibb ‘Alī, who was the kitāb-dār28 of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā’s library (MS. 103), and ‘Ayshī of Herat (MS. 108). Still more important is the list of artist painters: Shaykh Muḥammad of Sabzavār (MS. 144), Aqā-Riḍā’s father, ‘Alī Aṣghar Muṣṭavīr (MS. 144, 148), and ‘Abdullāh Mudhahhib, who worked 20 years for Ibrāhīm-mīrzā (MS. 146). If Mir-‘Ali was the paragon in calligraphy, pride of place in the art of painting goes to Behzād, the album of whose works (muraqqā‘) was among the 3,000 manuscripts of the Prince’s library (MS. 114, 141).

Such in rough outline was the personality of the man whose vazir the Mir-Munshi became. We have no direct information on the time of his appointment to the vazirate. An indirect confirmation of the fact that the Mir-Munshi arrived in Mashhad in the same year as Ibrāhīm-mīrzā is found in an autobiographical record contained in the Treatise: “This humble unworthy one, in the days of his youth, in 964/1556–57, reached the holy sublime Mashhad and at that Tomb passed eight years like unto eternity” (MS. 94). If one takes into account the expression “in the days of his youth” and the further remarks (MS. 20 and 112) in which the author mentions Bahram-mīrzā and calls himself “the slave-servant and son of a slave-servant,” who had “received upbringing and education in the service” of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, one can guess that in 1556–57 he came to Mashhad with his family and that he was of the same age as Prince Ibrāhīm.

One could hardly imagine two more dissimilar figures than those of “the arbiter of the customs and rules and practices of passion” and of the vazir styled “Sayyid-Secretary.” The two pages of the Treatise devoted to the author’s father,

28 Kitāb-dār—“head librarian.”
Sharaf al-din Husayn, and permeated with filial respect (MS. 35-37), show him as a civil servant versed in the affairs of chancellories, “whose scholarly merits, owing to worldly affairs and service at the Shah’s court and in the Shāhšāh’s assembly, were hidden by the veil of concealment.”

Although Mir-Munshi’s new office was an evident advancement in his career, it could not have been particularly important, considering the field of his patron’s administrative activity, confined as it was to one governorship in the province of Khorasan. Besides, the functions of the rather numerous vazirs in Safavid times were very unlike those of the ‘Abbāsid caliphate, for their duties consisted mainly in preparing and registering all kinds of documents. One can readily suppose that the grants made by Ibrahim-mirzâ to the artists and calligraphers mentioned in our MS. (pp. 108, 141, 146) were written in Mir-Munshi’s own hand. Yet, however unimportant may have been the office of a vazir attached to a petty provincial ruler, it was still sufficiently distinguished to open to him the doors of higher feudal circles. The MS. gives a vivid account of the author’s boyhood and youth and leaves the impression that this particular period was the brightest and happiest in the whole of Qādī Aḥmad’s life.

The MS. contains no direct reference to the relations that existed between Qādī Aḥmad and the exalted patron of his family, but the deep feeling that permeates the pages devoted to Ibrahim-mirzâ shows that they were sufficiently intimate. Qādī Aḥmad’s uncle Khalilullāh, was the companion of “His Highness the Mirzâ in the games of chougān and qabaq-racing” (MS. 122). It was not only the kītāb-khānā, to which many outstanding artists of the time belonged, that aroused wonder and admiration, but also the whole style of life of the high-born Maecenas and his artists. Qādī Aḥmad’s own artistic activity in Mashhad is largely explained by the

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29 Tadhkirat al-mulûk, p. 141. [This text should not be given such a restrictive interpretation. V. M.]

30 Games: chougān is polo; the “qabaq-race” is described in Vullers’s dictionary as follows: “The players set up in the center of the square a great pillar and affix to its top a gold or silver ring [originally qabaq was a pumpkin]. The riders gallop past and try to bring down the ring by shooting arrows at it.”
prevailing devotion to art which set the tone at Ibrāhīm’s court.

Like Qum, Mashhad, where the Eighth Imām ‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā lies buried, had already become an important city in the fourteenth century, and when the Safavid dynasty had made the Shi‘a the state religion of Persia, it became a religious center as well. The numerous buildings connected with the worship of the saint, to whose embellishment noble Shi‘ite zealots made continuous contributions, and the standards of the town as a whole, created a demand for the most varied artistic work by all kinds of specialists. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Mashhad was an artistic center counting several generations of artists who sometimes founded their own schools. Such was, for example, ‘Abdullāh Ṭabbaḵī, the Herat calligrapher in ṭūlūth, who decorated one of the buildings in Mashhad belonging to the architectural ensemble known as the foundation of Gauhar-shād begum, wife of Shāhrukh (MS. 26). His pupil, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, decorated the outer facings of the wall of the Imām’s mausoleum (MS. 31). His pupil, Shaykh Kamāl Sabzavārī (MS. 34), and the latter’s son, the artist Shaykh Muḥammad (MS. 144), in their turn carried on the work in Mashhad. Still greater fame was won by Sulṭān-‘Alī, who was born in Mashhad and died there; in the words of our MS. (p. 56) “his writing was like the sun in comparison with the other planets.” In the pleiad of his pupils (who were employed in various kitāb-khanās and religious institutions) were not a few first-class names, such as Mir-‘Ali, Muḥammad Abrishumi, and others.

Outside Ibrāhīm-mīrzā’s kitāb-khana, Qādī ʿAlī Ahmad undoubtedly had occasion to meet many representatives of the pictorial and calligraphic arts. About one of these, Shaykh Kamāl, already mentioned, he remarks: “I had in 965/1557-58 the honor to meet him in the holy city of Mashhad . . . he was a man of ripe old age and of serene presence” (MS. 34). Our author names five masters as his teachers: (a) Shāh-

31 Barthold, Historico-geographical survey of Iran, pp. 71-72.
32 C. C. Edwards, p. 201, speaks of four teachers, omitting the father of Aqā Riḍā. [The text is obscure. V. M.]
Mahmūd Zarīn-qalam, pupil of the calligrapher 'Abdī, who had come to live in Mashhad in his old age (circa 1544) and died there in 972/1564–65 (MS. 91). He gives his precise address ("the Qadamgāh madrasa near the Chahār-bāgh") and speaks of the virtuous friends who "visited the master and enjoyed his conversation." (b) Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad, Mīr-‘Alī's pupil, who died in 986/1578–79: "On two occasions when I visited the holy Mashhad and studied there, I practiced under the Mīr, learned writing from him and was his pupil. The Mīr deigned to write for this humble one a muraqqa' (album) and several samples of single letters and many qī‘a" (MS. 97). (c) The artist 'Alī Aṣghar, who belonged to Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's kitāb-khāna (MS. 144). (d) The artist Muḥammad Amin who, according to Qāḍī Aḥmad, had no rival in the art of restoring books and that of coloring and gold sprinkling of paper (MS. 146). (e) The famous Aqā Riddā, son of 'Alī-Aṣghar. [My translation (see below, pp. 188, 192–193) shows that Qāḍī Aḥmad claimed only a remote co-pupilship with Aqā Riddā, whose father taught Qāḍī Aḥmad. Neither the text nor the chronology support the idea that Aqā Riddā, who was still young at the time of the composition of the first draft of the Treatise (1596) and died in 1044/1635, could have taught Qāḍī Aḥmad, whose school years may be placed in the later sixties of the sixteenth century. V. M.]

Such are the data for the biography of our author for the period of his residence in Mashhad, culled from the only source available to us—the present MS. What cannot be made clear without the aid of other sources is: why Qāḍī Aḥmad mentions two visits to Mashhad (MS. 97), and where he lived, and what his activities were outside the period of his father's tenure of office as vazir to Ibrāhīm-mīrzā.

The year 984/1577, when Ibrāhīm-mīrzā was murdered, is referred to with such deep emotion that it can be taken for the crucial date in our author's life. The events that led to the death of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā are the following: On the night when Shah Tahmāsp died (May 1576), after a reign lasting
over 50 years, some of the courtiers decided to set upon the throne his third son, Ḥaydar-mīrzā, over the head of Muḥammad-mīrzā, the Shah’s eldest son. The coronation was performed hastily, contrary to every tradition, less than “a watch” (i.e., the time for the changing of the guard) after the Shah’s death. The “Circassian” guard, whose candidate was Ismā‘īl-mīrzā, intervened, and this led to a feud within the capital. Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, who was in Qazvin at the time, took an active part in defending Ḥaydar-mīrzā against the Circassians besieging the palace. When Ismā‘īl-mīrzā ascended the throne as Ismā‘īl II, Ibrāhīm-mīrzā was put to death, together with many other scions of the Safavid dynasty. According to our MS., this happened on 5 Dhul-Ḥijja 984/23 February 1577. The correctness of this date is confirmed by the numerical value of the letters in the rhymed chronogram “Ibrāhīm has been killed” (MS. 118 and 119).

The death of Ibrahim Jahi was of small political importance but it spelled tragedy to many of his intimates. According to the ‘Ālam-ārā, Ibrāhīm’s wife, the daughter of Shah Tahmāsp, died of grief a few days after the death of her husband. His daughter, Gauhar-shād begum, whose name is known to us only from Qādir Aḥmad’s Treatise (MS. 118), in obedience to her father’s last wish, took his remains to his beloved Mashhad. Having inherited her father’s passion for learning and his religious leanings, she performed, under Shah ‘Abbās I, a pilgrimage to Mecca, where she remained, and married a distinguished sayyid of Shiraz. The Prince’s intimates were also greatly affected by his death. Qādir Aḥmad’s uncle, Khalilullāh, after the death of his patron, “shunned all

33 [In fact, “Daghestanian.” V. M.]
34 Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 247–253. [Ibrāhīm-mīrzā did not take an active part in the events and for a short time was spared by Ismā‘īl II; see below, p. 164.]
35 One detail in Qādir Aḥmad’s statement is somewhat puzzling. According to the Treatise, “The age of this Most High Excellency was 34 years, corresponding to the life-span of his grandfather, the great sovereign of eternal memory, Sultan Shah Ismā‘īl” (MS. 117). According to other sources Shāh Ismā‘īl died at the age of 37 or 38, not 34. See ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 33; Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, pp. 38–39.
36 ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 102.
37 Ibid., pp. 103–104.
company, turned away from everything and, in the province of Qum gave himself up to agriculture and piety” (MS. 122).

The turbulent days of the reign of Ismā‘īl II (1576–78) and Muḥammad Khudā-bandā (1578–87) have left very few autobiographical traces in the Treatise, except for the mention of the author’s visit to Tabriz in 988/1580–81, where he made the acquaintance of the master of the thulth writing, ‘Alā-bek Tabrīzī (MS. 38). [According to Qāḍī Aḥmad’s historical work, Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh (quoted by H. R. Roemer, Der Niedergang Irans . . . 1577–81, Würzburg 1939, p. 95), in 984/1576 Qāḍī Aḥmad was appointed vazir to the financial administrator (mustaufi al-mamālik) Mīr Shāh-Ghāzī and held that post for four years. After that he served as vazir to Ār-doghdī-khalīfa Tākkālū (988/1580). In Sha’bān 989/September 1581 the Shah appointed him to the independent post of administrator of pious foundations (mustaufi-yi mauqāfāt). Consequently he was employed throughout the reigns of Ismā‘īl II and Khudā-bandā. More curious still is the fact that the composition of the Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh was entrusted to him by Ismā‘īl II, the murderer of his earlier patron; see Hinz, ZDMG, p. 319. H. R. Roemer (loc. cit., p. 95), expressed the view that “Qāḍī-khān al-Ḥusaynī” whom Iskandar-munshī (‘Ālam-ārā, p. 203) calls šadr-i aʿzam, may be the later avatar of our Qāḍī Aḥmad. This hypothesis is contradicted by Iskandar-munshī, who (loc. cit., p. 764) explains that the “Qāḍī-khān” was the son of Mīrzā Burhān and belonged to the family of the sayyids of Qazvin.

The second version of the Treatise (MS. H) vouches for the continuity of Qāḍī Aḥmad’s literary pursuits down to the year 1015/1606. The date of his death remains unknown. V. M.]

II. THE WORKS OF QĀḌĪ AḤMAD AND THE DATING OF THE TREATISE ON CALLIGRAPHERS

As appears from our text, Qāḍī Aḥmad, prior to his work on calligraphy and painting, composed two other works:  

38 [It would be safer perhaps to say that the two works were being prepared

The first of these works, which has the character of a literary anthology, is known in Persia, judging by the article of the Persian scholar Suhayli Khwānsārī,³⁹ who calls it Majma' al-shu'arā. Volume 5 of Qāḍī Aḥmad’s second work formed the subject of an article by Hinz in 1935; in this volume the author calls himself “Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī” (evidently in honor of Ibrāhīm-mirzā), and the date of the work is taken to be 999/1590–91.⁴⁰

Majma' al-shu'arā is mentioned three times in our MS. in connection with the biographies of Ibrāhīm-mirzā, Ḥakim-Ruknā, and the calligrapher Ḥāfiz-Qanbar. The references to the Khulāṣat al-tavārikh (five in number) are more detailed. From them we learn that volume 4 of this work was devoted to the Chaghatay sultans (MS. 30), and volume 5 to the Safavids and the sayyid families (MS. 112). Our author speaks of the Khulāṣat al-tavārikh in connection with the biographies of his great-grandfather Sharaf al-dīn (MS. 33), of the Timurid Prince Ibrāhīm (MS. 30), of the calligrapher

at the same time as the Treatise. The historical work was begun as early as 1578 and dedicated to ‘Abbās I only in 1590. In MS. II the author several times omits his poetical illustrations but refers to the Majma' al-shu'arā to which he has transferred them. V. M.] Hinz, ZDMG, p. 317, mentions still another work of Ṣūfī character written, as the title suggests, in imitation of Farīḍ al-dīn ‘Aṭṭār.

³⁹ Khwānsārī, in Armāghān, p. 69. [In the introduction to his edition of the Dhayl-i Ḵānṣār, 1317/1938, Khwānsārī refers to Qāḍī Ahmad and his works: “(a) Khulāṣat al-tavārikh, in five volumes, of which four are very rare, and vol. 5 (more often found) contains the events of the time of the Safavids down to the year of Qāḍī Ahmad’s death in 1001/1592; (b) Majma' al-shu'arā concerning the lives of the poets; and (c) Gulistān-i hunar, concerning the lives of the calligraphers and painters,” i.e., the present work. [The date of Qāḍī Ahmad’s death, probably surmised from the last date found in his history, is definitely wrong (see above). V. M.]

⁴⁰ Hinz, ZDMG, pp. 315, 320.
Mîr ʿAbd al-Bâqî (MS. 46), of the vazir Mîr Zakariyâ (MS. 49), and of Ibrahim-mîrzâ (MS. 112).

The Treatise on Calligraphers and Artists is therefore the third of our author’s works, which shows that Qâdî Aḥmad was a man of letters and a scholar, rather than a professional calligrapher \(^{41}\) or artist.\(^{42}\)

The preface \(^{43}\) defines the purpose of the Treatise; the author has planned to write “a goodly treatise on the first appearance of the qalam and the invention of writing, with the tracing of the origin of the latter to His Holiness the Shah (i.e., ‘Alî b. Abî-Ṭâlib) . . . (as well as) on the biographies of each of the masters, artists and all men of talent who are connected with this glorious group and excellent class or with books and libraries” (MS. 3). A little further on he calls his work an “epistle” or “treatise” (risāla). Apparently on the strength of these notes some reader made the following entry on the back of the last folio: “Treatise by Qâdî Aḥmad on the appearance of the qalam and the invention of writing.” [But the title under which the Treatise is known in Persia is Gûlistân-i hunar, “The Rose-garden of Art,” see below, p. 37. V. M.]

The date of the composition of the Treatise can be determined closely enough. Of the calligrapher Majd al-dîn Ibrâhîm the author says: “For some time he acted as vazir to Princess Pârî-khân khânûm . . . and since the death of the Princess down to the present day, for some 20 years, he has been living in the capital, Qâzvin” (MS. 52).

Princess Pârî-khân khânûn was one of the outstanding women of her day. She was the daughter of Shah Tahmâsp. Her mother was a “Circassian,” and she herself acted in the interests of the “Circassian” nobles who belonged to the court guard. Handsome, clever, and ambitious, Pârî-khân khânûn took part in the feuds and court intrigues which marked the end of Shah Tahmâsp’s reign. She was officially betrothed to Prince Ibrâhîm-mîrzâ’s brother, Bâdî’ al-Zâmân, but “she was not in his possession” and remained with Shah Tahmâsp who

\(^{41}\) As in C. C. Edwards, p. 200.

\(^{42}\) As in Semenov, p. 975, n. 1.

\(^{43}\) Absent in the MS. belonging to C. C. Edwards [and in \(H\)].
loved and favored her. On the night when Shah Tahmāsp died and Ũaydar-mīrzā hastened to seize the crown, the Princess directed the attack of the Circassians on the palace of Qazvin which ended in the killing of Ũaydar-mīrzā. During the reign of Ismā‘īl II, Pari-khān khānum enjoyed unlimited influence; the scheme of a rapprochement with Sunnism is ascribed to her, jointly with Ismā‘īl II. The death of Ismā‘īl II and Muḥammad Khudā-banda’s advance from Shiraz against Qazvin put an end to the ambitious plans and the life of the Princess. She was murdered on 3 Dhul-Ḥijja 985/11 February 1578.

Consequently the date of our Treatise must be: 985 + 20 = 1005/1596-97. The following considerations support the correctness of this view:

(a) Of particular importance is the dedication of the book jointly to Shah ‘Abbās and to the “Khan of the Time,” Abū Maṣūr Farhād-khān Qaramānlū. As the latter was murdered at the Shah’s order in 1007/1598-99 (see below), this date is a most definite terminus ante quem of the composition.

(b) The last date figuring in the text is 1003/1594-95, in which year the calligrapher Ḩasan ‘Alī (MS. 96) died in Hijaz.

(c) Isfahan is still mentioned only casually, whereas Qazvin is twice referred to as “the capital city” where the court and the kitāb-khāna were situated (MS. 124, 126). This shows

44 [This daughter of Tahmāsp must be distinguished from his sister of the same name married to the ruler of Shirvān; see Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, p. 246. In Browne, A literary history of Persia, vol. 4, pp. 81 and 101, they are somewhat confused. The mother of Tahmāsp’s daughter was not a real Cherkēs (of the northwest Caucasus) but belonged to the family of the Qumīq rulers of northern Dagestan (in the northeast Caucasus). In his Khulāṣat al-tāvārīkh, vol. 5, fol. 273a, Qāḍī Aḥmad writes that, at the time of Tahmāsp, Pari-khān was “the queen of the period and the adviser (of her father).” V. M.]

45 Oral tradition, preserved by Adam Olearius, tells that the Princess beheaded Ũaydar-mīrzā with her own hand.

46 Aḥam-ārā, p. 162; C. C. Edwards, p. 199. [Roemer, p. 4, etc. V. M.]

47 [From here on down to the end of the chapter, corrections have been introduced into Professor Zakhoder’s text in the light of the fresh evidence supplied by MS. II. The references to the author’s preface have also been abridged as the whole of it is now available in English translation. V. M.]
that the Treatise was written before the winter of 1006/1597 when Shah 'Abbās decided on the transfer of the capital.48

(d) The fact that the biographies of Mīr 'Imād and Mālik Aḥmad (MS. 122, 123) were obviously written before they had achieved eminence in the artistic circles of the court.

At the time of the completion of his book in the early days of 'Abbās I’s reign, Qādī Aḥmad openly speaks of his “dis-trought mind, and the total loss of property” and many worries (MS. 4). Speaking of the presents made to him by his teacher, Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhadi, he writes again: “All this has been lost owing to the revolution of Time, contemporary events, the disturbances of perfidious Fate and the annoyances of evil persons” (MS. 97, 98). The exact point of these complaints is obscure: they may refer to the time after the execution of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā.49

The title qādī (“judge”) prefixed to the author's name points to his competence in Islamic law.50 His authorship of several historical and literary works has induced us to characterize him as a scholar and man of letters. Moreover, he may have had some direct connections with artistic activities. This can be gathered both from his hope that his treatise “may prove useful to connoisseurs and find a place in the flourishing kitāb-khāna of the Shah of the World, by the side of masters of writing and artists” (MS. 4), and from the panegyric addressed to master Nizām al-dīn ‘Alī-Riḍā of Tabriz (MS. 125–127). On a miniature representing Shah ‘Abbās with the artist sitting before him (MS. 126), one finds the following endorsement in the present tense: for two years he (i.e., ‘Alī-Riḍā) was the companion and fellow traveler of the Khan of the Time in Khorasan and Māzandarān, and now he is in attendance at the court of the Shah of the World.”

The juxtaposed titles, “Shah of the World” and “Khan of the Time,” occur twice in our Treatise,51 though the miniature

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48 ‘Ālam-ūrā, p. 373.
49 [The conclusion would be that the first draft was begun at that time. V. M.]
50 As pointed out by C. C. Edwards, p. 201.
51 [We abridge the passage on the relations of Shah ‘Abbās and Farhād-khān, as the full text of Qādī Aḥmad’s dedication is now available in the English translation. V. M.]
painter who illustrated a passage of ‘Ali-Riḍā’s biography drew the picture of the Shah traveling alone, on a background of mountainous landscape. It is possible that this miniature (No. 5) was added or repainted later than the text was composed. Qādi Aḥmad’s Treatise opens before us a page, until now unknown, of the relations between ‘Abbās and Farhād-khān, but in what relation Qādi Aḥmad himself stood to Farhād-khān and Nizām al-dīn ‘Ali-Riḍā is less clear (see p. 172). After the death of the general, whom the author has addressed in such ambiguously exaggerated terms, did Qādi Aḥmad retire to “a corner of seclusion,” as his uncle Khali-lūllāh did on the death of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā? [And are his complaints about reverses of fortune connected with some consequences of Farhād-Khān’s fall? V. M.] The presence in MS. M of the name of Farhād-khān shows that the author had not yet had time to make careful alterations in his Treatise.

III. CONTENTS OF THE TREATISE


The treatise 53 by the sixteenth-century Turkish poet and historian Muṣṭafā ‘Alī, entitled Manāqib-i hūnerverān (“Biographies of Artists”), which was composed some 10 years before that of Qādi Aḥmad, shows that the latter’s plan was

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52 [According to Zakhoder, traces of the colophon are distinguishable on p. 150. On the addition in MS. H, see below, p. 195. V. M.]
53 Published by the Turkish scholar Maḥmūd Kamāl-bey, Istanbul, 1926.
far from original. Apart from the Introduction, the disposition of the chapters and the content of the two treatises are so similar as to suggest the existence of a fully elaborated scheme deeply rooted in Muslim tradition.\textsuperscript{54} For the study of this category of medieval Islamic writings, conditions are still unfavorable, as the number of sources still unpublished, and therefore not readily accessible for study, is greatly in excess of the material available in printed editions. To say nothing of the considerable number of works bearing on the subject, of whose existence in medieval collections we know from the \textit{Fihrist} and Qalqashandi's Encyclopaedia, even the manuscripts known at the present day have not yet been duly exploited by scholars. Thus, from the article by the Egyptian scholar 'Isā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf published in 1923, we have learned of the existence in local collections of copies of treatises by the founders of the Muslim medieval cursive, such as the vazir Abū-'Ali ibn Muqīla (tenth century), the creator of the \textit{sitta} ('six styles of writing'), and his follower, 'Ali ibn Hilāl, known as Ibn-Bawwāb. The importance of research in such old literature in Arabic is obvious, not only for the general history of this class of literature but also for tracing its development on Persian soil. Even a cursory examination of one of the oldest treatises on calligraphy written in Persian and incorporated in the chronicle of Muḥammad Rāvandi (thirteenth century A.D.)\textsuperscript{55} shows that the terminology, nay even single points of technique and formulas of Persian treatises, are directly dependent on the earlier Arabic tradition. Even the investigation of the available material in Persian literature, be it only for the late Middle Ages, has barely begun, although the existence of such material has been established in a number of catalogues of European collections of oriental manuscripts. In particular, the Leningrad collection of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of the U.S.S.R. possesses two MSS. remarkable in this respect: (1) The versified treatise (MS. Or.

\textsuperscript{54} See also the treatise on calligraphy of the Iranian philologist Ibn-Durustūya (b. 256/871, d. 346/957), published by L. Shaykho, Beirut, 1921.

B550) copied in 1093/1682, of Maḥmūd Chapnivis 56 mentioned in Qādī Aḥmad’s work (MS. 89); (2) the prose treatise on calligraphy by Fathullāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Maḥmūd (MS. Or. B551), dated 955/1586–87 and entitled “On the Foundations and Laws of the sīṭṭa Writing.” 57

Qādī Aḥmad names but few of his sources. Among the works which he utilized he lists that of Simī Nishāpūrī on painting and the illumination of manuscripts (MS. 82), the treatise on calligraphy of the already mentioned Maḥmūd Chapnivis (MS. 89), the versified treatise of Sulṭān-‘Alī Mashhadi (MS. 60–82), the poetical anthology of Sām-mīrzā (MS. 89)—which, like all literary and historical works of that period, contains many valuable records of the graphic arts and calligraphy—and the well-known chronicles of Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī and Ḥāfīz-i Abrū (MS. 27, 29).

Of the enumerated works we can confidently accept as sources only the anthology of Sām-mīrzā and Sulṭān-‘Alī’s poem treatise, especially the latter. The didactic autobiography of the renowned master of the nastaʿliq seems to have enjoyed great popularity. Apart from the variant incorporated in Qādī Ahmad’s Treatise, two other copies of the work are known in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 58 and, according to Mrs. C. Edwards, a MS. of the British Museum 59 contains 12 hemistichs from Sulṭān-‘Alī’s work. Our author has incor-

56 A second copy of this Treatise is in the British Museum; see Rieu, Catalogue, pp. 531–532, where there is an obvious confusion of the names of Mir ‘Alī and Maḥmūd Chapnivis. This question was studied in Zakhoder’s article “Majnūn, the Poet-calligrapher from Herat” in the Presentation Volume to I. Y. Kratchkovsky.

57 Zaleman, Izvestiya, 1907, p. 801.

58 Huart, p. 222. C. C. Edwards, p. 199, wrongly assumes that there exists no copy of Sulṭān-‘Alī’s treatise. [An autograph MS. of the author belonging to the Public Library in Leningrad has been lately reproduced photographically with a Russian translation by G. I. Kostīgova, Traktat . . . Sulṭān-‘Alī Mashhadi, in Trudi Gosud. Publichnoy Biblioteki imeni Saltikova-Shchedrina, II (V), 1957, pp. 103–163. In her Introduction G. I. Kostīgova quotes a detailed list of the copies existing elsewhere, see Bodleian Library, Ethé, Catalogue, I, 834 (unidentified); Bibliothèque Nationale, Blochet, Collection Schéfer, pp. 88 and 120; Calcutta, Curzon collection, W. Ivanow, Catalogue, 1926, p. 432. V. M.]

porated the whole of Sultan-'Ali's treatise in chapter 3 of his own work, and he quotes from it on several other occasions without naming the author (MS. 14). The similarity of Sultan-'Ali's and Qâdi Aḥmad's treatises does not end there. All those parts of Qâdi Aḥmad's work that deal with the legendary origin of writing from 'Ali ibn Abī-Ṭālib and the strictly historical part on the origin of the nastāʿliq are based essentially on Sultan-'Ali's treatise. These borrowings, however, do not cover by any means all the abundant material that makes Qâdi Aḥmad's Treatise one of the outstanding sources on the subject in the sixteenth century.

Thanks to the growing interest of European scholars in the history of the graphic art in medieval Persia, we now possess a certain fund of correctly established data. Such facts are interesting not merely in themselves, but because they help to establish the general tradition, connections, and parallels. The information on artists and calligraphers found in the works of Mirkhond, Khwāndamīr, Dūst-Muḥammad, as well as in the Ālam-ārā, the Tārikh-i Rashidi, etc., points to the existence of a sufficiently established tradition. Though in most cases the way of its transmission in artistic workshops and among amateurs of the fine arts was oral, it forms the second, very important source of our Treatise.

The third source is the author's personal observations. Having been from childhood connected with Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's kitāb-khāna and, through his father, with that of Bahrām-mīrzā, our author did not lose contact with artistic circles even after the death of his exalted patron. Many details in the records on contemporary artists and events show how well informed he was.

The combination of these three sources accounts for the value of our author's work as a document fully expressing his views on the theory and history of the arts and on the artistic life of the time.

In the days when Qâdi Aḥmad was writing his Treatise, the hectic and fruitful stage in the development of Muslim culture, which had given to the world so many famous names, was
already a thing of the past. Our author is a typical representative of the religious and scholastic outlook which, long before the dawn of the sixteenth century, had become a universal and compulsory standard. By that time the Shi'a, whose traditions reflected the struggle through centuries against orthodox Islam and had absorbed many tenets hostile to it, had already hardened into a rigid dogma, admitting only some variations in detail but not in essence. No careful scrutiny can reveal anything new in the whole of Qâdi Aḥmad's explanation of the origin and development of the art of writing. The old biblical concept of the word, typical of the Qor'ān, as well as of Islamic tradition, namely that "the first thing created by God was the qalam" (MS. 9), is interpreted by the Shi'a in the characteristically 'Alid sense, and 'Alî ibn Abî-Ṭâlib has become the originator of the one and only writing that is consecrated and true from the religious point of view. 'Ali appears not only as a religious truth—"the half of all knowledge" (MS. 14)—but also as a master calligrapher, the initiator of the special "Kufic" style, whose work could be factually examined. Like any other master, 'Alî ibn Abî-Ṭâlib had his pupils and his descendants, the second, fourth and eighth Imâms, who kept up this "divine" style of writing.

It is this combination of the mystical idea of the written word with the concrete demands of production that, since the days of remote antiquity, has characterized such religious and aesthetic conceptions. The written word is a talisman, and the process of writing is a magic art connected not only with the master's technique, skill, and art, but also with his spiritual and moral character. "Writing is the geometry of the spirit" (MS. 12)—an expression attributed to Plato—is the most vivid illustration of this thought. Religious dogma consecrates not only the process of writing, but naturally enough even the character of the writing; the Kūfî and other styles allegedly stemming from it, such as naskh, thulth, etc., remained for a long time the only varieties of writing which, from the reli-

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60 Qor'ān, XCVI, 3-4, see below, p. 49.
61 See, for instance, the disquisition on the top of the twin-horned alif, ascribed to 'Ali (MS. 15).
The goal of Murtada 'Ali in writing
Was not only the invention of letters and dots,
But fundamentals: purity and virtue (MS. 11).

By maintaining that "purity of writing is purity of soul" (MS. 79) the medieval outlook made on the master calligrapher the same stern demands of asceticism as it did on the members of the religious class. Sultan-'Ali Mashhadi's biography contains a vivid description of such religious and ascetic exertions of a master (MS. 64-65). The same attitude of the Muslim East toward the written word is responsible for linking the copying of the Qor'ân with the religious dogma of absolution.

Graphic art, as we understand it, especially the art of representing human beings, was in an entirely different position. As is known, the main source of Islamic dogmatics, the Qor'ân, does not contain a forthright interdiction of making images of living beings. This prohibition, rooted in pre-Muslim conceptions, seems to have developed outside any direct connection with the Qor'ân. In Persia, as in no other medieval Muslim country, the existence of an uninterrupted tradition in depicting living beings is attested both in specimens of this art and in written sources. However, even in Persia one finds a tendency hostile to the making of likenesses of living beings, and al-Bukhāri, the theologian who was the most insistent on this prohibition, was a native of Eastern Iran. Nor should we forget the general pressure of Muslim tradition which, over a
long stretch of time, had been wearing away local peculiarities and exemptions. However, the Shi'a, with its habitual opposition to Muslim dogma, became in this respect, too, a convenient doctrine for liberating purely Persian aspirations from the shackles of general Muslim tradition.

Qādi Ahmad's Treatise is the first record of a point of view directly opposed to the usual ideas of the Muslim world on the making of images of living beings. He expresses it in the "theory of the two qalams":

God created two kinds of qalams:
The one, ravishing the soul, is from a plant . . .
The other kind of qalam is from the animal (MS. 10).

This idea is taken up again in the beginning of the last chapter: "As already mentioned, the qalam is of two kinds, the one vegetable . . ., the other animal; . . . the latter is a brush and, by its means, wizards of art, similar in intelligence to Mānī, and Chinese and Frankish magicians, ascended the throne of talent" (MS. 128).

The comparison of the artist's brush to a pen (qalam) is highly significant. If, in the theological sense, the artist's brush has the same properties as the qalam-rtt&, then religious consecration applies to it as a matter of course. Furthermore, the consecration of the brush by the Qur'ān legalizes the position of the graphic art as a whole, and 'Ali ibn Abi-Tālib appears as the patron both of writing and of the graphic arts. "The portraitists of the image (paykar) of this wonderful skill," explains the Treatise, "trace this art to the marvelously writing qalam of the Frontispiece of the 'Five Companions of the Cloak,' 62 i.e., 'Ali, and they cite the fact that among the miracle-working pictures from the qalam of the Holiness which are adorned by his gilding, they witnessed with their own eyes (the signature): this was written and gilded by 'Ali ibn Abi-Tālib" (MS. 128).63 Thus the Treatise illustrates with sufficient clearness the new attitude of Persian feudal society to-

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62 The "Five Companions" protected by one cloak are: Muḥammad, Fāṭima, 'Ali, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn.
63 The same idea is found in Dūst Muḥammad, BWG, p. 183.
ward the graphic arts as a whole. As this conception is still somewhat unfamiliar to our author, the MS. contains some reservations to the effect that ‘Ali was only a master of the ornament, and that on the whole the behavior of artists representing live beings is at times reprehensible. Despite such casual qualifications, the recognition of equal rights for the brush and the pen was dictated by the background of cultural life in medieval Persia and by the whole development of the graphic arts.

In those days the master calligrapher did not act merely as a copier of manuscripts. In our Treatise the formula “on this building the writing was the work of so-and-so” accompanies the majority of the biographies of masters of thulth and nastaliq. The cooperation of the calligrapher with the builders is illustrated by the following instance: In the cathedral mosque of Baghdad a pupil of the famous Yāqūt “wrote the sūra al-Kahf from beginning to end, and the stonemasons reproduced it in relief, without any ornaments, simply with baked bricks” (MS. 21). The master calligrapher took also an active part in all kinds of artistic trades, especially in ceramics (MS. 22). Many calligraphers were painters in our acceptance of the word: Simī Nishāpūrī (see above, p. 19) “was outstanding in his time in the use of colors, outline drawing, gold sprinkling, ornamenting in gold, and he wrote a treatise on these arts” (MS. 82). One can name a number of artistic families, whose members devoted themselves to different specialities, from calligraphy to painting. Such was, for instance, the family of the great Behzād, whose nephew, Rustam ‘Ali, was a great master of nastaliq, just as the latter’s son, Muḥibb ‘Ali, was a poet, writing under the takhallūs “Ibrāhīmi” (in honor of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā) (MS. 103). Even the spiritual and secular lords of Persia, the shahs, were not only fine connoisseurs of painting but themselves practiced this art; thus Shah Tahmāsp studied painting under the master Sulṭān-Muḥammad and himself had a pupil (MS. 139, 142).

The theory of the equality of the two qalams reflected the position the graphic arts held in the life and culture of that period, but this new attitude, though admitted in theory, is
somewhat feebly reflected in the actual contents of the Treatise. Tradition weighed heavily on the Muslim writer. In imitation of the classical styles of writing, our author quotes the same number of artistic styles: islîmî, khîfâ‘î, fîrangi, fişâli, abar (abr, abra?), akra (Agra?), salâmi (MS. 136), but does not go beyond this enumeration. The whole plan of the work is centered on the development of calligraphy.

The pattern of its history is more or less the following: At first there existed the Kufic writing, which “like kohl cleared the sight of men of understanding” (MS. 13). In the tenth century Ibn-Muqla, the inventor of the styles known by the name of sîttâ (“the six”), deviated from the Kufic and created thulth, naskh, rayhân, muḥaqqaq, tauqi‘, and riqâ‘ (MS. 16). Later, even in post-Mongolian times, there appeared ta‘liq (derived from riqā‘ and tauqi‘) (MS. 40) and nasta‘liq, whose originator was Khwâja ‘Ali Tabrizî (MS. 55).

Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was demonstrated by Silvestre de Sacy that the opinion widely prevalent in Arabic and European literature, namely, that the earliest Arabic writing was exclusively Kufic, was ill founded. There existed other types of Arabic writing besides the Kufic, and the early Arabic writing was much less angular than the one known as Kûfî. No less doubtful is the tradition which ascribes to Ibn-Muqla the invention of the sîttâ. In documents of a much earlier period, even of the beginning of the eighth century, Arabic writing is characterized by elements different from Kûfî and closely related to naskh. Nor can we fully rely on our Treatise regarding the much later ta‘liq and nasta‘liq.

In medieval Persian documents, concurrently with the religious version of the history of calligraphy, one finds also purely secular, i.e., non-Shî‘ite, versions. In them biblical personages and the mythical Persian kings of the Pishdâdian

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64 In fact, to the six styles of writing must be added the “ghubâr,” a fine, dust-like writing.

65 In his work “Sur quelques papyrus écrits en arabe.”

dynasty are connected with the designations of various styles of writing. About the majority of the latter we can only repeat what has been said by the well-known authority on Arab palaeography, Mrs. V. A. Kratchkovsky, apropos of a monograph by the Egyptian scholar Ahmad Mūsā (1931), namely, that many of the ancient “styles” of Arabic writing enumerated by him “are on the whole apocryphal and in no way established by the author, their designations being mostly of geographical derivation.”

There is little point in criticizing Qādī Aḥmad’s work from this angle, for his history of the development of writing only reflects the accepted and widely prevalent tradition. Its originality and importance lie in the valuable historical and artistic material found in the chapters devoted to the various styles of writing. Like the very similar work of the Turk Muṣṭafā Āli, the Treatise is in effect an anthology (tadhkira), a literary form richly represented in Persian literature. Unlike the calligraphic treatise of Fathullāh ibn-Aḥmad on the foundations and laws of styles of writing, also written at the end of the sixteenth century, Qādī Aḥmad’s work does not aim at describing the technique of writing, except for the passage about Yāqūt’s trimming of the qalam (MS. 17), and the corresponding paragraphs in Sulṭān-ʿAli’s treatise incorporated in the work. Our author’s main purpose is to present a collection of biographies which in each chapter are disposed in chronological order; Qādī Aḥmad’s Treatise is, above all, an artistic chronicle.

Naturally, not all parts of the work are of equal value. The history of the early development of the calligraphic and graphic arts is very sketchy. For the whole period before the appearance of that “qibla of calligraphers,” Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī (thirteenth century), our author gives only two names, Ibn-Muqla and Ibn-Bawwāb, without utilizing the fairly abundant material on the history of calligraphy, which was known in Safavid times no less than in our own days. The fundamental


68* [This must be the reason for the adjustments in the order of the biographies which one finds in H. V. M.]
importance of Qāḍī Āḥmad’s work lies in the data concerning the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.

The part of the Treatise which is based entirely on the author’s personal observations and recollections is of exceptional value. Unfortunately, the existing documentary studies of this particular epoch are in many cases inadequate. It is possible that some newly discovered sources, or even a more systematic sifting of the available material, may reduce the value of some of the facts quoted by Qāḍī Āḥmad, but even in this case, his personal contributions will retain their interest.

IV. GEOGRAPHY IN THE TREATISE

Both the present state of our researches and the considerable lacunae in our author’s biography make it desirable to examine the geographical range of Qāḍī Āḥmad’s observations. This background is very wide but one need not assume that the author was personally acquainted with the artists and artistic documents at every cultural center he mentions.

A. BAGHDAD

The information on Baghdad is either incidental or borrowed from historical sources. To the latter belong the data concerning Ibn-Muqla, Yāqūt, and Muḥammad al-Tūsī (MS. 16, 20, 49), as well as the notices of two of Yāqūt’s pupils: Arghūn Kāmil, who took part in the decorating of two Baghdad seminaries—the one called “Marjāniya,” and the other one lying “beside the bridge” (MS. 21)—and Naṣrullāh, who decorated “certain buildings” in Baghdad (MS. 21). Among the incidental data are the references to the temporary residence in Baghdad of Maulānā Ḥasan-‘Alī (native of Mashhad, who went on pilgrimage to Hijaz and died in 1003/1594–95 [MS. 96]), to the work and death in Baghdad in 996/1587–88 of Maulānā Bābā-shāh of Isfahan (MS. 120), and finally to the Baghdad origin of the calligrapher...
Ma'rūf (MS. 24) and of the illuminator Ḥasan (MS. 145). None of these remarks suggests any close acquaintance with the artistic life and monuments of Baghdad.

**B. NAJAF**

The information about Najaf, a holy place of the Shi'a world, conveys the same impression. The author confines himself to the mention of two noteworthy facts: the building activity of the Jalāyirid Sultan Uvays (1356–77), and the decoration of the newly erected buildings by the masters Mubārak-shāh Zarīn-qalam, and Pir Yaḥyā Ṣūfī, his pupil (MS. 21, 22).

**C. SHIRAZ AND FARS**

Of more importance are our author's references to Shiraz and Fars. With Shiraz, Qāḍī Aḥmad was connected by old family ties: the already mentioned calligrapher Ḥāfiz Qanbar, who called himself the slave-servant of the author's ancestor Sharaf al-din, was a pupil of the Shirazi master Pir-Muḥammad I (MS. 32). The flourishing of the arts in Shiraz is linked with the name of Timur's grandson and Shāhrūkh's son, Prince Ḥā'im-Sultan, who became governor of the town and province in 827/1423–24 and died in 838/1434–35. Like another Ḥā'im, son of Bahram-mirzā, this Timurid possessed great gifts as a calligrapher and was known as a builder and a patron of the arts. In 820/1417–18 he erected in Shiraz a building in the courtyard of the cathedral mosque,70 as well as two madrasas, the Dār al-ṣafā (“House of Purity”) and the Dār al-ayṭām (“the Orphanage”), in the decoration of which he took a personal part. Subsequently, both madrasas were destroyed by the orders of Yaʿqūb Dhul-qadar (MS. 29). Ḥā'im-Sultan was responsible for the decorating of the Zāhiriya building, for the ghazal written on glazed tiles of the pediment of Sa'di's tomb in 835/1431–32 (MS. 29), and for the mazār of Bābā Luṭfullāh 'Īmād al-din (MS. 30).

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70 Where he placed a stone brought from Tabriz and bearing an inscription worked by Maulānā 'Abdullāh Shayrafī (MS. 23).
artistic traditions established under the Timurids were kept up in later times when Shiraz became the fief of the Aq-qoyunlu. A member of that dynasty, Prince ‘Ali ibn-Khalil, made himself a name as a gifted calligrapher and the writer of an inscription in Persepolis dated 881/1476-77 (MS. 31).

Qāḍī Aḥmad enumerates the calligraphers who worked in Shiraz or were natives of that town: The above-mentioned Pir-Muḥammad, Majd al-din Ibrāhīm, Maḥmūd Siyāvush, Pir-Muḥammad II, Shams al-din Muḥammad Ẓāhir, Rūzbihān, ‘Abd al-Qādir, Ḥāfīz ‘Abdullāh (MS. 26, 27), Ḥusayn Fakhkhār Shīrāzī (MS. 35), and the painter ‘Abdullāh Muḥdahhib (MS. 146). To the number of Shiraz artists are to be reckoned natives of Abarqūh, a small town between Shiraz and Yazd, such as Mir Niẓām al-din Ashraf, who held the post of Shaykh al-Islām of certain districts of Fars and died in 995/1586-87, and Ad-ham (MS. 46). The artistic school of Shiraz enjoyed great influence: according to the picturesque expression of our author, the masters of Fars, Khorasan, Kerman, and ‘Irāq “used to eat the crumbs from their (i.e., the Shirāzīs’) table” (MS. 27). The advent of the Safavid dynasty apparently did not impair the importance of Shiraz as an artistic center. In 920/1514-15 the Shiraz artists were still decorating the mosques of their town (MS. 27), though already the next generation of calligraphers, as for example Muḥammad Amin, grandson of Ad-ham, gravitated toward Qazvin, the Safavid capital (MS. 53).

D. QUM

Qum, where our author was born, was a religious center and, judging by the data contained in his Treatise, played a considerably lesser role in the artistic life of the country. Here the activity of the artists naturally depended on various religious institutions, of which the Treatise names the cathedral mosque with the tomb of Fāṭima, sister of the Eighth Imām buried in Mashhad (MS. 32, 34, 47); the mazār of Sayyid Abū-Āḥmad (MS. 32); the mosque ‘Ishq-i ‘Ali, built by Mir Muḥammad, who was at one time vazir to Sulṭān Rustam
Aq-qoyunlu (1491–96) and later took up residence in his native Qum (MS. 44, 45); the Husayniya built by Aqa Kamâl al-din Husayn, the author’s maternal grandfather (MS. 34). The majority of the Qum masters were closely connected with the local clergy or even belonged to their ranks. Such was, for instance, Muḥammad, nicknamed “Ḥāfiz” (i.e., one knowing the Qur’ān by heart), one of the teachers of Ḥāfiz Qanbar (MS. 32), the slave-servant of our author’s ancestor, and the judge Sharaf al-din ʿAbd al-Majid Qumi (MS. 32). To the same category apparently belonged the pupils of Ḥāfiz Qanbar, mentioned in the Treatise: Mir Maqbul Qumi (MS. 33), Haydar Qumi, and Sayyid Wali Qumi (MS. 34). Ḥāfiz Qanbar decorated the cathedral mosque and the ayvân of Abū Aḥmad’s masār (MS. 32); in the decoration of the mausoleum of Fāṭima there took part Ḥaydar Qumi, Wali Qumi, and Ibrâhîm Astarâbâdî, who lived for some time in Qum (MS. 45). To Qum, as a haven of refuge, often came artists and master calligraphers who had been disappointed in life or who had had no success in court workshops and institutions. Such were Qâdî Aḥmad’s uncle, Khalilullah, who, after Ibrâhîm-mîrzâ’s death, devoted himself to “agriculture and pious life” (MS. 122), Mâlik Aḥmad (MS. 123), Kamâl al-din, “the One-eyed” of Herat (MS. 106), and the painter Ḥâbibullâh of Sâva (MS. 147). [Ou Bulbul see below, p. 82.]

E. KĀSHĀN

Very different from Qum was the town of Kâshān on the road to Isfahan. Since the tenth century it had held an important place in the development of handicrafts, especially ceramics (as reflected in the Persian name of glazeware and faience—kâshi). The rich artistic life of Kâshān is not sufficiently portrayed in the Treatise. The town is only incidentally mentioned in connection with the biographies of the calligraphers in nastaʿlīq, Muʾizz al-din Muḥammad (d. 995/1586–87) (MS. 119), Muḥammad Bāqir-khurda (MS. 123), the poet Mîr Ḥusayn (MS. 123), the artists ʿAbd al-Vahhâb and ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz (MS. 142), and finally ʿAlî Aṣghar and
No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky 31

Aqā Riḍā, whom we have already mentioned in connection with the biography of Qādī Aḥmad. (See above, p. 10.)

F. HERAT

Herat, which had become famous under the Timurids and later during the stormy period of the formation of two great states—the Safavid in Persia and the Uzbek in Central Asia—did not lose its importance as the center of the best artistic forces and traditions. This reputation of Herat was upheld throughout the sixteenth century by the Safavid princes, who were its governors. Some of them, as, for instance, Sām-mīrzā, not only acted as patrons of the arts but even themselves displayed artistic leanings. The wars between the Uzbeks and the Safavids did not result in the ruin of the town. At the time of Qādī Aḥmad it still possessed many artistic monuments. Among these were the buildings in the Jihān-ārā, or the “Murād garden” entirely decorated by Sulṭān-‘Alī (MS. 56) and all kinds of mazārs and mausoleums from the Timurid tombs (MS. 58, 59) to those of outstanding painters such as Behzād and Aqā Ḥasan Naqqāsh (MS. 138, 143).

However, the artistic life of Herat could not remain unaffected by the removal of the centers of political life to Uzbek Bukhara and Safavid Tabriz and Qazvin. Among the 20-odd masters connected in one way or another with Herat in the sixteenth century, the Treatise mentions only two who spent their entire lives in the former Timurid capital of Khorasan: Khwāja Ikhtiyār (MS. 48) and Yār Haravī (MS. 119). The very reference to these artists who “did not leave Herat” is sufficiently pointed. The majority of Herat masters, together with their families, were somehow forced to proceed to Bukhara, Mashhad, or Persian ‘Irāq. This process began soon after the death of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. Thus, according to the Treatise, the famous master of nastā’liq, Sulṭān-‘Alī “after the death of the Mīrzā and the destruction of his power” took up residence in Mashhad where he died 20 years later (MS. 57 and note). Very similar, apparently, was the life of the calligrapher Darvish, who worked for some time for Sultan
Ḥusayn and later entered the service of Shibānī-khān (MS. 43, 44).

G. BUKHARA

The court at Bokhara was growing into a center which attracted the artists of Herat. Here, under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz khan, son of ʿUbaydullāh khan, a kitāb-khāna was created where many of them found employment. Service in Bukhara was not always voluntary, as may be seen from the biographies of Mir ʿAli and his pupil Khwāja Maḥmūd ibn Ishāq, who were forcibly removed to Central Asia after Herat was seized by the army of ʿUbaydullāh khan in 935/1528–29 (MS. 87, 88). Some of the artists, however, joined the kitāb-khāna of the Uzbek Maecenas of their own accord, as was the case with Qādī Aḥmad’s teacher, Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhādī (MS. 94, 95); such instances were probably uncommon, for by that time the religious struggle between the Sunni Uzbeks and the Shiʿite Safavids had become very acute.

H. MASHHAD

Second in importance as a center was Mashhad, where, in addition to the masters mentioned in the biographical part of the preface, there worked: Ḥāfīẓ Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn, nicknamed “the One-eyed” (MS. 106), the artist Aqa Ḥasan Naqqāsh (MS. 143), and the artist Kepek (MS. 149).

I. TABRIZ AND QAZVIN

It was the Safavid capitals, Tabriz and Qazvin, which made the strongest appeal to the Herat artists. Hither traveled the most remarkable of them: The famous Behzād (MS. 137, 138), who seems to have been accompanied by his family (MS. 103, 104), Dūst Muḥammad (MS. 102), Shams al-dīn Muḥammad (MS. 124), and Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhādī of Bukhara (MS. 94).

Of the artistic centers just enumerated, with the exception of Mashhad, Qum, and perhaps Herat, the author could hardly have written from personal observation. The picture
is quite different in the passages devoted to "‘Irāq and Āzarbāyjān," i.e., to the residences at Tabriz and Qazvin.

In addition to Qādī ʿAlī's autobiographical note on his stay in Tabriz in 988/1580–81, miscellaneous details scattered throughout the text testify to his very close acquaintance with the earliest of the Safavid capitals. Such are: (1) The description of a number of architectural monuments decorated by outstanding masters, such as "the building of the Master and the Pupil," the madrasa of the Chūbānid Dimishq, the mosque near the Sulaymānīya on the road to Baliyān-kūh, the Chahārminār (MS. 22, 23), the Muzaffariya (MS. 26), the building of Mir Maftūlband in the Charand-āb quarter (MS. 37); (2) the mention of single buildings with a descriptive location, such as the enclosure of 'Abd al-Ḥayy "at the beginning of the Tabriz khiyābān (avenue)" (MS. 42), and the tomb of Mir Sanʿī "opposite the doors of his friend's house below the minaret of Jihān-shāh's building" (MS. 105); (3) the address of the master Niẓām al-dīn Shāh-Maḥmūd Zarīn-qalam, who spent some time in Tabriz, "in the Nasriya madrasa, on the top floor (bālā-khāna) of its north side" (MS. 91).

Similar details are quoted in connection with the second Safavid capital, Qazvin. When speaking of the migration to Qazvin of the master 'Ali-Riḍā Tabrizī soon after 993/1585 (MS. 95 and note), our author adds that "the newly built cathedral mosque of the capital city of Qazvin is entirely covered with his lustrous painting." In the biography of the master Sayyid ʿAlī Mashhādī, the latter's address in Qazvin is given as "the bālā-khāna at the gate of the Saʿādat-ābād gardens" (MS. 97). Finally, some valuable indications are given about the inscriptions made by the master Mālik in Saʿādat-ābād with chronograms of their completion, 1558–59 and 1561 (MS. 99, 100), and it is stated that the ayyān of the Chihil-sutūn was decorated by Shah Tahmāsp himself (MS. 140).

Our author's close acquaintance with artistic life in Tabriz and Qazvin manifests itself in the number of details quoted in biographies of artists, calligraphers, or simple amateurs connected with the favorite Safavid residences before Shāh 'Abbās
transferred the capital to Isfahan. Qādī Aḥmad’s personal observations go far beyond the information he could have found in written sources. It is curious that artistic life under the first Safavid Ismāʿīl I, whose enthusiasm for art is well known, is hardly reflected in the Treatise, whereas notes relating to the period of Tahmāsp’s reign represent a first-hand source for later historical tradition. The numerous parallels between our Treatise and such histories as the ʿĀlam-ārā and the Sharaf-nāma are quoted in footnotes to the translation.

The purpose of the present survey being to acquaint the students of art and history with the author and the contents of his Treatise, it has been thought superfluous to subject Qādī Aḥmad’s text to a deeper philological examination, such as would be necessary for its literary assessment. Such a study can hardly be undertaken as long as we possess no critical edition of the text collated with other known copies of the work. It is hoped, however, that the facts culled from the present translation will form an appreciable contribution to our knowledge of the history of culture and art in Persia and the countries neighboring on it.

V. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TREATISE

The following is the description of the MSS. of the Treatise, so far known.

M.—Of this MS. in the Moscow “Museum of Oriental Cultures” I shall quote Professor Zakhoder’s own description (loc. cit., pp. 11-12): “It contains 75 folios, numbered by pages, 150 pages in all, including 8 full-page miniatures. Size of pages: 24.5 × 15 cm.; 14 lines to a page. Script: nastāʿīq. Binding: pale-brown leather with gold tooling. State of preservation: middling. The initial ‘unwān has not been preserved although signs of it are visible. The end of the MS. is also missing. Many pages are stained, some are torn. Between pages 141 and 142 there is a lacuna. Nearly all the miniatures have suffered more or less from age and careless handling, as well as at the hand of the restorer. The fact that contours of

71 [This chapter of the Introduction has been rewritten by me. V. M.]
plants and other details originally marked out show through the later layers of paint might suggest that some of the miniatures had been left unfinished and such unfinished parts were painted over at a later date, with some architectural and other details roughly added to them. The older parts, namely the basic composition and the drawing, bear the signs of the fine tradition of the heyday of Iranian painting.”

There are eight miniatures in the manuscript:

1. Above: Yaqūt Mustaʿṣimī, on a minaret, engaged in writing; below: men and women of Baghdad (nine figures), with an expression of anxiety on their faces (p. 19); see here pl. 2.
2. Master ‘Abd al-Ḥayy and his pupil Shaykh Muḥammad Tamīmī; three more figures of pupils (p. 42).
3. Sultān-ʿAlī Mashhādī with three pupils, and a man outside the door (p. 59); see here pl. 4.
4. Abūl-Fāṭḥ Ibrāhim-mīrzā with three shaykhs and three youths (p. 110).
6. Illustration to the story of the bear-cubs: the judge with two advisers, the painter, and the goldsmith (p. 132); see here pl. 5.
7. Illustration to the story of the squinting prince (holding an arrow), with the young painter, an adviser, and two attendants, before a picture (p. 135); see here pl. 6.
8. Abūl-Fāṭḥ Ibrāhim-mīrzā with two shaykhs, two musicians, and an attendant (p. 141).

E.—My lamented pupil and friend, Mrs. Clara C. Edwards, herself gave a description of the manuscript which, as far as I can remember, she acquired in Persia. In 1949, after the grave illness which had unhappily rendered her further work on the Treatise impossible, her husband, my late friend A. C. Edwards (d. 11 September 1951), having heard of my intention to translate Professor Zakhoder’s work, most kindly gave me the MS., which I now quote as E. It has 88 folios of 12 bound lines to a page. The size of the pages is 23 × 14

72 From the inventory description of the Museum of Oriental Cultures (Moscow).
73 C. C. Edwards, pp. 199–211.
cm., with a written surface of $17 \times 9$ cm. The folios have been bound out of order and there are lacunae in the MS.: Its beginning corresponds to page 16 of MS. $M$ and it ends in the middle of page 149 of $M$ (about one page before the conclusion of Chapter III). The text between pages 20 and 23 of $M$ is also missing in $E$. The MS. is possibly a presentation copy: it is written in good nastā'īq within carefully traced borders. It contained eight miniatures of very good craftsmanship in the style of 'Ali-Riḍā (seventeenth century). The figures have been barbarously damaged by some zealot, but what remains of them allows us to establish the identity of their subject matter with that of the illustrations in $M$. Moreover, the design of Nos. 1, 4, 5, and 6 is entirely parallel in $M$ and $E$, suggesting that the illustrators were working in the same studio, or that one of them depended on the work of his predecessor. Here are the correspondences of the pictures:

$M$ . . . pages 19 42 59 110 121 132 135 141  
(πl. 2) (πl. 4) (πl. 5) (πl. 6)  
E . . . folios 19a 24a 35b 8b 66b 80b 82a 77a  
(πl. 3) (πl. 7) (πl. 8)

The text of $E$ entirely coincides with that of $M$. The MS. is in a poor state but, in its remaining parts, is thoroughly legible.

H.—The Hyderabad MS. belongs to the Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur Library, Hyderabad, Deccan (No. 564). It consists of 76 pages, mostly of 16 lines to a page. The pages are $17 \times 12$ cm., with the written surface of $15 \times 9$ cm. It is acephalous and lacks the introduction but is otherwise complete. It is written in a cursive and very small nastā'īq hand with a strong admixture of shikasta. The copy, which is devoid of miniatures and embellishments, has no colophon or date but could be of the nineteenth (?) century. Through the active and obliging mediation of Prof. M. Nizamuddin (Hyderabad), permission to photograph the MS. was most kindly accorded by the Trustees of the Library. As the script is very fine and the pages are covered with smudges and traces of dampness, the photographs are extremely trying to the reader’s eyes.  

74 At the last moment my friends came to my help. Prof. Nizamuddin lent
On examination, the text has proved to be a later version of the work, considerably remodeled by the author. If the text of M and E can be dated to 1005/1596, the last event quoted in it being 1003/1594, the second edition refers to events of 1007/1598 (H, p. 47), and even 1015/1606 (H, p. 61, line 3). Consequently, the revision was prepared at least 12 years later than the original text and completed at a time when the situation had considerably changed. The “right hand of the government” Abul-Mansür Farhād-khān Qaramānlu, to whom (jointly with Shah ʿAbbās), MS. M was dedicated, had been executed (in 1007/1598) by the order of his former charge, Shah ʿAbbās, who had fully consolidated his position, transferred the capital to Isfahan, and surrounded himself with a new set of courtiers. The absence of the Introduction renders it impossible to ascertain to whom the second version was rededicated. The original matter has been rearranged at many places, the order of the biographical notices altered, and poetical quotations are often abridged and sometimes replaced by other pieces of poetry. The number of fresh biographies is small but, in the existing paragraphs, later details of the artists’ careers have been introduced, especially toward the end of the book. Thus, for example, the appreciation of the general character of such a prominent man as ʿAlī-Riḍā has been considerably modified (see below, p. 192).

In M and E the part entitled “The artists, gilders, workers in gold sprinkling and découpé and colors of paper,” but giving much general information on such artists as Behzād and the royal princes, figures as Conclusion (khātima). In H this part forms “Chapter IV,” whereas the title of khātima has been given to a new chapter on the tools and colors used by the artists. Its style is at great variance with the bulk of the text, and it looks as though it were by some different author (see below, p. 195).

N.—During my recent visit to Tehran (May 1954) I heard of the existence of a fourth MS. of Qāḍī Ahmād’s work, in
the collection of Hājjī Husayn Aqā Nakhchnevānī in Tabriz, and I saw a copy of it in the possession of the Director of the Public Library in Tehran, Dr. Mahdi Bayānī. It bears the title of Gulistān-i hunar, “The Rose-garden of Art,” and contains a version similar to that of our MS. H, as I now see from the quotations published by Hājjī H. Nakhchrevānī ⁷⁵ (see Postscript on p. 39). I am very grateful to Dr. Bayānī for his kindness in explaining to me a number of difficult terms in Qāḍī Aḥmad’s work. Some time later I received from my late friend ‘Abbās Eghbāl a typed copy of a MS. of the Gulistān-i Hunar, which is unknown to me and which gives a text identical with our H (with insignificant abridgements).

As the translation of the first version ⁷⁶ of Qāḍī Aḥmad’s work was completed, it was found advisable to retain it as the basis of the present publication, while completing it with a series of notes in which all the factual alterations and additions of the second edition have been summed up.

In view of the differences and lacunae in the contents of the three available manuscripts, the English translation of the text is of a composite character. Prof. B. N. Zakhoder reproduces in original only the introductory pages of M but his careful Russian translation has given good guidance for the sequence and composition of the basic text. Thus it has proved possible to restore the order of pages in E, while the latter has helped to complete the lacunae in M. In this way a practically uninterrupted text has been established of the earlier version of the Treatise. Pages 1–2 and 4–9 of M, though reproduced in facsimile, have been left out in the Russian translation as being too bombastic. For completeness’ sake I have translated even these pages (lacking in E and H). MS. H has also been used throughout for the collation of the text. The difficult Conclusion of H (pp. 72–76), as far as its technicalities could be grasped, has been translated in the Appendix. Only for a very

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⁷⁵ On the MS. belonging to Hājjī H. Nakhchrevānī, see a notice in Nashriya-yi dānishkada-yi adabiyyāt-i Tabriz, 1336/spring of 1957, No. 1, pp. 1–12.

⁷⁶ This alone contains the important introduction, as well as a considerable number of poetical quotations which in the second version were omitted to be incorporated in the author’s other work (Tadhkirat al-shu’ārā).
few passages the Russian translation has been used to fill in the gaps.

Professor Zakhoder ends his Introduction by stating that his translation was made directly from MS. M; that passages in verse have been translated in prose line by line; that he “intentionally preserved all the rhetorical exclamations, good wishes and blessings,” and that he especially marked out all the incomprehensible passages. The same system has been adopted in the English translation, with the sole exception that the fulsome titles, when they are repeated, have been simplified.

**POSTSCRIPT**

[In the article quoted above (p. 38) Ĥâjjî H. Nakhchevani gives three quotations from MS. N belonging to him. The extracts from the biographies of the calligrapher Alî Rîdâ Tabrizî (see below, p. 172) and the painter Aqâ Rîdâ (see below, p. 192) show that MS. N corresponds to the later and more complete version represented by MS. H. According to Ĥâjjî H. Nakhchevani, his MS. contains 165 notices of calligraphers and 41 notices of painters. His identification of Qâdî Aḥmâd’s father Mir Munshi with Mîrza Ḥusayn Munshi, mentioned in the ‘Ălām-ārā, p. 126, is not correct. As shown by Zakhoder (see below, p. 99, note 309) this latter corresponds to Mîrza Ḥusayn, son of Khwâjâ ‘Inâyat. Of him the ‘Ălām-ārā, p. 126, says that he was a pupil of ‘Alâ al-dîn Maḥsûr, was good at ta‘lîq and nasta‘lîq, was employed in the Royal Dâr al-inshâ, and was capable of writing in shorthand (?) very fast (kâvâk-nivîsî sârî al-kitâbat). V. M.]
1. In the name of God, Compassionate and Merciful.

O Thou, whose name is the Preface of the divān of Reunion
And the adornment of every page of the skies,
The pre-eternal scribe of the folio of Thy royalty
Has written it with the pen of Predestination upon the Tablet of Fate.

Praise and laud joined with sincerity are due the Creator who (covered) the pages of changing time with the motley black-and-white design of nights becoming days and days becoming nights (Qor'ān, III, 26), and thanks and eulogy beyond imagination befit the Writer of the book of Nūn! Wa-l-Qalam wa mā-yasturūna 78 who has arranged the album of the revolving skies with the multicolored pages of spring and autumn.

He who set the ceiling of the revolving wheel
Upon the four walls of the elements,
The tongue in the mouth has found pleasure to recite His name
And found its dew from the fountain-head of His bounty.
Praise, O Exalted God, Guardian and Sage,
Who by virtue of Thy wisdom art powerful over all!

Endless praise to the Prophet whose Ruler of the Sacred Law has encompassed the two pages: of Friendliness and Life, and whose tablet of prophecy increased the embellishment of the exalted album of existence;

O Knower of the Truth of the World, called ummī 79
On the dust of whose threshold lie both the Persians and the Arabs;

77 The numbers in the margin correspond to the pages of MS. M. For the correspondence with E and H, see Appendix.

78 The beginning of the sūra LXVIII.

79 [With reference to the Prophet, "illiterate," but with the sense of "the one who needs no learning." Cf. G. Weil, "Mahomet savait-il lire et écrire?". Travaux du IVe Congrès des Orientalistes. V. M.]
The sprinklings of whose cup of mercy form the paradisiac fountain Salsabil,
And in whose sanctuary Gabriel (Jibrā'il) is the ethereal bird,
as well as to that family and those felicitous children whose love forms the back of the binding of the folios of creed, and without the paste (māya) of whose aid the practice of Religion is unsettled; and especially to the Conqueror-of-lands (i.e., ʿAli), without whose endorsement no worship is accepted in the region of existence, and without submission to whom acts of obedience are not registered on the pages of acceptance.

O Arab King, Lord of the noblemen of yore,
Son-in-law of the Prophet, who art a collection of noble qualities,
We mean: the master of the hive and sultan of Najaf,
A pearl whose peer has not been found in any shell.

And after that, to the other pure Imāms whose rights are based on the chart of: “Say, I do not ask you for a recompense for it except love for (those) near to me” (Qorʾān, XLII, 22), and who are described by the text (naʿt): “verily Allah wished that impurity be removed from you, O members of my house, that He may purify you by his purification” (Qorʾān, XXXIII, 33).

They are increasing the currency of every script,
Their names follow that of God,
The mentioning of them has priority on (everybody’s) lips.
The mentioning of each of them must follow the mentioning of God.

If, for example, some supplicant from among the best of the inhabitants of the Earth asks (something) from Heaven, let it not be concealed from the reflections of the wise that man has no possession more precious than wisdom and talent, no virtue equal to knowledge and speech, and no (beauty) more admirable than beautiful writing.

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80 Rubāʿi.
81 Anglice: “The Queen of Bees.”
82 [P. 3 has been supplied from the Russian translation. V. M.]
The great have deigned to express themselves thus:

A good style of writing is the adornment of man;\(^{83}\)
Better still when a sage possesses it.
Milk with a sweetmeat is sweeter,
Milk with a sweetmeat is more delightful.

And it has also been said:
If the style of writing is devoid of the signs of beauty,\(^{84}\)
It defiles (even) a scrap of paper.

Man, the noblest of creatures, possesses understanding and comprehension of the fact that in every course (of activity) he must endeavor to attain renown in his time and (become) a prodigy of the age. It is necessary, therefore, and even compulsory for everyone to seek to acquire wisdom and mastery, to reach in that chosen course (of activity) the limit of success:

As far as it is in your power, seize the thread of wisdom,\(^{85}\)
And do not spend this noble life at a loss to yourself.
Ceaselessly, everywhere, with everyone, in every undertaking
Secretly turn your eyes and your heart toward the Friend.

The most eloquent of interlocutors and the most agreeable of predecessors, Khwāja Shams al-dīn Muḥammad al-Hāfiẓ of Shiraz\(^{86}\) expresses himself thus:

By means of talent establish yourself in every heart;\(^{87}\)
This cannot be achieved by a thousand sultanates of beauty.

When, in these joyful times of happiness, kindness and splendor of the favor of the Glorious Sovereign,\(^{88}\) whose exalted name and honorable titles adorn this goodly manuscript, full honors are rendered to masters of writing, men of dignity and talent, and boundless prosperity is secured for books and libraries,

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\(^{83}\) Verses in Arabic. Meter: \textit{basīf}.
\(^{84}\) Meter: \textit{ramal}.
\(^{85}\) \textit{Rubā‘ī}.
\(^{86}\) Died circa 791/1389-90.
\(^{87}\) Meter: \textit{mujātīth}.
\(^{88}\) Shah ‘Abbās I, who reigned 995-1037/1587-1628.
The entire world has benefited by his generosity,\footnote{\text{meter: mutaqārib.}} 
Especially men of letters and talent, 

there has occurred to the feeble mind of this lowly, humble, 
much-sinning Qādi Aḥmad ibn Mir-Munshi al-Ḥusaynī—may 
God exalt the rank of both of them,\footnote{\text{i.e., the author, Qādi Ahmad, and his father, Mir-Munshi.}} in the name of the 
Prophet and his appointed successor!—the thought of writing 
a goodly treatise on the first appearance of the 
qalam and the 
invention of writing, with the tracing of the origin of the latter 
to His Holiness the Shah (i.e., ‘Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib), the refuge 
of sanctity—may God’s clemency and peace be on him!—(as 
well as) on the biographies of each of the masters, artists and 
all men of talent who are connected with this glorious company 
and excellent class, or with books and libraries. Thus, despite 
the distraction of thought, the disorder of external circumstances, 
the total loss of property and the conscience of every 
kind of dissipating factor, (this lowly one) has collected, for 
the time being, some patchy sheets, but truly there has resulted 
a treatise which is likely to travel from hand to hand among 
the interested people, and a composition which may find a 
place in the flourishing kitāb-khāna of the Shah of the World 
and the Khan of the Time, by the side of masters of writing 
and artists.

The Shah with his Khan is like a father with a son, 
Without exaggeration they are worthy of each other, 
They are like two swords in one scabbard 
Traveling for the conquest of a country.

5. The Shah of the World is a world-conquering Chosroes, 
Leading the army of the Lord of the Time.\footnote{\text{i.e., of the Twelfth (Hidden) Imām.}}

The Shah whose glory is similar to that of Jamshid, whose 
troops are as numerous as stars, who is God’s shadow, whose 
descent is from the Prophet called ummi,\footnote{\text{ummi: a caliph by reputation, of sun-like appearance, of Venus-like elevation, of Mercury-like nature, of Jamshid-like glory,}}

\footnote{\text{See above, footnote 79.}}
Father upon father up to God’s Envoy
They were in the world kingly Shahs, refuges of the Universe,
arranger of the world, Darius-minded, as evident as the moon,
sublime as the celestial vault, Shāhins̄hāh of Space and Time,
overlord of the sultans of the world.

He is a king of whose throne the sky is the pedestal,
Space and Time are subjects of his throne.
The Shah possesses the marks of Alexander and the majesty of the sea,
By his generosity he is like the sea, by his fortitude he is like a mountain,
His open hand is like a cloud, but pregnant with gifts.

He adorns the seat of leadership and is fit for the throne of Chosroes, at a feast like unto Venus, in battle like unto Mars (Bahrlām), he enjoys the esteem of Jupiter (Barjis) and the magnificence of the Sun; his levies are like stars, his armies like fixed stars; he possesses the throne of Jamshid, the fortune of victory, the royal halo of Faridūn with the august vestiges, Alexandrine energy, leonine majesty, the court of Darius, a sun-like court banner, the high mind of Nūshīrvān, the learning of Kay-Khusrau, the banner of the sun, the power of the skies, the royal presence of Saturn (Kayvān); he is the lord of the necks of nations, and the Master of the Turkish, Arab, and Persian kings.

He has carried away crowns and ranks from conceited ones,
He collects tribute from all who are Jamshid-like,

6. He sets the foundations of hidden justice,
He is the creator of justice, he both dispenses and submits to justice.
He is Chosroes of blessed appearance and of Bahrām’s happiness,
He is just, of sublime descent and good name.

He is destined for the favors of the bounteous God, he is fortified by the Merciful One, he is the Sultan, son of a Sultan, son of a Sultan, son of a Sultan, and the Khāqān, son of a Khāqān,93 Abū Muẓaffar sultān Shāh ‘Abbās Bahādūr-

93 Here the khāqāns are Shah Tahmāsp and Shah Ismā‘īl, but the suggestion is that the sultanate goes even higher up to Ismā‘īl’s ancestors. [Haydar and Junayd. V. M.]
KHĀN, may God elevate the banners of his grandeur up to the Green Sea (i.e., the sky), remove the enemies of his prosperity from the surface of the gray (earth) and bless the shadow of his sultanate, justice, munificence, and generosity down to the day of Retribution.

He is the head of the glorious, the Shah of shahs.
Under his justice the world does not play (its tricks).
He has spread his shadow over the world.
So that a Zāl (or “an old woman”) is not afraid of a Bijan.
In his days one sees no offense,
Such as would bring complaints of someone’s claws of injustice.
At all periods people groan at the offensces of Time
And the March of Heaven.
In thy days, O Lord,
They have no complaints about Destiny.
In thy days I witness the tranquility of the people
For finally they have attained well-being.
O God, Thou hast cast a glance of clemency,
While Thou hast spread such a shadow over the people.
In sincerity, as a slave, I say:

O God, make this shadow last eternally,
(While) the Khan of the Time ⁹⁴ stands for security and mercy,
And personifies justice, kindness, and contentment.

He is the fountainhead of divine assistance, the horizon of the lights of unending success, felicitous, for whom Heaven is the threshold and the moon the stirrup, happy, renowned, the axis of the world, full of grace like a cloud, generous as the sea, having an army as numerous as the stars, bountiful as the “white hand (of Moses),” ranking with the heavens, of a kingly nature, a Mercury in appearance, a Mars in onslaught, a Caesar in might, the guardian of his subjects, a spreader of equity.

He whose likes one sees in the world only in imagination,
He whose likeness one does not see except in sleep,
Let his mind, with the help of God,
Meet any requirement preserved in the Mother of Books (Qurʾān).

⁹⁴ [Here suddenly begins the praise of Farhād-khān. V. M.]
With a sun-like sword, merging with the firmament, rising up to the Pleiades, companion of Victory, triumphal in his ways and steadfast as a mountain.

(In Turkish)

Having the worth of the celestial vault, the khan of praiseworthy nature
Is the Moon of Greatness in the Firmament of Perfection.
His worth is as sublime as the firmament,
On the day of liberality he is a mine of generosity,
A cloud of gifts on the sky of kindness.
From father to father, a khan and a victor,
Himself a lord of success and possessor of the halo (of kingship,
farr, sic!) and authority (hang).
Hail, O Khan of khans, of illustrious house,
Be (our) protector, O most exalted Excellency!

The world-arranging Shah distinguished this elect of Fortune with the rank of “sonship” and exalted him with the appellation (in Arabic): “Thou art of me.”

What a khan, who is a leader of khans,
And father upon father is “khan, son of a khan”!
As this felicitous one strongly supports religion,
A coronet, a clime and a throne have been granted to him.
His existence is a joy for the people.
By his kindness every difficulty is solved.
The Creator protects his person,
By (the intercession) of the Prophet, and the “Eight and Four.”

The refuge of creatures in the world, master of liberality and generosity,
The hand of his liberality is an April cloud,
Equal to the lowly and the high,
Equitable to the helpless poor,
Haughty with the Lords of thrones.
On the kidneys struck with pain and ailment
His kindly speech acts as a liniment.
When he stretches his hand of kindness out of his pocket,
Hātim-Tayy pulls his hand back into his sleeve.

95 At this period Shah ‘Abbās (born in 978/1571) was 25 years old.
96 I.e., the Twelve Imāms.
97 The paragon of Arab generosity.
Hatim is the beggar at his assemblies,  
His company is the meeting place of the virtuous.  

The right hand of the mighty sultanate and of the brilliant caliphate, the raiser of the banners of justice and generosity, punisher of tyrants and enemies, Abūl-Manṣūr Farhād Khān, (in Arabic) let his famous threshold remain the refuge of the highest sultans and his high door an asylum of the most distinguished khans. May God—be He praised and exalted—enable him to reach the goal which He intends for him and to spend his days as he likes and pleases, by the merit of him who pronounced the letter dād the best (i.e., Muhammad) and of the pious and praiseworthy (members) of his glorious family.

9. This pure composition consists of an Introduction, three chapters, and a Conclusion, to wit:

Introduction: On the creation of the qalam and the first appearance of writing, with the tracing of the origin of the latter to His Holiness the Amir of the Faithful, ‘Alī son of Abī-Ṭālib—God’s blessings be upon him! Chapter One: On the thulth style of writing and those similar to it. Chapter Two: On the style  ta’liq. Chapter Three: On the style  nastā’liq. Conclusion: On the biographies of painters, gilders, masters of gold sprinkling and découpé (qiṭʿa), dyers of paper, and bookbinders.

INTRODUCTION

On the appearance of the qalam and the first appearance of writing, with the tracing of the origin of the latter to His Holiness the King of the Throne of Sanctity, the Amir of all Amirs

Let it not be concealed from the world-adorning gaze that the first object created by the Creator, let Him be praised and exalted, was the qalam of marvelous writing, whence the divine words: “read (O Prophet!): by the most benevolent

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68 Restored as in the text, p. 128.
69 ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib.
100 Perhaps a hint at Shah ‘Abbās I; cf. the title of the chronicle of his reign entitled “The World-Adorning History of ‘Abbās.” [Here, ex abrupto, begins the slightly altered text of H. V. M.]
Lord, who taught the use of the writing reed!\textsuperscript{101} and the tradition of the Prophet—God's blessing on him and his family!—to the same effect: "The first thing the Lord created was the qalam."

Through the qalam existence receives God's orders,\textsuperscript{102}
From Him the candle of the qalam receives its light.
The qalam is a cypress in the garden of knowledge,
The shadow of its order is spread over the dust.

And in view of the preeminence of the task of writing, inspiration proceeds through (the qalam) and the charge of commanding and prohibiting is performed by it.

You are a curious beauty, O reed clad in a red garment,\textsuperscript{103}
Double-tongued in converse, yet silent.
Showing off your cypress stature, throwing a shadow,
Trailing under your feet a tress of the color of the night.
With the shape of the cypress, (but) like a bow clothed in tūz,\textsuperscript{104}
In black night hiding the day-like countenance.
Not an arrow, yet taking the course of one toward the target,
Which is mostly paper.
Worker, full of talents, with fine sight,
In labor directed by the effort of the hand.
Your business is magic wonders,
At times you are Moses, and at times Sāmīrī,\textsuperscript{105}
At times taking for device the splitting of a hair,
Or else failing in the task by a hair's breadth.

There is no doubt that the key to the gates of happiness and the luminary in the niche of enlightenment is the reed, fragrant with amber, whose offspring animate the tumult (of the epoch).

O key of talent, for which Reason has become a banner!\textsuperscript{106}
What is this key? The tip of the qalam.

\textsuperscript{101} Qur'ān, XCVI, 3-4.
\textsuperscript{102} Meter: hazaj.
\textsuperscript{103} Meter: sari*.
\textsuperscript{104} Tūz or tūnche is the bark of khadang ("white poplar"?), which was used as a protective layer on bows. It was also used instead of paper (even in the tenth century; see Ḥāmza Ǧīßahānī, p. 127).
\textsuperscript{105} The name of the magician, contemporary with Moses, who, according to the legend, made a talking calf, Qur'ān, XX, 90.
\textsuperscript{106} Meter: mutaqārib.
The *qalam* is an artist and a painter. 
God created two kinds of *qalam*:
The one, ravishing the soul, is from a plant
And has become a sugarcane for the scribe;
The other kind of *qalam* is from the animal,

And it has acquired its scattering of pearls from the fountain of life.\(^{107}\)

O painter of pictures which would have enticed Mānī!\(^{108}\)
Thanks to you the days of talent have been adorned.

The vegetable *qalam*\(^{109}\) is the sweetener of the palate of writing inspired by divine generosity, for it is an example of "the noble writers" and (of the mystery) of the letter nūn, in "knowledge of certainty."\(^{110}\) The animal *qalam* is (but a) hair by whose enchantment the works of those gifted like Mānī and of the wizards of China and Europe (*Firang*), have settled on the throne of the land of Talent and become artists (*naqsh-band*) in the shop of Destiny. According to an indication, the vegetable *qalam* is the chosen one of the book of Creation, and the elect of that person necessary-by-his-nature, the Arab Prophet, Muḥammad al-Abṭaḥī\(^{111}\)—on whom, and his family, be the most exalted blessings—who said: "He who writes beautifully 'in the name of God, Merciful and Compassionate' obtains innumerable blessings." Similarly, the Master worthy of glorification, teacher in the school of generosity, and preacher of pleasant expression in the region (*khīṭṭa*) of the imamate, the illumination of the preface of Religion and Righteousness, the inscription on the portico of "I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī its gate," lord of elevation to "the position of Aaron"\(^{112}\)

\(^{107}\) Under the second type of *qalam*, a brush of hair is understood.

\(^{108}\) Founder of the Manichaean religion, which in the Middle Ages played an important role in Europe and Asia. According to tradition Mānī (put to death in A.D. 273) was the inventor of a special kind of writing and an artist. Persian literature often uses Mānī, as it does Behzād, as a symbol of the ideal artist.

\(^{109}\) [The following paragraph omitted in Zakhoder's translation has been restored from *H.* V. M.]

\(^{110}\) *Qorān*, LXXXII, 11, and CII, 5.

\(^{111}\) *Abṭaḥ*, bed of torrent between Mecca and Medina, Yāqūt, I, 92. V. M.

\(^{112}\) [A hint at the *ḥadīth*: "Ali with regard to me is in the position of Aaron (Ḥārūn) to Moses." V. M.]
The Lion of God, King of Sanctity, 'Ali,  
Expunger of the "large and small"  

said: "Your duty is to (acquire) good writing for it is the  
key to your subsistence." And he himself showed endeavor in  
that honorable practice and that praiseworthy art and dis-  
played laudable care in it.

The aim of Mur’tada ‘Ali in writing  
Was (to reproduce) not merely speech, letters and dots,  
But fundamentals, purity and virtue  
For this reason he deigned to point to good writing.

Other great men have said:

Down 116 enhances the beauty of the delicately visaged.117
For you, O friends! (the question is to acquire) good writing.
The spring of youth becomes fresh from down,  
Similar to verdure in springtime.

12. For you, O friends! (the question is to acquire) good writing.
The spring of youth becomes fresh from down,  
Similar to verdure in springtime.

It is also reported of His Holiness the Commander of the  
Faithful—God’s blessings and peace be on him!—that he  
deigned to state (in Arabic): “Learn a good style of writ-  
ing, writing is an adornment of the possessor of accomplish-  
ments.” If you possess sufficiency, the style of writing becomes  
your adornment; and should anyone be needy, it is the best  
means to earn a livelihood.” That is to say (in Persian):  
An excellent handwriting, O brother, is soul ravishing,  
Like a soul in the body of young and old.  
For the rich man it is an adornment,  
For the needy one it is an aid.

Also that Holiness—God’s peace be on him!—deigned to  
state: "The beauty of writing is the tongue of the hand and  
the elegance of thought.” When (a man) is internally free

113 Terms applied to writing.
114 Meter: khafif. Here ends the passage omitted in Zakhoder.
115 These three lines are also found in Sultan-’All’s treatise. See below, p. 108.  
116 In Persian khatt means both “writing” and “down.”
117 Meter: true mutagārib.
118 This passage has been restored from Fathullāh, fol. 4a, where the same  
tradition is quoted: “the possessor of accomplishments” refers to the class of  
literati.
119 Meter: hazaj.
from affliction, the writing is good. It is said: "Good speech conquers hearts, and excellent writing clears the eyes." If someone, whether he can read or not, sees a good writing, he likes to enjoy the sight of it. The Prophet has also said: "Know that writing is revealed only by the teaching of a teacher, and proficiency in writing depends on exercise, and on practice in joining letters. The teacher's duty is to shun what is forbidden and to observe the prayers, but the basis of writing is in the knowledge of single letters." Certain great sages have said: "The essence of writing is in the spirit, even though it is manifested by means of the limbs." And others have said: "A beautiful handwriting is a fortune for the needy one, an adornment for the rich man, perfection for the administrator (governor)." [Therefore he whose soul (H, p. 3) is free from affliction, envy, and hatred, and other similar defects, writes well and neatly, and in the contrary case, badly.] The sage Plato says: "Writing is the geometry of the soul, and it manifests itself by means of the organs of the body." For this reason Plato did not connect writing necessarily with the hand, or make it the slave of the hand, for it involves all the limbs of the body. This lowly one has seen a man who had lost both hands: Holding the qalam with his toes this man wrote excellently. It is also possible to acquire the habit of holding the qalam in one's mouth. (In such matters) habit prevails.

In certain biographies, of ancient kings (kutub-i siyar) one finds that the first man who wrote in Arabic and used the pen was Adam—blessing and peace on him and on our Prophet!—and after him, Seth, son of Adam. (According to others, it was) in the times of the prophet Abraham—blessing and peace on our Prophet and on him!—that Arab writing was invented. Others again say that it was Enoch (Idris) who invented writing—peace on our Prophet and on him! However, according to records, in olden times there was no writing; the first steps were taken by Tahmūras Divband,120 and the beginning of

120 A mythical shah of the Pishdadian dynasty. Epic tradition glorifies him as the conqueror of monster-divs, hence his appellation, Divband, "one who holds the divs in bonds." For the same tradition regarding him as the originator of writing, see Fārs-nāma, 10 and 28.
writing is from him. After that, many took part (in the promoting of this art), and at different times and centuries particular styles of writing were created and given a name. The following are the denominations found in histories: Hebrew, Berberi, *Andalusi, Chinese, Coptic, Nabataean, wooden, Greek, Himyaritic, Syriac, Thamûdî, lapidary, Rûmî, Rûmî-open, Küfî, Ma‘qîlî, Jafri, Indian, Persian, Georgian. These were the letters in existence among the people and which were used for correspondence. Previous to the time when Persian writing came to be used and the universe was embellished, as in our days, with wonderful letters and tracings, there was the ma‘qîlî writing which consisted of straight (saṭli?) lines with no rotundity (dauri) in it; the best ma‘qîlî writing is that in which one can distinguish blackness from whiteness.

Then that writing which, like kohl, cleared the sight of men of understanding with divine revelation (H 4) and the commands and prohibitions of His Holiness the prophet—God's prayer on him and his family!—was the kûfî writing. And there exist tracings by the miraculous qalams of His Holiness the Shah, the Refuge of Sanctity (i.e., ‘Alî) which enlighten the sight of the soul and brighten the tablets of the heart.

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121 H adds: “Know that the foundation of writing is the dot; then two or three dots were joined together, and writing began.” V. M.

122 [H: Yâfîî (d. in 768/1367) in his history, in connection with the name of ‘Alî b. Hîlîl, known as Ibn al-Bawwâb, says that all the systems of writing of various eastern and western nations are 12 in number: Arabic, Himyari, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew, Rûmî (Latin), Coptic, Berberi, Andalusian, Indian, and Chinese, and in other books 8 others are (also) mentioned: Thamûdî, Hajari (Jafri?), Rûmî, Maṣlîb (Maqlûb ?), Küfî, Ma‘qîlî (?) Jafari, and Georgian. V. M.]

123 An example of “wooden” writing is in the well-known passage of the Fihrist on Russian writing (20, 21), see Fraehn, Izvestiya, t. 3 (1833).

124 [Hajari, perhaps Jafri, as lower down? V. M.]

125 The term translated by the word “whiteness” (bayâd) designates the shape of the white spot surrounded by lines in such letters as the Kufic alîf, ‘ayn, fâ, qâf. See M, p. 77, and Fathullah's Treatise, fol. 34b: “The white spot of the fâ resembles the grain of sesame.” [This passage is indistinct in H. The term ma‘qîlî remains obscure. This writing is also mentioned in Dûst Muḥammad, p. 9. According to him, Adam already wrote on skins; Enoch possibly wrote in Syriac and Hebrew; after that, ‘Arab b. Qâûtân altered the writing from ma‘qîlî to kûfî. Dr. M. Bayâni tells me that ma‘qîlî was a writing similar to kûfî and was used in Basra where there is a canal called Ma‘qîl. V. M.]
None wrote better than that Holiness—God's blessing on him!—and the most excellent kūfī is that which he has traced—God's peace on him!

In the kūfī writing one-sixth (dāngī) is circular and the rest is straight (sath, “flat”). In the blessed writing of the Shah, the Refuge of Sanctity, the tops of the alifs are twin-horned and the beauty of these alifs is manifested in the highest degree of elegance, grace, and delicacy. Masters (of the art) trace the rules of writing and its origin to that Holiness.

The warrant of the art of writing is good behavior,126 Consequently Murtada 'Ali has existed (?) from the beginning.

As (the Prophet) has said—may God bless him and his family!—“writing is one-half of knowledge,” and thus he who has written well has learned one-half of wisdom.

Of whom was it said “writing is one-half of knowledge” 127 By the chief of prophets in knowledge and clemency? It was (said of) the writing of Murtada ‘Ali, And therefore the Prophet said “one-half of knowledge.” Murtada is truly the lord of saints. In the days of the usurpation of the caliphs He made seclusion his distinctive sign: In order to escape for a time from unnecessary converse For most of the time he wrote the Qor‘ān. Hence writing received dignity, greatness, and honor. Such writing! How could it be within the power of humanity! That was a different pen and a different hand!

Had not the necessity of confidence and familiarity with the minutiae of this art been obvious to His Holiness, how would he have spent most of his noble time in writing?

Had there been no engrossment in writing,128 How would the bright meanings and soul-improving thoughts blossom forth?

Thereafter the one who wrote excellently was His Holiness, the magnanimous Imām, the chosen one of the Lord of the

126 Meter: khaṣṣ. This obscure verse is by Sultan-'Ali, see below, p. 107. [It apparently means that as ‘Ali is the paragon of goodness, he has been the foundation of good writing from its inception. V.M.]

127 Meter: khaṣṣ. Also by Sultan-'Ali, see below, p. 108.

128 Meter: mujāthth.
Heavens, the commander of the faithful, Hasan,\textsuperscript{129}—God’s blessing be on him!—who used to transcribe the Qor’ān.\textsuperscript{130} One Qor’ān in the writing of His Holiness was in the library of the King, whose dwelling is now in Paradise, in the highest sphere of heaven, \textit{Sultan-Shāh Tāhmāsp al-Husaynī}\textsuperscript{131} of eternal memory—may God sanctify his tomb—who attached no importance to titles and external commendations, but glorified himself with titles which he considered the pride of his throne, such as: “The dust of the threshold of His Holiness the Best of Men (i.e., ‘Ali),” or “propagator of the creed of Twelve Imāms,” or “the own and faithful slave of His Holiness the Prince of the Faithful, Ḥaydar, father of eternity.”

Among the pure imāms—God’s blessings be on them all!—His Holiness the Fourth Imām, the adornment of the pious, the \textit{qibla} of the devout, and the leader of those who prostrate themselves, Zayn \textit{Al-‘Abidin}, and His Holiness the Eighth Imām, the seventh \textit{qibla}, to whom we owe obedience and purity,

The martyr of the land of Khorasan, the fragrant and pure Imām,\textsuperscript{132} ‘Alī, son of Mūsā, son of Ja‘far, son of Muḥammad Bāqir, wrote excellently and set standards in writing. There exist copies of the Qor’ān in their noble writing.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{129} Son of ‘Ali.

\textsuperscript{130} [H adds: “and during the usurpation of (Mu‘awiya)—on him be curses—he lived in seclusion and wrote the Qor’ān.”]

\textsuperscript{131} The second shah of the Safavid dynasty, son of Shah Ismā‘il (reigned 930–984/1524–76). [H, p. 5, adds: “and the writer of these lines had the honor to see that Qor’ān.” V. M.]

\textsuperscript{132} Meter: \textit{mujtathth}.

\textsuperscript{133} [H, p. 5, adds: “He used to transcribe the Qor’ān in Sanābād of Tūs, which is at present Mashhad, at a place which is now called the madrasa of Qādām-gāh. From a sum given as a present, the lands known as Ghusl-gāh, situated near the sanctuary of Mashhad, were bought and made into \textit{waqf} for the burial of Muslims. These lands are by the side of the place where the body of that Holiness (the Eighth Imām?) was washed. At this place there stands now a mosque which is a place of pilgrimage and worship. In the year 966/1558–59 the late shah sent 100 tomans of Tabriz to the Mir-Munshi, father of the present writer, who at that time was the vazir of the late Abul-Fath Sultan Ibrāhīm-mirzā, in order that that place should be enclosed with a wall, with a gateway, and that people should not pass through there and asses should not be brought in. Many dervishes and virtuous people are buried in that place of burial (\textit{maqbara}?) and Shaykh ‘Ali Ṭabarsi is one of them.”]
CHAPTER ONE

On thulth and other similar styles (of writing) and their origins

16. May it not be hidden from the minds of the clear-sighted that Ibn-Muqla was the inventor of the “six styles of writing (sitta).” In 310/922–923 he took the circle for the basis of writing, introduced (this invention) instead of the kufi and taught it. These six styles are: thulth, naskh, muhaqqaq, rayhan, tauqi, and riqa. Ibn-Muqla who held the office of vazir to the Abbasid al-Radi, was born on the eve of Thursday, 21 Shawwal 272/31 March 866, and died in the capital of the caliphate, Baghdad, in 328/939–940.

After Ibn-Muqla’s death his daughter taught ‘Ali ibn-Hilal, known under the name of Ibn-Bawwab. Through this intermediary Ibn-Bawwab is Ibn-Muqla’s pupil and master in those

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134 [Here begins the text available in E.]

Ibn-Muqla’s invention was based on measurement in dots: (a) muhaqqaq has $\frac{1}{2}$ parts of circular strokes and $\frac{4}{3}$ of straight (sath) lines, and by its straightness reminds one of the kufi and ma’qil; (b) rayhan is similar to muhaqqaq in design but by its roundness resembles sweet basil; (c) in thulth the proportion is 2:4; (d) naskh follows the proportion (?) of thulth; it owes its name to the fact that Qur’ans and books are written in it and that it has canceled (naskh) other writings; (e) in tauqi the proportion is half and half; qadis keep their documents (sijillat), which are submitted to confirmation (tauqi), in this writing; (f) riqa’ is smaller than tauqi’, though it is difficult to distinguish between them; it is used for letters (ruq’a). Moreover, if you write with a larger pen the writing is tumbur, and if the pen is finer the writing is ghubur (“dust”). Thus the number of styles becomes eight, but the basic styles for which the inventor has set canons, are six.


137 Abū-‘Ali Muḥammad ibn-‘Ali ibn-Muqla, known as Ibn-Muqla, was several times vazir to Abbasid caliphs, once under al-Muqtadir, once under al-Qāhir, and twice under al-Rāḍi. On the MSS. of his work see al-Nadim, K. al-Fihrist, pp. 91, 125, 130. Ibn-Muqla’s career had a tragic end: he fell into disgrace, was imprisoned, and finally executed. In prison his right hand was cut off; according to tradition, Ibn-Muqla continued to write with his left hand so well that his writing was indistinguishable from that which he wrote before with his right. See Tajāriḥ al-salaf, pp. 210–211.
styles of writing. He wrote excellently and was esteemed by sultans and enjoyed favor and high rank. He was the first of the masters to write admirably, following and realizing what Ibn-Muqla—God's gratitude for his labors!—invented and established. None equaled him, either in his time or after him. Down to the time of Mustaʿsim and the rise of Yaqūt, writing and copying was done according to the canons of Ibn-Bawwāb.

[Jamāl al-dīn] Yaqūt al-Mustaʿsimī, the cynosure of calligraphers, was the slave of the Abbasid Mustaʿsim, the last of the usurper caliphs. He was a native of Abyssinia.

17. In the art of writing he followed the tradition of Ibn-Bawwāb, but in the trimming of the qalam and in the clipping of its nib he altered the manner of the earlier masters, while he drew his guidance from the marvelous words of His Holiness the Shah, the Refuge of Sanctity—God's peace be on him!—namely: "Cut the qalam so that its point be long, and leave it thick; cut the end of the qalam at an angle, after which it should ring like the ringing of Mashriqi's sword." And this Mashriqi, they say, was a man who made sword blades known for their excellency and quality; when someone trying out his blade struck something, he cut it in two, and if the blade was set in motion, it vibrated and there was heard a ringing of extreme acuteness. Therefore it is best that the end

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139 According to the treatise of Fathullāh, ff. 6a–7b, the succession of the masters of the "six" styles of writing was the following: After Ibn-Muqla, his two sons, `Ali and `Abdullāh, having inherited their father's proficiency, improved on it. `Ali specialized in the style mubāqqaq, and `Abdullāh in naskh. They were followed by the master Ibn al-`Aṣār, after whom came Abul-Hasan `Ali ibn-Hilāl (Ibn Khallīkān, I, 691, spells: Hīlīl), known as ibn-Bawwāb, who according to Ibn Khallīkān died in 413/1022. Tajārib al-salaf, p. 208, quotes the following remark, as coming from Yaqūt: "In the beginning Ibn-Bawwāb exercised himself for many years in Ibn-Muqla's style, but as he felt himself unable to equal him, he invented his own style, after which he abandoned that of Ibn-Muqla."
140 So the Shīʿites call the caliphs who ruled after `Ali's death (in 661).
141 Huart, p. 84, takes Yaqūt to have been a native of Amasia in Asia Minor (?).
142 In the text, the Arabic expression is followed by an explanation in Persian.
143 Huart, p. 85, translates the term mubāqqaq as "obliquement."
of the qalam should be cut at an angle, and the point of the qalam be long and fleshy, and when it is put to paper it should vibrate and a ringing be heard. Ibn-Bawwāb did not cut the end of the qalam, and for this reason his writing is neither fine nor elegant. The cynosure of calligraphers (Yāqūt) cut the end of the qalam. Thus he altered both the rule and the writing, because writing is subordinate to the qalam. For this reason his writing is preferred to that of Ibn-Bawwāb for its fineness and elegance, and not for the sake of the basic rules; for the essence of writing, it is the same as invented by Ibn-Muqīla from the circle and the dot, and he took the foundation from the dot and adopted it. In these styles of writing Yāqūt showed solidity, beauty, and clarity—none better than he has ever been found! He wrote in these six styles of writing with extreme elegance and beauty:

My enchantress writes in six styles, without any trouble: \(^{144}\)

Thulth, rayḥān, muḥaqqaq, naskh, tauqi', and riqā'.

Riqā' and tauqi' are exactly similar and it is impossible to distinguish them except for the fact that riqā' is smaller than tauqi'. There are some who count seven styles of writing and regard tūmun as a separate style, as the poet says:

Tūmun, muḥaqqaq, riqā', and rayḥān
And naskh, of which one-third (thulth) wrote the confirmation (tauqi').

Yāqūt has mentioned all the elements of writing in an excellent manner in a verse:

The fundamentals (usūl), the ligatures (tarkīb), the support * kurrās (?) and interrelation (nisbat),\(^{145}\)

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\(^{144}\) Meter: ramāl.

\(^{145}\) Meter: fasāil. This difficult verse is explained in the MS. of the Institute of Oriental Studies Ac. Sc. B 551, where a whole subdivision of the third chapter (fol. 44a-47a) is devoted to the explanation of Yāqūt's verse. Under usūl, translated as "fundamentals," are understood the elements of separate letters: "head," "shoulder," "tail," etc. The term tarkīb refers to the ligatures of letters: "alif has no tarkīb with the following letter" (Fathullāh, 25a). The term kurrās (kārāsī?) "seats, couches" [on which the characters "recline"] was used with regard to "the parallelism or contraposition of letters" (ibid., 43b). The masters distinguished five kinds of kursī, represented in the treatise in the
The upstroke (ṣuʿūd) and tashmīr ("renvoi"), the downstroke (nuzūl) and the flourish (irsāl).

Having become the qibla of calligraphers, Yāqūt made a practice of copying two juz' of the Qurʾān daily, and every month completed two copies; at the end of each copy he noted its consecutive number. Of those written by him, the 364th has been seen. Every day Yāqūt gave samples of his writing to 70 people.

It is beyond doubt (muḥaqqaq) for anyone That the sweet basil (rayhān) of his down (i.e., writing) ravishes the heart.

His writing (riqāʾ) has been approved by Time.
By his decree (tauqī) magic has been dispelled.
His dust (ghubār) on the borders of silvery silk Is like down on a charming face.148

When Hulagu-khān seized Baghdad (in 656/1258) and the Mongol army sacked the town, Yāqūt fled to a minaret (cf. pls. 2 and 3). He took with him ink and a qalam, but he had no paper for practicing. All he had was a towel of Baalbeki mithqāl linen,149 and so he wrote a few words on that towel in such a manner that looking at them one is seized with
guise of a five-line stave on which separate characters are disposed. The kursī determined a strict proportion in the interrelation of parts of the letter to the line. Hence the meaning of the word in contemporary Persian: "beauty, elegance." The term nisbat, translated as "interrelation," means in the calligraphic sense the harmony of design between the "fundamentals of the letters," the relation of the actual script to the "white spaces," etc. The term suʿūd, "upstroke," and nuzūl, "downstroke," designate two movements of the qalam on the same line up and down. The downstroke when separated from the upstroke often has its own rules of tracing. The term tashmīr or shamra, according to Fathullāh's definition, means literally to tuck up, to roll up (the hem of a robe, etc.), and technically means "to make the end (tail) of a letter curved and fine." The last term, irsāl, which in Arabic means "letting off," according to Fathullāh designates the stroke used either at the end of a line, or in the middle of the line of the naskh style [a "flourish"—V. M.]

146 One-thirtieth part of the Qurʾān.
147 Meter: mutaqārib.
148 The whole verse is made up of puns on the double meaning of the names applied to the styles of writing; see above, p. 56.
wonder. This piece of linen with the inscription has been preserved in the library of His Highness whose (present) refuge is God’s mercy, Abul-Fath Bahram-mirza—may God refresh his grave! The world-conquering Prince used to give this piece of material to the Mir-Munshi, the parent of this humble one—God’s mercy be on him!—and for some time he exercised himself on that model. In my childhood I saw that piece of material and I seem to remember that the writing was sufficiently straight (sath?) for it really to be ascribed to his (Yaqūt’s) wizardry and magic. Some relate that Yaqūt made the tracings on that towel with his forefinger, foregoing the use of the qalam. The following, too, is common knowledge: When Yaqūt was hiding in the minaret, one of his friends happened to take refuge there also and he asked: “Why do you loiter here? (All) Baghdad has been subjected to massacre and looting, all has been ruined.” Yaqūt replied: “Do not worry, I have written a sufficient quantity of what is worth the whole world.” Yaqūt lived very long, over a century. He departed this life in the beginning of the sultanate of Ghāzān-khān, in the city of Islam, Baghdad, in 696/1296. His tomb is beside that of Ahmad ibn-Ḥanbal.

Of his pupils six were outstanding and earned the right to sign the name of Yaqūt on their calligraphic works. They are called “masters of the sitta.” The first of them was the son of Shaykh Suhravardi, born in Baghdad. There the inscriptions on buildings are mainly his work; in the cathedral mosque of Baghdad he wrote the entire sūrat “al-Kahf,” and the stonemasons reproduced it in relief, without embellishments, merely with baked bricks. The second was Arghūn

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150 See Introduction, p. 3, n. 20.
151 Ghāzān-khān ruled 696-703/1295-1304. The date given in our source for the death of Yaqūt does not agree with that given by Huart, p. 86, and Ahmad Mūsā, p. 88. The latter, who utilized a number of Arabic manuscripts, gives 699/1299.
152 According to Huart, Ahmad ibn-Ḥanbal, a famous jurist and theologian, was buried in Baghdad; by the side of his grave is that of Ibn-Bawwāb.
153 Huart, pp. 89–90, mentions Shaykh Suhravardi himself. A Qorʾān copied by him in 718/1318 is preserved in St. Sophia (Stamboul).
154 The 18th chapter of the Qorʾān, containing 110 verses.
Kāmil,\textsuperscript{155} who is also one of the celebrities. There are in Baghdad two madrasas, both faced with glazed bricks (one is the “Marjāniya,” the other is “beside the bridge”); in both there are his writings. The third pupil was Naṣrullāh, a doctor of medicine; the inscriptions on some buildings in Baghdad are of his work. The fourth was Mubārak-shāh Zarīn-qalam. He wrote with great delicacy and purity. It is reported that when Sultan Uvays the Jalāyirid\textsuperscript{156} had erected buildings in the revered Najaf, he dreamed one night of His Holiness the Shah, the Refuge of Sanctity (i.e., ‘Alī), who deigned to command him: “Direct Mubārak-shāh to write in the buildings.” For this reason he was nicknamed zarīn-qalam (“golden pen”), and under this name acquired wide renown. He was a native of that pleasant country, the God-protected and famous Tabriz. The fifth was Yūsuf Mashhādī.\textsuperscript{157} He served Yaqūt for a long time, and toward the end of his life left ’Irāq for Azarbāyjān, where he took up residence in Tabriz, the capital, and spent the remainder of his days in practicing calligraphy and writing. ‘Abdollāh Ṣayrafi (see below, p. 62) was his pupil. The sixth calligrapher was Sayyid Ḥaydar, gunda-navīs, i.e., “writer in large characters,”\textsuperscript{158} who did excellent work. He was possessed and used to be rapt in ecstasy. Those who studied under him also became masters of writing and achieved perfection, such as the vazir Khwāja ‘Alī-shāh,\textsuperscript{159} and Khwāja Ghīyāth al-dīn Muhammad ibn Rashīd;\textsuperscript{160} they both were his pupils, both became masters of calligraphy, attained the highest ranks and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{155} Huart, p. 88: ‘Abdollāh Arghūn, d. 744/1343-44.
  \item \textsuperscript{156} Ruled 760-776/1358-74, known as a patron of the arts and as a good calligraphist. See Markov, Katalog Dzhelairidskih monet, pp. XII-XVII.
  \item \textsuperscript{157} Huart, pp. 88-89: Yūsuf Khorāsānī died at the same time as Yāqūt.
  \item \textsuperscript{158} Ibid., pp. 87-88: Kende-navīs, the explanation of this term being similar to ours. The transcription which we have adopted results from the spelling indicated in the text of M and H.
  \item \textsuperscript{160} Vazir to the Chingizid Abū-Sa‘īd, appointed vazir in 728/1327-28. See Khwāndamīr, Ḥabīb al-siyar, vol. 3, pp. 122-124.
\end{itemize}
dignities and achieved every kind of success. But ‘Abdullāh Șayrafī would not teach everybody.

Ahmad Rūmī was a master of writing, unrivaled in his day, a wonder of the ages. He attained such a degree of refinement and excellence in the styles muḥaqqaq, rayhān, naskh, riqā', and tauqī' that some specimens of his calligraphy are more refined and delicate than those of Yāqūt. His self-assurance is expressed in the words he addressed to his son: “Exert yourself! If you cannot (write) like me, then write like that slave of no account (ghulāmak),” i.e., Yāqūt.161

After the masters of the sitta come their pupils. Among them are: 162 Pir Yaḥyā Șūfī, pupil of Mubārak-shāh Zarinqalam,163 who was a Șūfī by creed and in his way of life (ṣāhib-mashrab), and spent his time with Șūfī shaykhs. His work (is to be found) on many buildings of the revered Najaf—a thousand prayers and blessings on the one reposing there! He was in the service of the Jalāyirid and Ilkhānid sultans.164 'Abdullāh Șayrafī, son of Khwāja Maḥmūd Șarrāf of Tabriz, the Yāqūt of his time, also studied under Sayyid Ḥaydar (see above, p. 61). He had great talent for inscriptions and began by being a master in the making of glazed tiles (kāshi). His writing is on the buildings of the capital, Tabriz, in particular the building called “the Master and the Pupil,” of which he decorated the whole interior and exterior, the bases (kamar) of the cupolas, and the tops of the portals, and in this performed wonders and magic. Those buildings were erected by Amir Suldūz Chūbānī (read: Chūbān Sulduz). ‘Abdullāh was a contemporary of Sultan Abū-Saʿīd

161 Yāqūt was a slave-servant (ghulām) of the caliph Mustaʿṣim.
162 [H, p. 9, begins the list with the names of Sulaymān Nishāpūrī and Sayyid Sharaf al-dīn Shīrāzī. The latter lived at the time of Muhammad Ḫūrūtū, who appointed him as teacher to his son Abū-Saʿīd, made governor of Khorasan. Abū-Saʿīd treated Sharaf al-dīn with much esteem: he went on foot to his house and on arrival did not allow his master to stand up.]
163 Huart, p. 93: Pir Yaḥyā Șūfī was a pupil of ‘Abdullāh Șayrafī. [H adds: “pupil of Mūbārak-shāh and Ahmad Rūmī.”]
164 [H adds: “and of the Amir Chūbān (of the) Sulduz who are a tribe of Mongolian Turks. After the death of Sultan Abū-Saʿīd, Malik Ashraf, a grandson of Amir Chūbān, and some others of the same family, ruled for a few days; they are called Chūbānī.”]
ibn-Öljeytü and of the Chübânids. In Tabriz the inscription on the arches of the madrasa of the Chübânid Dimişhq are his; on the road to Baliyân-kûh, in the mosque near the Sulaymâniya chapel (buq'a) this verse laid in Chinese tiles outside the window is in his writing, and without exaggeration no writing of such beauty has ever been seen:

In Arabic: These sites, traces and ruins

Relate that those men have already departed.

Mîrzâ-Sûltân Îbrahim, son of Mîrzâ Shâhrûkh, a recognized master of the thulth style, sent someone to Tabriz with orders that the following holy verse in ‘Abdullâh’s hand on a stone should be removed by stoncutters from its site and set up in the court of the building which stands in the midst of the cathedral mosque of the royal town, Shiraz, and was built at the time of the Sâmânîds and rebuilt by the said prince in 820/1417-18: “The truly pious ones shall dwell among gardens and rivers, in the abode of truth, before the most potent King.”

Hâjjî Mûhammad Band-dûz [Tabrizî] was a pupil of Sayrafi. From Sayrafi, too, the master Mû'în al-dîn

165 Amir Chübân Sulduz, member of the high Mongol aristocracy, married to close relatives of the Chingizid Ilkhâns; at the beginning of Abû-Sa'id's reign he enjoyed complete power in state affairs. In 728/1327 Abû-Sa'id exterminated many members of the family but after his death in 736/1335 the power in Azarbâyjân and Diyar-bakr was seized by the surviving Chübânids. The short period of their rule was marked by numerous feudal struggles.

166 Baliyân or Valiyan-kûh is the mountain overlooking Tabriz. It became part of Tabriz when Ghâzân-khân had a wall built around the town (Nuzhat al-gulûb, p. 78; transl., p. 81).

167 Meter: tawil.


169 Qor'dân, LIV, 54-55.

170 [H, p. 10, adds: “The master calligrapher Mû'în al-dîn maulânâ shaykh Muhammad Band-gîr (?) entered the service of Amîr Timûr in 788/1386. When Timûr was sending an epistle (kitâbat) to the King of Egypt he ordered the maulânâ to write it in liquid gold and this epistle was 3 cubits (dhar') wide and 70 cubits long and was taken to Egypt by the Egyptian envoy. Hâjjî Muhammad was also a pupil of Sayrafi and received from him the permission
HaJJi MuHAMMAD received permission to sign the name (of his teacher?). The inscriptions of the Chahar-Minar in the capital, Tabriz, are in Mu‘in al-din’s writing. He was the teacher of MAULANA SHAMS AL-DIN MASHRIQI QATTÂ‘I. After him (Mu‘in al-din?) his sons, ‘ABD AL-HAYY, ‘ABD AL-RAHIM KHALVATI, and his (?) pupil MAULANA JA‘FAR TABRIZI were full masters in the realm of calligraphy.

24. Another famous master of calligraphy was ‘OMAR AQTA‘; he had no right hand and with his left filled the pages in such a manner that the eyes of experts were filled with wonder and the reason of sages was troubled by the contemplation of them. For the Lord of the Time, Amir Timur Gurkân, he wrote a copy (of the Qor‘an) in ghubâr writing; it was so small in volume that it could be fitted under the socket of a signet ring. He presented it to the Lord of the Time, but as he had written the divine word in such microscopic characters, (Timur) did not approve of it or accept it and did not deign to favor him. ‘OMAR AQTA‘ wrote another copy, extremely large, each of its lines being a cubit (dhar’) in length, and even longer. Having finished, decorated and bound (the manuscript), he tied it on a barrow and took it to the palace of the Lord of the Time. Hearing that, the sultan came out to meet him, accompanied by all the clergy, dignitaries, amirs, and pillars of the state, and rewarded the calligrapher with great honors, marks of respect and endless favors. One folio of this (copy) was in the possession of Maulana Malik.

Another of the old masters, MAULANA MA‘RUF KHATTAT-I BAGHDADI, was the coryphaeus of the calligraphers of his
to sign (in his master’s?) name, etc.” This possibly indicates the confusion of two Muhammads. On Timur’s letter to Sultan Faraj, see Huart, pp. 92–93, who also reflects some confusion of the names: HaJJi Muhammad Band-dûz of Sistân (?) and Amîr Muhammâd Badr al-din of Tabriz. V. M.]

171 [H: “After him his sons ‘Abdul-Hayy and ‘Abdul-Rahîm, as well as Maulana Ja‘far Tabrizi, were pupils of Maulana Shams al-din.”]

172 Aqta‘, “a man one of whose hands has been cut off.”

173 The “Tamerlane” of European tradition (Gurkân is a traditional misreading of Turkish kûrâkân, “son-in-law”). Timur died in 736/1335–1405.

time and a rarity of the ages. Apart from calligraphy, he was extremely gifted in all arts and crafts, was a man of great parts and capacity, and composed good poetry. Having turned away from the Jalāyirid Sultan Aḥmad in Baghdad, he went to Isfahan to the Timurid Mīrzā Iskandar, son of Mīrzā ‘Omar-Shaykh, and became an important and respected member of his library. It is reported that in one day he wrote fifteen hundred verses (bayt) and for two days wrote nothing, in disobedience to the Mīrzā who had ordered him to write five hundred daily. When questioned about the reason of his unwillingness to write (according to orders), he said: “I want to do three days’ work in one day.” Mīrzā Iskandar ordered umbrellas and an awning (otāq) to be raised with a man to trim the qalam, and the maulānā began to write; by the time of the afternoon prayer he had executed in all elegance and perfection 1500 verses. Mīrzā Iskandar bestowed numerous gifts upon him. During the conquest of ‘Irāq, Mīrzā Shāhrukh took the maulānā away to his capital, Herat, issued a decree for him to be his scribe, gave him a situation in the kitāb-khāna, and entrusted him with writing. The maulānā was a sweet-spoken conversationalist. He wore yellow (‘āsali) felt garments and on his head a high cap (tāqiya) of the same material with a bandeau wound around it. Young men of talent in the capital, Herat, such as Maulānā Ruhullāh [H: Ruh al-a’imma] Khwārazmī, and others, entertained friendship with Maulānā Ma’rūf, some for the sake of train-

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175 The well-known opponent of Timūr, Ghiyāth al-dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān, reigned 784–813/1382–1410 and was a patron of the arts; see Markov, p. XXII.
177 Cf. Huart, p. 216.
178 Central Persia is meant here (‘Irāq-i ‘Ajami).
179 Shāhrukh, son of Timūr (807–850/1404–47), endeavored to reunite the possessions in Iran and Central Asia which had disintegrated after the conqueror’s death.
180 Huart, p. 215, in describing Ma’rūf’s clothing, apparently translates the same expression (ad sensum): “he wore a huge felt turban.” [See Samarqandī, Matla’ al-sa’dayn, p. 590: alif-i nanad bar gird-i an ḵāzī. Here alif (?) stands for laff. V.M.]
ing in writing, and others for the sake of his conversation. The maulānā was a man of noble nature and complete self-control (khwāishtan-dār). Mīrzā Bāysunqur, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh, ordered the maulānā to transcribe the “Quintet of poems” of Shaykh Niẓāmī and sent him some paper. The maulānā kept the paper for about a year and a half and then sent it back to the Mirzā, who was greatly angered. By the coincidence of days and events, in those very same days the maulānā was suspected of complicity with Ahmed Lur, who had struck Shāhrukh with a knife in the cathedral mosque of the capital, Herat. He was seized, and the majority of talented young men who had often visited him turned away from him, and the invidious extorted money from them. Maulānā Maʿrūf was several times brought to the foot of the gallows, and finally imprisoned in the dungeon (chāh) of the Ikhtiyār al-dīn fortress.

Maulānā ʿAbdullāh Ṭabbākh was a native of the capital, Herat. There he achieved success, rose to eminence and became known in all countries. He wrote admirably and was a remarkable master in “gold sprinkling” and restoration (vaṣṣālī). In the majority of buildings of Herat, especially in the Gāzargāh, there is some of his writing. In the Holy Mashhad, equal in dignity to the highest heaven, in the building called Aghache, in honor of Aghache-begum [H: erected by Sultan-Husayn Bayqara], the inscriptions are by his hand.


182 Famous poet of the twelfth century.

183 The attempt on Şāhrukh’s life made by Ahmed Lur took place in February 1427 (A.H. 830). The criminal was torn to pieces on the threshold of the mosque, and in his clothing was found the key to the room in the caravansarai where he lived. In connection with the affair of this dervish, numerous arrests were made. Among those suspected of being accessories was the famous calligrapher Maʿrūf. He was several times brought to the foot of the gallows, and he owed his life to his exceptional talent and the intercession of men in power. See Muʿīn al-dīn Isfāzī, in Barbier de Meynard, J.As., vol. 20 (1862), pp. 271–72. The Ikhtiyār al-dīn fortress which guarded Herat to the north of the town, is situated on the road to Mashhad (ibid., p. 471, n. 1). [H speaks again of Maʿrūf’s accomplishments and quotes from his qaṣīda composed in reply to Šalmān Sāvājī.]
Maulānā Ni‘matullāh [b. Muḥammad] Bawwāb was a pupil of Ḥabīb Muhammad Khalvati (see above, p. 64). He wrote very beautifully. In Tabriz in the exalted chapel (buq'ā) Muṣṭafāriya, which was built by [Muṣṭafār al-dīn] Jihāndshāh-mīrzā,¹⁸⁴ the inscriptions are by his hand.

Maulānā Shams al-dīn II was a pupil of Ni‘matullāh Bawwāb. He also wrote with great excellence.

The following (list) of calligraphers is also derived from the above-mentioned list of affiliations (shajara) of (the masters) of the six styles of writing.

Maulānā Pir-Muḥammad was a native of the royal city (dār al-mulk), Shiraz. He wrote excellently, caught the ball of emulation from the hands of masters of calligraphy and in those days had no rivals. The majority of inscriptions in the local mazārs and buildings are his work.

Amīr Majd al-dīn Ibrāhīm was a recognized master of calligraphy. He is connected with Ṣahrīrī (sic)¹⁸⁵ and was also a native of Shiraz.

Maulānā Maḥmūd Siyāvush and Maulānā Pir-Muḥammad II were both natives of Shiraz and were contemporaries. Most of the inscriptions of the madrasas of Shiraz and of some of the local mosques toward 920/1514–15 are their work.

Maulānā Shams al-dīn Ṣahīr, Maulānā Ṣuqbihān, Mīr ‘Abd al-Qādir Ḥūsaynī, and Ḥāfīz ‘Abdullāh were calligraphers of Shiraz. The majority of the inscriptions belong to them and remains of their (work) are numerous. Most of the renowned calligraphers in Fars, Khorasan, Kirman, and ‘Irāq “are eaters of crumbs from their table.”¹⁸⁶

Maulānā Shams Bāṣunquṣī was one of the choicest masters of writing; he wrote extremely well in the “six styles” in which he followed step by step the cynosure of calligraphers,

¹⁸⁴ Sultan of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty, ruled 841–872/1437–67. The reference is to the celebrated Blue Mosque (Gök-masjid) or to some building attached to it. [On Bawwāb’s signature, see Sauvaget, Ars Islamica, vol. 5, part 1 (1938), p. 105.]
¹⁸⁵ According to Huart, p. 252, Maulānā Maḥmūd Siyāvush and Maulānā Pir-Muḥammad II were connected with Ṣahrīr of Ardabil (?).
¹⁸⁶ Meter: khaṣīf.
Yāqūt. He wrote very delicately, correctly, and agreeably. This humble one compared his writing with that of the seven masters and it proved not inferior to any of them. He was the teacher of Bāysunqur-mīrzā. The inscriptions in the buildings of the Holy Mashhad are mostly of his writing. He rendered famous the writing of his pupil Mīrzā Bāysunqur, son of Mīrzā Shāhrūkh. The latter wrote with great excellence and was a master of the age. His teacher, Maulānā Shams, spent his time in his service and for this reason signed himself “Bāysunqur.” He traced the inscriptions of the cathedral mosque of the Holy Mashhad, which is one of the foundations erected by Gauhar-shād begum, his mother. The cleverest of sages and the most learned of historians, Maulānā Nūr al-dīn Luṭsullāh, known as Ḩāfīz-i Abrū Haravi, wrote in honor of Mīrzā Bāysunqur a history entitled Zubdat at-tavārikh al-Bāysunquri. This book is highly valued in the inhabited quarter of the world. Mīrzā (Bāysunqur) was a fine connoisseur and good judge of the fine (arts); of the children of Mīrzā Shāhrūkh and of his cousins he was the best. He also wrote poetry and intended to adopt the pseudonym of Shāhī (“royal”). Amir Shāhī Sabzavārī, the sovereign of the rhyme, was his contemporary. Contesting the takhallus of the Mīrzā he sent him this ghazal:

O thou, who ceaselessly ringest the goblet at the feast of joy, what claim to love hast thou who knowest not the taste of the blood of thy heart.

187 Or, of the masters of the “seven styles” (see above, p. 25).
188 Gauhar-shād begum, wife of Shāhrūkh and mother of Bāysunqur, enjoyed much influence in state affairs during her husband’s lifetime. After his death she took an active part in the struggle for the throne, but was put to death in 861/1456. See Mu‘īn al-dīn Islāmī, J. As., vol. 20 (1862), p. 308; N. V. Khānikoff, ibid., vol. 15 (1860), p. 542. The mosque and madrasa built by Gauhar-shād begum in Herat were considered among the most beautiful in that town. With the exception of the minarets, they are no longer in existence. See Barthold, Ist.-geogr. obzor, p. 39.
189 The historian Ḩāfīz-i Abrū began his work in 1423; the last event described by him is the attempt on Shāhrūkh in 1427. He died in 1430. See V. V. Barthold “Ḥāfīz-i Abrū,” Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 2, p. 213.
190 [The remaining part of the paragraph on Bāysunqur is omitted in H.]
192 Meter: ramal.
Thou despoilest Shāhi, wounded in his heart,
With thy hand thou strikest the breast of intimate friends.

The Mirzā was ashamed, gave up his intention (what justice!) and, despite his sultanate and his royal dignity, left the takhallus of Shāhi to Amīr Shāhi.

This ghazal is one of the Mirzā’s poems:

For two months I have not seen those two cheeks\(^{193}\)
But love for them is powerful in my soul:
If I die on the path of love for her,
One can say that the lover is obedient.
Musk wished to rival her locks,
It made a mistake, and (for this fault) its face is black.
My heart hungers for the face of the beloved,
He who wishes good cannot see anything evil.
Bāysunqur has become a beggar in her street,
But a beggar in the street of the beloved is a pādshāh.

In the full blossom of life and youth\(^{194}\) in the capital, Herat, the Mirzā was gathered to the proximity of God’s mercy.

Mīrzā Ibrāhīm-Sultān, brother of Mirzā Bāysunqur, son of Shāhrūkh. He, too, wrote very well, was extremely gifted and capable. Maulānā Sharaf al-dīn, author of the history Zafar-nāma,\(^{195}\) served at the court of the Mirzā. He wrote this history at the desire, and with the help, support, and encouragement of that refuge of talents and sunray of favors, with the cooperation of a numerous concourse of scholars and men of talent, who in those days were gathered for that particular purpose in the service of the Mirzā in the royal city of Shiraz.\(^{196}\) The Mirzā was adorned with virtues and accomplishments of a high order. The inscriptions of the madrasas

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\(^{193}\) Meter: hazaj.

\(^{194}\) Bāysunqur died at the age of 38 years and 6 months, see Şanî’ al-daula, Muntazam-i Nāṣirī, vol. 2, pp. 57–58.

\(^{195}\) Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī is the compiler of the last of the three versions of the official history of Timūr, written 20 years after the death of the great conqueror; see Barthold, Iran, p. 81, and Ghīyāth al-dīn ʿAlī, Rūznāma-ī ghazavāt-i Hindustān, Russian preface, p. xix.

\(^{196}\) According to H, Sultān Ibrāhīm was a pupil of Maulānā Mīr Muḥammad Shirāzī. After Bāysunqur’s death, Ḥāfīz-i Abrū moved to his court.
which he himself founded in Shiraz in those days, namely Dār al-ṣafā and Dār al-aytām,\(^{197}\) were of his writing. Those two buildings, the like of which the eye of heaven had not seen, were destroyed at the orders of the abject Yaʿqūb Dhul-Qadar\(^ {198}\) when he became the ruler of that province. No trace of them has remained except the mausoleum of the Mūrzā and his children in the Dār al-aytām and the gumbad ("dome") in the Dār al-ṣafā. Such a despicable action provoked the wrath of the Shah’s court and Yaʿqūb was finally torn to pieces. In the building of Zahirīya, too, the inscriptions are by the Mūrzā, and on the raised platform of Shaykh Muṣliḥ al-dīn Saʿdī—God’s grace be with him!—the following ghazal of the poet was written in the royal writing of the Mūrzā on the glazed tiles of its pediment (izāra):

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I am happy in the world, because the world is happy through Him (God)\(^ {199}\)
I am in love with the whole world, because the whole world is from Him.
Neither heaven, nor angel can fathom
That which, coming from Him, is at the bottom of the hearts.  
Joy or grief—what matters it to the sage?
O cupbearer, give (us) some wine of joy, for that sorrow is from Him.
Pādshāh and beggar are all one to us,
Because before this door all have bowed the back of reverence before Him,
O Saʿdī, if the stream of nonexistence destroys the dwelling of life,
Strengthen your heart, for the foundations of eternity are strong through Him.\(^ {200}\)
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\(^{197}\) The religious benevolent institutions: the "House of Purity" and the "House of Orphans."

\(^{198}\) Dhul-Qadar is a Turkish tribe [in the original Turkish: Dulghadir]. Shah Ismāʿīl during his campaign in Fars in 909/1503–4 entrusted the governorship of Shiraz to Ilyās Dhul-Qadar. Yaʿqūb, the last governor of Shiraz of this line, was put to death by Shah ʿAbbās in 999/1590–91. The reason for Yaʿqūb’s execution was, of course, not the destruction by him of monuments of art and antiquity, but the rebellious tendencies which he manifested; see ʿĀlam-ārā, pp. 281, 295; Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 135, 293; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, 245a.

\(^{199}\) Meter: ramāl.

\(^{200}\) The ghazal is in the part of Saʿdī’s complete works (kulliyāt) entitled “On Fragrances.” In our text two double verses are missing.
The Prince carried out this work in the months of the year 835/1431-32. A copy of the Qor’an made by the Mirzā is known, in the cemetery of Bābā Luṭfullah ‘Imād al-din. It is 2 cubits long and 1½ cubits wide and he wrote it very well and made of it a waqf in favor of that mazār.

It is related that a well-wisher from Shiraz made his way into the presence of Mīrzā Shāhrukh in Samarqand. The latter questioned (him) on the affairs of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm-sulṭān, and the man spoke much about the accomplishments of the Mīrzā, especially about his learned debates and exercises in calligraphy, and finally said that the Mīrzā had written over the wall gates of Shiraz: “kuntu-hu (‘I was that person’)—Ibrāhīm-mīrzā,” which is an anagram (tajnis) 201 for “katabahu (‘written by’)—Ibrāhīm-mīrzā.” Mīrzā Shāhrukh liked the pun and expressed it openly to Sultān Ibrāhīm. Such was the broadmindedness and understanding of the Chaghātay sultans! Their history is given in detail in volume IV of the Khūlāṣāt al-tavārikh-i ‘Abbāsī, but this book cannot be repeated here.

Mīrzā Sulṭān ‘Alī ibn Mīrzā Sulṭān Khalīl ibn Ḥasan pādshāh. 202 At the time when Mīrzā Sulṭān Khalīl obtained the fief and government of Fars, a son was born to him in Shiraz whom he called Mīrzā Sulṭān ‘Ali. When the latter attained the age of 9 years, he became a calligrapher recognized in those parts; the following verses bear witness to his talent:

It is one of the graces of God 203
That I am nine years old and write like this.

The following verses have been seen engraved on a stone of the monument of Takht-i Jamshīd, situated in the Marv-

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201 Tajnis is a jeu de mots on words expressed in similar characters. In the phrases quoted only the dots have been transposed.
203 Meter: mutaqārib. [On the origin of this bayt, inscribed in Persepolis, see Minorsky, BSOAS, vol. 10, pt. 1 (1939), pp. 152 and 177-178.]
They are written suitably for that place and are very well written:

Who will strive for association with the world?  
To whom was it true that we should rely on it?  
Do not seek the kingdom of Sulaymān,206 for it is but air.  
Here is the kingdom, but where is Sulaymān?  
Of the innumerable treasures and riches  
What did Sām207 take with him? What did Solomon carry away?  
He who lived in this dust became dust (himself).  
What does dust know about the contents of this dust?  
Every leaf is the face of some free man,  
Every step is on the crown of some prince's head.  
Spend your life in a way that hearts should be satisfied,  
So that the Creator be pleased with you.  
To each one who has begun anything with kindness  
His kindness has come back.  
Dated 881/1476-77.208

Maulānā ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Sabzavārī was the pupil of ‘Abdullāh Ṭabbākh. The people of Khorasan recognize him as a master (of his art). Of his writing are the inscriptions outside and inside the holy gunbad of his Holiness the valorous Imām, the eighth warrantor, to whom we owe obedience, as we owe him purity.

Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥafīz was one of the recognized calligraphers and a native of the town of the faithful, Qum. He was a contemporary of the Aq-qoyunlu sultans. He was outstanding in his time, a rarity of the ages, peerless in ṭulūth writing and the teacher of Ḥāfīz Qanbar Sharāfī.

Ḥāfīz Qanbar Sharāfī was the slave (mamlūk) of the late Qāḍī Sharaf al-dīn ‘Abd al-Majīd Qumī, the maternal grandfather of this humble one; for this reason Qanbar is

204 Already in the tenth century the ruins of Persepolis, situated in the Marv-dasht plain, were regarded as the throne or capital of the mythical Pishdādian dynasty of Iranian kings; see Barthold, Ist.-geogr. obzor, pp. 102-103.

205 Meter: sari’.

206 Sulaymān-Solomon, identified by Iranian tradition with Jamshid.

207 Grandfather of Rustam, the paladin of the Iranian epics.

208 [On the poem, see Minorsky, loc. cit. The first lines (bayt) belong to Niẓāmī, Makhzan al-ḥaṣrā, maqāla III.]
called Sharafi. He signed the name of (his master) the qādi, in imitation of the practice of Yāqūt al-Mustaʿsimī, and like the latter he was a native of Abyssinia. He also studied under Maulānā Pir-Muhammad Shirāzī. The inscriptions in the court of the cathedral mosque in the town of the faithful (Qum) and the inscriptions in the ayvān of the light-radiating mazār of Sulṭān-Sayyid Abū-Aḥmad, which lies outside the Rayy gate of Qum, are in his writing. He wrote in thulth exceedingly well, and also became outstanding in nastālīq, observing the rules of Maulānā Sulṭān-ʿAli, whose contemporary he was, though he did not visit Khorāsān. Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar was an excellent reader and knew the Qorʾān by heart. He also composed poetry very well, and the following verses are by him:

The dust of his street has acquired the color of the tulip from my rose-colored tears,

I am enamored of the place, the dust of which is better than my blood.
I always remember that yonder moon is the adornment of my heart, I recall it with delight. But what does the moon care for me?

And the opening verse quoted below was composed and recited (by Qanbar) at the place where he was killed, when in 904 in the days of the hapless (nā-murād) Murād, son of Yaʿqūb-Sulṭān (Aq-qoyunlu), rascally Turkmans were besieging the town of the faithful, Qum. Though Qādi Sharaf al-dīn shut the gates of Qum before Ayba-sulṭān, the town was captured and the qādi was killed, with his brother and children, and with them Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar:

Shame will overcome you in the end for killing me.
Remember that I am dead but you are (still) alive.

209 [H, p. 14, leaves out the end of the biography and refers the reader to the author's Majmaʿ al-shuʿarā.]
210 Meter: ramāl.
211 Qādi Aḥmad's story describes an episode from the feudal wars of the last Aq-qoyunlu, after the death of Yaʿqūb-sulṭān in 896/1490. The event took place under the son of Yaʿqūb, whose name was Murād ("Désiré"). Ayba-sulṭān was the title of the general Ibrahim-bek ibn Dānā-Khalīl Qājār; see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 128. After his victory over Sulṭān Aḥmad in 903/1497, he captured Qum and had coins struck in the name of Sulṭān Murād, who at the time was in Sharafan.
212 Meter: mudāriʿ.
As Mir Maqbul Qumi was one of Hafiz Qanbar's pupils, Qanbar sent this opening verse to him in order that he might compose a ghazal and include it in his divan. In fulfillment of this wish Mir-Maqbul composed the end, namely these four distichs:

I am sick, and your rival, in his designs on my soul,
Has spread in the town the rumor of your departure.
It is not without guile that your rival was seeking peace with us.
O heart! Do not be unsuspicious of the perfidy of an evildoer.
(But) the rose whose lips in gaiety do not close from smiles
Seems unaware of the brevity of her own life.
How can Maqbul not have died from envy of your companions,
For (in his grief) he is suffering of a mortal heart affection.

The story of Qadi Sharaf al-din's life is recorded in detail in volume IV of the Khulāṣat al-tavārikh, and the biography of Hafiz-Qanbar and his eloquent verses are found in the book Majma' al-shu'ara-yi 'Abbāsī.

Maulana Nizam al-din 'Ali, son of Maulana Shams al-din, was a native of the town of True Edification, Ardabil. He wrote exceedingly well in the six styles, as well as in nasta'liq, and was one of the master calligraphers of Azarbâyjan. He worked in Ardabil, and lived from the time of the rule of the Turkman sultans to the year 920/1514.

34. Maulana Haydar Qumi was a good pupil of Qanbar Sharafi. He wrote the six styles excellently, as well as Kufi, and was a teacher in Qum. Children of sayyids and notables came to study under his guidance, and this was regarded as auspicious, for every child who learned something from him attained a high position. The inscriptions inside and outside the dome (gunbad) of Her Most Pure Holiness in Qum are in his writing; he knew the Qor'an by heart and was a sweet-tongued hafiz.

Sayyid Vali Qumi was of the Qum sayyids. He wrote in

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[213] Mir Maqbul Qumi was a Turk by origin. In his youth he served in the army of Sultan Ya'qub, and later took up residence in Qum (Tuhfa-yi Sâmi, p. 185).

[214] [Corrected according to H.]

[215] Fâṣima, the sister of the Eighth Imam, buried in Qum.
thulth extremely well and was one of the master calligraphers of (Persian) ʿIrāq. The inscriptions on the platform in the court of Her Most Pure Holiness, and in the court of the Ḥusayniya retreat (zāviya), which was built by the late (maternal) grandfather of the author, Aqā Kamāl al-din Ḥusayn Musayyibi (?) Qumi, are by him.

Maulānā Shahrā-Mīr Qazvīnī, the father of Maulānā Mālik-Daylamī, was a scribe and calligrapher and wrote excellent naskh. In the beginning Maulānā Mālik practiced thulth and naskh with his father.

Maulānā Shaykh Kamāl was a pupil of Maulānā ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq of Sabzavār. He wrote excellently in the six styles and was constantly engaged in the copying of the Qurʾān and prayers. In 965/1557-58 this humble one had the honor of meeting him in Holy Mashhad, equal in degree to the highest heaven, the place of repose of the Imām Rīḍā. He was a man of ripe old age and of serene presence.

Maulānā Nizām of Bukhara wrote perfectly in the seven styles and spent his time in the library of His late Highness Abul-Fath Bahrām-mīrzā. Here is one example of his whimsicality: He wrote in thulth with his bare finger with such thoroughness and delicacy as the pen is powerless to describe; his achievements cannot be encompassed within the limits of composition and the boundaries of writing. Here is a stanza which Bahrām-mīrzā, with his caustic (vaqqād) humor, composed with regard to the writing with a finger:

The expert of writing in seven styles is Mulla Nizām al-din, He whose writing has few parallels on the tablets of the universe. He writes in thulth with the tip of his finger, O Lord! Who has seen a scribe whose qalam is his finger?

Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn, son of Maulānā Muḥyi, known as Bāgh-Dashti, is one of the later calligraphers of the residence of Herat. He wrote extremely well in thulth, riqā',

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216 [H adds: “situated in the K.nkān street.”]
217 In H, p. 18.
218 Meter: hazaj.
Ma‘ulānā Husayn Fakhkhar Shīrāzī, who was related to the atabeks (of Fars) and was one of the recognized masters of the royal city of Shiraz. He ceaselessly practiced writing and his naskh is very mature (rikhta) and tasteful.

Mīr-Munshi Ḥusaynī—the parent of this humble writer. His honorary name is Sharaf al-dīn Ḥusayn. He was given the name of Mīr-Munshi by His Majesty the late Khāqān, equal in dignity to Jamshid, Shah Tahmāsp of eternal memory—may God sanctify his grave!—and under this name became known in the universe. First he was munshi in the royal city of Herat, in the service of His late Highness Sām-mīrzā. After that, during the ministry (vakālat) of Aḥmad-beg Nūr Kamāl, the correspondence of the exalted divān was entrusted to him, and he performed these duties for three [E, for two] years. Then for a second period of 10 years, on behalf of the Shah (Tahmāsp) he acted in Mashhad as vazir to the Prince Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā—may God refresh his grave and that God-protected, fragrant (place, i.e., Mashhad)! My parent—may God give repose to his precious soul—was the pupil of Mulla Ḥaydar; having combined the six styles with ta‘liq and shikasta-yi nasta‘liq, he wrote in all these styles excellently. In the epistolary art he had no equal, for he was a man of excellent taste.

He studied much and at first was a pupil of the teacher of humanity, the Eleventh Intellect (‘aql-i ḥādī ‘ashar) Mīr Ghiyāth al-dīn Maḥṣūr Shīrāzī. He discussed mathematics and cosmography with Maulā Ḥaydar; having combined the six styles with ta‘liq and shikasta-yi nasta‘liq, he wrote in all these styles excellently. In the epistolary art he had no equal, for he was a man of excellent taste.

219 Native of Isfahan, held for six years the post of vazir of the divān to Shah Tahmāsp; see ‘Ālam-ara, p. 117. [The terms vakil, vakālat are usually used for the particularly influential ministers acting as the “lieutenants” of the king, or viceroys; see below, p. 88, n. 264.]

220 See Introduction, p. 2.

221 He held the office of sadr in 936–937/1529–31; see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 178: Zayn al-ʿAbidīn, 254b and 257a. [“Eleventh” in addition to the ten recognized Great Intellects.]
Tajrid and the “Glosses” 222 with the late Khwāja Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd Shirāzī. He had a gift for poetry and readiness in improvisation, but did not devote much of his attention to this. Were the author to mention his perfections in their entirety,223 this might be attributed to his being his slave-servant and son. Owing to worldly affairs and his service at the shah’s court and the shahinshah’s Divān, his scholarly qualities were hidden by the veil of concealment. As regards the great number of his spiritual mortifications, devotions, and his purity of soul, from the days of his youth to the limit of his age, wherever he was, during the time of employment or at the approach of the time of retirement, he behaved in the same way and followed the same line of conduct. Maulānā Muʿīn Astarābādī has a qaṣīda in his praise from which the following is a quotation:

Mir-Munshi of Qum, pure of spirit.224

37. There is no opposition to the Bānūya (i.e., Lady Fāṭima) on our part.225

He possessed a saintly spirit and an angelic disposition. He was wonderfully skillful in writing quickly. He wrote the shikasta, which (is) a combination of nastāʿīq and taʿliq, like no one else; his standard and style of writing were always of the same level and in his lifetime nothing inferior was noticed in his drafts. His noble age was 76 when he left the world of decay for the paradise of eternity, on the night of Friday, the

222 [My friend Prof. A. Eghbal had no doubt that the Tajrid mentioned here is Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī’s Tajrid al-iʿtīqād and that the Commentary on it is more likely that by Mullā ʿAlī Qūshchī (d. 879/1479), rather than the earlier one by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Hillī (d. 726/1326). As to the Glosses on Qūshchī’s Commentary, the classbook was that by Jalāl al-dīn Davānī (d. 907/1501). V. M.]

223 [If, p. 16, line 14, enumerates some of them: naqqādī (“sorting good and bad money”), zargārī (“art of a goldsmith”), painting and jām-buri (“glass cutting”).]

224 Meter: hazaj.

225 [Bānūya, as suggested by Zakhoder, must refer to “Lady Fāṭima,” as the patron saint of Qum. The meaning of the verse would then be that “we accept the blessings of your native town.” However, instead of Bānūya, E gives navvid, “good news,” and If. has khilāf-i bābūya (? ) dar bāb-i mā nīst? Dr. Bayānī suggests khilāf-i *bāb-i vey dar bāb-i mā nīst, “there is no opposition between our kinds (natures).” V. M.]
The seventh day of Dhul-qa'da, 990/3 December 1582. The master Maulānā ‘Abdī Junābādī composed a qi'ā on this date:

The celestial vault of honor was Mir-Munshi,226  
At whose feet heaven laid its head in modesty.  
When he felt weary of the flower garden of the material world,  
He took refuge in the plaisances of Eden.  
As I sought a chronogram from old man Wisdom,  
He said: “The uppermost paradise is his place.” 227

[H gives more details on Mir-Munshi: Under Aḥmad-beg Nūr Kamāl, he served 3 years as the munshi of the divān-i mamālik (“Secretary in the department of state affairs”; see Tadhkirat al-mulūk, p. 24); and for 11 years he was on the staff of Qāḍī-Jīhān Vakīl (see ‘Ālam-ārā, pp. 107, 117, 164). Then he was appointed controller (mumayyiz) of all the Arab and *Khalaj (tribes) 228 of the kingdom. Then he became vazir of the Private Purse department in the province of Shūrāgēl-and-Chukhūr-Sā’d (north of the Araxes, now Erevān and Nakhchevān), while Prince Ismā’īl and Shah-quli-sūlṭān Ustājlu were governors there. Then for 7 years he stayed in Mashhad with Prince Ibrāhīm. Then for 3 years he acted as vazir of Mashhad and its provinces on behalf of the vazir of Khorasan Aqā Kamāl. From Khorasan he returned to the court and till the end of Shah Tahmāsp’s days acted as the majlis-nīvīs and the writer of tafriqa (?). In thulth he was a pupil of Maulānā Ḥaydar and wrote excellent thulth and naskh. Then he turned to ta'liq following the canon of Maulānā Darvīsh. He also wrote shikasta-yī nasta'liq. He was incomparable in drafting (letters) in Persian and in Turkish. He began his studies in grammar and logic in Kāshān with Sūltān-Muḥammad Sidqi Astarābādī, then at the “royal camp” worked at astronomy and mathematics with Ghiyāth al-dīn Shīrāzī (etc., as in M). Mir-Munṣhī died at Shah ‘Abd al-‘Āzīm (near Tehran) and was buried there.

226 Meter: mutaqādīb.  
227 Chronogram: 2 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 2 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 3 + 1 + 10 + 1 + 6 = 990 (A.D. 1582).  
228 Reading a'rāb va-*akhlāj (for ikhrāj, akhrāj).
It is not clear what the office of the *kātib-i tafriqa* was, but on *majlis-nivis* see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 122. Under the later Safavids, this official played the role of deputy vazir, but, under Tahmāsp, he may have been, as his title suggests, strictly a recorder of the proceedings of the audiences. The rapidity of Mir-Munshi’s writing, referred to by his son, was possibly one of the qualifications required for such office. In any case it is a puzzle that Mir-Munshi is not mentioned in other sources, while Qādi Aḥmad himself stresses especially the piety and literary gifts of his father. (See above, p. 39.)

Here *H*, p. 17, inserts a notice on Mir Ni‘matullāh, son of Mir ‘Abd al-Vahhāb Tabrizī, who was of a respected sayyid family and was much “obeyed” at the time of the Aqqoyunlus. He wrote good *thulth* and knew also “*shikasta* mixed with *tā’īq*.” After the seizure of Tabriz by the Ottomans, he became Shaykh al-Islām in Kāshān, and later the chief qādi of Isfahan. V. M.

Maulānā ‘Ali-bek 229 was a native of the capital, Tabriz; he was a master calligrapher and many inscriptions on the Tabriz mosques [*H*: “restored mosques and buildings”] are his work.

Maulānā Maqsūd was the son of Mir Maftūlband Tabrizī’s sister; he wrote very well. The inscriptions of the building of Mir Maftūlband, situated in the Charandāb quarter 230 of Tabriz, are in his writing. He went to live in India.

Mīr Nizām al-dīn Ashraf [*H*: *al-Sharaf*] was one of the greatest of the sayyids who trace their descent from Imām Mūsā, and one of the highest notables of the Town of Happiness, Abarquh.231 He combined various styles (*jamʿ bayn al-khūṭūf*) and wrote with elegance, excellence, and pleasantness. He was a man of virtue and of spiritual leadership. He held the office of Shaykh al-Islām and chief judge of Abarquh, and

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229 See below, n. 233, on another ‘Ali-bek Tabrizī.
230 According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, pp. 78, 81, many *māzārs* were situated in this quarter.
231 A town on the road from Shiraz to Yazd; see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 284.
of the districts of *Sardasir*: Chahār-dānga, Bavānāt \(^{232}\) and their dependencies. He possessed an open nature and good taste in the epistolary art and had no equal in flowery expression and the knowledge of Arabic. He died in 995/1586–87 [in the royal camp] near Ganja—on him be God’s mercy and forgiveness!

**Maulānā Nizām al-dīn ‘Alī Tabrīzī,\(^ {233}\)** a recognized master of calligraphy in the capital, Tabriz, possessed many accomplishments and virtues; he was the pupil of Maulānā ‘Alī-bek, and Maulānā ‘Alā-bek Tabrizī took lessons from him.

**Maulānā ‘Alā-bek Tabrīzī,\(^ {234}\)** a native of Tabriz, is one of the more recent calligraphers of that excellent town; inscriptions by him are seen on the gates of mosques and buildings in Tabriz. This humble one, when he came to Tabriz in 988/1580–81, found him still alive and was honored by making his acquaintance; he was extremely humane and sociable—God’s mercy on him!

**Qāṭī Muḥammad Bāqīr** belonged to a noble family (*ādamī-zādagān*) of judges of the pleasant region of Ordūbād,\(^ {235}\) and occupied the post of judge in that district; he was eager in knowledge, possessed many virtues and accomplishments, composed good poetry and in this art was a master of his age. In writing he was outstanding and wrote excellently in all seven styles.

**Maulānā Mīrzā ‘Alī Sulṭanavī**\(^ {236}\) is a repository of accomplishments and a vessel of qualities, all of which he acquired in a short time while still a youth. He has a full share of usual knowledge. He is highly proficient in lexicography

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\(^{232}\) Bavānāt lies south of Abarqūb. [*Sardasir, “the cold zone.”*]

\(^{233}\) [*H*, p. 19, line 6, calls him (?) simply Maulānā ‘Alī-bek (thus creating some confusion with his teacher, ‘Alī-bek; see above), and adds that he has left for India.]


\(^{235}\) One of the towns and districts of Nakhchevān, lying on the northern bank of the Araxes, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, pp. 89–90.

\(^{236}\) [*H*, p. 19, calls him “Maulānā Mīrzā” and continues to speak of him as being alive. V.M.]
and in explaining difficult words; there are few who have carried out research in that field as he has. He is a peerless and unrivaled munshi; in the art of reciting the Qur‘ān he is incomparable and there is none like him in explaining Arabic sentences (faqarāt), expressions, and sermons; in the art of reciting he is a master, and as a preacher he is unmatched. Few like him combined the mastery of all eight styles of writing, and he is as good in one style as in another. He has deep knowledge of the art of making inscriptions (kitābat). In the epistolary art he occupies a high place, and in eloquence has reached a high degree. He has written in his own hand many scholarly works on tradition, jurisprudence, and prayers, and he has discussed and commented on them, adding to them his original notes. He has made a complete copy of the Qur‘ān, verified and furnished with notes according to the seven schools of reading; no one else has done or accomplished it in this way. His writings are numerous and the purchase-deeds and decisions (qabalāt va athila) of the High Divān of the sadr, which are widely known in Iran, bear witness to his knowledge. He is a native of the pleasant town of Sulṭāniya, and holds the office of judge in the provinces of the two Tāroms, Zanjān and its district.

Maulānā ‘Alī Ṣayrāfī, “the second Ṣayrafi,” is a pupil of Maulānā ‘Alā-bek Tabrīzī, and possesses agreeable manners and praiseworthy qualities. In these days he has no peer and (our) time is adorned by his noble existence. After the troubles caused by the evil Rūmis (i.e., Ottoman Turks)
and the destruction of the capital, Tabriz, he went to the city of the Believers in the divine Unity, Qazvin, and took up residence there. The inscriptions in the cathedral mosque of Qazvin, which was then rebuilt, are entirely in his luminous writing. In those days he also finished several copies of the Qor‘ân, which were taken to various regions and countries of the inhabited quarter of the world.\[241\] The remainder of his achievements and accomplishments will be shown in the section on the masters of nastaliq (see below, p. 171), because in that art he achieved greater celebrity and became the “Maulânâ Mir ‘Ali” of his time.

Mîrzâ Hasan-bek, son of the late Maḥmûd-bek Sâlim who (in poetry) was the second “Mir Khusrau Dahlavi”\[242\] and a rival of Maulânâ ‘Abdullâh Hâtifi.\[243\] He is a native of Tabriz and a pupil of Maulânâ ‘Alâ-bek Tabrizî;\[244\] the present time is adorned by his noble existence. Generosity, nobility (ādami-zâdagi), grandeur, and self-effacement (nâ-murâdî) are obvious and apparent in his character. After the troubles in the capital of Tabriz, he has been engaged in writing at times in the capital (dâr al-saltana) of Isfahan, and at times in the capital, Qazvin. He is now perfecting himself and one must hope that he will succeed.\[245\] His writing is not inferior to that of the masters of the “six styles.” Copies of the Qor‘ân in his writing are taken by merchants to the borders and limits of the inhabited quarter of the world and “make gift” of them at wonderful prices.

[Here \(H\), p. 19, inserts a notice of Fîgân (?) Al-dîn Bulbul, who was brought up in Isfahan and raised his writing in thulth, naskh, and riqâ‘ to a high degree. Despite his great


\[241\] [The details about “various regions” and the comparison with “Mîr ‘Ali” are omitted in \(H\).]

\[242\] Famous poet who was born and lived in India (d. 1325).

\[243\] Poet who died in 927/1520 (see Tuhfa-yi Sâmi, p. 97), friend of the painter Behzâd. On Hâtifi’s portrait by Behzâd, see Sakisian, Ars Islamica, vol. 3 (1936), pp. 10–11, fig. 10.

\[244\] [\(H\): “A pupil of the late Maulânâ ‘Ali-beg.”]

\[245\] [\(H\) omits this sentence.]
ambitions (buland-parvāzī), he cannot free his neck from the state of slavery and servitude, and in order to disguise his shame, signs now Iṣfahānī and now Bulbul ("Nightingale"). In his simplicity he thinks that nobody will guess (his identity), though he cannot get rid of the twofold legal evidence: the blackness (of his skin) and the nickname "Bulbul." Meanwhile, his (former) owner has left numerous heirs, and to whatever town or country he goes, one of them finds him, with the intention of selling him. And because of the blackness of his fortune he, with all his status and ability, cannot whiten himself in any town. He recites the Shāh-nāma excellently and (in his writing) tries to follow the manner of 'Ali Riḍā Ta-brizi. At times he exercises in nastā'īq. He writes his specimens on pieces of paper sprinkled with gold.²⁴⁶ He has no chance of improving. For some time he made his nest in the public place of Qum and lived by writing specimens and reciting the Shāh-nāma. Suddenly he put aside all disputes and rows and left for the capital, Qazvin.

The nightingale with sighs said goodbye to Qum
For his songs did not please this town.

²⁴⁶ [Kāghaz-hā-yi hall-kārī. This term occurs in the diploma by which Behzād was appointed head of the Shah's kitāb-khāna (in 928/1522); see Qazvinī, Bist-magāla, vol. 2 (1313/1934), pp. 208–109: hall-kārān va-sar-kūbān. V. M.]
CHAPTER TWO

On the masters of the ta’liq style

On the Truth-reflecting mirror it becomes manifest that the ta’liq style was developed from the riqā’ and tauqī. Its inventor was Khwāja TĀJ-i Salmānī, a native of Isfahan, who wrote elegantly.

When it became the turn of Khwāja ‘Abd al-Ḥayy, he found the proportions, elegance, and canons of this script. A chain of writers in ta’liq followed these two masters. The Khwāja was a native of the town of Believers, Astarābād. There exist two varieties (ravish) of his writing, of which the first is characterized by extreme lusciousness and movement. In this variety the charters and orders of the late Sultan Abū-Saʿīd Gūrkan were written. Thus, too, wrote the munshīs of Khorasan, such as Maulānā Darvish, Mīr-Mansūr, Khwāja Jān Jibrāʾīl, and others. The second (variety) is distinguished by firmness, maturity, solidity, and taste (chāshnī), and it was used in the orders of the late sovereign Ḥasan-bek, Sultan Yaʿqūb, and other Aq-qoyunlu sultans. The munshīs of Āzarbāyjān and Īrāq, and especially Shaykh Muḥammad Ta’nimī, Maulānā Idrīs, and others followed that model. Khwāja ‘Abd al-Ḥayy became world famous through conducting the correspondence of Sultan Abū-Saʿīd. Verily, in his art he was the Yāqūt of his time, and to this day none has equaled him. Shaykh Muḥammad Ta’nimī was his pupil, but in the end he forgot the duties of a pupil and became rebellious. He used to say in gatherings: “I write better than the Khwāja.” The latter cursed him, and, because of this curse, he died. The Khwāja lived down to the beginning of the reign of the glori-

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247 The text wrongly: “in these two.”
248 Great-grandson of Timūr who in 861/1456–57 seized Herat. In 872/1467–68 he led a campaign against Uzun-Ḥasan, but was taken prisoner and executed.
249 Rulers of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty: (Uzun)-Ḥasan (871–883/1466–78) and his son Yaʿqūb (884–896/1479–90).
ous Chosroes of eternal memory, Shah Ismā’īl I, but, having abandoned attendance at the court, lived in seclusion in Tabriz, where he died in 907/1501-2. At the beginning of the Tabriz avenue (khiyābān) he built an enclosure in which he was buried. It is known by his name, ‘Abd al-Ḥayyā."251

Khwāja Jān Ṭughrāyī is known as Ṭughrāyī because of the excellence of his writing of the ṭughs for edicts and orders. [He was from Qazvin.]

His son, Maulānā Shaykh Muḥammad Tamīmī, born in the capital, Qazvin, was in charge of the correspondence of the Turkman sultans. He was known as a bringer of bad luck, and wits composed the following verse about him:

O giver of titles, tell us the value of one dear khwāja,253
Who easily writes in a difficult hand.
What is the munshi, who writes the ṭughs of edicts
With the blood of kings!
In whosoever dīwān, where he sets his blessed foot,
He writes: "May God enlighten his plea." 254

Maulānā Idrīs was a learned man and possessed complete mastery of the art of writing. His handwriting, if neither fine nor elegant, has good canons and foundations. He conducted the correspondence of Ḥasan-pādshāh, Rustam-pādshāh and Alvand-bek.255

Maulānā Darvīṣ ‘Abdullāh was a native of Balkh in Khorasan and wrote very remarkably. Some consider him superior to Khwāja ‘Abd al-Ḥayy, but each of them had a

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251 [H, p. 21, adds here Maulānā Ḥājjī ‘Alī Astarābādī, a good pupil of ‘Abd al-Ḥayy. He acted as munshi to Kepek-mīrza in Herat and for some time served the rulers of Sharvān and Gilān in the same capacity. V. M.]
252 The ṭughra is the traced monogram of the royal name used in edicts, documents, diplomas, etc.
253 Meter: ḥasaj. E gives kaʿāb (?), H gives laggāb.
254 A post-mortem formula referring to the Last Judgment. After the death of Abū- Saʿīd, Tamīmī served at the court of the ʿAq-qoyunlu sultans during a period of savage feuds. See Huart, p. 213.
255 ʿAq-qoyunlu rulers: Rustam (897–902/1491-96); Alvand (905–906/1499–1500). [Idris’s renown as statesman is based chiefly on his activities for the organization of Kurdistan under the Ottoman Sultan Selim. V. M.]
style of his own. Both were equals and contemporaries. Maulānā Darvish lived with the Khwāja as though he were his pupil. He conducted the correspondence of the children of Abū-Sa‘id Gūrkān, of Mirzā Sulṭān-Husayn Bāyqara 256 and his children, and of Shābek-khān Uzbek.257 It is known that one day Shābek-khān ordered Maulānā Darvish to write a letter to one of the contemporary sultans and gave him a warning to have this task finished. As it happened, the Maulānā had no time to do this work. When the Khān asked him for the missive, Maulānā Darvish was disturbed, as he could find no excuse. So he took out a clean roll of paper and began to read the contents of the letter and those present approved of it. But some of the courtiers, who sat at the assembly close to the maulānā, were astonished

When they saw the page as clear as daylight,258
They noticed that it was removed from the sadness of black ink.
Like the day of reunion it was free from darkness;
Instead of gloom, lights shone from it
And a hundred hidden meanings were manifest in it.
By dint of the inner light and the gloom of the exordium,
The water of life appeared in the darkness.

They reported the truth about Potentiality and Contingency, saying that the white scroll lacked writing. The Khān was amused and ordered him to be rewarded, and the maulānā taking up a pen wrote down what he had read and presented the letter to the Khān.

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256 Sulṭān-Husayn ibn-Mansūr ibn-Bāyqara, Timurid, ruled in Herat in 872-911/1468-1506. His reign was the heyday of the cultural and artistic life of Herat. [H adds that Darvish first appeared under Sulṭān Ḥusayn. His pupils were Khwāja Jibrā’il and Mir-Mansūr.]

257 I.e., Shaybānī [*Shibani]-khan, the founder of the Central Asian dynasty of Shaybanids. By the beginning of the sixteenth century he had seized Samarqand, Farghāna, and Tashkent, and taking advantage of the feuds of the last Timurids, possessed himself of Khorasan and Herat (during the first decade of the same century). Ismā’īl I’s campaign included the conquests of the Uzbeks; in a battle near Merv, fought in 916/1510 with Ismā’īl’s army, Shaybānī-khān lost his life.

258 Meter: *hazaj.*
Maulānā Mīr-Muḥammad Qumī, munshi,\(^{259}\) was one of Khwāja ‘Abd al-Ḥayy’s prominent pupils and wrote with extreme lusciousness (ruṭūbat), with much movement and maturity. He was munshi to the late sovereign Rustam-mīrzā ibn-Maqṣūd-bek ibn-Ḥasan-pādshāh. The edicts of the days of this king are in his writing. It is related that Rustam-mīrzā had once a wonderful gerfalcon to which he was much attached. This gerfalcon fell ill and reached the fringes of death. Every hour Rustam-mīrzā sent some one of his intimates or secretaries (parvānachi) for news, saying: “I shall kill anyone who brings me the news of the death of the gerfalcon.” Finally, under strict orders, he sent Khwāja Mīr-Muḥammad, but the latter’s arrival coincided with the flight of the gerfalcon’s soul to the (predestined) nest. On his return the Khwāja reported: “The gerfalcon has fallen on the ground, spread its wings and stretched out its neck.” Despite all his fondness for the gerfalcon, Rustam-mīrzā liked the story and its form. After the death of Rustam-mīrzā, Khwāja Mīr-Muḥammad abandoned his attendance at court, retired to Qum and gave himself up to penitence and religious duties. The building of the mosque known by the name of ‘Ishq-i ‘Ali is the result of his activities. He composed good poetry and had excellent taste. The following verses are by him:

\[\text{O egoist, smash the jug of your body,}^{260}\]
\[\text{Because it is already broken in whatever state it may be.}\]

This opening verse reflects frustration:\(^{261}\)

\[\text{No one in his life has heard us blaming people!}\]
\[\text{We, poor people, what have we to do with anybody?}\]

Khwāja ‘Atīq, munshi, was a native of the pleasant region of Ordūbād and wrote very maturely and clearly. As a secre-

\(^{259}\) Munshi is the secretary in charge of correspondence. In our translation the profession of the munshi (inshā) is referred to as “epistolary art.” In the Safavid administrative system there was a separate office of correspondence—the dār al-inshā. See Tadhkirat al-mulūk, §23.

\(^{260}\) Meter: muḍārī. [H omits the quotations and refers the reader to the author’s Tadhkirat al-shu’arā.]

\(^{261}\) Nā-murādāna uftāda.
tary to His Majesty, similar in glory to Jamshid, lord of the happy conjunction of planets,\[262\] conqueror of the world, inhabiting the highest abode of Paradise, Shah Ismā‘īl of eternal memory, he won great advancement. He created the Shah’s taghrā. After his retirement from attendance at court, he became curator (mutawwali) in the holy mausoleum of Imām Rida—on it be a thousand mercies and blessings!—and spent (many) years beside that holy sepulchre and at its lofty threshold. He erected an excellent building near the Shāhrukh madrasa to house his tomb, and in his will endowed it with considerable property as waqf.

Mir ‘Abd al-Bāqī was a native of the town of worship, Yazd;\[263\] for years he performed the functions of sadr and vakil\[264\] of the above-mentioned glorious sovereign. He wrote in ta‘liq with great elegance, good taste, and excellence. The decrees and the documents (asnād) of the shaykhs and the inhabitants\[265\] of Yazd are in his noble hand.\[266\] The account of his life is found in the fifth volume of the Khulāṣat al-tavarīkh.

Maulānā Ad-ham, munshi, was a native of the glorious borough of Abhar. For some time he was in charge of the correspondence of His Majesty, equal in might to Jamshid and dwelling in Paradise [i.e., Shah Tahmāsp]. In the second year of his reign, owing to the displeasure of Qāḍī-yi Jahān, vakil,\[267\]...

\[262\] Șahîb-qirān as a title refers to a person born under a happy conjunction (see J. As., vol. 17 (1861), p. 282, n. 1), or to a monarch who reigned 30 or 40 years. [The latter was not the case with Ismā‘īl I. V. M.]

\[263\] [H adds: “and was a descendant of Shāh-Ni‘matullāh Valī”; see Browne, vol. 3, p. 463.]

\[264\] Mir ‘Abd al-Bāqī was appointed sadr in 917/1511, and was given the title of vakil in 919/1513, see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 49 and 157; Zayn al-‘Ābidin, 248 and 249b. A year later he perished in the battle with the Turkish army at Chaldiran. Besides his talent as munshi he possessed poetical gifts. He wrote a collection of ghazals under his pen name Bāqī; see Tuhfa-yi Sāmi, pp. 21–22. Vakil is a title very similar to our “viceroy”; ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 96: “Hamza-mīrzā (Safavi) . . . received the title of vakil and the dignity of heir to the throne.” [Cf. Tadhkirat al-mulūk, p. 114. V. M.]

\[265\] Reading ahāli for ascāli (?).

\[266\] [H adds: “and I have seen them.”] ‘Abd al-Bāqī, before his appointment as sadr, served in Yazd; see Zayn al-‘Ābidin, 248b.
he died by the hand of Damri-sultan Shamlu, and after a long time his bones were carried to exalted Karbalā. He was of Arab origin, tracing his descent on his mother's side from Malīk Ashtar, and on his father's from Aḥmad Ghazālī.

Mīr Manṣūr was a native of Astarābād. He wrote with great excellence, in a style not inferior to that of Maulānā Darvish; his son, Maulānā Qāsim, also wrote pleasantly. Mīr Manṣūr became munshī to Humāyūn-pādshāh and with him left Širāz (i.e., central Persia) for India. After the death of this monarch he conducted for some time the correspondence of his son, Jalāl al-dīn Akbar-pādshāh.

Maulānā Ibrāhīm Astarābādī conducted for some time the correspondence on behalf of the holy mausoleum of Imām Riḍā—a thousand thousand blessings be on that venerated place! He wrote with great delicacy, pleasingly and lightly. This humble one does not consider his style inferior to that of Maulānā Darvish. He spent some time in Qum, the town of believers—may God preserve it from calamities! And what he wrote in Qum was the best of his writings. He wrote these two distichs in nastā'liq as an 'unvān on the gateway (dargāh?) of glazed bricks in the holy abode of Her Holiness the Most Pure One—peace be on her and blessings!

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267 The murder of Ad-ham Khiyārchi-yi Qazvini occurred in 930/1524 (see Tadhkirat, p. 9; Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 168; Zayn al-ʿĀbidin, 252b), i.e., in the first year of Shah Tahmāsp's rule. Damri (dāmirī)-sultān Shamlu is mentioned in the Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 172, under the year 933/1526-27, as having been killed in fighting the Uzbek. Qādī-yi Jahān, vakāl, was a famous statesman of Shah Tahmāsp's reign; he died in Zanjān in 960/1552-53, see Tadhkirat, p. 9, etc.; ʿAlam-dārā, pp. 117-118; Muntazam-i Nāsirī, vol. 2, p. 127.

268 Malīk al-Ashtar was a companion of ʿAll; Ahmad Ghazālī is mentioned in Browne, vol. 2, p. 256, as a poet. [According to Ivanow, Four Persian poetical Tadhkiras, p. 30, this poet died in 527/1133. V. M.]

269 Obliged to leave India because of feudal disturbances, Humāyūn sought refuge and aid from Shah Tahmāsp in 1544. Humāyūn's residence at the Safavid court left its trace on the artistic life of the time because a number of master calligraphers and artists left for India and took up service there. Akbar, son and heir of Humāyūn, ruled after his father from 1556 till 1605. [H changes the order of the biographies but also says that Manṣūr's son Abul-Qāsim accompanied Humāyūn to India and served under Akbar].

270 [Or that of ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, according to H.]
O God! In the name of the just rights of the sons of Fāṭima 271
With whose words one finishes (khâtîmâ) the prayers,
Whether you reject my appeal or accept it,
My hand and the hem of the robe of the Prophet's family. 272

This opening verse is also a product of his talent:
I myself have given a place in the desert of my heart to a musk-
gazelle, 273
And have nurtured a delicate sprig with the sanies of my liver.

Maulânâ Sultân-Mahmûd was the son of Maulânâ Ibrâhîm. He also wrote well and composed poetry under the
nom de plume of “Najâtî.” The following distich is by him:

We are two lovers drawing breath at the same time, (each) in a
corner of grief and pain.
As we complain of separation at the same time, day and night, we
are together. 274

Maulânâ Ismâ‘îl, another son of Ibrâhîm-munshi, wrote
elegant ta‘liq and also composed good verse. The following
is by him:

Spring has come and the song of the nightingale is everywhere. 275
Cupbearer, bring wine: for wonderful is the time of blossoms!

Maulânâ Bahâ al-dîn Husayn, munshi, wrote in the
style of Maulânâ Darvish. His writing has great taste and
maturity. For some time he was in charge of correspondence
at the holy, most pure mausoleum, equal in degree to the
(“farthest”) lotus tree, 276 of Imâm Rîda—prayers and bless-
ings on the one who rests there! He was a native of that
blessed town. 277

271 Meter: mutâgârib. By “sons of Fâtîma” are meant the Imâms Hasan and
Husayn, sons of ʿAli ibn-Abî Ṭâlib.
272 The meaning is that he plucks the hem of the garment as a sign of entreaty
and does not let it go.
273 Meter: hazaj. The same verse is quoted in the biography of Ibrâhîm
Astarâbâdî in the Tuhfa-yi Sâmi, p. 82.
274 Meter: hazaj. The same verse in Tuhfa-yi Sâmi, p. 82, according to which,
however, Najâtî was the nom de plume of Ismâ‘îl b. Ibrâhîm.
275 Meter: muḍâri‘.
276 Qur‘ân, LIII, 14, the “lotus tree” marking the extremity of Paradise.
277 [H, p. 23, adds the name of his son Muḥammad Qâsim.]
Khwāja Ikhtiyār, munshi, was a native of the capital, Herat. He wrote very finely, purely, and with good taste. He left many samples of his work. For 30 years he was engaged in Herat in carrying on the correspondence of His Majesty, who has attained happiness, equal in dignity to Alexander, Shah Sulṭān-Muḥammad of eternal memory, who in those days was the Mīrzan of Khorasan. The maulānā never set foot outside Herat and never traveled anywhere.

Mīrza Sharaf-i Jahān was the son of the late [H: Nawwāb] Qāḍī-yi Jahān Ḥasanī (Ḥusaynī?). He wrote with much delicacy and transparence, and was a repository of all the perfections and a vessel of all the virtues.

Mīr Rūḥ-allāh, his son, wrote in his father’s style and composed very good verse; in the field of science he became a master of investigation and argumentation, had leanings toward philosophic readings, and was engrossed in medicine and medical treatment. He departed this life at an early age in the borough of Abhar while coming to Tabriz in the year 992/1584. The following verses are by him:

Those waiting for you died of anxiety on the threshold, and when the time arrived, with deep emotion tumultuously they joined you.

He wrote in every style neatly and transparently.

Mīr Qāsim, munshi, [son of Mīr Manṣūr], was a native of Astarābād. He sprang from a family of sayyids, genuine in descent, possessed great virtues, wrote excellently, and tried to combine the styles of writing (jam‘ bayn al-khūṭūṭ). In the (Shah’s) paradisiac assembly he achieved complete intimacy and became a constant favorite of the glance, which was similar to the philosopher’s stone.
Khwāja Mirak, was a sayyid of Kirman. For a long time, in the beginning of the reign of the Shah of heavenly dignity, lord of sultans, he was munshi to the exalted Divān. He wrote excellent ta'liq, possessed good taste in the epistolary art and was a man of great parts. [H: He died in 943/1536.]

After the death of Khwāja Mirak the late Muḥammadi-bek became munshi. He was a Kachaji (or Kuchaji?), a descendant of Shaykh Muḥammad Kachaji, by whom were built excellent chapels, lofty buildings, and enclosures in Tabriz. (On his father's side) he was the grandson of Mīr Zakariyyā Vazir, whose record is given in the Khulāṣat al-tavārikh. He wrote excellent ta'liq and was twice entrusted with the correspondence of the exalted Divān. He died in Qazvin [H: in 982/1574].

Mīrza-Qāfī was one of the noble descendants of the sultan of the seekers of Truth, teacher of the oceanic sages, Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wal-millat wad-din Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, for when, after the conquest of Baghdad and the extermination of the Abbasid house, the khwāja died in Baghdad, some of his descendants found their way to Āzarbāyjān and settled in the pleasant borough of Ordūbād. He was exceedingly pure of soul and noble (adāmi) and possessed a fullness of virtues and many talents; none equaled him in the epistolary art and he wrote excellently. After Muḥammadi-bek's first retirement he was entrusted with the correspondence. While being a

served also under Emperor Akbar. The second time it only mentions his origin from Astarābād.]


284 After Khwāja Mirak, the post was given to Muḥammadi-bek ibn Ismāʿīl (see Zayn al-ʿĀbidin, 363a), who was a grandson (Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 188–189; brother) of Mīr Zakariyyā Gauharjī, who in 907/1501–2, when Shah Ismāʿīl 1 seized Tabriz, was appointed vazir (see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 135). ʿĀlam-ʿurā, p. 123, mentions Muḥammadi-bek in the list of munshis during the reign of Shah Tahmāsp.

munshi, he was an esteemed companion (muşâhib) of the monarch and enjoyed close relations with, and innumerable honors at the hand of the khāqān, whose dwelling is now in Paradise (Tahmāsp). He spent his life well and pleasantly. He died in 969/1561–62 in Qazvin. His remains were transferred to the exalted Holy Mashhad. After him Muḥammadibek again became munshi and dealt with the correspondence for some 10 years.

ḤUSAYN ‘ALĪ-BEG ‘ARABGĪRLU was one of the great qurchis of Shah Tahmāsp of eternal memory. He was the son of Khwāja Shah-qli, vazir of the qurchis.286 He wrote well, with great taste and transparency. He wrote samples of calligraphy (qiṭ’a) and his writings went everywhere.

QĀPĪ ULUGH-BEK ORDŪBĀDI wrote in the style of Khwāja ‘Abd al-Ḥayy, munshi. His writing was according to the canons (uslūb) and mature. He was a master in the “six styles” of writing and an incomparable munshi. In his day none equaled him, few (possessed) his taste in the epistolary art and phraseology. He was a scholarly man versed in fiqh. He occupied the post of judge in Ordūbād and in those frontier provinces. He wrote in the riqā’ style the waqf documents of the estates of the holy Fourteen Innocents—God’s peace on them all! 287 His works are numerous. He spent the last one or two years of his life in Qazvin. As he was of imposing stature, Shah Tahmāsp of eternal memory improvised a verse about him:

51. A solid man is the judge of Ordūbād,288
A man like unto some tree.

286 ‘Ālam-ārā, pp. 120–121: The office of the vazir of the qurchis (guardsmen) was hereditary in the ‘Arabgīrlu family; Ḥusayn ‘Ali-beg is mentioned as a master of the ta’lliq following the style of Bahā al-dīn Ḥusayn. [H, p. 24, line 3, calls him Ḥasan ‘Ali-beg and refers to his father as the vazir of the qurchis of the khāṣṣa-yi sharifa (the shah’s “Private Purse”?)] V.M.

287 [H explains that the waqf was established by the late Princess Sultān-khānūn, apparently one of Shah Tahmāsp’s daughters.]

288 Meter: Khafi’. [In H the author adds that the qāḍī was an old acquaintance and a neighbor of his father, and was learning the epistolary art from him. The qāḍī died in 973/1565.]
Mūsā-beg, although a Turk by origin, was a possessor of accomplishments and wrote excellently in the nastaʿliq style. For some time he worked in the royal chancellery (daftar-khāna) and there was no master scribe like him. He was given the vazirate of Ardabil, and there he died.

Mīrzā Aḥmad, son of the late ʿAtā-allaḥ Iṣfahānī, to whom for a certain time was entrusted the vazirate in Āzarbāyjang, Qarabāgh, and Shirvānī in the days of the late Shah Tahmāsp, was a gifted and capable youth, wrote taʿliq well, possessed good taste in correspondence and composed good verses. During the war near the fort of Turbat, in the year 900/1582, he was killed by a musket fired by his brother’s son.

Qādī ‘Abdullāh of Khoj was the son of Qādī Saʿdullāh. The judicature in Khoy and Salmās belonged to his father and to himself. He possessed the majority of the talents, wrote tastefully in taʿliq and other styles, such as naskh and nastaʿliq, was an incomparable munshi, and had no equals in the Turki language. For some time he was entrusted with correspondence in the paradisiac court assembly of Shah Tahmāsp. Even after (his master’s death) he carried on his duties for

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289 ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 121: ʿAtā-allaḥ is mentioned as vazir of Āzarbāyjang and Shirvān.

290 ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 121: Mīrzā Aḥmad, like his father, was an important official and an amateur of the calligraphic art; at first he worked on the taʿliq with the master ʿAlā al-din Maʾṣūr, then he took up the shikasta following the last manner of the master Darvish.

291 In that year ʿAli-quli-khān, ruler of Herat on behalf of the infant ʿAbbās-mirzā (the future Shah ʿAbbās I), marched against Shah Muḥammad Khudā-banda and Ḥamza-mirzā. The latter set out to meet him. Having reached Sabzavār, ʿAli-quli-khān returned to Herat, leaving his lieutenant Murshid Khudā-banda at the fort of Turbat-i Zāva. The fruitless siege of the fort by Muḥammad Khudā-banda’s troops lasted throughout the winter of 990/1582; see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 267. ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 126, describes the death of Mīrzā Aḥmad. The town, Turbat-i Zāva, with the mausoleum of Shaykh Ḥaydārī, is the present-day Turbat-i Ḥaydārī; see Le Strange, p. 356.

292 Mentioned in the list of officials of Shah Tahmāsp in ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 123.

293 [Hereafter we use mainly the personal names of the shahs. Each of them had a special and fulsome posthumous title which the annalists use but which are only misleading in translation. V. M.]
some time. His other duty was to compose epistles in Turkish and Persian, which were sent to Turkey (Rūm) and the sultans of India. In Turkish he compiled a treatise on religious duties and dedicated it to Shah Tahmāsp. He was a learned man and wrote quite good verse. Here is a Turkish rubā'i by him:

O qādi, in what a bad state you have got!
Separation from a full moon has turned you into a crescent.
A nightingale, you have been separated from the rose,
And feeling your tongue tied you have become mute.

When the army of Shah Muḥammad Khudā-banda and of the Prince, Lord of the Time, Sultān Ḥamza-mīrzá was returning from Herat, Qādi ‘Abdullāh was taken ill in Holy Mashhad and died in the neighborhood of Sabzavār in the month of Shavvāl 991 (18 October–16 November 1583).

Khwāja Majd al-dīn Ibrāhīm is a native of the royal town of Shiraz. He possesses many virtues and accomplishments, and he writes in ta‘liq excellently, clearly, and with taste. For some time he acted as vazir to the late Princess Parī-khān khanum and in that office was useful to the Muslims. After the events connected with the princess and down to the present time, i.e., for some 20 years, he has been living in retirement in the capital, Qazvin. He is an extremely noble-minded man with darvish (habits).

Khwāja ‘Alā al-dīn Manṣūr is a native of Kara-rūd and writes very well. For 30 years in Mīrzā Kāfi’s service

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294 Ḥamza-mīrzá, the second son of Muḥammad Khudā-banda and a uterine brother of ‘Abbās-mīrzá, was born about 972/1564; see ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 96. During his father’s reign he was proclaimed heir to the throne and took an active part in the administration of the state. He particularly distinguished himself in battles with the Ottoman troops near Tabriz (994/1586). The return from Herat, mentioned here, was the continuation of the campaign against the rebel ‘Ali-quli-khan (see above, p. 94, n. 291).

295 [H adds that he died in 1004/1595].

296 Later Sultān-ābād, now Arāg.

297 ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 123: ‘Alā al-dīn Manṣūr followed in ta‘liq the style of the master Darvish, but wrote in larger characters. [H. gives more details: “In the days of Muḥammadi-bek munshi, ‘Alā al-dīn’s authority increased and he remained in service even after (Muḥammadi’s death in 1591?). He used to
he was engaged in correspondence at the Dār al-inshā, and for a long time was admitted to the assembly of the court. For some years he was confirmed as state secretary (munshi al-mamālik) and traced tughras in gold. After the death of Shah Tahmāsp he retired to Kara-rūd where he is engaged in agriculture.

Khwāja Malik Muḥammad Harāvī was a relative of Maulānā Ikhtiyār, munshī. He wrote ta‘liq extremely well but his talent was limited (kam-isti‘dād). For eight years he conducted the correspondence of the Department of State Affairs in the dīvān of Shah Sulṭān-Muḥammad Pādshāh. During the war with the Tākkālū Turkmans, being a friend of that tribe, he disappeared without trace.

Maulānā Muḥammad-Amīn, munshī, was the grandson of Maulānā Ad-ham, munshī, but was brought up in the capital, Qazvin. He wrote excellent ta‘liq and could write rapidly. He was an incomparable munshī, possessed taste, and for some time was employed in the Secretarial Office (Dār al-inshā). He was entrusted with the greater part of such correspondence in Turkish and Persian in which Arabic expressions abounded. For two years he was in charge of the correspondence in that department (inshā al-mamālik) under the lord of the slaves, who has achieved happiness, the most noble, most exalted Abul-Muẓaffar Shah ‘Abbās—may God make tracings in gold (on the documents) personally. After the death of Shah Tahmāsp he served as mustaufi to the Turks. Finally he retired to the province of Kara-rūd and lived there as an exile (ghurbat). Tadhkirat al-muliik, §23, is definite in saying: “The tracing of the tughra in liquid gold and red ink is done by the pen of the Munshī al-mamālik and by no one else.” The reference to exile may be connected with his service with the Turks—possibly some rebellious chiefs of the Shāhī-sevan tribes. Huart, p. 319, also refers to his service with “sultans turcomans”(?). V.M.]

298 Mamālik as opposed to the khāssa, “the shāh’s Private Purse.”
299 Huart, p. 320: was killed. [H adds that he began his career in Herat. He disappeared in the battle of the Tākkālū with Prince Ḥamza, at Sā‘īn-qal‘a. V.M.]
300 In Ālam-ārā, pp. 121 and 126, Muḥammad-Amin is mentioned as Muṣṭafā Qāsim’s son. He was on the list of the officials of the daftār-khāna of Shah Tahmāsp and served for some time in Āzarbāyjān and Shīrvān.
prolong his reign. He died in the year of the Dragon, 1001/1592–93.  

The late Mīrzā-Muḥammad was the son of ʿAli-bek Surkh and the grandson (on his mother's side) of Khwāja Mirakī (sic), munshi. He was a gifted and worthy youth and even in those days possessed dignity and grandeur. For some time he was employed as scribe (tahrīr) at the Dār al-inshā, and later attained the post of redacteur (inshā). Then he rose to be (the head) of the accountancy (istifā) of all state affairs. Twice he was vazir of the diwān, but was finally killed in the year 997/1588–89. He wrote very well and had good taste in the epistolary art, as well as in poetry.

Iskandar-bek, munshi, stands in the relation of child to this humble one. He possesses praiseworthy qualities and pleasant manners. He writes ta'liq, nastaʿliq, and shikasta very well. For some time he was employed in the royal chancellery (daftar-khāna) as a bookkeeper; there was no other calligrapher and born munshi in the royal chancellery. He was versed in the knowledge of siyāq (accountancy). For some

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301 Lu-yīl, “the year of the Dragon,” is the fifth year of the Turkish 12-year cycle.

302 ʿĀlam-arā, p. 123, mentions him in the list of munshis of Shah Tāhmasp’s reign.

303 Huart, p. 318, gives a wrong date of the murder: 909/1503–4.

304 [H adds that his uncle Zaynal Kar (“deaf”? ) worked in the chancellery and was in charge of the Qara-ulūs (tribes of mixed origin) section. This family is also connected with Mir Zakariyā Kachaji (of Tabriz). As a grandson of Muḥammadi-munshi, Muḥammad was admitted to the Dār al-inshā (which the author calls additionally dār al-irshād; cf. also H, p. 26). Thence he was transferred to the court (majlis-i ashraf). Under Ismāʿil II he became his companion (muṣḥīḥ) and the chief munshi of the state (muṣḥī al-maḍālik). Under Shāh-Muḥammad he became the controller (mumāyyīz) of Dargazin (near Hamadan) and then musṭauṣfī al-maḍālik. He was the companion of Prince Ḥamza, after whose death the Shah appointed him prime minister (wazīr-i d’āram). Under ‘Abbās I, during the regency (wakālat) of Murshid-quli-khān Cha’ushlu (Ustājlu), he was arrested and heavily fined. After the death of Murshid-quli, he again became prime minister for six months, but in 997/1589, as he was traveling from Khorasan, he was put to death. V. M.]

306 Iskandar-munshi, author of the ‘Ālam-arā, was born about 968/1560; consequently at the time of the writing of our Treatise he was about 30 years old.

306 Siyāq is a special and very complicated system of alphabetic abbreviations
time, too, he was an officer in the Divan of the Chief Vakil, after which he passed into the service of the Secretariat (dar al-insha'). In epistolary art and in writing any kind of matter he is peerless; he is entrusted with the correspondence and the writing of orders (parvāna) and missives to sultans. He has acquired perfect experience in the affairs of the Divan and is a consummate master in writing rapidly. The affairs of the Secretariat depend on him and he conducts the whole business.

[In the revised version, completed some 12 years after the first, our author (H, p. 27) develops this account while stressing his own merits: “When the accountancy of those books (in the royal chancellery?) was entrusted to the present writer, I put him in charge of those affairs and books. For some time we were together on missions (yasāq) and journeys. As perfect gifts (jauhar) were observed in him, I suggested that he should (write) certain orders and register events and circumstances, and gradually, in association with myself, he has acquired the practice of drawing up correspondence with sovereigns and royal decrees. After one or two years when he left the divān-i vakālat and was transferred to dar al-insha', he was employed for some time under Maulānā Muḥammad Amin, munshī. He is a wonderful scribe and in the art of siyāq there are few calligraphers and secretaries like him. At present, the direction (madār-i tahrīr) of orders (parvāna) and the redaction of correspondence with (other) sovereigns is his charge. . . .” It seems that the following rubā‘i reflects his position and that of similar cases:

Every profligate who has placed himself upon the dais
Smells of the fire which has burnt my harvest.307

used in accountancy. As late as the nineteenth century bookkeeping in Persia included the compulsory learning of siyāq. [On the system, see Hinz, Der Islam, vol. 29, pp. 1-20 and 115-141. V. M.]

307 Literally “of me whose harvest has burned.” For the explanation of maštaba, Prof. A. Eghbal refers me to Hāfiz, Divān, p. 113, No. 167:

“My friend places me now at the head of the dais (maštaba).
Look, a town beggar has become the chairman of the assembly.”

Siyāh-gilim “a man clad in a black rug” is “an unfortunate man.” The quatrain is very suggestive autobiographically.
Wherever there is an unfortunate with troubled heart
He is my pupil who got his robe of honor (khirqa) from me.

MIRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN is the son of Mirzā Shukr-ullāh ʿIsfahānī who for some time held the office of mustaʿfī al-maṃālik in the days of Shah Tahmāsp [H: and under Shah Ismāʿīl II became his grand vazir]. He writes very elegantly, clearly and with taste. [In taʿliq he is the second Maulānā Darvish. . . . He had no luck in Iran and left for India, where he is now employed as secretary to the sovereign].

MIRZĀ ḤUSAYN, munshi, son of Khwāja ‘Ināyat who acted as vazir to Ḥusayn-beg yūzbashi (“centurion”) of the Ustājlu tribe, is a gifted youth. He writes taʿliq well and his writing is elegant and of good quality. For a long time he has been writing in the Dār al-inshā.

MAULĀNĀ GHĪYĀTH AL-DĪN ṢHĀRĪF, known as Ghiyāthā, is a noble youth. He is interested in knowledge, has tried to combine (jam‘) all the styles of writing and has good taste (in calligraphy). For some time he was writing in the Dār al-inshā, and now he acts as munshi to the great and most glorious Mahd-iʿulyā-begum, daughter (sic) of Shah Tahmāsp.

308 ‘Ālām-ārā, p. 126, also speaks of Muḥammad-Ḥusayn with much praise as a follower of Maulānā Darvish in taʿliq. It reports on his death in India. Cf. also Huart, p. 230, according to whom he was a pupil of Mir Sayyid Aḥmad and the teacher of Muḥammad-Amīn ʿAqīlī [*Uqayli*?].

309 ‘Ālām-ārā refers to Mirzā Ḥusayn as master in taʿliq (as a pupil of ‘Alā al-dīn Maṃṣūr) and in nastaʿliq. [H, p. 26, line 9, adds that Mirzā Ḥusayn’s father and uncle were in attendance (dar sīsilāf) on Ḥasan-beg and Ḥusayn-beg, yūzbashis of the Ustājlu tribe, as their vazir and mustaʿfī. For some time Ḥusayn was employed in the Dār al-inshā (dār al-irshād-i inshā). Circumstances were unfavorable to him and he emigrated to India.]

310 [Such forms of honorary titles are frequent in the Safavid period (Qivdā, Ruknā); see Tadhkirat al-mulūk, p. 124.]

311 Mahd-iʿulyā is usually the title of the principal wife of the king. The ‘Ālām-ārā, p. 96, etc., applies it to the wife of Shah Muhammad Khudā-banda, daughter of Mir ‘Abdullāh-khān Marʿashī of Māzandarān and mother of the princes Ḥamza, ‘Abbās and Abū-Ṭalib; she was murdered in 1579. In our case the title may apply to the senior (?) of the daughters of Shah Tahmāsp and aunts of Shah ‘Abbās.

312 [In H the order of records in this chapter has been changed, but alterations are restricted to additions made to the existing biographies. V. M.]
CHAPTER THREE
On the masters of the nasta'liq style

The inventor of the nasta'liq style of writing was Khwâja Mir 'Ali Tabrizi. He taught his son 'Ubaydullâh, and the latter became an outstanding (master) in this art. Maulânâ Ja'far was the pupil of 'Ubaydullâh and Maulânâ Aţhar.

Maulânâ 'Abd al-Râhman al-Khwârazmî wrote in a different manner. He left two sons who both became outstanding master calligraphers.

The first of these is Maulânâ 'Abd al-Râhîm, known as Anîsî ("companion"). He received this nickname because he was a companion and admirer (muṣâhib-va 'âshiq) of Ya'qûb-pâdshâh (Aq-qoyunlu); this monarch called him Anîsî and joked with him. Consequently he adopted Anîsî for his pen name.

Our information on the inventor of the nasta'liq style is scanty and unreliable. The scholars who studied his biography (Rieu, Catalogue, pp. 621-22; Huart, p. 207) usually quote the versified treatise of Sultan-'Ali Mashhadi (see below, p. 116). The latter speaks of Mir-'Ali as a contemporary of the poet Kamâl Khujandî (MS. 73), who was an older contemporary of Hâfiz, and died either at the end of the fourteenth century or in the very beginning of the fifteenth. The manuscript of the poems of Khwâjû Kirmâni (d. 803/1400) belonging to the British Museum (Add. 18.113) bears the signature of "Mir-'Ali ibn-Ilyâs al-Tabrizî."

Huart, p. 208: 'Abdullâh Shakarîn-qalam ("Sweet Pen"). [H calls him 'Abdullâh and adds that according to some less reliable sources he did not achieve great success.]

Huart, p. 210, thinks it possible to identify this Ja'far with Ja'far Harâvî, head of the library of the Timurid Bâyshunur.

Huart calls the master Aţhar in one place (p. 208) pupil of 'Abdullâh ibn-Mir-'Ali Tabrizî, and at another (p. 10) pupil of Ja'far Tabrizî.

Sakisian, La miniature persane, p. 35, n. 1: in the Evqaf Museum (Stamboul) there is a manuscript (No. 1562) dated 1456 and signed by the calligrapher 'Abd al-Râhmân al-Khwârazmî. The manuscript was written for one of the sultans of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty in Shiraz.

Huart, pp. 257-258.
name and became known under it. Here are some of his verses:

Friends, do not devote yourselves to the art of writing; \(^{319}\)
For with Anisi it has found its consummation.

Just as he composed poetry, so did he recite it well; these opening verses are by him:

The eyelash does not hold back the tears of this sorrowful one: \(^{320}\)
One cannot stem the course of the Jayhūn with brushwood.

The majority of the scribes of the royal city, Shiraz, follow the style of Anisi, and are gleaners in his field.

The second son of 'Abd al-Rahmān, Maulānā 'Abd al-Karīm, is known under the nickname Pādshāh. He wrote in the manner of his brother, Anisi, and in such a way that it was impossible to distinguish between their writings. The reason why he took Pādshāh for his pen name is that his mind was confused and he wrote and made strange orders to people, \(^{321}\) though he was a poor and harmless man. He signed his qīfās now “written by a giraffe” \(^{322}\) and now “written by Pādshāh.” Despite his state, he sometimes thought out his verses carefully, of which the following is an example:

I placed you in the pupil of the eye that you should be hidden from people, \(^{323}\)
What did I know that even there you would be among people (mardumān).

And another:

You do not say a word to me, but when you speak, \(^{324}\)
In my confusion I do not make out what you say and to whom.

But the one who carried off the ball of superiority is the cynosure (qibla) of calligraphers, Maulānā Sūltān-Alī

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\(^{319}\) Meter: hazaj.

\(^{320}\) Meter: ramāl. The Jayhūn is the Amū-daryā. The same opening verse is quoted in the biography of the master in the Tuhfa-yī Sāmī, p. 81.

\(^{321}\) The text of our Treatise reproduces literally 'Abd al-Karīm's biography in Tuhfa-yī Sāmī, pp. 81–82.

\(^{322}\) In Tuhfa-yī Sāmī, p. 82: “written by God.” [H: “by God.”]

\(^{323}\) Meter: hazaj. Mardum means both “men, people” and “the pupil of the eye.”

\(^{324}\) Meter: hazaj.
Mashhadi, whose writing is among other writings as the sun among the other planets. His writing conquered the world and attained such a degree (of perfection) that it seems incredible that anyone could emulate him. The Maulānā wrote a treatise in which he described his life (ḥālāt) and the days of his apprenticeship, his beginnings and progress, his fasting and dreams, and how he received favors from His Holiness the Shah of men, amir of all amirs (i.e., ʿAli) and became master calligrapher (adding to it his reflections) on the methods of writing and teaching, and on the (general) rules and paraphernalia of calligraphy. In this versified treatise, a copy of which has been included in the present book, he has set out certain truths and, from it, it becomes clear how he achieved success and how his fame reached the limits of the world and spread (afar). The late Sultān-Husayn-mīrzā Bāyqara summoned him (to his court) and he spent some time in Herat in the library of this sovereign. In those days he completed much work. The inscriptions on the building in the Jihān-ārā garden, known as the “Murād garden,” are entirely in his writing. His noble hand has drawn the folios of the Majālis al-nafāʿis, which is one of the Turkish compositions of Mīr ʿAli-Shīr. The manuscript happened to fall into a water tank but people still preserved every sheet and every page of it like an amulet (ḥirz-mithāl). After the death of the Mīrzā and the ruin of his family, the Maulānā came to Holy Mashhad.

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325 The palace garden situated on the road from the citadel of Herat to Gāzargāh; the name has survived in that of the settlement of Bāgh-i Murād; see N. Khanikoff, “Plan archéologique des alentours de Herat,” J. As., vol. 15 (1860).

326 Famous statesman, poet, calligrapher, and patron of the arts. Born in 844/1440–41, died in 906/1501. The Majālis al-nafāʿis was written about 896/1490–91, as indicated in the book itself, but see critical remarks by Barthold, “Mīr ʿAli Shīr and political life,” Mir ʿAli Shīr, p. 124. [Two Persian translations of the Majālis have been published by Prof. A. A. Hekmat, Tehran, 1945.]

327 [Reading somewhat doubtful. H: “which in the house of the amir was written on the water tank in marble stone”—which looks like a misunderstanding.]

328 According to Tuhja-yi Šāmī, p. 203, Sultān-ʿAli, after the death of his Herat patron, was for some time in the service of Shaybānī-khān Uzbek. [This report may be connected with an anecdote added in H: when Sultān-ʿAli
and secluded himself until he gave up his life into the hands of the snatcher of souls, the angel 'Azrā'il. The date of his death is the 10th Rabi' I 926/2 March 1520. The phrase gham bi hisāb ("unfathomable sorrow") has become a chronogram (of the event) by way of an enigma (taʿmiya). His grave is opposite the foot (of the tomb) of His Holiness the valiant Eighth Imām, the guarantor to whom obedience is due and chastity owed, immediately outside the domed building of the Amir 'Ali-Shir, close to the steel door.

The Maulānā had eminent pupils, each of whom became famous in his epoch and unique in his age.

He, who in this world, with his black-as-musk writing, Utterly eclipsed the writing of all the masters, Had pupils who most certainly have become The "illustrious among the writers" on the path of Divinity.

Maulānā Muḥammad Abrīšumī, who was the most eminent of his pupils, composed the following verses which he inscribed in his own hand on the tombstone of the maulānā, so that they should remain on the page of time for the sake of remembrance:

He, whose pen traced writing that ravished the soul, Across his letters the Scribe of Time has drawn a line. A qalam acquired life when it touched his hand,

brought a qīʿa of his work to Shābek-khān Uzbek, "that ignorant Turk" made on it his corrections. V. M.

529 In his biography by Khwāndamīr, the date of his death is given as 919/1513-14; see Ḥabīb al-siyar, vol. 3, pp. 344-345; in Mirkhond, vol. 7, p. 92, the date is 909, which is evidently a clerical error. Khwāndamīr's dating contradicts both the evidence of our text and the dating of the versified treatise of Sultān-'Ali himself (M 81).

330 This chronogram, despite various calculations, could not be worked out.

331 On the tomb of Sultān-'Ali in Mashhad, see also Ḥabīb al-siyar, vol. 3, p. 345; the locating of the tomb by means of Mir 'Ali-Shir's "dome" is not clear. Mir 'Ali-Shir was buried in Herat by the cathedral mosque built by him; see Barthold, op. cit., p. 159. The text may have in view some of 'Ali-Shir's buildings in Mashhad. [H adds: "close to the dome of 'Ali-Shir and the madrasa of Shahrukh. . . . The duration of his life was 85 years."]

332 Meter: ramal.

333 [A hint at the recording angels in the Qur'ān, LXXXII, 11: kirāman kāṭibīna. V. M.]

334 Meter: muʿdāri'.
But in the end the qalam of his hand became mere dust underfoot.
It was not the harmony of his writing alone which enticed the soul,
But also the charm of his conversation.
And in view of the conformity of his name (i.e., 'Ali),
The Imam Abul-Hasan 'Ali ibn-Mūsā al-Riḍā admitted him into his proximity.

58. Whatever you see except Him (belongs to) the Day of Annihilation.
God alone remains and nothing remains except God.

The following is the fruit of Maulānā Sulṭān-'Āli’s own talent, and Maulānā Muḥammad Abrishūmī wrote it (also) on the maulānā’s tombstone and signed: “This rubā’ī is by the late master; scripsit Muḥammad Abrishūmī.”

The lower world is the essence of nonexistence and suffering,
Beware, do not seek in it peace and quiet.
And finally, as the major part of this world is suffering,
We have left this suffering with a bleeding heart.

The maulānā wrote good verse. This opening verse is by him:

The rose of spring is the reflection of those rose-hued cheeks,\[335\]
As my tear is the reflection of my blood-filled heart.

The following verses are autobiographical:

My age is over sixty-three, more or less,\[336\]
But my black-as-musk qalam is still young.
By God’s grace I am still such,
As, in truth, not to spoil a sheet of paper.
Both in small and large (characters) I can still
Write “(God’s) slave Sulṭān-'Ali.”

A monument to the mastery of the maulānā, which will remain till the Day of Judgment, are the expressions and separate sentences which he traced on the marble slabs forming the sides of the mausoleum\[337\] (takht-i maqbara) of Mīrzā

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\[335\] Meter: μυδάρι. The same verses are quoted also in the biographies of Sulṭān-'Āli in Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 69, Ḥabīb al-siyār, vol. 3, p. 345, and Mīrkhond, vol. 7, p. 93.

\[336\] Meter: mutaqqārib. Also quoted in Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 69.

\[337\] According to the chronicle of Mu’in al-dīn Isfizārī, the mountains of Herat were famous for their quarries of white stone, similar to marble; this
Mansūr [b. Mīrzā Bāqara b. Mīrzā ‘Omar-shaykh b. Amīr Timur], father of the late sovereign Mīrzā Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, which stands beside the mazār of the pir of Herat Khwāja 60. ‘Abdullāh Anšārī 338—on him God’s mercy!—outside the capital city of Herat. Whoever sees it recognizes the master’s power and magic in writing.

Text of the inscription

“This platform (ṣūffa) wondrously established on firm pillars, which, by its perfect purity and clearness, its grandeur and splendor, tells of the delight of the gardens of Eden and speaks of the beautiful view of its pleasures, and from whose site shine the lights of divine mercy and the traces of boundless benefaction, was erected over the tomb of the late Sulṭān Giyāth al-saltana wal-dīn Mansūr and his virtuous children in the year 882 (1477-78). The supreme grace (of the mausoleum) expresses it, while the zephyrs of the exalted Paradise are wafted from its amberlike fragrance.”

Chronogram

When Paradise showed its face from the tomb of Mansūr-Sulṭān 339
This very satisfactorily became the chronogram of the building.

The tombstones of most of the Timurid princes and sons of Chaghatay amirs who are buried in that mazār and around that excellent town 340 bear inscriptions by the maulānā.

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338 [H adds that the lofty mausoleum was erected by the son of the defunct, Sulṭān Ḥusayn.] The tomb of the famous pir (“sage”) of Herat, ‘Abdullāh Anšārī (eleventh century) is situated to the northwest of the town at the foot of the mountain range; see Khanikoff, “Plan archéologique des alentours de Herat,” J.As., vol. 15 (1860), pp. 537-543; Barbier de Meynard, ibid., vol. 16 (1860), pp. 479 and 506; and Barthold, Istoriiko-geografchesky obzor Irana, p. 40. Khanikoff, “Lettre à M. Reinaud,” J.As., vol. 15, p. 542, saw at Gāzargāh five tombs of Timurids, one of which was that of Giyāth al-dīn Mansūr.

339 [Meter: ramal. The numeric value of marqad-i Sulṭān Mansūr is 1771. The value of bihisht, which is apparently to be deducted from 1771, is 707. But this gives 1064 instead of the expected 882. V.M.]

340 Apart from the above-mentioned Gāzargāh, the second burial place of the Herat nobility was Muṣallā, where N. Khanikoff found nine tombstones; ibid., pp. 542-543.
Of the maulānā’s pupils there are five who became celebrated: 

Maulānā Muḥammad Abrīshumī, Maulānā Sultaṅ-Muḥammad Nūr, Maulānā Muḥammad Khan- 
dān, Maulānā Zayn al-dīn Maḥmūd and Maulānā Mīr ʿAlī Jāmī. These five men developed into masters of writing (while they were) in attendance on Maulānā Sultaṅ- 
ʿAlī; they were outstanding in their time and masters through the ages.

The “Epistle” (risāla) composed by Maulānā Sultaṅ-ʿAlī on writing and the rules of teaching is as follows:

61. EPISTLE OF MAULĀNĀ SULTĀN-ʿALĪ

O qalam! Sharpen the tongue of explanation
For the glorification of the Lord of the two worlds,
The Lord who created the qalam
And traced the decree of creation with that qalam.
All that has been, is and will be
He deigned to record in the book of generosity.
Even those who are perfect are annihilated in His being,
Describers are powerless in the description of His qualities.
He is himself the glorifier and himself God.
Go and cry out: “Glory to Thee!”

In praise of the Most Holy of Prophets and the Shah of Sanctity
the Lion of God, the Conqueror, ʿAlī son of Abī-Ṭalīb

As Muṣṭafā enjoyed the grace of the Lord
He had no need to read and write. [See above, p. 41, n. 79.]
To him from Pre-eternity became known
All that had been traced by the Pen of Creation.
His heart is without doubt the “Preserved Tablet,”

[H adds: “Besides Maulānā Mīr-ʿAlī, who reached equality (barabart) with his master,” but then mentions the same five pupils. V. M.]

[Huart, p. 224, calls him the son of Sultaṅ-ʿAlī Mashhadi. The Public Library of Leningrad possesses albums with samples of his work (Oriental, No. 147). [On the autograph of the “Epistle” see p. 19, n. 58.]

The “Epistle” is in the khafīf meter throughout.

The subtitles and the division of the chapters are different in the three MSS.

One of the names of the prophet Muhammad.
"The span of two bow-lengths" is his place and abode.340
Look at the tiers of the sky,
They are filled from end to end with pearls and jewels,
If they remain permanent, this is (the symbol) of God's scattering (of
graces).347
Read and understand (from them) the explanation of the Prophet's
ascent to heaven,
So as to know about the perfection of the Prophet,
The Prophet, the Hashimite, the Mu'ttalibite.
God's blessings be on his soul,
On his family and his friends.

On writing

Before the time of the king of Prophets,
62. The guidance of Creation (was from) the manifestation (nash'a) of
qul.348
And when, turning his attention (sar) to writing, (God) dictated (?)
a book,
The writing was in Hebrew and ma'qili.349
Murtada ('Ali) laid the foundations of the Kufi script
And developed it.
And those other styles of writing, which masters
Invented, know they are also derived from the Kufi.
The inventors, whose names are found in this chapter,
Are Ibn-Muqla and Ibn-Bawwāb.
The foundation (masnad) of the name of writing350 consists in the
practice of virtue,351
In which case Murtada-'Ali is (present) from the beginning,
As he is present in all sciences.
He is the imām of sciences for those learned in science.

340 Qur'an, LIII, 9: the Prophet at the moment of revelation was within this
distance from God.
347 [Nithār is the term for throwing money to the crowd on solemn occasions.
V. M.]
348 [I.e., qul: huwa 'l-lāhu 'ahad, “say: He is One God,” Qur'an, CXII, 1. I
owe this explanation to my friend, Prof. A. Eghbal. The expected meaning
would be that, before Muhammad, men received their guidance directly from
God's Oneness. V. M.]
349 See above, p. 53.
350 [I: “of the art of writing.”]
351 Cf. above, p. 54.
Meekly did the amir acquire all this knowledge
From the City of Knowledge.
And he who comes to know the gates of the City of Knowledge,
The treasury of knowledge becomes his asset in his temporary existence.
The aim of Murtadā-ʿAli in writing\(^{352}\)
Was not merely characters and dots,
But fundamentals, purity, virtue;
And he pointed to this by the beauty of his writing.
He who said: "Writing is one-half of knowledge"
Is the leader of prophets in knowledge and mildness.
It was with reference to the writing of Murtadā-ʿAli
That the Prophet said "one-half of knowledge."
Such writing (in comparison) with the limitations of mankind!
That was another pen and another hand!

63. The pure qalam of the Exalted Majesty
Drank water from the spring of Paradise.
His hand, scattering pearls, is the treasury of sustenance,
His reed is the key to that house of sustenance,
What shall I say about his ink and ink horn?
It was the water of life concealed in Darkness.
The dust of his feet is kohl for the eyes\(^{353}\)
And must be kissed by angels and men.
Harken as it behooves thee, to this couple of distichs,
Which are from the Ḥadiqa in honor of the Lion of God:
“For every enemy whom he threw off his feet,
"Glory is upon his arm, and the striker is God.\(^{354}\)
“Do not be ignorant concerning the sons of Ḥāshim,
“(That is how) the perfect ones praised the King,
While they pierced all the pearls of meaning.
But I, who have only sorrow in store,
How shall I go to the Ka’ba, when I have no means.
What pen that was, O God, and what a hand!
When the qalam reached this place its tip broke off.

\(^{352}\) Cf. above, p. 54.
\(^{353}\) [Omitted in E. H gives instead: “The sheet of paper covered with the writing of the Shah (of Sanctity).”]
\(^{354}\) Ḥadiqa of Sandi’, Bombay, 1275/1859, p. 131. [Misunderstood in H: “hear from me . . . for they are a hadiqa (garden) in praise of ‘God’ and ‘the Lion.’”]
\(^{355}\) Qur’ân, XLVIII, 10.
On the reasons for the composition of the book

Since my youth I was drawn to writing,
Streams of tears from between my eyelashes flowed because of my love for writing.
I seldom loitered in the street,
And as much as I could, I wrote.
"At times out of his fingers he made a qalam.
"In dreams about penmanship he kept tracing." 357
It happened one day that a penniless sayyid (Kostigova, Amir)
Came to me in a pitiful state.
He found my qalam, paper and ink,
And for the first day wrote twenty-nine characters
And gave me a (new) soul.
From his favors I became joyful,
Because he was an abdāl and a possessor of hāl,
And it was his hāl which altered the (whole) situation (ahwāl).
For this reason my passion for writing grew,
My heart was captured by that simple man.
Some time passed and
My love for writing went beyond everything else.
I made a vow to observe a fast for 'Ali,
I covered with embellishments (hāl) the qalam with which I wrote,
In the hope that this might facilitate my affairs,
And that the Shah would show me his beauty in my sleep.
In fact one night I saw a dream with my eyes
That (the Shah) gave me a diploma (khatt) and presented me with a suit of clothes.
I have reported my dream in brief,
Though the story of my dream is long and far reaching.
I dare not say more about it
For I am incapable of conversation.
Until a man has torn the curtain (of his isolation),

356 [H: “On the author’s dispositions and the beginning of his studies.”]
357 [The verb is in the 2d or 3d person singular and seems to be a quotation. H omits this verse.]
358 The abdāl are the 70 righteous men for whose sake, according to Muslim tradition, God does not put an end to the universe.
359 Hāl (plur. ahwāl) in common parlance is “circumstances,” “conditions,” but, as a Sufi term, it refers to “the state of mystic ecstasy.”
360 [Possibly as a part of his vow (?). V.M.]
361 [H omits this verse. V.M.]
Let him not have an evil opinion of me.
The renown of my writing is due to the name of ‘Ali.
Let me speak day and night of ‘Ali and Vali (God’s beloved),
Thus commemorating him both in private and in public.362

On himself

65. When the stage of my life reached twenty,
Traces of black melancholy appeared on the pages (of my life).
I turned my face to the corner of a school (madrasa),
Without any thought of insincerity or temptation.
Day and night I exercised myself,
Having no concern for sleep or food.
Most of the days, as in the month of fasting,
I fasted in complete sincerity.
In the evening I visited the tomb of Rīḍā,
Rubbing my head on that threshold,
And on coming out
Went straight to my mother’s house.
I girt up my loins to serve her with all my heart
And closed the door of my needs.
From the time when I came to know her, I did not hurt her,
And spent my time with her.
I have not spoken about my father and my situation
Because he had left this world,
Leaving me solitary at the age of seven,
While he was forty (years) of age.
The record of my parents’ piety and submission to God
Does not become me, the downtrodden one.
May God’s clemency be upon them!
May their souls abide in the neighborhood of the pure!

66. On his progress

As through boundless and numberless exercises
I became, briefly speaking, known in Mashhad,
To me the moon-cheeked, with silvery chins
For the purpose of learning calligraphy in the best manner
Came from far and near,

362 Khafi va jali are also terms of calligraphy: “small and large script.”
From among the Turks, and from among the Taziks.
They were all my friends and brothers,
And all day long were with me.
I shut the eyes of the head and opened the secret ones,
For looking with the secret eyes is not wrong.
The eyes of the head look for faults and are defective,
But what the secret eyes have seen becomes cherished.

On how he became a calligrapher

After I had left the madrasa
None saw me return there.
I ensconced myself in a corner of my home.
And from the burning of my breast spoke thus to my wounded heart:
“O my heart! it is better either to say ‘farewell’ to writing,
“And to wash the traces of script off the tablets of the heart,
“Or to write in a way that people should talk of it
“And entreat me for every letter.”
Then I settled down in complete earnest and zeal,
In short, all day till nightfall,
Like a qalam, I girt my loins for practice,
Sitting on my heels.
I withdrew from friends, relations and companions.
And finally received encouragement.

67. Said the Prophet, that king and leader—
And do not turn away from the traditions of the Prophet!—
“For him who knocks at a door in supplication,
“That door will open.”

Calligraphy

It is known that if a hand is legible
It is a sign of good writing.
Writing exists in order to be read.
Not that (readers) should get stuck in it.
A beautiful writing renders the eye clear,
The ugliness of writing turns the eye into a bathstove.

On the qalam

I shall first give an explanation about the qalam.
Hearken to the words as if coming from itself:
The reed must be ruddy colored,
It must not be hard like stone,
Nor black, nor too short, nor too long either.
Remember, O youth! Necessarily
It should be medium, neither thick nor thin,
Its heart white, not dark,
No bend in it, no knot.
In the realm of writing it is a good tool.
Should the reed be (too) hard or too soft,
One should refuse the one and the other.363

How to make ink

68. Order some soot of best quality:
One sir of soot and four sirs of good gum.
Then, soon or late, find some vitriol and some gallnut,
Take one sir of the former and two sirs of the latter,
Pour the gum into the water, free from dust,
Until it dissolves entirely, like honey water.
For a day or two whip the water and gum vigorously,
Sweeping the house from dust and rubbish,
Grind it (salāya) up to one hundred hours.
Remember from me these praiseworthy words:
Rock alum (zama) is better than vitriol,
No one has understood this, besides this humble one.
With regard to blackness there may be harm from vitriol;
Instead of vitriol, rock alum is much better.
Boil the water with the gallnuts and keep it
Until it becomes quite pure in accordance with your desire.
After this pour it in small quantities
And try it out without fuss364
Until the time when it settles (bā-qiyām),
And your heart is tranquil in writing.
Do not spare labor in this.
Know that otherwise your work has been in vain.365

363 According to Fathullāh, 9a, several kinds of reed for making qalams were imported in the sixteenth century from Wāsīt, Āmol, Egypt, and Māzandarān. Those from Wāsīt were considered the best, those from Āmol following them in quality. Adam Olearius seems to refer to Wāsīt when he says (English transl. [1662], p. 332): "Their pens are brought partly from Shiraz, and partly from the Arabian Gulf, where they grow in quantity."
364 [H adds: "Add to it some soft rock alum. I have told you clearly what you should do."
365 This recipe is found in Huart, pp. 222-223. Besides the recipe of Sulṭān-
**On paper**

There is no paper better than Chinese (khita'i), However much you may try. Saffron, henna, and a few drops

69. Of ink are (the means of the test?). Until then, do not approve! How good is the Samarqand paper! Do not reject it, if you are wise. Writing upon it comes out clearly and well, But the paper should be clean and white.

**The color of paper best for writing**

There is no better color than that of Chinese (khita'i) paper. There is no need for you to test: Writing on it is good, it is also good for gold, It is excellent and it embellishes good writing. For writing slightly tinted (nim-rang) paper is suitable, That it should be restful to the eye. The red, green, and white colors Strike the eye, like looking at the sun. Darkish colors suit colored writing.

'Ali, others are given in the “Book of Calligraphers” of Ibn-Durustuya, pp. 93–94. Fathullah, 10a–13a, attributes to Yaqût the invention of the recipe which he quotes. A. Olearius (English transl. [1662], p. 332) writes: “They make their ink of the rinds of Pomegranates, or of Galls and Vitriol, and to make it thick and more fit for writing, their Characters requiring a full Body, they burn Rice or Barley, beat it into powder, and make a hard paste of it, which they dissolve with Gumwater, when they go to write. The best comes from the Indies, which though it be not all equally good and fine, is yet very fit for their Pens, which are not made of Goose-quills, as ours in Europe are, in regard they would be too hard for their Paper, which being of Silk or Cotton, is very tender, but they make them of Canes or Reeds, and a little bigger than our Pens. They are of a dark Colour without, and they are brought for the most part from Schiras, or from the Gulf of Arabia, where there grows abundance of them.” Cf. the French transl. by Wicquefort, 1656, p. 594. [See also below, p. 199.]

366 In a poem devoted to varieties of paper, 'Ali, p. II, assigns the first place to paper coming from Damascus, India, and Baghdad; Samarqand paper came fourth.

367 [In H the order of verses is different.]

368 [H adds: “Whether of the rasm, kind, or sulthan, try to buy the best.”]

369 [Perhaps handi, “color of henna.” V.M.]

370 [H adds: “Write on red paper in white, and write carefully that your writing shows. If the paper is blue, it looks pleasant if the writing is in white.” V.M.]
On āhār-paste

Prepare the āhār from starch,
Learn these words from an old man (repeating) ancient words.
First make a paste, then pour in water,
Then boil this for a moment on a hot fire;
Then add to this starch some glue (līöğ-i sirish).
Strain [so that it is] neither too thin nor too thick,
Spread it on paper and see
That the paper should not move from its place;
When you are applying āhār to your paper
Moisten the paper slightly with water, carefully.

On polishing paper

The paper must be polished so
That no creases appear in it.
The board for polishing should be wiped clean
With a strong hand, but neither hard, nor softly.

On the penknife

I shall speak to you of the penknife
And disclose hidden words:
Its blade should be neither long nor short,
Neither narrow nor wide, but appropriate (khätir-khwâh),
So that it should penetrate into the inside (khâna) of the qalam,
And such a qalam should become worthy of writing.
As far as possible do not trim the qalam quickly,
Trim it slowly and do not cut (your fingers).
Do not make the tip too long, for this is not to be approved;
This is not good for writing, upon my word!
Nor make it short, for this is also not good.
Listen to this point and do not ask for proofs:
Scrape it slightly from the inside,
With the outer (part) of the qalam you have no business.
Do not make any pen wide-split, for this is not to be approved;
Close to yourself the door of trouble.
Preserve the manner of moderation,

371 A starchy compound with which the paper is saturated before polishing.
372 Olearius, loc. cit., p. 332: "They make their paper of old rags, as we do, which for the most part, are of Cotton and Silk, and that it may not be hairy or uneven, they make it smooth with a Polishing-stone, or sometimes with an Oyster, or mussel-shell."
Otherwise know that you have been working in vain.
Make the left side (inṣi) and the right side (vahshi) even,
For the rule of four-sixths and two-sixths is obsolete.

71.  

On the nay-qat

The nay-qat must be clear and clean,
So as to reflect your face.
Do not be disturbed by the thickness of the reed,
It is best for trimming—I reveal this to you.
The rules of trimming are numberless,
Whoever has come to know (them) is an expert.

How to trim a qalam

Place your qalam on the nay-qat;
If you hold the qalam with your finger (fingers?) it is good
First of all take hold firmly of the penknife,
If you are not unfamiliar with the nay-qat.
Arrange the qalam firmly on your fingernail,
So that during the trimming no mutilation shall ensue.
The first cutting will not turn out well,
But the second may be good,
If you cut slantwise, a fault will occur,
If you make a middling cut, this will do.
No sooner you hear the sound of the cutting (qaṭṭ) of the qalam,
Do not be careless in the cutting of that qalam.
The sound of the cutting of the qalam is not good,
For it is the cry of its pain.
In a word, the trimming of the qalam must be neat,
For the work of your hand to be successful.

72.  

How to try out the qalam

The scribes when they trimmed the qalam
Used to rub its back with earth.

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373 A spatula on which the qalam is trimmed.
374 M and H: gar na-girî, but E: gar bi-girî.
375 [E, 43b: ba  nay-qat, gar na't aqval (?). H, 33, 1.13: ahval “if you are not
squint-eyed with regard to the nay-qat (?).”]
376 A well-known Arabic saying seems to take an augury from the sound
produced by the qalam when it is trimmed: idhâ qāla l-qalamu qaṭṭ ibshir
bi-husnî l-khâff “when the qalam has said: qaṭṭ, rejoice: the writing will be
good.” Cf. pp. 57–58. V. M.
376a [H: “O scribe, to trim the qalam is like rubbing earth on its back (?)”]
Try out the qalam with a dot.
Listen to this word of an ancient man:
If from the qalam a dot comes out regular,
You can achieve beautiful writing with it.

On the inventor of the writing naskh-i ta'liq

Whether of the fine, or of the large naskh-i ta'liq,
The original inventor was Khwāja Mir-'Ali,
His relation to 'Ali was pre-eternal (azali?),
And his pedigree goes up to 'Ali (son of Abi-Ṭalib).
Since the world and man have existed,
Such writing had never existed in the world.
From his fine intellect he laid down the rules (of the new script)
From naskh and from ta'liq.
The reed of his pen exuded sugar,
Because (?) his pure origin was from the soil of Tabriz.
Do not reject him out of ignorance!
Know that he was not without blessedness (or “without a birthplace”) 379
Scribes, old or new,
Are gleaners in his field.
(It is true that) Maulavi Ja'far and also Azhar
Were masters of writing, the purest of the pure.
But he (Mir-'Ali) was wonderful in all styles of writing,
I have heard masters say so.
His clear writing like his verse displayed full equilibrium.
Praise to him—beyond all limits!

73. He was a contemporary of that collection of virtues
The sweet-spoken shaykh, Shaykh Kamāl,
Whose poetry, as renowned as the fruit of Khujand, 380
Is sweeter than candy and sugar.
They have all departed from this perishable world,
And concealed their faces under the curtain of the earth.
For their sake I (can only) remember and recite:
“May God give repose to their souls.”

377 The expression naskh-i ta'liq can mean: “abrogation, abolishing of the ta'liq,” and at the same time: “ta'liqised naskh (style).” A widespread tradition accepts the first explanation.
378 [A rather poor pun on the similar ending of shakar-riz and Tabrīz, the latter of which might be explained as “deliverer from fever.” V. M.]
379 [Vilayat means both “sanctity” and “a province.” V. M.]
380 Meaning the poet Kamāl Khujandī, who died in Tabrīz in 803/1400.
On the form and the rules of writing

The outward aspect of writing consists of the fundamentals (üşūl) and the shape (tarkib?),
Whereas the arrangement (tartib) consists of "setting" (kursi) 381 and proportions (nisbat).
After these there exist "the ascent" and "the descent,"
The shamra 382 also plays its part and is accepted,
But do not seek the irdāl 383 in the naskh-i ta'liq:
About this subject there is no discussion.
In other styles of writing the irdāl exists,
Learn this and forgo (unnecessary) words.

On collecting samples of writing

Collect the writings of masters,
Throw a glance at this and at that.
For whomsoever you feel a natural attraction,
Besides his writing, you must not look at others,
So that your eye should become saturated with his writing,
And because of his writing each of your letters should become like a pearl.

On exercising

Exercise is of two kinds, as I have told you,  
O handsome youth, without reservation:
Call the one qalami, and the other naẓari.384
These words cannot be contested.385
Qalami is the exercise in reproduction,  
Exercising small (writing) during the day and large (writing) in the evening.
Naẓari is to gaze at a writing  
And to become aware of words, letters, and dots.

381 Kursi, "a seat," is the disposition of letters in a scheme similar to a musical stave, see above, p. 58.
382 Alias tashmir, "flourish."
383 "Letting off," perhaps "final flourish."
384 The terms are clear: qalami (from qalam, "the pen") is the actual practice in calligraphy; naẓari (from naẓar, "to look") is the study of some style by means of observation.
385 Nabuvad in sukhan nahi va marū (?): "cannot be denied" (nahy), or "contested" (marī).
Actual writing

 Whatever writing you wish to reproduce (naql),
Try not to hammer the iron when it is cold.
Be patient over each letter,
And not just give a glance and proceed carelessly.

74. Look at the “strength and weakness” of the letters,
And have before your eyes their shape (tarkib).
Watch their “ascent” and “descent”
Taking pleasure in both.
Take account of the shamr (“flourish”) of the writing,
So that it be clear, clean, and satisfactory.
When your writing has made progress,
Seat yourself in a corner and do not idle about.
Find some small manuscript
Of good style and hold it before your eyes.
In the same format, ruling, and kind of writing
Prepare yourself to copy it.
After that trace several letters
And do not indulge in any complacency
With regard to your copy, be careful
Not to overlook any à peu près.

75. One must give full attention to the copy
Completing one line (of it) after another.
Not that beginning a line
You should write a couple of faulty letters,
And, leaving them stand, begin another letter.
Refrain from such mistakes!
For through mistakes no one will become someone.
The reed mat will never become satin.

How to teach calligraphy and its canons

To expose the rules of writing in verse
In (the opinion of) this humble one is a complete error,
Nor can one write in prose,
And with regard to this point words are no use,
Because in writing there is no limit and no end,
As in words there is no finality.
Still, a few words on the (basic) elements (mufridät)
I shall say. Be content with that much.
On the rules of writing

Several letters, the shape of which
Is essentially similar, consider as the same.\textsuperscript{386}
I shall make clear before you without deficiency (\textit{shayn})
The length of the lengthened \textit{sin} and the head of the \textit{‘ayn}.
This is a versified discourse on letters
From the \textit{alif} to the \textit{hamza} and the dots.\textsuperscript{387}
For all of them one can establish rules,
Without concealing from anybody one, or two, or three shapes (they
can take).

76. When the writing is clear, one can openly point out
Its qualities and its faults.
O you who have not yet written one letter,
How can a master give you instruction?
For instruction in good writing
Cannot be given in your absence.
If the elements are hidden from you, and you yourself are absent,
Your objection has no sense.
Know that the theory of writing is shrouded,
And no one knows it until he has made an effort.
Until your teacher has told you by word of mouth,
You will not write with ease.
The means to impart some knowledge
Is both by writing and by word of mouth,
But know that the important thing is oral instruction
By which the difficulties become easy.

On single letters (\textit{ḥurūf})

For an \textit{alif} three movements are needed,
Although this does not come from the \textit{qalam}.\textsuperscript{388}

\textsuperscript{386} Following Ibn-Muqla, Fathullah, 20b, calls the letters differing only by
diacritical points, “sisters.”
\textsuperscript{387} The verse is out of order, as the rhymes in the hemistichs do not agree.
[H: “right or wrong, here they are.” Kostigova gives more verses.]
\textsuperscript{388} Fathullah, 19a–19b, says: “There should be some movement (\textit{harakat})
in the \textit{alif}; in \textit{muḥaqqaq} it is imperceptible, in \textit{thulth} evident, in \textit{taqī} and \textit{riqā}’
very evident, in \textit{naskh} and \textit{rayhān} extremely imperceptible.” The two degrees
of imperceptibility, or evidence, of the element called \textit{harakat} (“movement”) seems
to refer to the thinness or thickness of the line, but not to its twisting or
inclination. This latter characteristic is separately mentioned in another
sentence where the \textit{alif} of the “six styles” of writing is compared to a man
The bey and tey, if you are tracing them long,
Raise their beginning above their tails; 389
Should you write them short,
You must draw them straight; be careful.
Make the beginning of the jim 390 the size of two-and-a-half dots,
But how can I teach you how to draw its circle?
When it does not turn out in writing,
If I talk it over with you, it will be all right.

77. The alifs of the kāf are best long 391
And their ends are similar to the bey and tey;
The length of the sin is the same as of the bey and tey; 392
Raise its beginning above its tail.
If this hemistich has been repeated,
There was need for it, that is why it has been done.
That head of the ‘ayn (is?) like the sād and a horseshoe
And has no other shape, for it is the “eye” of ‘Ali’s name.
(On the other hand) the head of the ‘ayn written with an “ascent,”
Or the one which is joined to another letter, 393
Consists of two horseshoes, even though (?) they are like a sād.
I have told you this as a master.
Each of the two (kinds) has a different shape,
So that they should please the eye better.

looking at his feet. The alif in nastālīq, as represented in sixteenth-century manuscript, is vertical and has the following characteristics: (1) in comparison with the sittā writing, its height is only 1:2 or 1:3; (2) its top is slanted and its bottom is brought down to the shamra; (3) it narrows imperceptibly down the whole body of the letter. Thus it seems to me that under the three “movements” of Sultān-‘Ali’s treatise can be understood: (1) the slanting of the top, (2) the narrowing of the body, and (3) the shamra of the bottom. The tenuousness of all these “movements” may account for the additional clause: “though this does not come from the qalam.” [H: “although it comes from the qalam.” V. M.]

389 In Fathullāh’s treatise, 19b-20a, the graphic representation of the letter bā and others similar to it is divided into two elements: the “shoulder” and the “straight,” apparently corresponding to the “beginning” and “end” of Sultān-‘Ali’s treatise.
390 The letter jim in Fathullāh 20b is composed of two elements: the shoulder and the circle. The beginning—the shoulder in the “six” writings—was equal to six dots.
391 The “alif of the kāf” is its vertical part.
392 The author refers to the so-called “sin, like a bow,” i.e., the one written in a line and not with three teeth.
393 [This verse is found only in H, but even with it the description of the ‘ayn is obscure, V. M.]
To make the matter easy, one can describe them:
The one as a “lion’s jaws,” and the other as a “dragon.”

The hey has (the shape) of a dāl plus a fey and two sāds
And these both give beauty and charm to the writing.

It is also possible for the hey to be made of two sāds,
So that its “ascent” takes the form of two ‘ayns.
There are also two or three other kinds of hey,
As is clear to men of discernment.

Correcting of writing disapproved

The correcting of what is written is not commendable,
And is disapproved of by masters.
If there appears to be a defect for the stretch of a few letters
Which can be controlled by correcting,
Of necessity put it right with the qalam
But in doing so refrain from insistence (or additions?).

78. Do not make the corrections with a penknife,
Calligraphers are not surgeons (jarrāḥ).

How to become a calligrapher

O you, who wish to become a calligrapher
And to be a friend and companion to men,
Make the realm of writing your abode,
And contain a world under your name!
You will abandon peace and sleep,

[Fathullah, 28b-30b, distinguishes six kinds of the letter ‘ayn. Sultan-‘Ali
refers to the ‘ayn with the head shaped as a horseshoe and the ‘ayn
with the head shaped as the letter sād. As for the kinds, “lion’s jaws” and
“dragon’s jaws,” they are used, the first when the ‘ayn is joined with the preceding and
the following letter, and the second when it is joined only with the preceding one.

[H adds: “It is nice if the hey is followed by a stretch (madd), for it
produces a good and agreeable shape.” V. M.]

Fathullah, 38a-38b and 42b-43b, distinguishes nine forms of the letter
hey. Two of these are mentioned by Sultan-‘Ali: the so-called “hey similar to
the “dāl” is written either in the beginning or in the middle of a word (mainly
when preceded either by a lām or a “tooth”); the second kind called “hey—
two sāds”—is written after a lām, the design of this hey consisting of two super-
imposed sāds.

In Fathullah’s treatise the chapter on single characters is followed by the
chapter on connected letters.
Cf. below, p. 201.]
Even from your tender years.
Like unto a qalam you will rub your head against the paper.
Not resting a day or a night from labor,
Discard your desires,
Turn away from the road of covetousness and greed,
Wrestle with the cravings of the concupiscent soul,
Then you will know what a minor religious war is,\textsuperscript{399}
And what the turning toward a major war.
What you do not admit for yourself
You will not disturb others with.
Beware, I have said to you, do not hurt a soul,
Because God’s displeasure is incurred by the one who hurts a soul.
Let contentment and submission be your constant recitation (\textit{vird}).
Do not be unclean for a single hour,
Ever recognize the necessity of eschewing
Lies, covetousness, and calumny,
Avoid envy and envious men,

\textit{79. Because from envy a hundred misfortunes befall the body;}
Do not display intrigue and trickery,
Do not adopt evil practices.
Only he who of trickery, intrigues, and hypocrisy
Has cleansed himself, has become master in writing.
He who knows the soul, knows that
Purity of writing proceeds from purity of heart.
Writing is the distinction of the pure.
Idling without purpose is no occupation for the clean.
Make the corner of retirement your abode.
Learn these words of an ancient man.

\textit{On retirement and exercises}

Murtada (‘Ali), truly the King of Saints [see above, p. 54],
At the time when caliphs ruled,
Made a habit of seclusion,
To free himself for a moment from chatter.
He mostly copied the Qur’\textsuperscript{an},
Therefore writing acquired the rank of greatness and honor.
And those sciences which are a banner in the world
At that very time he poured out from his qalam.

\textsuperscript{399} Meaning the conquest of one’s passions.
Had it not happened in the time of the Lord of the two Palaces (i.e.,
worlds),
When would you be free from worry and sorrow?
The aim of this humble one in writing this
Was (to say) with the utmost care: 400
Retirement is necessary for writing and for knowledge.
Conceal yourself in a corner, to ascertain (this truth).

On forgiveness

80. A youth used to speak too much,
Any moment he would tell some old story.
By chance an old man happened to stop (there)
To perform his takbir.401
The youth said to him: “You, too,
“Say something new, or old.”
The old man said: “If you are not confounded in your senses
“What speech could be better than silence?”
O scribe of Mashhad! You, too, hearken
To the words of the old beggar and become silent;
Because of the lesson (given to you) abandon your teaching,
Profit by the old man’s advice.
In this world you did full justice to teaching,
How is it that you have not seen the fruit (huquq) of your teaching?
Now abandon 402 paper, the ink horn and the qalam,
Those through which you have become an ensign in the world.
During a long life you blackened white paper,
But fortune did not take notice of this.
And now, when your black (hair) has become white
And you have given up hopes of life,
Try from the fullness of your knowledge
To beg forgiveness for your sins.
Turn the pages of the book,
Read the book of your life.

Reference to himself

My beloved life has reached the age of seventy-and-four,402a
And all intelligence and discernment are gone.

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400 Az naqir vaz-qatmir, “going to the very core of things.”
401 Prayer beginning with the words allāhu akbar—“God is great.”
402 H: “do not abandon,” but Sultan-Ali seems to hint at his disappointment
with his lack of fortune.
402a The autograph copy (Kostigova, 160) gives 84!
81. There was not much of them in my youth either,
So what is the profit of lame excuses now?
If I have nevertheless offered them to thee,
O dear friend! it was (because) I conceal nothing.
As a consequence of the grievous Frankish scourge
I was crippled by the hand of the pox.
For several years without interruption
I was worn out with the complaint.
With a broken heart and with no trace of strength (in the body)
One cannot make better verses,
Especially in Mashhad, ruined and deserted (yābāb),
And lying in utter desolation.⁴⁰³
When I, O woe, was suffering from the incurable disease,
Unattended by anyone.
An acquaintance will ask about the health of an acquaintance,
But who will enquire about (this old) Mashhadi?⁴⁰⁴
I wished to speak of myself and my situation,
To give expression to my troubles (mālālat).
But as the mention of sorrow multiplies sorrow,
It is meet that I cease writing.
I come to the indication of the year and the month,
In order to mark in black (the date of) this composition.

On the date of the composition of this discourse

Concerning the year of the composition of these verses
The pen has traced: nine hundred and twenty.
It was the first month of the year,⁴⁰⁵

82. When this prattle⁴⁰⁶ came to an end.

⁴⁰³ [Hasan Rūmūlū, who in his Aḥsan al-tawārīkh, p. 140, wrongly records the
death of Sultan-ʿAli in 919/1513, mentions a famine in Khorasan in 920/1524,
with cases of cannibalism. V. M.]

⁴⁰⁴ Mashhadi, native of Mashhad, or pilgrim to the tomb of the Eighth Imam
in Mashhad. [I think “Mashhadi” stands here as a familiar self-appellation of
the author. See above, p. 123. V. M.]

⁴⁰⁵ Muḥarram of the year 920 corresponds to 26 February/28 March, 1514.
Thus the chronology of Sultan-ʿAli Mashhadi’s life, as can be deduced from the
autobiographical references, is as follows: 846/1442, year of birth (M 80, 81);
853/1449, death of his father (M 65); 882/1477, inscription in Herat on the
tomb of Sultan Manṣur (M 58); 909/1503, date on which the master was 63
years old (M 58); 920/1514, he wrote his versified Epistle at the age of 74
(M 81); 926/1519, date of his death (M 57, II 29). [But see n. 402a. V. M.]

⁴⁰⁶ [The usual meaning of qūl-u maqāl is “tumult, troubles,” and this may be
a reference to the events in Khorasan. V. M.]
Finally, in this Epistle I have presented in writing
The approximate exposition of the rules of calligraphy;
Briefly speaking, whether I knew (anything), or did not know,
I have recorded it to the best of my ability.
I set out both my talent and my deficiency
And made manifest what was concealed.
Blessed are those who cover up the weaknesses (of others),
Not those who gladden the leader of the host of detractors (Satan).
May God preserve those who veil weaknesses,
In the name of the Prophet, and his honorable family!

MAULĀNĀ SĪMĪ NĪSHĀPŪRĪ was an extremely gifted master
of the arts. He became a master calligrapher in Holy Mash-
had, equal in degree to the loftiest sphere of heaven, and
taught in a school. He wrote in seven styles of writing, was peerless in poetry, inscriptions (kitābat), and enigmas,
and was outstanding in his time in blending colors (rang-
āmīzī), preparing ink (siyāhī?), gold sprinkling, and orna-
menting in gold. He wrote a treatise on the arts and (an-
other) on the epistolary art (tarassul), and is a master (in
these subjects). In view of his good auspices, children of the
nobles used to come to learn something from him, and every-
one under his tuition attained some rank. KHWAJĀ ‘ABD AL-
ḤAYY, munshi, is his pupil. Contemporaries regarded (him)
as an undisputed (master). It is reported that for a bet
(Maulana Simi in one day composed and wrote two
thousand verses, which is beyond the capacity of any poet or
scribe. For the text on his signet ring he wrote the following
verse and had the engraver cut it:

One day, in praise of the shah of pure nature
Simī recited and wrote two thousand verses. . . .

This verse is also his:

The heart of this unfortunate one, needy and full of yearning
From love for your eyebrows is bouncing up to the ceiling.

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407 I.e., those who are meek and understanding.
408 Fathullah, 17a; “and of styles of writing there are seven: muḥaqqaq, thulth, taqī‘, rayhān, naskh, riqā‘, and ghubār.” Cf. above, p. 25.
409 [II: several treatises.]
410 Rubā‘ī.
411 Meter: ḥazaj.
And this too:
That moon came to the edge of the roof and said: "You must die, 
"For the sun of your life has reached the edge of the roof." 412

And this enigma on the name of Najm is also by him:
From joy the almond (?) does not keep within its skin,413
When Simi likened it to that mouth (i.e., those teeth?).414

Maulānā Mir-ʿAlī came of a family of great sayyids of the capital of Herat. He carried off from all, the ball of pre-eminence and superiority, for in laying down the foundations of the nastaʿliq he was the initiator of new rules and of a praiseworthy canon. He did not, however, equal Maulānā Sulṭān-ʿAlī, wherefore the following hemistich was composed:

It is true that no amir can equal a sultan.415

The Mir at first studied under Maulānā Zayn al-din Maḥmūd,416 after which, in Holy Mashhad, he joined the service of Maulānā Sulṭān-ʿAlī; there he exercised himself and achieved his development. He brought the art of the large and small (script), and the writing of samples (qiṭʿa) and inscriptions to the utmost degree (of perfection) and set it on so high a vault that the hand of no calligrapher can reach it. Among the mementos which he has left are these verses which he wrote in large characters, scattering pearls, on the lofty mausoleum of Imām Rīdā, equal in degree to the highest

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412 Meter: ramal. [Lab-i bām, “The rays of the sun have reached the edge of the roof” (i.e., are dying there). This is the usual Persian simile for anyone of whose life only the last rays can be seen. V. M.]
413 Meter: hasaj. [The almond wishes to take its place in the row of the teeth of the beloved? The clue to the enigma could not be discovered. Maghz can mean also the brain, the kernel of a grain. V. M.]
414 The biography of Simi Nishāpūrī who, in addition to his colossal poetic output, possessed a similarly inordinate appetite, is recorded in Huart, p. 107 (according to Daulat-shāh and Khwāndamīr). [The reason why H, p. 28, has transferred his biography before that of Sulṭān ʿAlī (see above, p. 101) may be chronological. H adds that Simi was a contemporary of Mirzā ʿAlā al-daula, son of Bāysunqur, son of Shāhrukh. This Prince, who was a rival of Ulugh-beg, was born in 820/1417 (see Barthold, Ulugh-beg, p. 119) and died in 865/1460 (see Lane-Poole, p. 227, table). According to Zambaur he died in 863 (?). H abridges the poetical quotations. V. M.]
415 Meter: mudāʿī. Compare the names of Mir-ʿAlī and Sulṭān-ʿAlī.
416 Pupil of Sulṭān-ʿAlī, see above, p. 106.
sphere of heaven—on its pilgrims a thousand thousand mercies and blessings!

Peace on the family of the suras Ță-hă and Yăsîn! ⁴¹⁷
Peace on the family of the best of the prophets!
Peace on the Flower-garden in which he is exalted.
(Peace) on the Imām, protecting the “kingdom” and the “faith.”
The true Imām, the absolute king,
The sanctuary of whose doors is the place of genuflexion for sultans,
The king of the palace of mystic knowledge, the blossom of the
garden of generosity,
The moon of the Zodiac of potentiality (imkān), the pearl of the
casket of greatness.
‘Ali ibn-Mūsā Riḍâ, whose title from his God
Became riḍâ,⁴¹⁸ because benevolence was his practice.
The houris of Paradise seek the fragrance of his countenance,⁴¹⁹
And the dust of his abode for their musk-scented tresses.
If you wish to pluck his gown,⁴²⁰
Go, draw away the skirts of your garments from everything that is
not he.
The servant of the family of ‘Ali: ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī.⁴²¹

He added to it (sar nivishta) the following last verse of a
ghazal (by Jāmī?) :
When Jāmī ⁴²² has tasted the sweetness of the sword of his love,⁴²³
What grief, if he is smitten by the dagger of the hatred of a foe.

These two couplets the Mīr composed as a date of that
inscription and inscribed them in a medium-sized script on the
sides below the two opening verses:

On the page of days there has remained from my musk-scented
pen ⁴²⁴

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⁴¹⁷ Meter: mutaqārīb.
⁴¹⁸ Riḍâ means “benevolence, mercy.”
⁴¹⁹ Meter: mutaqārīb.
⁴²⁰ Meter: ramal.
⁴²¹ I.e., the poet Mīr-Ali.
⁴²² Famous poet (b. in 817/1414, d. in 898/1492) who lived at the court of the
Timurids Abū-Ṣā'īd and Sultān-Ḥusayn. [H adds that Jāmī was one of the
admirers (‘ushshāq) of Sultān-‘Ali, and refers to his own Tadhkirat al-shu‘ārā.
V. M.]
⁴²³ Meter: mutaqārīb.
⁴²⁴ Meter: ramal.
A memory about which men of the pen shall speak.
For the chronogram of the month and year of the inscription, today,
The tenth of Dhul-qa'da, the Pen of Fate has written its decree. 425

These verses, too, are the fruit of the lively nature of
the Mir; he wrote them in a large hand and also pasted them
up in the mausoleum opposite the head (of the tomb):

This rare verse is in praise of the Eighth Imám, 426
Heir of the prophet's knowledge, descendant of the Commander of
the Faithful.
That King of Kings, whose threshold of glory
Has become the Ka'ba of kings and the qibla of men of religion.
It is a sign of his grace that the year in which this verse was written
Should have been “praise to the Eighth Imám.” 427

And this rubá‘í he wrote under the first one:

O you, the dust of whose door is the place of prostration for the
great and the small,
The glory of the seven climes is this wonderful place;
May everyone who has not the flame of love of you in his heart
Be beset by hundreds of worries and grieves, while he lives.

This piece was composed in praise of Zahīr al-dīn Muḥammad Bābur-mirzā 428 ibn-'Omar-shaykh ibn-Sultān Abū-Sa'id ibn-Sultān Muḥammad ibn-Mirzā Mirān-shāh ibn Amīr-Timur Gūrkān, lord of Indian kingdoms:

86. My head is the dust of the door of the Lord of the kingdom of
letters, 429
The pride of the kings of kingdoms, the honor of Timur's family,

425 The numeric value of the letters composing the words kilk-i qadā, “Pen of Fate,” is 20 + 30 + 20 + 100 + 800 + 1 = 971. 10 Dhul-qa'da 971 was 21 June 1564, but in the light of the biographical data of Mir-'Alī quoted on p. 130, this date seems doubtful. If we take for chronogram dakhum-i Dhī-qa'da the date will be 938/1531. [E deciphers the chronogram as 928/1521, which seems to be wrong. V.M.]
426 Meter: ramal.
427 The chronogram contained in those words gives: 40 + 4 + 8 + 1 + 40 + 1 + 40 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 40 + 10 + 50 = 939/A.D. 1532–33.
428 Founder of the Great Moghul dynasty in India, d. in 937/1530.
429 Meter: ramal.
The sovereign of the virtuous, the sea of generosity, the mine of kindness,
The leader of the talents, Shāh Muḥammad Bābur.430

This too is the expression of the Mir's deep feelings (toward Sulṭān Bābur):

You are the leader of the century and the head of all the homeless,
You are the valorous khāqān and the Khīṭr 431 of the times.
After your writings there is no longer in the universe
Any other compendium of ideas, O Shah of the kingdom of letters.

This rubā’ī (in Chaghatay Turkish) the Mir composed in Bukhārā for ‘Ubayd-khān Uzbek 432 and wrote it in large characters:

May the khan be extending his shadow over (his) epoch,
Happiness be his friend, and good luck his helper!
May the wishes of his heart be successfully fulfilled.
O God! Let horizons be subjugated by him!

This rubā’ī 433 was composed by the Mir in very amorous mood:

Your black eyes have mercilessly killed me, what am I to do?
They have ravished patience and peace from my heart, what am I to do?
Without you I have no patience (even) for one breath's time, what am I to do?
Briefly, my affairs have slipped out of my hands, what am I to do?

And this riddle on the name Mahdi is also by the Mir:

Happy is he who has fallen a prey to love,434
And become estranged from himself and his friends,

430 In the original Bābur rhymes with Timur.
431 Prophet who found “the water of life" and acquired immortality.
432 ‘Ubaydullāh-khān ibn-Maḥmūd, nephew of Shaybānī-khān, ruled in Bukhārā from 1512, was at the head of all the Uzbek from 1533, and died in 1539; see Barthold, "Istoriya kulturnoy zhizni Turkestana," p. 97. Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 20, mentions him as a poet.
433 [Before this rubā’ī, H inserts a matla' and a rubā’ī which must be read jointly in a complicated way and which are apparently dedicated to a minister called Sharaf al-mulk Ḥabībullāh. V. M.]
434 The same rubā’ī, slightly altered, is found in the biography of Mir-‘Ali in the Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 47. [The solution of the riddle is that the man who fell
Who has all at once freed himself from the shackles of reason,
Who in the taverns has become bereft of head and feet.

The following verses were composed by him concerning writing, the rules of exercise, and masters of writing:

87. There are five virtues; if they are not jointly present in one's writing:

One cannot reasonably expect to become a calligrapher:
Opportunity of nature, knowledge of writing, a good hand,
Patience in trials, and a perfect set of equipment.
If of these five one be missing
No good will be achieved, try it even for a hundred years.

The maulānā lived for a long time in the capital, Herat.
When in 935/1528–29 'Ubayd-khān Uzbek captured Herat—in the days when the late Ḫusayn-khān Shāmlu was its governor and (the) guardian (lala) to the Prince, the angelic Sām-mirzá—he carried off Maulānā Mīr-ʿAlī, together with other notables of Herat, to Bukhārā. The Mīr spent some time in Bukhārā in the kitāb-khāna of 'Abd al-ʿAzīz-khān, son of 'Ubayd-khān. The following poem (qiṭ'a) was composed by the Mīr in Bukhārā, at a time of extreme distress and anxiety of mind, and became known the world over:

A long life of exercise bent my body like a harp,
Until the handwriting of this unfortunate one had become of such a canon

a prey to love is Majnūn. Having lost its head and its tail, his name becomes jnū, which has the same numerical value (3 + 50 + 6 = 59) as the name of Mahdi (40 + 5 + 4 + 10 = 59). I am indebted for this suggestion to J. Shaykh al-Islāmī. V. M.]

435 Meter: ramal.

436 On the events see 'Ālam-ārā, p. 39, Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 169–171. Ḫusayn-khān ibn-ʿAbdī-bek Shāmlu, a nephew of Shah Tahmāsp on the distaff side, was appointed governor of Herat in 931/1525–26, after the death of his brother Durmīsh-khān; see Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, 253a. The date of Mīr-ʿAlī’s removal to Bukhārā, as given in the Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 47 (925/1519), and by Huart, p. 227 (945/1538–39), is mistaken.

437 Ruled in 947–957/1540–49. We know of a manuscript prepared by Mīr-ʿAlī in 1537–38 for 'Abd al-ʿAzīz-khān’s library: Makhzan al-asrār of Niṣāmī; see Blochet, Peintures des manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 7.

438 Meter: ramal.
That all the kings of the world sought me out, whereas
In Bukhārā, for means of existence, my liver is steeped in blood 439
My entrails have been burnt up by sorrow. What am I to do?
How shall I manage?
For I have no way out of this town,
This misfortune has fallen on my head for the beauty of my writ-
ing. 440
Alas! Mastery in calligraphy has become a chain on the feet of
this demented one.

In Bukhārā the maulānā departed for the world of eter-
nity 441—on him the clemency of the beloved God! Albums
(muraqqa’), specimens (qit’a), and writings of the Mir are
scattered throughout the inhabited quarter of the world.

Khwāja Mahmūd ibn-Khwāja Ḥaqq al-Shaḥabī is a
native of the village Siyāvushān 442 of Herat. His father
Khwaja-Ishaq, at the time of the governorship of Durmīsh-
khan Shāmlū, 443 was mayor (kalāntar) of Herat. When, as
already mentioned, ‘Ubayd-khān seized Herat, he took away
Khwāja Ishaq with his family (kūch) and children to Bukhārā.
As Maulānā Mir-‘Ali was traveling in the same company, in
consideration of their being of the same town, he took Khwāja
Mahmūd as his pupil. Khwāja Mahmūd, who received edu-
cation and made progress (under his tuition) reached such a
degree (of perfection) that some prefer his writing to that
of the Mir. The Mir himself used to say: “I have acquired

439 ‘Alamārā, p. 129, connects the couplet with the biography of Aqā-Ḥiḍā,
and substitutes Isfahan for Bukhārā.

440 The second and third couplets have been translated by Huart, p. 227.

441 Huart, p. 227, gives 966/1558–59 as the date of Mir-‘Ali’s death, adding
that, according to one of the manuscripts of Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, the date of his
demise might be 951/1544. In the printed edition of Tuhfa-yi Sāmī the date of
Mir-‘Ali’s death is omitted. Cf. below, p. 123, n. 425. [H quotes a chronogram
composed by Mir-‘Ali on the foundation of the madrasa-yi ‘āli-yi Mir-i ‘Arab,
which gives 942/1535. On the other hand, according to I, p. 39, ‘Mir-‘Ali died in
940/1533, though it is possible that the last digit (nought) was meant to be
rectified. V. M.]

442 Village near Herat, celebrated for its fruit; see Isfizārī in Barbier de

443 See above, p. 130, n. 436.
a pupil better than myself," and he wrote about him the following poem:

For some time Khwāja Maḥmūd was the pupil of this humble and lowly one.
From the mediocrity of my mind I taught him
What few things I knew.
For teaching him I let my heart bleed
Until his handwriting (khaṭṭ) acquired the form of calligraphy (tahrir).

With regard to him no oversight has occurred, shortcomings have not taken place,
Neither does he show any failings.
Good and bad—whatever he writes.
He does it all in the name of this humble one.

Khwāja Mahmūd spent some time in Bukhārā, but grew weary of the place, traveled to Balkh and took up residence there. Many people assembled round him and he had no need of making inscriptions and producing specimens; therefore his writing is scarce. The intimates of the local sultans coming to see him importuned him (with requests) for qit'a. He played well on the lute and the shiturgha and talked mainly about games and entertainments.

Maulānā Maḥmūd Chapnivīs ("left-handed") was a calligrapher in Herat and wrote in nasta'liq neatly and with good taste. He invented a style of writing in which combina-

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444 See 'Ālam-ārā, pp. 124–125.
445 Meter: khaft.
446 These verses, minus the first and second couplets, are also quoted in the 'Ālam-ārā, pp. 124–125. In the same incomplete version they are found in Huart, p. 229.
447 A Central Asian stringed instrument.
448 According to Huart, p. 229, he died in Herat in 991/1583 (?). [According to H he often signed his specimens with the following verse: "This is the exercise of Maḥmūd al-Shahābī, whose like you will never find in the world."]
449 [M and E seem to confuse him with his son. H, p. 40, devotes only a few words to Maulānā Kamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd Rafīqī of Herat, who also wrote poetry. All the remaining part of the paragraph appears under the name of Maulānā Majnūn Chapnivīs, son of Kamāl al-dīn Rafīqī.] The word chap, the left side, means also the obverse, the inside out. Hence chapnivīs is writing done in reverse, as on seals. According to Huart, p. 107, n. 1, masters who were called chapnivīs wrote with the left hand.
tions of letters formed images of men and beasts. Thus he wrote the hemistich: "The price of sugar and candy has come down because of the sugar plantations (?)", on two sides, in the shape of three or four men standing one under the other, and both the figures and the writing were executed with perfect skill and charm. Under his pen name, Majnūn, he wrote the poem called Nāz-o-niyāz; he dedicated his other poem, Layli-va-Majnūn, to the late Sām-mirzā; and His Highness the Mirzā, in his anthology called Tuhfat al-Sāmi (sic) speaks of him at some length.

Here is a verse from the qasida which he composed in praise of the lord of sultans, the servant of the Commander of the Faithful, Shah Tāhmāsp:

The turquoise of the sky is in your signet ring,
The face of the earth is entirely under your seal.

Maulānā Ḥāmūd Majnūn wrote an epistle on writing and expounded the teaching of letters—how they should and might be written.

[Between Ḥāmūd Majnūn and Ābdī, H inserts references to five other calligraphers: MAULĀNĀ AD-ḤAM of Yazd, nicknamed kūr, "blind," was invited by the noblemen of the Nūr-Kamāl family to come from Khorasan to embellish their houses in Isfahan and was given generous rewards. MAULĀNĀ ḤAYRATĪ annoyed by Ad-ham’s ways, addressed a verse to him: "A blind scribe by dint of writing has become a master;]

Shākaristān means both "a sugarcane plantation" and metaphorically "the lips of the beloved." The latter gives a better meaning.

[Perhaps meaning by this that the writing on one side was straight, and on the other in reverse? V.M.]

TUHFA-YI SĀMI, p. 85: "(Majnūn) composed in my honor an episode in verse in the meter of Layli-va-Majnūn. In it he speaks about writing, ink, the coloring of paper, etc. This much has remained in my memory:

"The color on which writing looks beautiful
Is composed of the solution of henna and saffron."


H omits Ḥāmūd. See above, p. 132, n. 449.

See Zakhoder, Majnūn, poet and calligrapher from Herat, in the Collectanea in honor of I. Y. Kratchkovsky.
let him write so much as to become blind." Shaykh 'Abdul-
läh Kātib was a recognized calligrapher of Herat. For 45
years he was in attendance on Mir 'Ali-Shir. Despite his high
rank he was a simple man. He wrote extremely well and was
an expert on the writings of the masters. His verse is quoted:

Just as I see that Turk intoxicated with himself and intrepid,
I see many heads in the dust under the feet of his charger.

Maulānā Sultān Muḥammad, son of Maulānā Nūrul-
läh, known everywhere as "Sultān Muḥammad Nūr," was a
good pupil of Maulānā Sultān-‘Alī and a recognized callig-
grapher of Herat and wrote very well in a minute hand.
Maulānā Sultān Muḥammad Khandān was also good
in calligraphy, poetry, and riddles, and spent all his life as a
scribe in Herat. In writing specimens he was peerless.]

Maulānā 'Abdī 456 was a native of Nishāpūr. He wrote
in nasta’liq very well, was an incomparable scribe and, having
become the intimate of sultans, spent the greater part of his
time in the service of the most just of khāqāns, Shah Tahmāsp
of undying memory. He was a self-effacing (fānī) man, with
the habits of a darvish and gentle manners. He wrote good
poetry. Here is a specimen of his poetry:

As the throne of the sultanate, the dust of that door suffices us,457
The lightning of our sighs, which forms a golden crown on our
heads, suffices us.
O heart! Like 'Abdī, keep tightened the reins of patience.
If love of the moonlike is to be sought passionately, this much suf-
fices us.458

Maulānā Shāh-Maḥmūd Zarīn-qalam is the son of a sister of
Maulānā 'Abdī and his pupil. It is reported that when 'Abdī
criticized Shāh-Maḥmūd he would say: "O wretch! strive to
become a master calligrapher. If you cannot write like me, at
least write like those fellows Sultān-‘Alī and Mīr-‘Alī." 459

456 'Abdī is a contraction for 'Abdullāh, cf. Huart, p. 224.
457 Meter: muddārī.
458 See the poem quoted in Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 81. The same source (written
in 957/1550) says: "He departed in these (one or) two years." This suggests
that he died about 1548-50.
459 Cf. above, p. 62, the story of Aḥmad Rūmī.
was a pupil of 'Abdi and a native of Nishāpūr. In calligraphy he was peerless and there is no one like him. \[H: \text{He is the third of the trio, together with Sulṭān-'Ali and Mīr-'Ali}]]. His calligraphic samples, both in a large and a small hand, are numerous. He wrote (Nizāmi’s) Khamsa in minute script (ghubār) for the late Shah Tāhmāsp, and all the masters certified that no calligrapher had ever written according to that canon with such clearness. This Khamsa was additionally (adorned) with miniatures by Master Behzād, the painter.\[461\]

All through the days of his progress and youth, of his growth and development, in short of his life and existence, the Maulānā was in attendance at the court of the late Shah Tāhmāsp. For some time he resided in the capital, Tabriz, in the madrasa Naṣriya, in the upper story (bālā-khāna), on the north side of that place. In the end, when that monarch, having wearied of the field of calligraphy and painting, occupied himself with important affairs of state, with the well-being of the country and the tranquillity of his subjects,\[462\] the maulānā, having obtained leave, came to Holy Mashhad, equal in degree to the highest sphere of heaven, and took up residence there. He lived there on the upper floor of the madrasa known as the Qadam-gāh-i ḥadrat-i imām, which lies beside the Chahār-bāgh, and spent his time in pilgrimages and worship. In the meantime he (continued) his work, writing specimens of calligraphy. Virtuous friends visited him and enjoyed conversation with him. Thus he lived for some 20 years. The maulānā never chose to have a family life (kadkhudā’ī); he did not marry, but worked and lived in accordance with the sacred āyāt: “God announceth John to thee, who shall be a witness

460 C. C. Edwards, pp. 202–205: text and English translation of the biography of Shāh-Maḥmūd Zarīn-qalam, i.e., “Golden Pen”; Huart, p. 225, mistakenly gives this nickname to ‘Abdī, though it belongs to Shāh-Maḥmūd, as confirmed in Ḫālm-ārā, p. 124.
461 The same in Huart, p. 239, but this author mistakenly calls Shāh-Maḥmūd the pupil of Mīr-‘Alī and Sulṭān-‘Alī; see Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 81.
462 Shah Tāhmāsp’s loss of interest in art is also mentioned in the Ḫālm-ārā, pp. 127 and 135. The shah released from his service not only calligraphers and painters, but also musicians.
to the word which comes from God, and a great one, chaste, and a prophet of the number of the just. 465 He remained unmarried, had neither kith nor kin, and was retired and alone. From no source had he any pension or grants of land (søyûr-ghâl), and he received no patronage from anyone. He died in Mashhad in the year 972/1564-65, 464 and was buried beside the tomb of the late Maulânâ Sulṭân-'Ali. Maulânâ Shâh-92.

Maḥmûd composed very good poetry of various kinds, such as qaṣîda, ghâzal, qi‘a, and rubâ‘î. 465 The following verses are from a qaṣîda of his in praise of His Holiness the Hero-Imâm—on him blessings and peace! He wrote it in a large hand and placed it in the passage of the mausoleum (dâr al-siyâda):

O God, although throughout his life Maḥmûd the scribe 466 has blackened (his book) with disobedience,
Draw thou a line of pardon through the record of his sins
For the sake of ‘Ali, son of Mûsâ, son of Ja‘far.
Have mercy! For I have no means
And have spent all my time in ignorance.
Every moment, remembering my past sins,
I moisten (tar) my face with tears of repentance!
In thy clemency, O forgiving king,
Draw Thou a line right through the record of his sins.

Here is one of his ghâzals 467 which we have copied for the adornment of the present book:

My heart sought the mouth of the beloved and lost itself. 468
On springing back I noticed a smile on her ruby lips.
The bud of my heart blossomed out; my soul found a new life
From the moment when she opened her life-giving lips and spoke.

93. What a benison! Her tormenting eyes

463 Qur’ân, III, p. 34.
464 Huart wrongly separates Maḥmûd of Nishâpûr (p. 226) from Maulânâ Maḥmûd (p. 239) and takes 952/1545 as the date of the former’s dîvân and 970/1562 as the date of the latter’s death.
465 [E adds that the number of poems composed by Nîzâm al-dîn was 500. V. M.]
466 Meter: mutaqărib.
467 [The following quotations are omitted in H, which refers the reader to the author’s Tadhkirat al-shu‘ârâ.]
468 Meter: mujâthth.
Today looked with pity on the weary hearted.
When the beloved included me in the pack of her dogs,
She made me valued and respected among men.
He who like Mahmūd has withdrawn himself from the world,
Has found much happiness in the corner of poverty and contentment.

Also by him:
O heart! I am greatly saddened by myself.\(^{469}\)
O, if my being had not existed!
No single day of my life have I
Done any work to the satisfaction of Him whom I serve.
Not once has a poor or unfortunate man
Been contented with my charity.
No such other person, as worthless in the eyes of the Creator and
the created
As myself, has ever existed.

Also by him:
O zephyr, gently blow toward her,\(^{470}\)
Tell her: "O sun of Life!
"You are the sun of beauty and yet
"For those who love you there is no atom of affection!
"Kindness behooves beauty,
"As far as you can, do nothing but good."

Also by him:
To the country where there is not a single beauty,\(^{471}\)
I shall not go, even if it were all Paradise,
Because besides that beautiful countenance
All that exists in the world is hideous in my eyes.

Also by him:
You never pass before the humble ones,\(^{472}\)
Nor cast a caressing glance toward the needy:
You are intoxicated with the wine of beauty and are unaware
Of the hearts (of those) whose breast is sorely wounded.

\(^{469}\) Meter: hazaj. This fragment (qif'a) has been omitted by Mrs. Edwards, pp. 202–205.
\(^{470}\) Meter: hazaj.
\(^{471}\) Meter: mutaqārib.
\(^{472}\) Meter: khašif.
In the year 964/1557 when this humble and lowly one was young, he came to Holy Mashhad and for eight years remained by that mausoleum similar to Paradise. The maulānā was engaged in writing inscriptions and samples of calligraphy; for eight more years he was still in the fetters of life, and by times I practiced and studied calligraphy with the maulānā.473

Maulānā Qāsim Shādīshāh was a recognized calligrapher, looked upon as a rival to Maulānā Sūlṭān-Muḥammad Khandān. He prepared elegant samples of calligraphy (qīṭ‘ā).474

Maulānā Jamshīd Mu‘ammā’ī475 was the son of Maulānā Aḥmad Rūmī,476 but he grew up in Herat, and there became a master of writing. In the art of riddles he has never had his equal nor his like, and he is one of the renowned.

[H inserts here a notice of Mīr ‘Abd al-Vahhāb, who belonged to a family of Ḥūsaynī sayyids of Mashhad. His mother was a daughter of Sūlṭān-‘Ali, and the latter, who had no sons, treated him as his own child. When the author was in Mashhad, ‘Abd al-Vahhāb was 80 years old and dyed his beard. He was very clever (zaka? [sic]) and his manners were those of an aged dārvish (bābā-mashrab?). He wore bright and motley garments and went about with large portfolios (juz’dān) full of specimens of his writing, which he embellished with gold sprinkling, (good) margins and rulings. He would show them to people while praising his own work, and at times offered specimens to official persons.]

Master 477 Mīr Sayyid-Aḥmad Mashhādī was one of the

473 [In H the author adds that he heard the maulānā say: “My passion for writing was such that on summer nights I sat by moonlight and practiced till dawn.” He died at the age of 80 and was buried near the tomb of Sūlṭān-‘Ali. V. M.]

474 In Huart, p. 249, the date of Qāsim Shādīshāh’s death (1050/1640-41) is wrong. [According to H he was active in 950/1543. Holding his qalam with both hands he daily copied five couplets of poetry and used his penknife for corrections. A good pupil of his was Mīrzā Ḥūsayn Bākharzī (see below, p. 150). V. M.]

475 Nickname meaning “composer of riddles.”

476 The appellation Rūmī suggests that the father of Maulānā Jamshid came from Turkey.

477 [In E the author uses the form ustādī “my master(?)” V. M.]
Husayni sayyids of Mashhad. His father was a chandler. When he had acquired the method of writing and the taste for it, he went to the capital, Herat, to Maulānā Mir-'Ali and joined the ranks of his pupils. Under the Mir’s direction his writing improved and he became a calligrapher and an outstanding disciple of the Mir. All he wrote in those days was indistinguishable from the writing of the Mir. From Herat, having donned a kāpānāk ⁴⁷⁸ he walked to Balkh, and from Balkh to Bukhārā, where he again lived with the Mir, working in the library of ‘Abd al-'Azīz-khān, son of ‘Ubayd-khān Uzbek.⁴⁷⁹ He wrote well in (both) a minute and a large hand. After the death of ‘Abd al-'Azīz-khān, Aḥmad returned to Holy Mashhad. After some time he left Mashhad and went to the court of Shah Tahmāsp in (Persian) ‘Irāq and Āzarbāyjān. For some time he remained at the exalted camp, was admitted to the Paradise-like assemblies of the monarch and was treated with consideration. In those days Mir-Aḥmad wrote the missives which went to the Lord of Turkey (Rūm) and his men. After that he was allowed to retire to exalted Mashhad there (to continue) to write for the Shah. Sums were transferred (tahvil) which the late Aqa-Kamāli, vazir of Khorasan,⁴⁸⁰ should pay him out of the revenue of the royal Private Purse, and he also received a soyūrghāl (assignment of land) in Holy Mashhad. For about 15 [H: 10] years the Mir was happily and serenely engaged in the work of writing (inscriptions?) and producing calligraphic samples (qiṭ’a) in that God-protected (place). Many beardless youths of Mashhad and tulip-cheeked ones from that district and frontier region learned calligraphy in the service of the Mir. In those days the market of love and exercise was lively, and the thronging of lovers (‘āshiq-va ma’shūq) took place at the Mir’s house twice a week [H: on Tuesdays and Thursdays]. Like a flower garden, his house became a place of seeing and showing of lovers.

⁴⁷⁸ Kāpānāk is the coarse woolen cloak of a shepherd.
⁴⁷⁹ ʻAlam-ārā, p. 124, reports that Mir-Sayyid Ahmad’s calligraphic works were widely spread in India and Central Asia.
⁴⁸⁰ Aqa Kamāl al-dīn Zayn al-Ṭūbād is mentioned in the list of vazirs of Khorasan; see ʻAlam-ārā, p. 121.
The Mir had two distinguished pupils who were his favorites and to whom he clung with his heart; they were both natives of Mashhad and they achieved great success.

One of these was Maulānā Ḥasan-‘Alī, who after the death of the Mir went to Herat, stayed there for some time, then went to (Persian) ‘Irāq and thence set out on a pilgrimage to the exalted places of worship (in Mesopotamia). He spent three or four years in Baghdad, and then continued his journey to the two revered holy places (Mecca and Medina) and died in Hijaz in 1003/1592-93.

The other pupil was Maulānā ‘Ali-Ridā. Both he and Ḥasan-‘Alī wrote very well, with taste, and were recognized calligraphers in Khorasan. [H, p. 43: “After the death of his teacher he stayed on in Mashhad but soon died.”]

(While Mir Sayyid Aḥmad was working on behalf of the Private Purse department) Shah Tahmāsp, owing to reports of certain envious persons, withdrew his favor from him and requested him to repay the salaries and assignments of the (previous) years. With the aid of certain merchants, and by disposing of some of his property, the Mir paid up these sums and decided to leave for India. He was unable to realize this plan and in the end his affairs fell into confusion. In 964/1556, however, the late Mir Murād-khan of Māzandarān, who during a year’s stay in Mashhad for pious purposes, had established relations with the Mir, suddenly sent a certain person to invite him with (the promise) of a fixed salary. (The Mir) went to Māzandarān and spent several years in that province, but again returned to Mashhad to see his children. At that time the Shah, equal in glory to Jamshid, Ismā’īl II, ascended the throne. He sent someone after the Mir to bring him from Mashhad to the capital, Qazvin. There he showed him every favor and gave him a lodging over the gate of the Saʿādat-ābād garden. When Shah Ismā’īl departed this world, the Mir once again returned to

491 Tahvīlāt va soyūrghālāt-i sanavāt-rā īlāq numūd.
492 [H: “By that time Mir Murād died and the Mir returned to Mashhad.” According to H the Mir, while in Māzandarān, copied the Lawā‘ih of Jāmi.]
493 Ruled 984-986/1576-78.
Māzandarān and died there in the year 986/1578–79. The Mir had two good sons who also were learning calligraphy but did not take the Mir's place. The Mir composed very good poetry and at times performed acts of charity. The following verses belong to him:

In the nights of separation from you, O silver-bodied one, I burn. You are the candle of the feast of others, while I am burning.

Also by him (rubā'i):

Sometimes I grieve for the veil of my existence,
Because Fate (has set before me) hundreds of insoluble problems.
But suddenly I was caught in the net of a charmer,
And to all fetters I became indifferent.

Also by him (rubā'i):

When that silver-bodied one made an attempt on my heart,
He took away from me all at once peace and quiet;
He took away my heart and now attempts my very life.
Alas, there is no other remedy but death.

On two occasions when I went to Holy Mashhad, and studied there, I also exercised myself in writing under the Mir's guidance and was his pupil. The Mir deigned to write for this humble one an album (muraqqa'), several (samples of) single letters (mufridāt), and many specimens of calligraphy (qiṭ'a). Owing to the revolutions of Time, the events, the disturbances of pernicious Fate, and the annoyances of evil men, they have all been lost.

Maulānā Mālik, though known as a Daylami, was a native of Filvakūsh of Qazvin. At first he exercised himself under the guidance of his father, Maulānā Shahrā-mir, in thulth writing. He wrote naskh and the “six styles” excellently. No one could distinguish his unsigned writings from those of the masters of the “six.” Then he followed the course (swādi) of the nasta'liq and in this hand became famous in his own

484 Meter: ramal.
485 According to 'Alam-ārā, p. 124, Maulānā Mālik was a Daylamite of Qazvin.
486 Cf. p. 75. [The name sounds Daylamite.]
age, and acquired a greater reputation than anybody at any time. He distinguished himself in virtue and spiritual guidance (maulaviyat); most of his time he spent in study and disputation. At first he was in the royal camp on the staff of the late Qādī-yi Jihān Vakil. In those days the teacher of scholars, Khwāja Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd Shirāzī (see above, p. 77), who was one of the greatest and most profound scholars, was also on that exalted staff, and Maulānā Mālik studied under him [H: explanation of the Qur’ān, correct recitation and commentary]. After this, in accordance with the orders of the monarch, conqueror of climes (Shah Tahmāsp), he was appointed to the library of the Prince Sultan Ibrāhīm-mīrzā. In 964/1556–57 he accompanied the Mīrzā to Mashhad and spent a year and a half in that sacred place (rauda). In those days this humble one was learning the rudiments of calligraphy under his guidance. When the Lord of Sultāns, the spreader of the faith of the Imāms (Shah Tahmāsp), completed the building of the daulat-khāna in the capital of Qazvin, and a need was felt for inscriptions (kitāba), orders were issued that the prince, equal in dignity to Saturn, should send him to the court of the refuge of the Universe. On arrival in Qazvin, the Mir took up his duties. The inscriptions in the Saʿādat-ābād garden are in his writing, while the chronogram in the garden is by the late Qādī ‘Atā-Allāh Varāmīnī. It is excellently said and well turned:

O, how lofty is the beautiful castle of the great shah,
Whose threshold has reached Saturn.
When the shah ascends to its top, Reason says:
Moses has taken up residence on Mt. Sinai.
I have been thinking of the year of its completion—
And from one hemistich two dates have resulted.

487 Huart, p. 232: Maulānā Mālik belonged to the Naqshbandī order of darvishes.
488 [H adds: He studied most of the sciences, such as astronomy, grammar, logic, and rhetoric and was especially skilled in mathematics, namely in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music (the latter considered by Muslims as a part of mathematics). V.M.]
489 Government buildings.
490 Meter: mutaqārib. [Omitted in H.]
When the shah inquired about the date, I said:
"The loftiest Paradise" and "the best of dwellings." 491

The inscription on the portico (ayvdn) of Chihil-sutûn reproduces the ghazal of Khwâja Ḥâfîz:

At dawn the constellation of the Gemini presented (its) baldric
before me,492
Meaning—"I am the shah's slave and I take my oath."

Cupbearer, approach! because with the concurrence of propitious
fortune,
God has granted the fulfillment of my desire.
O shah! Even though I may raise the throne of virtue up to God's
dais,
I am still but a slave of this Majesty and a beggar at this door.
If you disbelieve this tale of this slave,
In its support I shall quote the words of Kamâl:
"Were I to tear my heart from you and take away my love,
"Before whom should I throw this love? Whither should I take
this heart?" 493

At the Shah's order he inscribed in excellent writing this
ghazal of Maulâna Ḥusâm al-dîn Maddâh on the portals of
Chihil-sutûn:

100.  We are the slaves of the King of Men 494
We recognize no other leader than 'Ali;
We are dust of the feet of Abû-Dhar Ghaffâr,495
Slaves of the faith of Salmân.
Concerning our loyalty and love for Ḥaydâr
Whatever you may say, we are a thousand times more.
Thirsty for the road of Karbâla and Najaf,
We are pilgrims of the Khorasanian Ka'ba.
All that can be said in praise of Murtâdâ,

491 The numerical value of both chronograms is 969, which corresponds to
A.D. 1561-62. According to Zayn al-'Abidin, the palace gardens in Qazvin were
begun on Shah Tahmâsp's personal plans in 950/1543-44. In Sharaf-nâma, vol. 2,
p. 196, this detail is missing.
492 Meter: muddâri'. [H completes the text of the ghazal which consists of
26 couplets; see the edition of M. Qâzvînî and Dr. Ghâîni, No. 329.]
493 [H: He wrote it in 966/1558.]
494 Meter: khâﬁf.
495 One of 'Ali's friends.
Is found in my laudation.

A book without his name
We do not read, even if our heads were to be lost,
For we let foxes flee from us!
For we know God's lion!
The enemies of 'Ali are like buds with bloody hearts,
We are like roses with laughing faces.
God be praised! Like Ḥūsām al-dīn
In beggary we are the beggars of a sultan.

The date is 966/1558-59. When the maulānā had completed the inscriptions, he was not allowed to return to Holy Mashhad, despite the constant representations which His Highness the Mirzā made to the exalted throne. Thus the maulānā continued his studies and discussions, his making of inscriptions and samples of calligraphy in Qazvin, till his death there in the year 969/1561-62. A contemporary scholar composed a chronogram of the maulānā’s death:

101. A hundred regrets! Mālik, unique in his age, has departed this world.\textsuperscript{496}

He was a calligrapher, a scholar, a dervish following the right path,  He was the Yāqūt of his age; the day when he left this world,  Has become the chronogram of his death: “Yāqūt of the century—Mālik.” \textsuperscript{497}

He composed good verse, mostly qasidas and ghazals. For the Prince Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrẓā he wrote the poem Guy- u-chougan, in which he gives an excellent explanation of the rules of playing polo. The following verses are by him:

In order to entice me you first pretended to be faithful,\textsuperscript{498}
But when you looted the base (“foot”) of my heart, you opened the hand of oppression.

By him also:
A stranger is not the lover of my beloved from the depth of the heart,\textsuperscript{499}
He only shows himself in love to torture me.

\textsuperscript{496} Meter: \textit{muḍārī}.  
\textsuperscript{497} The numerical value of the chronogram is 968, or A.D. 1560-61. This date differs by one year from Qāḍī Ahmad’s indication. Huart’s date is 960/1553, \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 238.  
\textsuperscript{498} Meter: \textit{muḍārī}.  
\textsuperscript{499} Meter: \textit{ramal}.  
By him also:

My whole body is covered with bruises from the stones thrown
by her fingers,\textsuperscript{500}
My body is the palm tree of sorrow, and these are its flowers.

This fragment, too, is by him:

Mālik! It is better for you not to seek a friend,\textsuperscript{501}
For at times you will be annoyed by his moods (\textit{nīk-u bad}).
Seeing neither joy nor peace from him,
You will be sharing with him his sorrow and grief.

The maulānā began to copy the Qur’ān in \textit{nasta’liq}, but has
not been fortunate enough to complete it; perhaps he has\textsuperscript{502}
o divine grace. Most of his friends were anxious (to see it)
but that is how it happened. Maulānā Mālik left one son,
102. Maulānā Ibrāhīm by name. He excelled in his studies and in
poetry, his pen name being Ṣaghīrī. After Mīrzā Makhduām
Sharīfī\textsuperscript{503} fled to Turkey (Rūm), he, too, fled thither and died
there.

Mīr Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad is the son of Mīrzā Sharaf-i
Jahān. He is one of the Sayfī sayyids sprung from Ḥasan and
resident in the capital, Qazvin. His virtues and perfections in
every kind of art, in addition to poetry, are greater than can
be described. His noble name is mentioned in this book because
of his mastery in calligraphy. He exercised himself in the
\textit{nasta’liq} hand and studied it under Maulānā Mālik, and within
a short time made great progress and became famous under
all skies. He has no equal in the good taste of his epistolary
art and in the elegance of his expression. For over 30 years
he has been engaged in writing an anthology of poets (\textit{Tadh-
kirat al-shu’arā}). Let us hope that he will be successful in
completing this work, in the form in which his bountiful
thought has planned it.\textsuperscript{504}

\textsuperscript{500} Meter: hazaj.
\textsuperscript{501} Meter: ramal.
\textsuperscript{502} [Both \textit{M} and \textit{E} give "has," whereas \textit{H} uses "had," and for both the
illustrative verses refers to the author's \textit{Tadhkirat al-shu'arā}.]
\textsuperscript{503} Mīrzā Makhduām Sharīfī was one of the intimates of Puri-khān khānum
and, like this Princess, was in favor of the reunion of the shī‘a with the sunna.
During the short reign of Ismā‘īl II he was one of the two sadrs (\textit{‘Alam-ārā},
p. 110). [\textit{H} omits the mention of the son.]
\textsuperscript{504} \textit{‘Alam-ārā}, p. 125, confirms Qāḍī Ahmad's praise of Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥam-
[H carries the events much farther. It explains that this Tadhkirat al-shu'arā had been planned after the homonymous work of Daulat-shāh. After 40 years' work the copy remained unfinished. For 10 years Ṣadr al-din Muḥammad received subventions for its completion from Shah ‘Abbās. Finally he despaired of this task and asked Qādī Aḥmad to lend him his own Tadhkirat al-shu'arā to publish it “in this disguise.” He induced the Shah to request the copy from Qādī Aḥmad but the latter excused himself by saying that it was not ready. Then Ṣadr al-din had recourse to slander and said that 45 years before, when Qādī Aḥmad’s father was vazir in Mashhad he took a book from the library and it remained in Qādī Aḥmad’s possession. In order to complete his Tadhkira Ṣadr al-din wanted this book. “No Qazvinī has ever uttered such nonsense.” 505 By this intrigue the mind of the Shah was poisoned and he dismissed Qādī Aḥmad, who returned to Qum. When in the month of Ṣafar His Eminence the Ṣadr Mīr Abul-Wāli Injū came to Qum, Qādī Aḥmad swore to him on the Qur’ān that Ṣadr al-din’s claim was a sheer lie and invoked the judgment of Imām Rīḍā and his sister (buried in Qum). In the same Ṣafar, Ṣadr al-din left Isfahan for Khorasan but suddenly died in Rabi’ al-awwal 1007/October 1598 (Turkish Tonguz-yīl). Thus the divine vengeance operated barely a month after Qādī Aḥmad took his oath. Verse: “The oppressor thought that he (could) do us harm. The harm missed us and remained on his neck.” Amir Abū-Ṭālib of Kāshān wrote a long poem on his death containing a double chronogram: maljā’-i dunyā va malādhi anās = 1008; ṣadri jihānī va jihānī sharaf = 1008 (A.D. 1599). “To record the whole story would require volumes, but some details will be found in my Tadhkirat al-shu’arā.” As to Ṣadr al-din’s Tadhkira, it fell into the hands of the Shah who selected seven verses from it. V. M.]

MAULĀNA ĐUST-MUHAMMAD of the town of Herat 506 is

mad ibn Mīrzā-Sharaf, brother of Rūḥullāh, adding that his anthology remained unfinished.

505 The Qazvinis have often been made a laughing stock, even by their countrymen, such as ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī.

a pupil of Maulānā Qāsim Shādishāh. He made a copy of the Qurʾān in nastaʿliq. The late Shah, equal in dignity to Jamshīd, was well disposed toward him. He dismissed all the scribes from the kitāb-khana, except him. He also taught writing to the Princess Sultānim.

**Maulānā Rustam-ʿAlī**, the nephew (sister’s son) of Maulānā Behzād the painter, wrote excellently. He was employed at first in the kitāb-khana of Prince Bahrām-mīrzā, and in his old age in the library of the latter’s son, Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā in Holy Mashhad. There he died in the year 970/1562–63 and was buried beside the tomb (mazār) of the late Maulānā Sultān-ʿAlī Mashhādī.

**Maulānā Muḥibb-ʿAlī**, the favorite son of Maulānā Rustam-ʿAlī, wrote well in both a large and a minute hand and was the librarian and intimate of Prince Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā. He wrote under the pen name of Ibrāhīmī. After 20 [H: eight] years of service at the court of His Highness, Muḥibb-ʿAlī was dismissed from the service and summoned to Qazvin. After a certain time he obtained leave to visit the holy places (of Mesopotamia), equal in dignity to the “farthermost lote-tree of Paradise.” Soon after his return he died in Qazvin. His remains were taken to Mashhad and buried beside his father Maulānā Rustam-ʿAlī. On the date of his death a scholar composed the following qīṭʿa which the late master Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad wrote on his tombstone:

Alas! Mullā Muḥibb-ʿAlī has departed this perishable world.
O God, let his place be in the center of Paradise!
As he was respected and honored by men of this world,
O God, let him be similarly honored in the other world.

507 [According to the posthumous title (shāh-i Jam-jāh, Rīḍwān bargāh), the reference must be to Shah Ismāʿīl II (?). V. M.]
508 Sister of Shah Tahmāsp, Mihīn-bānū, nicknamed “Sultānim,” died in 969/1561–62; see Sharaj-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 217–218. Two calligraphic samples in nastaʿliq written by her hand are included in the well-known album of Bahrām-mīrzā; see Sakisian, loc. cit., pp. 118–120. [H praises Dūst-Muhammad’s mastery in painting and his knowledge of music.]
509 [H explains that, not content with his duties, he was trying to acquire influence upon his lord.]
I asked Reason for the date of his death and It replied:
“May the Imām be the intercessor for Mulla Muḥibb-‘Ali.”

Ḥāfīz Bābā Jān, too, wrote excellently and played the lute well. Some regarded him as a rival of the “earlier” late Maulānā ‘Abd al-Qādir. He also worked at inlaying with gold. His brother Ḥāfīz Qāsim-the-Singer had no peer in the art of singing. Their father, Ḥāfīz ‘Abd al-‘Ali Turbatī, was in the service of the late sovereign Ḥusayn-mīrzā Bāyyqara. From the pleasant borough of Turbat they came to (Persian) ‘Īraq and settled there.

[H inserts here Mīrzā Maḥmūd, son of Mīrzā Qabāhat, surgeon of (the Shah’s) Private Department (khāṣṣa). He had been a sufraji (“table-decker”) of the late Shah Ni’matullāh Tāqi (* Thānī?). The latter employed everybody on his staff on the preparation of an album. Consequently Mīrzā Muḥammad (*Maḥmūd?) also took to writing specimens of calligraphy and his master liked his writing very much. Maulānā Mālik says that one day he paid a visit to Shāh-Ni’matullāh to show him his own specimens, but Shāh-Ni’matullāh produced the writings of Mīrzā Muḥammad and claimed that he wrote better than Sulṭān-‘Ali or Maulānā Mīr ‘Ali. Mau-

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510 The doubling of the letters in the words “mullā” and “Muḥibb” is disregarded and thus the numerical value is 973/1565–66. [In H the date is repeated in plain script.]

511 ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 124, mentions him among the masters of nasta‘liq, and Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 82, refers to his skill in composing riddles.


513 Zar-nishānī. Tuhfa-yi Sāmī: Bābā Jān worked on bone (ivory?).

514 In M the reference to Qāsim seems to be missing.

515 [This Ni’matullāh II (?), who is given the princely title of naṣwāb, was a descendant in the fifth generation of the famous saint Shāh-Ni’matullāh Vālt, who died a centenarian in 1431. See Jāmi‘i mufidī, Brit. Mus. Or. 210, f.42a, and Āyatī, Tārikh-i Yazd, 1317/1938. Toward 1451 Na’imullāh Ni’matullāh II married a daughter of Sultan Jihān-shāh Qara-qoyunlu; see BSOAS, vol. 16, pt. 2 (1954), p. 275. According to the Rījal-i Ḥabīb al-siyār, 1324/1945, p. 246, he died in 900/1494. (The date is omitted in the lithographed Ḥabīb al-siyār, vol. 3, pt. 4, p. 390.) Later, members of the family had marriage links with the Safavids and even were regarded as possible candidates to the throne. Therefore, Shah Ṣafī blinded most of them in 1631–32. See Khuld-i barin, in Dhayl-i Tārikh-i ‘Ālam-ārā, ed. Khwānsārī, 1317/1938, p. 98. V.M.]
Iznā Mālik replied: “You also write better than I but cannot write better then they.” This is the boy about whom a wit said:

Khwāja Qabāḥat constantly claims to be intelligent
Before well-spoken people (arbāb-i fasāḥat).
But his catamite (hīz) son, without intelligence,
Gives (freely) nates suas \[516\] and does not understand what guilt (qabāḥat) is.]

Mīr Ṣanʿī Nīshāpurī, although a poet in his day, wrote nastaʿliq excellently and with taste.\[517\] His verses are known and copies of his collection of poetry (divān) are found everywhere. The following ghazal is by him:

The night of grief has greatly worn us out.\[518\]
Where is the morning? Our mirror has become rusty!
Today my smiling bud did not burst open for me.
It seems that her heart has turned away from me in my distress.
Love for my moon has kindled the flame in the hearts of the rivals.
I am consumed by the flame which has sprung up from a stone (flint?).

\[519\]

(Its?) has acquired the property of nightingales trilling in the night.

Mīr Ṣanʿī lived like a darvish and ascetic and was distinguished for his equanimity and subtlety of mind. In conversation and address he had no equals. He finally went from Khorasan to (Persian) 'Irāq and thence traveled to Āzarbāyjān and settled down in Tabriz. He became enamored \[520\] of the late Mīrzdā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, nephew of Mīr Rāstī, \[105\] muḥtasib.\[521\] In this love he reached the stage of burning passion (sūz-u gudāz). Like a madman he wandered in Tabriz and like a moth he was consumed in the fire of his love for

\[516\] Kān for kān.
\[517\] Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 48, also praises his calligraphic talents.
\[518\] Meter: hazaj.
\[519\] The first hemistich is missing both in M and E. In H the author just mentions the name of Ṣayfī (*Ṣanʿī) and for details refers the reader to his Tadhkirat al-shuʿārā.
\[520\] 'Ashiq shuda.
\[521\] On Mīrzā Jaʿfar, muḥtasib al-mamālik, son of Mīr Rāstī Ṭabāṭabā, see Ḥlam-ārā, p. 111.
the young man. Within a short time the bird of his soul flew away and flitted to another world. He was buried opposite the doors of the house of the young man, below the building of Jihānshāh.522 Wits of those days composed this chronogram which they had engraved on the stones of the minaret:

Mir Šān‘ī was a table set with salty meanings,523
The light of love shone from him constantly
And amorous gallantry distinguished his manners.
His abode was on the Sinai of love!
The date of his death, in two different ways,
I have calculated from the expressions “passion for poetry” and “trouble of love.” 524

Mīr-Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bākharzī,526 one of the pupils of Maulānā Qāsim Shādīshāh, came from renowned sayyids of Zara in Bākharz. He was a descendant of Mir Šān‘ī,526 who at one time acted as vazir to the late sovereign, Sultān-Ḥusayn-mīrzā. His writing is very mature and tasteful, and he wrote more beautifully than the majority of the scribes of Khorasan. For some years, in the days of the late Shah Tahmāsp, he lived in the capital, Qazvin, where day and night he enjoyed the company of the pillars of the victorious state, with whom he had friendly relations, and spent his time very pleasantly. After the death of the Shah, he made up his mind to return to Khorasan and at his home became engaged in agriculture as a landlord (arbāb). During the Khorasan in-

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522 According to ‘Ālām-ārā, p. 111, Mīrzā ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn, son of Mir Fasih, on his mother’s side was a descendant of Jihān-shāh of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty (841-872/1437-67). He lived in the neighborhood of the chapel (buq‘a) called Jihānshāhiya or Muṣaffariya, of which he was the curator (mutavalli). [The buq‘a in question may be the addition to the famous Blue Mosque built by Ya‘qūb Aq-qoyunlu, husband of Jihān-shāh’s daughter; see Dānishmandān-i Azarbāyjān, p. 121.]

523 Meter: ramāl.

524 “Passion for poetry” gives 976/1568–69. In the second chronogram, instead of the repetition Tūr-i ‘ishq, one should read: *shūr-i ‘ishq “trouble of love” to obtain the same value.

525 Bākharz is a district of Khorasan lying to the west of the loop which the Heri-rūd makes there.

526 On the enmity between Mir ‘Alī Shir and Mir Šān‘ī and the latter’s disgrace, see Barthold, Mīr ‘Ālī Shir, p. 162.
terregnum he was ruined and died in those very days. Mir Muhammad was unselfish (az khud guzashta), well-born, self-effacing (fani), and sociable. He also wrote good verse, of which the following are samples:

Welcome is she for love of whom my heart has set fire to my shirt,\textsuperscript{527}
So that the thorns of blame will no longer be able to tear the hem of my robe.

Also by him:

The shaykh, who knows not the pleasure of drunkenness, forbids us (to drink),\textsuperscript{528}
O, if he were to drink but a mouthful, to acquire hāl ("ecstasy").

Also by him:

O Lord, for how long the grief of imposed remoteness?\textsuperscript{529}
For how long patience with the pain and grief of separation?
We are far from you and near to dying,
But as we are nearly dying, until when remoteness?

[H inserts here Mir Khalilullāh, nephew of Mir Muḥammad-Ḥusayn, who was a pupil of Mir Sayyid ʻAbbās Mashhadi. When the Shah (ʻAbbās) was in Mashhad he gave him some lessons (sar-i khatti) and together with the Shah went to Qazvin. After a few days spent in Kāshān he went to the Deccan where (under Ibrāhīm ʻAdil-shāh II) he enjoyed great respect. When the Shah was in Isfahan, in fulfillment of a vow (*nadhr?), Khalilullāh sent him as a present 200 tumans’ worth of Indian jewels (nafa’is).

Mir Maḥmūd ʻArīḍī belonged to the family of the ʻArīḍī sayyids of true descent, of the town of the Faithful, Sabzavār, and was one of the notables of that principality (mulk?). He wrote very pleasantly but, as he suffered no want, he worked little. He was a member of the assembly of the lord of sultans, the most just of khāqāns (Shah Tahmāsp) and enjoyed full intimacy.

\textsuperscript{527} Meter: four-footed hazaj.
\textsuperscript{528} Meter: ramal.
\textsuperscript{529} Rubā’i.
HAfiz Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn Vāhid al-‘Ayn (the “One-eyed”) was a native of Herat. He wrote good nasta’liq, combined (jamʿ) the “six” scripts, and was an expert in diluting lapis lazuli. From Khorasan he came to (Persian) ‘Irāq where he lived for some time in Qum. He was a good reader of the Qurʾān. From Qum he went to the royal camp (court).

He was offered the post of reader of the Qurʾān but replied: “Reading does not become me.” He was a humble darvish. Shah Tahmāsp bestowed upon him a tent, a horse, a camel, harness and equipment, but he did not accept them and was not tempted. He dressed in felt and traveled on foot. He possessed great experience in the science of the philosopher’s stone. From ‘Irāq he returned again to Khorasan and died in Mashhad in 964/1556-57.

Maulānā Salīm Katīb was the son of a slave-servant (ghulām) of the late Ṣadr Amīr Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad Astarābādī. His father was an Abyssinian. As he was gifted by nature, he progressed in the art of writing and became a calligrapher, having no rival in the art of colored script (rang-nīvīsī?). In writing epitaphs on tombstones he was a second Sultān-ʿAlī. He studied writing under Maulānā Shāh-Maḥmūd Zarīn-qalam. He was good at writing samples (qīṭ’a) and was an incomparable scribe. In calligraphy he was considered as an equal to Sultān-Muḥammad Nūr. He lived all the time in Holy Mashhad, and died there.

O God, throw out of this world some of those “who do not accept,”

Send some weird ghouls toward the desert of nonexistence.

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531 [H gives 974/1566-67, as in Huart, p. 232.]

532 Mir Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad Astarābādī was appointed ṣadr in the beginning of Shah Tahmāsp’s reign in 930/1523-24; see *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 169; Zayn al-ʿĀbidin, 252b, quotes his name as Muḥammad; Huart, p. 234, has mistakenly Haydar.

533 Huart, p. 234: the date of Salīm Katīb’s death, 990/1582.

534 Meter: ramal.
MAULĀNA SHĀḤ-MĀḤMUṬ KĀṬĪB was his pupil. He was a native of Mashhad [H: and son of a barber]. His writing was not inferior to that of his teacher Maulānā Salim. He also composed poetry, under the pen name Vāqīfī.535

The following ghazal belongs to him:

You seem to like torturing my soul, O moon! 536
And you have shown constancy (in it), may God bless you.

The dog-natured rival, in the desert of separation,
Has been killed miserably, God be praised!

Desires have formed a knot in my heart
Because of those long tresses and the shortness of life.

None has heard from the melancholy hermit
Anything but inconsistent talk.

When shall I, like Vāqīfī, become ashamed
Of beggary at the door of the hearts acquainted (with my pain).

He was addicted to opium and died in Holy Mashhad.

MAULĀNA MUḤAMMAD-ĀMĪN, a native of Mashhad, was a pupil of Maulānā Shāh-Muḥammad.537 His calligraphic gifts developed very quickly. Before down appeared on his cheeks he was very handsome and elegant. After becoming a calligrapher he went to India.

MAULĀNA ‘AṬSHĪ was an acknowledged scribe of Herat. He worked well and wrote in the style of Maulānā Sulṭān Muḥammad-Nūr. From Herat he came to Mashhad and was employed in the library of the Prince Sulṭān Ibrāḥīm-mīrzā. He was in receipt of a (regular) salary and rich presents. ‘Aṭshī was addicted to opium. He wrote good verse. The following ghazal is by him:

Fate in its tyranny did not admit me to your feast.538
I tried my best but luck did not come to my rescue.

As there were many who, like me, sobbed and wept at his door,
He paid no attention to the sighs and tears of this weary (adorer).

Despite the humiliation which the heart has suffered from thorns in the desert of reproaches,
And even for this price, he did not honor me with the kingdom of the two worlds.

535 HUART, p. 238: “Vasiki.”
536 METER: hazaj. H quotes a different rubā’ī.
537 MENTIONED in ‘ALAM-ĀRĀ, p. 126.
538 METER: ramal. [H gives only the first verse.]
109. I said to him: “Let my heart obtain a meeting with you, and not (languish) in nightly vigil,”
But he was carried off by the sleep of unconcern and did not waken.
King-Love-for-him (Sultān-i ‘ishq-ash?) has given us (some) taste of freedom,
He has given us no delight better than that of captivity.
From the time when you, ‘Ayshi, have become drunk from the cup of love for that sun,
The cupbearer of the time did not let you come to your senses from that nectar.

He died in Holy Mashhad.539

Maulānā ‘Abd al-Hādī Qazvīnī540 was the brother-in-law and pupil of Maulānā Mālik. He was an eager student,
had no rival in mathematics and music, and composed songs (tasnīfāt?). He wrote excellently in a minute and a large hand, cutting his qalam at a slant. He was a recognized poet and the following ghazal is by him:

You told me that you felt no such love as I do,541
And no such captivity as mine.
How can you understand the sorrow of those consumed by love,
While on your heart you have no burning brand of love?
How will you accept the burden of my heart,
If in your heart you feel no burden as I do?
Your only occupation is to molest me.
When I die in fidelity to you it will become apparent
That you have no such faithful friend as Hādī.

Composers [H: in Qazvin] set this ghazal to the Nishāpūrak mode.542 In music the maulānā had perfect skill and was a good composer (muṣannif). A divān of his ghazals containing some 2,000 verses is extant. He died in Qazvin in 976/1568-69.

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539 According to Huart, p. 220: ‘Ayshi, employed by Prince Ibrāhīm, was a native of Tabriz and a pupil of Qāsim Shādīshāh.
540 [This biography is partly damaged both in M and E. We have restored it in accordance with the version given in H. V.M.]
541 Meter: hazaj.
542 [Muṣannifān [H: dar Qazvin] in ghazal-rā dar Nishāpūrak naqsh bastand. The eminent musicologist Dr. H. Farmer writes to me that the scale of Nishāpūrak is given in al-Lādhiqī’s Fatḥiya (sixteenth century). V.M.]
His Highness the late Prince **Abul-Fath Sultán-Ibráhím Mirzá** was one of the recognized calligraphers of Iran. He took instruction from Maulānā Mālik for a few days, but as

His Highness, equal in nature to Mercury, possessed intelligence and innate talent, he imitated the writings and specimens of Maulānā Mir-‘Ali. He made good progress in a short time, became a writer of *qiṭ’as* and wrote very attractively, excellently, and with taste in a large hand, and his *qiṭ’as* were taken to all corners of the universe. Sometimes he deigned to write in a fine script, doing it with great elegance and freshness.

His handwriting is heart-ravishing like the down of beauties; it robs the heart of peace and the soul of patience;
His pen is the wayward wizard
Who throws the tresses of the night over the face of the day.
When he became the worker of miracles of wizardry,
He untied the knot of every entanglement.

This humble one has not seen anyone who was so enthusiastic about or so great an admirer of the writings of Maulānā Mir-‘Ali as the Prince, equal in dignity to Mars; none collected more specimens of Mir-‘Ali’s script than he. The opinion of this wretched slave of the late Prince is that without exaggeration half of what Maulānā Mir-‘Ali wrote in any class and style during his lifetime was kept in the well-ordered kitāb-ḵāna of that light of the eyes of the world and its inhabitants. Several albums (*muraqqā*) which Maulānā Mir-‘Ali wrote and left to his heirs to provide for his last day and a journey to Hijaz, together with some samples, manuscripts and books, fell to the lot of the Prince.

To write down and enumerate the natural gifts and perfections of that Prince of praiseworthy qualities is like crossing a boundless sea! It cannot be the work of any one chronicler! Truly, if Saḥbān came to life, or Ibn-Muqla were resuscitated...

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543 [The long paragraph on Prince Ibrāhīm appears in *H*, pp. 51–58, in a thoroughly revised form, but the alterations consist mostly of amplified metaphors. The additional facts have been summed up in our notes. V. M.]

544 Meter: *mutaqārib*.

545 Literally: “slave bought for money.”

546 Famous Arab poet.
tated, even they would be unable to cope with the enumeration of a tenth of a tenth part of them. Should someone undertake and have the power and opportunity for such a task, volumes would be needed for such matters. However, as this old servant, who is a bondsman and son of a bondsman of that assembly of virtues, has grown up as bondsman of that casket of pearls of sultanate and talents, he has recorded a little out of the multiplicity of his evidence while using abridgment and epitome, in the fifth^\textsuperscript{547} volume of the book *Majma‘ al-shu‘arā\textsuperscript{a} wa manāqib al-fudalā\textsuperscript{a}*. Also in the fifth volume of the *Khulāṣat al-tawārikh*, written on the events of the Safavid sultans and the family which traces its descent from Murtadā ‘Alī, this slave has written of the magnificence and the joyful and pleasant days of the Prince equal in rank to the Pleiades. Since the vault of the sky has opened its eye, never has it seen anyone of such universality, capacity, talent, and humanity as that angelic being. An enumeration of the virtues and talents, of the industry (? and perfections of the late prince equal in dignity to Jamshid, is a task from which one would prefer to be excused, for they are numberless and infinite. He embodied all knowledge, metaphysical and traditional; he embraced both the fundamentals and the derivatives. He was assiduous in the reading of the words of the All-knowing. He learned the 10 manners of reading and the art of recitation of the Qor’ān from the late Shaykh Fakhr al-din Tāyī and the latter’s father Shaykh Ḥasan ‘Alī. He studied biographies (of pious Muslims) and the art of checking the books of traditions, going back to the Prophet and the Imāms. He was acquainted with history and genealogies. With regard to philosophical points, both natural, theological, and medical, he was the Canon^\textsuperscript{548} of the time and the cause of *Healing*^\textsuperscript{548} for all men. In mathematics—cosmographic, numeric, astronomic, and musical—he

\textsuperscript{547} An obvious clerical error; the words “fifth volume” refer to the *Khulāṣat al-tawārikh*. [In the revised version of II the author refers to the Conclusion (khāṭima) of his *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā* (sic) and to the sixth volume of his *Khulāṣat al-tawārikh*. This suggests that the plan of these books had been reconsidered. V.M.]

\textsuperscript{548} Titles of Avicenna’s medical works.
was an artist, a master and a composer. Melodies and songs (naqsh-hā va-ṣaut-hā) of that sun-visaged Prince are on the tongues of all contemporaries and known throughout the inhabited quarter of the world. In poetry and poetics he was sweet-tongued and clear in presentation. In view of his kingly position (shāhi) he adopted the pen name of Jāhi ("glorious") and composed both Persian and Turki verses, as he also improvised sweet popular songs (varsaq). He was an expert at metrics and rhymes and his dīvān is extant containing about 5,000 verses of every kind. The following verses were written by way of benison (tayammun):

The malice of time has not taken pity on me,
And finally threw me far away from the dust of that threshold.
That moon which is knowingly (dānista) kind to captives
I know not whether she knows or not about my circumstances.

And this:
I came with a hundred hopes, but know not when again
Our reunion will occur, O you whose love is insufficient.

And this:
After a thousand nights, when you have reached her feast,
Jāhi! profit by the occasion and take not your eyes off her!

And this:
Jāhi! Perhaps with the blessings of the martyr of Tūs
Your feet will get out of the mud (clay) of Sabzavār.

And this:
Do not groan at the cruelty, Jāhi, impatience is wrong,
God may return clemency to the heart of our sovereign.

[Varsaq is a special kind of popular Turkish songs and tunes, connected with the tribe of that name. Cf. Tadhkirat al-mulāk, p. 194. V.M.]
[Qādī Aḥmad collected some 3,000 of them and wrote a preface to them.]

\[\text{Meter: } mūḏārī'.\]
\[\text{Meter: } ramaļ.\]
\[\text{Meter: } mūḏārī'.\]
\[\text{Meter: } mūḏārī'.\] [On Prince Ibrāhīm's governorship in Sabzavār, see below, p. 163.]
\[\text{Meter: } ramaļ.\]
And this:

Till when will you repeat that you will visit me in my sleep at night,\footnote{\text{556} Meter: \text{ramal}.} How long will you be putting to sleep my eyes which keep awake?

And this \textit{rubā‘i}:

That coquette is my mortal enemy, as yet,\footnote{\text{557} [\text{H} quotes only this quatrain as a specimen of the Prince's poetry.]} Without love, like evanescent luck, as yet, Though I can no more sustain the radiance of her appearance. With regard to me she remains in the state of lan tarānī,\footnote{\text{558} ["You will not see me," said God to Moses, \textit{Qurān}, VII, 139. V.M.]} as yet.

No sultan or khāqān possessed a more flourishing \textit{kitāb-khānā} than that powerful Prince. The majority of excellent calligraphers, painters, artists, gilders, and bookbinders were employed there. Of the poets, Khwāja Ḥusayn Thanā‘ī Mashhādi, "the second Khāqānī"\footnote{\text{559} Twelfth-century poet. According to \textit{ʿAlam-ārā}, p. 131, Thanā‘ī was a native of Khorasan.} was in the service of that Prince. Some 3,000 volumes and treatises were collected in the library of that light of every eye. In the composition of riddles and in tasteful epistolary style he was peerless; secretaries, similar to Mercury himself, were like schoolchildren beside him. All his noble conversations were witty and lofty and his sayings elegant. By nature he was of pleasant disposition and inclined to gaiety and joy. Whatever words appeared in his pearl-scattering speech were (worth?) being registered and taken down. (For example), several poets in Mashhad, namely, Maulānā Luṭfī Iṣfahānī (or Turbādhangānī), Maulānā Maylī Ḥarāvī, Maulānā Sharaf Ḥakkkāk, Maulānā Ḥarī,\footnote{\text{Tuhfā-yi Sāmī, p. 153, mentions a poet Ḥarī, but his identity with our poet is uncertain.} Maulānā Kamāl Shuṣhtārī, Maulānā Shu‘ūrī Nishāpūrī, and Khwāja Aḥmad Mīrāk Sūfī Māshhādī one day addressed a petition to His Highness the Mīrzā, the nonpareil of his age, asking his leave to take with them Maulānā Qāsim Qānnūnī for a stroll. In conversation His Highness the Mīrzā used to call Maulānā

\footnote{\text{556} Meter: \text{ramal}.}
Qānūnī "my soul," and in his reply to the missive he traced with his blessed pen the following resolution: "My soul has been pleased (lutfi) to accompany the poets on whatever stroll they undertake (meyli). He will regard it as an honor (sharaf) and would not utter a single word (harfi) of excuse and will not call it 'perfect madness (kamāl-i bi-shu‘ūrī)' or say that 'this is far from the behavior of a Šūfī (šūfīgarī).'

In poetical criticism, in solving fine points of versification, in the knowledge of subtle hints, in sufism and the ars amandi he was not second to Khāqānī, Maulānā Ma‘nāvī, 561 and Mīr Khusrau Dihlāvi. Among the latest poets he greatly appreciated the verses of Maulānā Lisānī Shīrāzī, 562 calling the maulānā "father" and referring to him as bābā. He selected 15,000 verses from the complete collection of Bābā-Lisānī, never parted with that complete divān and, in his inspired voice, constantly recited the verses which suited his disposition:

Never have I been (a saddening atom of) dust on the mind of a single ant, 563
Such sultanate is equal to the kingship of Solomon.

In courage and valor he was an heir to Murtadā Ḥādī and in manliness and impetuosity to Ḥaydār, and he possessed the signs of Ismā‘īl’s sternness. 564 By his sketches (in black) and his paintings he called to mind the image of Mānī and the master Behzād Harāvī. He found no equal in the game of polo, in qabaq-rzc’mg, 565 and archery.

When in a game of polo he galloped in the Turkish fashion, 566 (You would say?) that he was playing with the ball of a foe’s head.

With a musket he attained such skill that the bullet strove toward no other place but the target. In swimming he moved like a ship without anchor, he disported himself on the surface

561 I.e., Jalāl al-din Rūmī, the famous thirteenth-century poet.
562 According to Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 104, this poet died in 942/1535-36. The prince could not have known him in his lifetime.
563 Meter: mudārī‘.
564 Shah Ismā‘īl I and his father Ḥaydar are meant here.
566 Meter: mutaqārib.
of the waters like a fish, and in this position would shoot (from a bow) and swing a rope in the hand. Of (musical) instruments he played on the \textit{tanbûr} extremely well. He played chess without looking at the board. He had a skillful hand in the culinary art, in making European delicacies (\textit{tanaqqułat}), in baking “Georgian bread,” in preparing condiments (\textit{juvâri-shât}), various sweetmeats, preserves, and divers dishes. He was a master in other arts, too, such as carving \textit{zihgîrs},\footnote{The ring which archers wear on the thumb of the right hand.} shaping arrows, engraving, carving spoons, sewing gloves (for hawk hunting), making \textit{tanbûrs}, binding books, covering paper with gilding and gold sprinkling, making \textit{‘aks},\footnote{Zakhoder takes it as covering the margins with light outlines of flowers and animals. See below, p. 193.} blending colors (\textit{rang-amîzi}), and working in gold. Whatever was the matter in which his noble nature and lofty mind took interest, he acquired in it the status of initiator (\textit{wâdi’}). No occupation, trade, or art escaped his attention. Masters of all kinds of arts becoming pupils under him seemed to receive from him and acquire visible confidence (in their profession). Regardless of his royal blood and exalted station, he never sought discreditable renown or glory and avoided such occasions. He was constantly in the company of paupers, hermits, and dervishes, considering such behavior superior to royal pomp and circumstance. And he was better in love affairs (\textit{‘ishq-u ‘âshiqa}) than in any of these occupations, and most of his noble time he spent on love for the young and on yearning for the tulip-visaged ones, as he himself has pointed out:

\begin{quote}
Majnûn was a vagrant and the Mountain-digger (Farhâd) was hard-hearted,\footnote{Meter: ramal.}

It is Jâhi who has laid down in the world the usage and rules of passion.
\end{quote}

He did full justice to amusement, gaiety, merriment, cheerfulness, and fullness of life. He passed his time with dignity. In his excellent character, purity of words and expressions, in compassion and clemency for all living beings he resembled...
his great ancestors and noble forebears. In moments of anger, ill temper, and irritation no rude words or insulting speech were heard from the merciful tongue of that luminary of the Zodiac of the caliphate. Whoever had served that essence of the family of Murtaḍā 'Ali, that paragon of the lineage of Muṣṭafā [H: Ṣafavi lineage], and observed the circumstances, qualities, morals, and manners of that Prince equal in dignity to Saturn, after his murder and the offence which, owing to the disorder of fickle Fate, befell that essence of innocent (martyrs), no longer looked into the face of gladness.570 (At that time) the noble age of that most exalted Prince was 34 years, corresponding to the life span of his royal grand-sire, the glorious monarch of eternal memory, Sulṭān Shah Ismā’īl 571—may God enlighten his plea (at the Last Judgment)! In the flower of his youth and early life, in the fullness of life and happiness, he departed this perishable world for the palace of eternity, because of the will of heaven and the evil eye of the revolving vault of the skies.572

O Lord! We grieve about his life,573
And constantly mourn him with pain,
We express the aching of the heart and our desperate sorrow for him,
And pine for his goodness and youth.

It was during a few unsettled days, after he had reached the age of reason, that he acquired all these perfections, divine favors, and boundless benefactions. At the time of the battling (qīṭāl) of the princes, each of whom was a constellation in the sky of sultanate and caliphate, this rubā‘ī, reflecting the feel-

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570 [Here H, p. 57, line 9, adds that the Prince abstained from drinking wine, “which is the prerogative (lāzima) of kingship and sultanate,” but sometimes indulged (mudāwamat) in bris (?), or took fuluniya and tiryāk (opium). Fuluniya, after a strong dose of which Shah Ismā’īl II was found dead, is said to be a mixture of opium and bang (a preparation of cannabis indica). V. M.]
571 According to 'Ālam-ārā, Shah Ismā’īl died at the age of 37, and according to Tuhfa-yi Sāmi, pp. 38–39, at the age of 38.
573 [Before this rubā‘ī H, p. 57, line 10, refers the reader to vol. 4 of the author’s Khulāṣat al-tavārikh and adds more poetical quotations.]
ings of the moment, became current on the lips in the days of worries and at the time of migration.  

O heart! As your abode is in this old palace,
Do not sit carefree, for it is the place through which the torrent of nonexistence rushes.
One by one all the companions have departed,
Hardly have you closed your eyes, when it is already our turn.

The horrible event and fateful (tragedy) occurred in the town of troubles, Qazvin, at the end of Sunday, the fifth of the month of Dhul-Ḥijja 984/23 February 1577. The daughter of that much-favored Prince, Gauhar-shād begum, had the blessed remains of this pearl of the sea of mystical knowledge and truth [H: together with the remains of her mother Gauhar-sulṭān khānum, daughter of Shah Tahmāsp] transported to Holy Mashhad, and the Prince was buried in (under?) the gate of the sanctuary at the place which he himself, during his governorship (dārā') in Mashhad, had prepared for his interment. And by a wonderful coincidence, at the very place indicated in his last will there appeared an underground tank of water (sardā'ba) which possessed perfect purity, cleanliness, and transparency and was free from any admixture.

The most eloquent of the recent poets, Maulānā 'Abdi Junābādī composed this chronogram of the event:

The rose of the flower garden of Ḥaydar Karrār,
The scion of the house of Ahmad, Ibrāhīm,
He whose crown reached the skies, laid down
The head of submission in the abode of Riḍā.
On his departure from this palace of vanity,
With a true heart and a sound nature

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574 Intiqāl, "transfer, moving to another place." This is possibly a hint at the author's being "moved on." However, H has irtihāl, "demise," apparently with reference to the dead princes.
575 The poet 'Abdi is mentioned in Ch. Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS., Supplement No. 307, as an imitator of Sa'di; he died in 988/1580, the place of his birth not being indicated.
576 Meter: khaftī. Karrār, "he who attacks repeatedly," is one of the titles of 'Ali.
577 One of the names of the Prophet Muhammad.
He said: “Write down the date of my murder: Ibrāhīm (was) killed.” 578

(In Arabic.) O God, unite him (on the Day of Judgment) with the one who is called Abul-Ḥasān, the İmām to whom submission is due and whose protection is necessary, may God bless him and turn away from (any of) his shortcomings and trespasses! 579

[In H the account of Prince Ibrāhīm’s reply to the masters who wished to take Maulānā Qāsim Qānūnī of Herat on an excursion is followed by a biography of this musician, equally famous as a performer on the sāz and as a theorist. The author thinks that in the latter respect even the famous philosopher and musician Abū-Naṣr Fārābī (d. in 339/950) might have sat at his feet. Having heard of his talents from visitors from Herat, the prince sent the author’s uncle Vajih al-dīn Khalīlullāh (who was to him like a trusted brother) to Qazaq-khan Tākkālū to ask him for Qāsim Qānūnī. This was done in secret, for in those days, for fear of the Shah, none dared listen to music or keep a singer. 580 Khalīlullāh brought Qāsim in 967/1559 and the Prince built for him an excellent house in the Panj-bāgh of (?) the Chahār-bāgh. The musician performed for him every morning and evening, and his fame spread far and wide. Qāsim spent some 10 or 12 years in the service of Prince Ibrāhīm and accompanied him on his journey to Herat and during his governorships in Qā’in and Sabzavār. Hard times came when by order of the Shah, Khwāja Muḥammad Muqīm, vazir of Shāh-Valī-sultān (?), hanged Nā’ī-yi A’lā (?) because of certain involvements (mukhālaṭat) with (?) Prince Ḥaydar. 581 He was an excellent player on the ṭanbūr, and his disgrace was followed by the order of the Shah that all players and singers (sāzanda va gūyanda), and in particular Qāsim Qānūnī, should be put to death. Prince Ibrāhīm had an underground chamber (sardāba) built in his

578 The words kushtā Ibrāhīm have the numerical value of 984, i.e., A.D. 1577.
579 For a complement to this biography, see below, ch. 4, p. 183.
580 See above, p. 135.
581 Or *mukhālaṭat “opposition to Prince Ḥaydar.”
own house where he hid Qāsim, masking the entrance with carpets. After some time Qāsim came out of his confinement but died in those very days.

This passage, intercalated in the midst of Prince Ibrāhīm’s biography, must have been copied from the author’s rough notes. It is difficult to isolate the names: Was Shāh-Valī-sulṭān (a rather important name!) an amīr for whom Khwāja Muqīm acted as vazīr, or was Shāh-Valī-sulṭān the person further described as “Nā’ī-yi A’lā,” who was hanged by Khwāja Muqīm? “Nā’ī-yi A’lā” does not figure in the lists of musicians of Shah Tahmāsp’s time; see ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 135, although this source knows Qāsim Qānūnī and calls Prince Ibrāhīm his pupil, ibid., p. 150. This strange name (“Supreme Flautist”), unsuitable for a tanbūr-player, might be Turkish: *Nā’ī-oghli, “flautist’s son.” The title of the Shah (sipihr-i’tilā) is also ambiguous. In 982/1574–75, during Shah Tahmāsp’s grave illness, disturbances broke out between the party supporting the succession of Prince Ḥaydar and that supporting the candidature of the future Shah, Ismā‘īl II. The latter party was at that time known as shāhī-sevān; see ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 91. On his recovery Tahmāsp treated his sons with leniency, but he may have punished the meddlers and go-betweens. When two years later the Shah died (984/13 May 1576), the author’s patron, Prince Ibrāhīm, was moderately on the side of his cousin, Ḥaydar. After the latter’s murder (14 May 1576) and the advent of Ismā‘īl II, his relations with the new Shah were outwardly good for some time, though he soon felt the approach of his disgrace and murder (24 February 1577). If the edict against Qāsim Qānūnī was issued by Ismā‘īl II, it could have happened only during the very short time between May 1576 and February 1577, when Prince Ibrāhīm’s gesture would have been most risky. It is then more likely that our story refers to the time of Tahmāsp, whose general dislike of musicians is confirmed in the ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 135. V. M.]

Maulānā Yārī Kāṭīb was a native of Herat and was unequaled in writing. He never left Herat nor made any journeys. He is of the number of renowned and recognized
calligraphers of Khorasan. He composed good poetry. He died in Herat.

Mīr Muʿīzz al-dīn Muḥammad 582 of the Ḥusayni sayyids of the town of Faith, Kāshān, was a self-effacing man (fānī) who did not trouble about the morrow and gave up most of his time to pigeon fancying. He raised the mastery of writing to the uppermost rung of the ladder. He wrote excellently in large and small hand. Merchants particularly exported his writings to India. He also wrote good poetry. The following verses are by him:

120. That flower has hurt her own hand with a brand-iron, 583
   Has anyone done so to his own hand?

This rubāʿī is also by him:

O you, in honor of whose glorious name in all circumstances
The banner of dignity and repute has been raised!
In your tent there is happiness from the host of handmaidens
(hours)?,
At your palace there is prestige from the throng of slaves.

He died in Kāshān in the year 995/1586–87.

Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn was the son of the late Maulānā ‘Ināyatullāh Tabrizī. Having arrived in Holy Mashhad he became the pupil of my late master Amir Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhadi. Within a short time he made good progress and perfected his writing to the point of equaling the masters. 584 From thence he went to ‘Irāq. During the reign of Shah Ismāʿīl II, the office (madār) for inscriptions on Government buildings and on gates was entrusted to him. He was still young when he departed this perishable world.

Maulānā Bābā-shāh was a native of Isfahan; he was also a recognized master of writing. He was good at inscriptions (kitābat?) and worked with great taste. He left for the sacred places (in Mesopotamia), equal in degree to the farthest

582 Mentioned in ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 125.
583 Meter: mudārī'. Meaning obscure. [Cf. p. 177: dāgh. V.M.]
584 In praising his work ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 125, makes a curious reservation: “although the writing of the masters of nastaʿlīq, as practiced in ‘Irāq and Āzarbāyjān, has no great distinction in the eyes of the Khorasan calligraphers.”
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lote-tree of Paradise, and for some time worked in the city of peace, Baghdad, where he died in the year 996/1587–88.⁵⁸⁵

Maulānā Muḥammad Riḍā Charkhṭāb ⁵⁸⁶ Mashhādī is an eminent pupil of my late master, Mir Sayyid Ahmad. He writes excellently and is a recognized calligrapher of our time. At present he lives in Yazd where he is engaged in writing.

121. ‘Īsā-beg was the son of Muḥammad-the-Runner (shājīr), who was one of the messengers of the late sovereign, Shah Tahmāsp. ‘Īsā-beg, who for some time was in attendance (rikābdārī) on the Shah, was extremely well mannered and able, and wrote good nastaʿlīq. He worked mostly in color (rang-nisīsī), and himself presented people with his qiṭās. [H: after the death of Shah Tahmāsp he acted as curator (mutavallī) at the imām-zāda of Kākh in Junābād, and died in Khorasan.]

Maulānā Muḥammad Zamān, Although his family came from the City of Faith, Kirmān, he was born and brought up in the capital, Tabriz, and became a calligrapher there. He writes in the “Tabrizi” hand with great delicacy, maturity, and good taste. His writing is not inferior to that of the masters and he may be even their equal.

Mīr Vajīḥ al-dīn Khalīlullāh Ḥusaynī, uncle of this humble one. Although in the beginning he wrote in taʿlīq [H: in imitation of Maulānā Darvīsh], after 30 years he went over to nastaʿlīq. During his residence in Holy Mashhad in the service of the late Prince Abul-Faṭḥ Sultān-Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, he was one of his particularly close intimates. While he was in attendance on the Prince he began practicing nastaʿlīq under the guidance of my master Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhādī. Although his hand had already acquired definite habits (khāna

⁵⁸⁵ ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 125, sets great value on his work: “Truly there was in ʿIrāq no scribe equal to him, nor was there in Khorasan at that time,” and complains about the scarcity of samples of this master’s work, most of which had been exported and sold at a high price. Huart, p. 225, says that Qutb al-dīn Muḥammad Yazdī met him in Isfahan in 995/1586–87, and adds that he died in 1012/1603–4 and was buried in Mashhad.

⁵⁸⁶ “The wheelwright.”

⁵⁸⁷ Mentioned in ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 126, as the son of the messenger (shāṭīr, “runner”) Muḥammad, and grandson of the messenger ‘Alī.
girista jā namūda), by means of long exercises, pains and labors he became a calligrapher and wrote neatly (ṣāf) in a large hand.\footnote{H adds: “He was one of the faithful brothers” of the Prince.} He was eminent in soldierly qualities, valor, and archery.\footnote{H adds: “Repeatedly, when Abul-Khān (?) Uzbek came to the walls of Mashhad, he sallied forth with the ghāzīs and charged them.”} In musket shooting he did so well that he never missed the target; in the game of polo and in qabaq-racing he was the companion of His Highness the Mirzā; they carried off the ball of excellence and superiority from the other Tājiks. He divided his time equally between the Sword and the Pen. After the death of the Prince, rich in talents, he shunned all company, turned away from everything in the world and in the Province of Qum gave himself up to agriculture, self-discipline, and piety.\footnote{H adds that he died in Qum in 1004/1593 at the age of 82.} He also wrote good poetry, and this verse is by him:

My farness from the feast of reunion is no fault of this exile,\footnote{Meter: ramal.} Cruel fate has done it, for (such tricks) are not remote (from its designs).

Maulānā Muḥammad Sharīf was of the noble Numayrī Arabs. Owing to his natural gifts, he acquired many laudable qualities. He wrote excellently in both a large and a small hand and was fully endowed with other talents, such as engraving seals; in the same nasta‘liq in which he wrote, he made engravings on cornelian. In soldierly qualities and courage he displayed his hereditary gifts (șāhib mirāl).

Mīr ‘Imād is of the “Sayfī” sayyids of the capital, Qazvin, and is a recognized master calligrapher. He perfected his small hand to a degree that it is possible to call him the second Mīr-‘Ali, and he also writes in a large hand extremely well. In all his writings he imitates the manner of Mīr-‘Ali. It is some time since he went to Hijaz.\footnote{Huart, pp. 239–242, gives a detailed biography of this first-class master. Mir-’Imād at first was a pupil of the artist ʿIsā in Qazvin, after which he passed on to the master Mālik Daylami. From Qazvin he moved to Tabriz where he studied calligraphy under the guidance of Master Muḥammad Ḥusayn.}
Mir Khalīlullāh belongs to the family of the noble sayyids of the Province of Bākharz. In Holy Mashhad he studied and exercised himself under my master, Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad.593 His writing is extremely elegant and tasteful. Together with the khāqān, the conqueror of lands, the shadow of God (Shah ‘Abbās?), he came from Khorasan to (Persian) ‘Irāq, but after a few days spent in Kāshān he went to India where he now lives in great honor.594

Maulānā Bāqir-khurda is a native of Kāshān, and the brother of the poet Maulānā Maqsūd-khurda;595 he is a good scribe, his work is quite good, both in a large and a small hand. Maulānā Mālik-Aḥmad is a recognized scribe, writing well both in a large and a small hand. He leads a retired life in the Qūhistān of the town of the Faithful, Qum,596 where he is engaged in writing.

Mīr Ḥusayn is a good poet and has adopted the pen name of Sahvī. His father was a saddler in Tabriz, but he himself was bent on writing and exercise, and followed that course (wādī) of life. He writes neatly and clearly. After the trouble caused by the Ottomans of bad augury (Rūmiya-yi shūmiya) and the destruction of the capital, Tabriz, he came to Kāshān and settled there. He is now engaged in writing.

Then he went to Turkey, but returned to Khorasan, visited Herat and came back to Qazvin. In 1008/1599–1600 he settled down in Isfahan. [In M his biography stops at his departure for Hijāz. E mentions his return to Persia, and H adds: “After his return he worked in the library of Farhād-khān Qaramānlū in Simnān and, after the latter’s death, has been living in Qazvin, refraining from attendance on the governors.”]

593 Huart, p. 243, calls him a pupil of Maḥmud ibn-Iṣḥāq.
594 Huart, p. 243, gives a detailed biography of this master. Under Shah ‘Abbās I he came back to Iran and, in a contest for first place, two arbiters placed him before Mīr ‘Imād. After a lengthy stay in Persia he returned to India and died in Hyderabad in 1035/1626. [In H his biography is omitted.]
595 [H calls him simply Maulānā Bāqir.] On his brother, see Tuhfā-yi Sāmī, p. 146.
596 Perhaps “in the mountainous part of the Qum province”? [H calls him Maulānā Mālik (?) adding that, owing to his retiring habits, he is little known.]
597 [H says that after 12 years spent in Kāshān he grew weary (of the place) and with his children left for India.]
The following verse is by him:

Things have come to such a pass that, were it not a (sign) of impiety,\(^{598}\)
I would worship you and say: “This is my God.”

Also by him:

Curious is the state in which a lover lives in the nights of separation:\(^{599}\)
Not to sleep but to see hundreds of vague dreams.

ḤAKĪM-RUKNĀ, whose name is Rukn al-dīn Maṣʿūd, belongs to a family of learned doctors and benefactors. His ancestors and grandsires were royal doctors and intimates at the Court which is the shelter of the caliphate (khilāfat-panāḥi [sic]). By tradition he, too, is considered one of the doctors of the Divān and possesses perfect abilities and various virtues. He has mastered the nastaʿliq style, in which he writes excellently. He is a pleasant and tasteful man and has full mastery of all kinds of poetry, such as ghazal, qaṣida, qiṣʿa, rubāʿi, and mathnawī. His biography and his juicy verses are recorded in the book Majmaʿ al-shuʿārā va manāqib al-fuḍalā.\(^{600}\) The following verses are by him:

He who has fallen a martyr of your intoxicated eyes\(^{601}\)
Even on the day of resurrection will awake still intoxicated.

And this too:

He who has not died of yearning for a friend is inhuman.\(^{602}\)
How can a man die a natural death in (this) world?

\(^{598}\) Meter: mujtatāthh.
\(^{599}\) Meter: ramāl.
\(^{600}\) [H, p. 60, calls this book simply Tadhkirat al-shuʿārā and adds that for a time Ruknā acted as doctor to the Divān of Shah ʿAbbās. When there appeared some deterioration in the sovereign’s health, Ruknā was dismissed and requested to repay his salary. He had to liquidate his property and for a couple of years lived in Kāshān practicing medicine. Then he went on pilgrimage to Mashhad where the shah paid no attention to him, and when the sovereign left for Balkh, Ruknā with his children took the way of India. Under 1002/1593, ʿĀlam-ārā quotes a witty poem composed by Ruknā. The shah visited Mashhad in 1007/1598. V.M.]
\(^{601}\) Meter: hazaj.
\(^{602}\) Meter: mujtatāthh.
This couplet is from his "Khusrau and Shirin":

The world was so full of sweetness from that sweetly smiling beauty

That the foot of the fly would have got tangled in the air.

This rubā'i is by him:

Were Hell to become my abode,

Even Hell would be astounded at the (flame) in my breast.

Were the cotton stopping my wounds to become the wick of a candle,

It would remain on fire and none would be able to extinguish it.

MAULĀNĀ SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD KĀṬĪB is a native of the Province of Bistām. He studied under my late teacher, Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad. He spent most of his life in Herat, and is a recognized scribe and calligrapher. At present he lives in the capital, Qazvin, in the flourishing kitāb-khana of the Shah (‘Abbās), enjoys intimacy (with the sovereign) and respect, and has a salary and a tiyūl (grant of land).

MAULĀNĀ SULTĀN ḤUSAYN TŪNĪ is a pupil of Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bākharzī. He writes good nastaʿliq, both fine and medium. He was well known in Khorasan, from whence he went to ‘Irāq, and is now engaged in copying in the capital, Qazvin.604

[H inserts here a biography of MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD-AMĪN ‘AQĪLI (or ‘Uqayli?), an eminent pupil of Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tabrīzī. His father, a very pious man from Rustamdār (in Māzandarān), accompanied Prince Sām to Ardabil where Mīr Ḥusayn was born. His uncle, Maulānā Mīr Ḥusayn ‘Aqīli, was one of the learned and pious men admitted to Shah Tahmāsp’s assemblies. Maulānā Muḥammad-Amin grew up among the Shaykhāvands (i.e., the lateral line of the Safavids established in Ardabil). In the days of Prince Sulṭān-Ḥamza he acted as librarian to Išmi-khān Shāmlū. He was a favorite of the Prince and had the title of

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603 Meter: hazaj.

604 [Instead of Qazvin, E has "the capital, Isfahan"; cf. p. 185. H says that for some time he worked in the library of Farhād-khān; cf. Huart, p. 221.]
“Master of the Sword and the Pen.” After the death of Ḥamza-mīrzā (994/4 December 1586) he abandoned all worldly connections and lived in retirement as a dārūsh, practicing calligraphy and copying (books). He wrote sweet poetry in Turkish (a Turkish rubā‘ī is quoted). In Muḥarram 1015/1606 we met in Qazvin.]

Maʿulānā Nizām al-dīn ʿAlī-Riḍā Tabrīzī. Earlier in the record of the masters of the ťulth (see above, p. 81) we mentioned his praiseworthy qualities, but in his constitution there was a predisposition that in the art of the nastā‘līq script he should become an outstanding master of his time and the rarity of the age. His noble nature grew inclined to it and he began to exercise himself in it. So he became a calligrapher and, setting his writing on a lofty arch, he has raised it to a height which no hand can reach. He still has time to make more progress, and days of his youth still remain. His copies of Maʿulānā Mīr-ʿAlī’s style are indistinguishable (from the original). With every day a difference (for the better) appears in whatever issues from his jewel-scattering pen. The times are adorned by his highly generous being. The following verses are in his honor:

Whoever saw the writing of Yāqūt 606
Paid one mithqāl of gold for a letter.
Were Yāqūt to see (ʿAlī-Riḍā’s) writing
He would purchase each letter for one hundred mithqāls of gold.

126. The praiseworthy qualities and pleasant manners of this Substance of the Time, and the unique of the age, are infinite. 607

127. For two years he was the companion and fellow traveler of the Khan of the Time (Farḥād-khān Qaramānlu) in Khorasan and Māzandarān, and now he is in attendance at the court of the Shah of the World, the shadow of the Almighty (Shah ʿAbbās), in the capital, Qazvin. There he writes specimens and makes

605 H adds: “By dint and by virtue of the Mother of Scripts, which is ťulth, he became a calligrapher.”

606 Meter: ḥazaj. [In H, p. 51, this quartain appears in the biography of Prince Ibrāhīm.]

607 Both in M and E this sentence is written on a miniature.
inscriptions (kitābat?) for His Majesty, whose appearance is moonlike, and who is imposing like the planet Mars. Having joined the company of courtiers, the master constantly enjoys honorable intimacy in the paradisiac assemblies and at the royal heavenlike audiences. He is one of the circle of the most intimate among those who are awarded generous favors and is renowned and exalted by boundless attentions, gifts, and kindnesses. There is hope that he will succeed in attaining every success and high post, and will always be the object of kind concern of that scion of the most pure imāms, who has been favored by the attention of the Almighty. Sometimes the master's thoughts run to poetry; the following is a rubā'ī representing the fruit of his meditations:

Since the time when from the flame of my love for you my heart has roasted like a kabāb,
Ceaselessly salt water streams from my eyes and heart.
It is a vain occupation to combine peace with passion for you,
For the patience of an uneasy heart is a design on water.

[H adds that ‘Ali-Riḍā had equaled Maulānā Mīr-‘Alī. He was working on the inscriptions of the cathedral mosque of Qazvin and then passed into the service of Farhād-khān, who favored him and took him on his journeys in Khorasan and Māzandarān. Then Shah ‘Abbās took him from the khan "and now for 10 or 12 years he has been in his service accompanying him on all his campaigns and journeys (yūrish-va-yasāq) and he is one of His Majesty’s intimates." H quotes one more quatrain by the master.

From the time when you, pearl of pure orient, have become a stay-at-home,
My eyes have been flooded with tears from my grief for you.
Through this grief I have ruined the house of my heart.
You have become a stay-at-home, while I am homeless now.

Despite these developments, H seems to be more reserved in good wishes to the master.]

Maulānā Nī‘matullāh is a descendant of the readers of the Qor’ān in Holy Mashhad.608 His father was a muezzin in

608 Consequently no relation of the Bawwāb mentioned above, p. 67.
that sanctuary; he, too, is peerless in this art and is a master of reading. He writes nastal'iq well. At first when he was a child he took instruction in Mashhad from my teacher, Amir Sayyid Ahmad. Later, in the capital, Qazvin, he worked under the guidance of the Master of the Time, Maulāna ‘Ali-Riḍā Tabrīzī, and his writing has taken shape. [H adds: After the reconquest of Mashhad he has returned to his home.] He possesses many perfections and composes good poetry. The following verses are by him:

Let the delight of beholding you be forbidden to these eyes,609
For it acquaints sleep with dreams of you.

Also by him:

From my tomb (turbat) a flame has risen toward Kiyā (Kayvān?),
Yes, a “martyr of love” has become my new name.610

This rubā‘i is also by him:

From the (Christian) monastery I go again toward the Ka‘ba,
I am of the men of Truth, not of the men of Allegory,
With my soul on the palm of my hand, with my heart on my sleeve,
I go
Toward you with a thousand needs, infirmities and prayers.

609 Meter: mujštathth.
610 Meter: muḏāri‘.
CHAPTER FOUR

On painters, gilders, masters of gold sprinkling and “découpé” work, dyers of paper, and on other cognate matters

As already mentioned, the qalam is of two kinds: the one vegetable, about which we have spoken in detail; the other, animal. The latter is a brush made of hair and, by means of it, wizards of art similar in intelligence to Mâni and Chinese and Frankish magicians ascended the throne in the land of talent and have become masters in the workshop of Destiny and Fate. The portraitists of the image (paykar) of this wonderful skill trace this art to the marvelously writing qalam of the Frontispiece of the Five Members of the “Companions of the Cloak,” i.e., ‘Ali, the elect, the clement, the heir of Muṣṭafâ—on him be God’s prayers and peace!—and they cite the fact that among the miracle-working pictures from the qalam of that Holiness, which are adorned by his gilding, they have witnessed with their own eyes the signature: “This was written and gilded by ‘Ali ibn Abi-Tâlib.” A tale on this subject is quoted in the attire of verse:

I have heard that Chinese artists,
When they became “producers of likenesses” for the first time,
Mixed paint with the heart’s blood
And sketched images of roses and tulips.
Their brush of hair became like a hair
From their desire to split hairs.
They adorned one page with flowers

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611 In M and E this chapter is called “Conclusion.”
612 See above, p. 50.
613 [This introduction uses the technical terms of painting: chihragushâ, “opener of the face,” i.e., a portraitist; shamsa (in M and E misspelled as hama) is a rich cul-de-lampe which had to be translated as “frontispiece,” etc. On the “Companions of the Cloak,” see above, p. 23. V.M.]
614 Same story in Dûst-Muḥammad, see BWG, p. 183. See above, p. 23.
615 Meter: mutagârib.
According to the manner and beauty which they wished.
The painting was called khitāʾi (“Chinese”),
Because the Chinese reed had succeeded in producing it.
When the cycle of prophetic mission reached Muhammad,
(And) he drew a line across all other faiths,
The Chinese wrong-doers
Traced (savād) the first images;
Provocatively they embellished a page
And asked the king of Prophets to produce something similar.
It was not a page embellished,
It looked like a tray filled with tulips and roses.
From the very infidelity of their hearts,
They carried the painting as a challenge
To the Shah of Men, ‘Ali.
When the King of Holiness saw what they had painted,
By miraculous power he took the qalam from them,
And made an Islamic soul-ravishing tracing \(^{616}\)
Which struck dumb the Chinese people.
As the original fell into their hands,
Their other images grew inferior.

130. Let it be clear that the wonderful phantasy and strange native force (angīza) of the artists are known in all countries and witnessed by men possessed of sight. The force of imagination and refinement of nature owned by this race are not found in any other men of art. The image which the portrait-painter reveals on the tablets of the mind cannot be reflected in everybody’s mirror of beauty.

*Story*

It is related that a certain unrivaled artist in Khorasan was friendly with a clever goldsmith. They were friends and eagerly sought each other’s company. Ruin befell the artist and he could not imagine any means of remaining in his native country. So he submitted to the goldsmith the plan of a journey to Rūm (Asia Minor) and, together with him, left Khorasan for that land. They stopped at a certain pagan temple (but-khāna) and by guile and trickery secured the good will of

\(^{616}\) Cf. Düst-Muḥammad, BWG, p. 183.
its hermits. After several years spent there they won so much confidence that the keys of the idol temple came into their hands. One night they broke the idols and took away from that monastery an enormous amount of gold and silver. Having by clever tricks gained freedom, they gradually made their way to their native land. They concealed the gold and silver in a chest and stored (it) in their house; when needed, they opened (the chest) and spent (the money). One day the goldsmith stole half of that gold and silver and buried it at a certain place. When the artist looked inside the chest he guessed what had happened, but no matter how much he questioned the goldsmith, the latter would not confess. Willy-nilly he was obliged to think of some stratagem. He sought out a hunter, and by sending him suitable presents, obtained from him two bear cubs, brought them into the house, hewed out of wood a likeness (chihra-gushā'i) of the goldsmith, and, every time he fed the cubs, he put food inside the breast of the coat of that image, so that the bear cubs became accustomed to this. One day he brought home with him the goldsmith with his two sons, and having asked them to stay overnight, kidnapped the sons. In the morning the goldsmith, however much he tried, could not get his children back. (Then), together with the artist, he hastened to the house of the judge. In the presence of the judge the artist said: “A strange thing has happened: I kept his sons for the night in a room, and in the morning found them turned into bear cubs. In my confusion I did not tell him of this mystery.” At that moment those present said: “There are no transformations in the community of His Holiness, the refuge of prophecy—God’s blessing be on him and his family, and peace! Perhaps he has done something which is not in keeping with the faith of His prophetic Holiness, and therefore his sons have taken on such a likeness.” So the bear cubs were brought into the assembly. Two feeding times had been missed and the bear cubs were hungry, so when their eyes fell on the goldsmith, they took him for that image of his and began to push their heads inside his coat trying to mollify him. Everybody accepted this as indis-
putable evidence and the two litigants left the assembly. The
goldsmith bethought himself of his treachery, stretched his
hand toward repentance, went to the artist's house, fell at his
feet and, bringing out the stolen gold and silver, gave it back
to the artist. The latter, taking the bear cubs from him, led
them inside and gave his two sons back to him. Then taking
the veil off the face of the mystery, he embraced his friend and
asked him for forgiveness. (See pl. 5.)

Tale in verse

It is told that there was a certain King, 617
With a countenance like the moon and glorious like the sun;
He had a budding narcissus in his garden,
With the appearance of a spotless (bi-dāgh) tulip, 618
(Namely), he was intimate with a felicitous companion,
Under whose sleeve genuine talent was hidden.
A man who could draw like Māni, and when he drew something
The seal of fate rendered it permanent:
When he pictured water on a stone,
Anyone who saw it broke his pitcher on it.
If he stretched his qalam around the moon,
The moon did not see the darkness of the last day of the month.
From the fountain of freshness which was in his qalam
Vestiges of life appeared in his tracing.
His tracings resembled the Chinese silk, ṭirāz,
And his artistry (in its temptation) was a calamity for the faith.
From the world of Life he had a hundred praises,
And his qalam kept Life itself (khud) at its disposal.

But the sun-visaged Shah, similar in his wrath to the sky
Looked at his Māni (only) with one eye. 619
He had another close companion, with a brush similar to Māni's,
(Who) in his heart was harboring hatred against (the first painter).
He wished to contrive a plot
And to play a wicked trick on him.
So he planned that the Shah, commander of the world,

617 Meter: hazaj. In M the text is mutilated.
618 [This seems better than to refer the description to the Shah: “On (the
Shah's) cheeks (ba-rukhi?) there were tulips,” etc. V. M.]
619 [This seems to mean that the King was skew-eyed, but with a hint at his
attention divided between the two rivals.]
Should demand from (the first painter) a likeness of himself.
That artist (naqsh-firāz) with the hand of Mānī
Fancied in his mind the image of the Shah.
He took a page ravishing the heart
And, in a triumphant mood, covered it with painting.
The Shah (was standing) with an arrow in his hand, and in the
corner of his eye
There was an angry glittering (as) of a lance (sinān),
(For) in order to take the twist out (of the flight) of an arrow
One should screw up one eye.

With this new idea the clever painter
Disentangled the knot in the thread of his talent.
When the Shah understood his thought deep as the sea,
He gave him two kingdoms in reward for his labor,
One gift was for the shape of his mastery,
The other for the play of his imagination.
Thus the heart of the envious painter was broken;
And in despair he sat him down in the corner of affliction. (See

As in writing there are six basic styles, so in the art of
painting seven (manners) are known: islīmī, khitā'ī, firangi,
fišālī, abr, akrah, salāmī.621

Well done, the magic-working masters of the brush 622
Whose bewitching tool bestows a new life.
They come to grips with every creature
And conjure up to life the likeness of everyone;
In creating they are followers of the pure godhead,
From the encompassing circle of the sky to the surface of the earth.
They cast their glances about creation.

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620 Az tir-gah (?) kajī sitādan. The verse is defective and not quite clear.
621 [Khitā'ī is “Chinese,” firangi “Frankish,” islīmī “in spiral curves” (see
on the terms khitā'ī and islīmī in a verse concerning the battle of Chaldiran
(see ʿĀlam-ārā p. 33), and suggests that akrah may refer to Agra in India.
The characteristics of fišālī (or rather fassālī, see below, p. 198) and salāmī are
unknown (fišāl contains an idea of “severance, interruption”). Abr (abri) is
mentioned also in M, p. 146 (H, p. 70, line 11), and M, p. 150. According to
Dr. M. Bayānī it refers to the technique of covering the paper with designs
shaped like clouds (abr, “a cloud”). Perhaps it refers also to the wisps of
clouds (Chinese chī) figuring on Persian miniatures. V.M.]
622 Meter: mutaqārib.
And make copies of every original. Their creative art is a guide to the plan of the universe, With them the qalam is bent in prostration (before God). I cannot understand with what art they treat images So that they seem to be speaking to men.

As the number of masters of this art is greater than can be brought within the circle of enumeration and the sphere of circumscription, nay even too great for the outstanding among them to be counted in the studios of (Him who) “has shaped you and what admirable shapes He has given you,” therefore (this humble one) has limited himself to mentioning some of the latest ones. As for former masters of Khorasan, such as: Khwāja Mīrak, Maulānā Ḥājjī Muḥammad, Ṣāḥib-ḳalam, Qāsim-‘Alī Chihra-gushāy, and after them Ustād Darvish and Khalīfa of Khīva, they had no peers and none like them. [H adds here a few stray notes: Khwāja Mīrak, Ḥājjī Muḥammad, and Qāsim-‘Alī flourished at the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn (Bayqara). Qāsim-‘Alī worked in the library of the Great Amir ‘Āli-Shīr Navā’i and under his guidance became outstanding. Khwāja Mīrak and Ḥājjī Muḥammad were his contemporaries. Ḥājjī Mīrak was not only an artist and ornamentalist (mudhahhib) but also peerless in the art of making inscriptions, in which he surpassed all his predecessors.]

After them comes the rarity of the epoch, the marvel of all the centuries, Master Behzād of Herat.

Behzād is the master of the times; He has given a full measure of mastery. The Mother of Time has given birth to few of the rank of Mānī But, by God, Behzād is the best born (beḥ-zād) of her.

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623 Qurʾān, XL, 44.
625 See Ḥabīb al-siyār, translated by Sir Thomas Arnold (pp. 139–140). Khulāṣat al-alkhār gives a detailed biography of this master. Chihragushāy, literally “portraitist,” see BWG, pp. 189–190, but also painter in general.
626 Rubā’i: In content, the first and third verses are very close to Dūst Muḥammad’s chronogram quoted in BWG, p. 186.
The master had lost his father and mother in his childhood and was brought up by Ustād Mīrāk Naqqāsh, who was librarian to the late sovereign, Sultan-Ḥusayn-mīrzā. He achieved success in a short time and so well that no one had seen an artist equal to him since the art of images came into being. 

His drawing in charcoal by its fluency is superior to work by the brush of Mānī.
Had Mānī only known about him, he would have imitated his sense of proportion.
His images of birds are heart ravishing, like the birds of Christ they acquire a soul.

The master remained in the arena of activity from the happy time of Mīrzā Sultan-Ḥusayn until some time after the opening days of the reign of the late Shah Tahmāsp. Wonderful specimens of his painting are numerous. His death occurred in Herat and he was buried in the neighborhood of Kūh-i Mukhtār, within an enclosure full of paintings and ornaments.

Dūst-i Divāna, one of the incomparable pupils of Maulānā Behzād, was perfect in skill and ability. He spent some time in the service of the monarch, equal in dignity to Jamshīd (Tahmāsp?), after which he went to India and made much progress there.

Ustād Sultan-Muḥammad (H: Mahmūd?) was a native of Tabriz. At the time when Maulānā Behzād arrived in

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628 Meter: mutaqārib.
629 The reference is to the clay birds that flew away when the child Jesus threw them into the air.
630 Semenov, A manuscript of Sa'di's Būstān: "The hill of Murād." This indication of the site of Behzād's tomb is unusual. In addition to Ettinghausen's article, see B. P. Denike, Persian painting (in Russian), Moscow, 1938, p. 85; S. Khwānšārī in Armaghān (1937), No. 4. [And M. Qazvini "Two historical documents referring to Behzād," in Qazvini, Bist maqāla, vol. 2 (1313/1934), pp. 205-209. V.M.]
631 [I dare not translate naqsh-u nigār as "painted images" since even for Behzād such embellishment of a resting place would be extravagant. V.M.]
(Persian) ‘Irāq from Herat, Ustād Sulṭān-Muḥammad was in the library of the late Shah Tahmāsp and was engaged in teaching that Khusrau of the Four Climes who took exercise under his guidance in the pictorial art. Better than the others, Ustād Sulṭān-Muḥammad pictured the deportment (ravish) of the Qīzīl-bash.632 His death occurred in Tabriz.633

The sovereign whose abode is in Paradise, Shah Tahmāsp al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsāvi al-Ṣafavī of lasting memory—may God shed light on his tomb! Although this is an abandoning of etiquette and a liberty,634 yet as this exalted Majesty was greatly inclined toward this wonder-working art in which he was a master, (this humble one) has mentioned his blessed name for the felicity and honor of this noble manuscript and for the adornment and bliss of this exalted treatise. At first Shah Tahmāsp was greatly drawn to learning the nasta‘liq script and painting, and spent his blessed time on these. He became an incomparable master rising above all artists in drawing and painting. The felicity of his clipping the qalam635 and the movement of his outlines (arqām?) deserved a hundred thousand praises and approvals.

Almighty God, what a soul-ravishing reed,636
Through which the throne of the heavens has acquired adornment!
How can the writing of his reed not find life,
When life is dripping from its beak?
He has humiliated all creation,
Which kissed his hand in compliance with the (supreme) order (bar raqam).
When he needs a qalam for tracing
He makes a qalam from the feathers of angels.
In passion for him the shell has raised its head out of the water

632 Supporters of the Safavid dynasty, warlike Turkmans.
634 The same apologetic phrase for daring to mention the Shah’s name among the painters is found in ‘Alām-ārā, p. 127. [In II the author makes his excuse that “the pedigree of this art . . . goes up to ‘Ali.”]
635 [Rișa-yi aqlām, literally “the clippings.”]
636 Meter: mutaqārib.
140. To be made happy by the rain of his generosity (dast).  
To be made happy by the rain of his generosity (dast).

The affairs of the qalam have been in ascendance,
Because he placed it between two fingers;
Even when (his) qalam by making (too many) flourishes grows old,
It (still) makes the hair on the lion's body stand up.

The paintings of that incomparable and highborn painter are many. One or two scenes (majlis) by him are found in the pavilion (ayvān) of Forty Columns in Qazvin. In those days the career of calligraphers and artists had reached the highest degree; they enjoyed perfect intimacy and were gathered in the library of the late Shah, and about this the poets of the time said:

Unquestionably, high advancement was achieved
By scribes, artists, natives of Qazvin, and asses.

[In H the end of this paragraph is more explicit. Among the several scenes painted by the Shah in the Chihil-Sutūn, the author mentions one representing Yusuf and Zulaykha and the Egyptian ladies eating fruit. This scene was pasted on the lower part of the western pavilion with an appropriate verse:

The Egyptian (ladies) were throwing stones of vituperation at Zulaykhā,
But Yusuf became the sword which cut their hands.

At the time when the Shah favored the artists, they occasionally went for rides on Egyptian asses in the palace garden of Tabriz. This was the time when Qādī-Jahān Vakil was in ascendance. He was a Qazvini and used to join the parties,

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637 Rain drops swallowed by the shell become pearls. See Sa'di, Būstān, book IV, No. 1.
638 [Tash'ir technically means "a flourish," but here the author of these abstruse verses may be hinting additionally at its literal meaning: "to make hairy (shabby?)."] V. M.
639 BWG, p. 189: "group pictures, genre pictures."
640 Ayvān-i chihil-sutūn.
641 Meter: ramal.
642 When Yusuf entered the hall, the ladies, who were cutting fruit, were so struck by his beauty that they let slip their knives and cut their fingers.
643 On his changed attitude, see above, p. 135.
and the poet Maulānā Ṣunūf (sic?) Dāmghānī composed the verse already quoted.] 644

His Highness Bahrām-mīrzā was also fully inclined toward the pictorial arts and in his library there were always outstanding calligraphers and artists who attained the highest degree (of perfection).

The head of the talents of the world, the late Abūl-Fath Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā 645 was a master in that art and had golden hands in painting and decorating; he achieved great success because of his refinement of thought and deep meditation.

Thanks to the mastery, the hair of his qalam 646
gave life even to images of (inanimate) minerals.

141. In Holy Mashhād he put together an album (muraqqa‘) of the writings of masters and paintings of Maulānā Behzād and others. It was completed 647 with the help of rare masters, skillful craftsmen, incomparable experts in writing, and peerless calligraphers. Indeed, such an arrangement was made and such an album showed its face (chihra-gushūd), that every page of it was worthy of a hundred praises, nay every specimen of it merited one hundred thousand lauds. Should the pages of History be devoted to its arrangement (ta’liq?) (and) the virtues of its beautiful writings, not even one-third (thulthī) of them would be explained by the pen describing the epoch; should the pages of the revolving sky be filled with lauds of its images and shapes of marvelous flowers, not even one-tenth of its beauties would appear on the mirror of manifestation.

Its beautiful pictures were of such a degree that:

From the point of view of cleanness and distinction
Nothing but the soul would find a place in it.

644 [According to Aḥsan al-tawārīkh, ed. Seddon, p. 488, this verse was composed by a poet called Bāq al-‘ishq, “Love’s trumpet,” and this attribution is confirmed in the ‘Ālam-ūrā. V.M.]

645 [H omits Bahārām-mīrzā and (p. 67) transfers his praise to his son Ibrāhīm-mīrzā. Then again H, p. 67, speaks of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā in more detail; see above, p. 163.]

646 Meter: ḥazāj.

647 [From here to the middle of the biography of Mir Muṣavvir there is a
Because of the images of flowers and shapes of birds
It was a Paradise unspoiled by the autumn wind.
Thousands of its roses and tulips, stems and petals,
Were immune from the harm of storms and hail.
Youths represented with sunlike faces, in shame,
Had closed their lips in their conversation.
All of them united in war and peace,
Not like the dwellers of the world full of hypocrisy and dishonor!
Day and night companions of the same quarters (ham-visāq),
Men devoid of discord in their communion!

This album, with other treasures, fell to the lot of the late
Princess Gauhar-Sultān khānum, one of the daughters of the
late Shah Tahmāsp, at the moment of the wedding of that
shining luminary with Ibrāhīm-mirzā. When the latter was
killed, she washed out the album with water, although no
one had seen a similar one and its price was tantamount to the
kharāj of a whole clime.

The paintings of the late Prince are numerous and are in
every town and in every clime.

Maulānā Naẓīrī of Qum was an incomparable painter
and worked in the library of the late Shah Tahmāsp in the
days when painters and calligraphers enjoyed favor and es-
teeim. He was an intimate of the Shah and together they
exercised themselves in painting and calligraphy. He also
wrote good poetry and this opening verse of a penetrating
poem is by him:

Love for an idol (beauty) making images has cast confusion into
my mind.
Some people are lovers of an image, but I am the lover of a maker
of images.

[648 H, p. 69, adds: “that it should not fall under the eyes of Shah Ismā‘īl.”
This fact, with the same explanation, is quoted in the ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 150, which
describes the despair and death of the Princess.]

[649 H adds that in the beginning the artist was “in the service” of the royal
calligraphers and painters. V. M.]

[650 See above, p. 181.]
AQA MİRĀK was of the sayyids of Isfahan and had no peer in artistic design (tarrāḥī). He finally became the gārāk-yaraq of His Majesty (Shah Tahmāsp) and stayed mostly in Tabriz. He was an incomparable painter, very clever, enamored of his art, a bon vivant, an intimate (of the Shah), and a sage.

MĪR MUṢAVVĪR was a native of Badakhshān. He was a portraitist, working neatly, and made very pleasant and pretty images. When Humāyūn-pādshāh came to 'Irāq, he said (to Shah Tahmāsp): “If that sultan of the universe (vajh-i ard) gives me Mīr Muṣavvir, I shall send him from Hindustan one thousand tumans as a present.” In view of this circumstance, his son, MĪR SAYYID ‘ALĪ, who in art was more clever than his father, was the first to hasten to India. Father and son both “went into the black earth” (?) and died there; as Ghazālī says:

I am going to India, for there
The affairs of the clever people march nicely,
Whereas liberality and generosity ran away from the men of (this) time
Into black earth.

MAULĀNĀ QADĪMĪ was a man with the character of a darvish (abdāl). The late Shah kept him in the kitāb-khāna

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651 H, characteristically: “of the capital, Isfahan.”
652 [The duty of this official was to purvey the materials required for an office; see Tadhkirat al-mulūk, transl. V. Minorsky, p. 178. This Aqa Mirak must be distinguished from Khwāja Mirak; see above, p. 92. V. M.]
653 H adds that his real name was Maņṣūr; cf. Sakisian.
654 Here the lacuna in M ends.
655 [Ba-zamin-i siyāḥ furū rāftand va ānjā riḥlat numūdand. Zakhdedr interprets this obscure expression as “found themselves in bad circumstances,” though according to Sakisian, pp. 116–117, Mir Sayyid ‘Alī was one of the founders of the Indo-Persian school of miniatures in India.—Perhaps simply “buried (themselves) there.”]
656 Meter: khasīf. [There were several poets called Ghazālī, see W. Ivanow, Four Persian poetical tadhkiras, Calcutta, 1925, p. 38. This particular Ghazālī may have been Ghazālī Mashhadi who died in India in 980/1572. V. M.]
657 BWG, p. 186: Muhammad Qadīmī. Sakisian mentions a miniature bearing his signature.
as a portraitist. He composed good poetry. The following opening verse belongs to him:

The rival wanted to come uninvited to your entertainment,\textsuperscript{658} 
Your gatekeeper did not let him in. May I be the dog of your gatekeeper!

Khwāja ‘Abd al-Vahhāb and his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz are natives of Kāshān: they are both unequaled in the art of painting. The late Shah used to call ‘Abd al-‘Azīz his pupil \textsuperscript{659} and he took instruction in the art of painting from that peerless monarch. Khwāja ‘Abd al-‘Azīz became one of his close intimates. Finally, having conspired with a certain company of foolish and vicious men, he forged the seal of the late Shah and for this reason lost his ears and nose.\textsuperscript{660}

Mīrzā Ghaffār was the son of a Qızılbash; he achieved such success that he was recognized by all and was unequaled.

\textbf{Maulānā Mirzā-‘Alī} was the son of Maulānā Sūltān-Muḥammad. In the art of painting he had no equals.\textsuperscript{661} During his father’s lifetime he grew up in the \textit{kitāb-khāna} of the late khāqān.

\textbf{Maulānā Muẓaffar ‘Alī} \textsuperscript{662} was the nephew (sister’s son) of Maulānā Rustam-‘Alī, already mentioned among the masters of \textit{nasta’līq} (see above, p. 147). His father was a good pupil of Maulānā Behzād. He finally achieved such success that people considered him equal to Behzād; besides painting, he had a most wonderful hand in calligraphic copying (\textit{muthannā}), wrote \textit{nasta’līq} well, excelled in gold sprinkling and gilding, and was outstanding in his time in coloring and lacquer work (\textit{raughan-kāri}). Few have been so versatile as he. He also arranged one \textit{muraqqā’}.

Aghā Ḥasan Naqqāsh was a native of Herat. He was

\textsuperscript{658} Meter: hazaj.
\textsuperscript{659} ‘Alī names Isfahan as the birthplace of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and calls Shah Tahmāsp his pupil; see Sakisian, p. 112, n. 3.
\textsuperscript{660} According to ‘Alī, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz lost his nose for an attempt to flee to India. Cf. Sakisian, pp. 120–121, and Denike, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{661} See Sakisian, pp. 115–116.
\textsuperscript{662} Mentioned in ‘Ālam-dārā, p. 127, among the famous artists of Tahmāsp’s reign.
unequaled in the art of painting. On the order of the late Muḥammad-khan Sharaf al-din-oghli Tākālū 668 he ornamented with painting the inside of the holy tomb of Imām ʿAli-Riḍā. There he inscribed the following verse (Ḥ: of Mīr Ḥasan Dīhlavī), corresponding to his attitude:

Hasan circumambulated your door in the manner of the ʿawaf,664
And like the Kaʿba you have settled all his needs.

He died in the capital of Herat and was buried next to the mazār of the Pir of Herat (Anṣārī), in Gāzargāh, in a chamber (khāna) full of paintings and embellishments.

Mīr Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Tabrīzī 665 was the pupil and grandson (daughter's son) of Maulānā Sūltān-Muḥammad. He is not inferior to others with regard to portraiture, gilding, and painting. All his life he practiced art in the Shah's establishments 666 and received a salary and presents.

Maulānā Shaykh Muḥammad 667 of the town of the faithful, Sabzavār, was the son of Maulānā Shaykh Kamāl, mentioned earlier as a master of the thulīḥ style.668 This incomparable artist was a pupil of Maulānā Dūst-i Dīvānā. He wrote well and worked excellently in nastaʿlīq. In painting he closely followed (qalam bar qalam) the Chinese. Even though in portraits (ṣūrat) he made some mistakes,669 people said: “Well done (bāh)! In copying 670 he reproduced the script of masters, making corrections with the brush of hair in such a way that it was impossible to understand (which was the copy). He was an excellent artist, gilder (ornamentalist?),

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664 Meter: mujtathth. Tawāf is the circumambulation of the Kaʿba.
665 ʿĀlam-dīrā, p. 127; English transl., Arnold, p. 141.
666 Kār-khāna, “workshops” attached to the court. [II adds: “He made the painted crown and other accessories of the royal assembly.”]
668 See above, p. 75.
669 Khatāʾī, Zakhoder, reading khīlāʾī, translates: “and no matter how much Chinese (khīlāʾī) he put into his paintings.”
670 [Muthannā, “replica.” The fact that the corrections were made by the brush suggests that the author refers to calligraphy and not to the découpé technique. V. M.]
and scribe, and worked in Holy Mashhad in the kitāb-khāna of the late Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, exalted in Paradise. He was his courtier and had a salary.

MAULĀNĀ KAMĀL was a native of Kāshān and a pupil of 'Abd al-'Azīz, the painter; together with his master he lost his ears.671

MAULĀNĀ 'ALĪ ASGHAR MUṢAVVIR,672 the teacher of this humble one, was a native of Kāshān. He was also among the artists of the library of Prince Ibrāhīm (nawvāb-i mīrzā'i), was a courtier and a recipient of salary.

MAULĀNĀ YĀRĪ MUDHĀHḤĪB 673 was a native of Herat, a contemporary of Maulānā Behzād; he possessed many accomplishments and composed excellent verse. The following ghazal is by him:

145. That Peri-faced one, who intended to leave the fatherland,674
Has not gone yet, but I am (already) hoping for his return.
Though he has left the garden of the heart and the eyes, there has remained
The vision of his cypress stature and jasminelike face.
I have no strength to go, no patience to remain.
O friend! tell him something about my condition.
My eyes are bleached with expectation—where is he?
Is the zephyr to bring the fragrance of his shirt?
My ability in speech is no secret,
Yet how shall I explain my state in his company?
Let the beloved take pity on me. O friend!
Tell him the story of Majnūn and the condition of the Mountain-digger (Farhād).
Perhaps, through reunion with you Yārī will recover life,
If not, without you, life and death are all one to him.

672 'Ālam-ārā, pp. 128-129, mentions him among the artists of Shah Tahmāsp's studio; English transl., Arnold, p. 143.
673 Mentioned by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlat, see BWG, p. 191; also in 'Ālam-ārā, p. 129, in the biography of Master Ḥasan Baghdādī. Arnold, in the English translation, p. 144, calls him "Bāri" (?).
674 Meter: mujṭathth.
Maulānā Ghiyāth al-dīn Muḥammad Mudhahhib of Mashhad, the inventor of gold sprinkling, was unrivaled in painting and (ornamental) gilding. He was the contemporary of the late Maulānā Sulṭān-‘Ali Mashhadi. He died on the last day of Jamādi I 942/26 November 1535, in Holy Mashhad and was buried beside Maulānā Sulṭān-‘Ali.

Maulānā Ḥasan Mudhahhib was a native of Baghdad but was educated in Tabriz. In his time he was inimitable in the art of (ornamental) gilding. He decorated the holy mausoleum (āstāna) of Imām Abū-‘Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn, and truly in this work showed the hand of Moses (yad-i baydā). Till the end of time he will remain an object of consideration for men.

Maulānā ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Mashhadi was also their contemporary, and was unequaled in the art of gold sprinkling.

He also composed good verse. The following rubāʿi is by him:

Your silver body is like a fresh almond,
And still better are the almonds of your eyes.
Your teeth and your lips, when you speak, are as though
Milk and sugar had been mixed together.

Maulānā Muḥammad Amin, jadval-kash and mudhahhib, was from Mashhad. He had no peer in ornamental gilding, no rival in the art of repairing books (vaṣṣāli), gold sprinkling and tinting of paper, especially in various abri. He was the teacher of this humble one. In his art he had no peer and he possessed many accomplishments and talents. [H: He was a perfect darvish, noble-minded, humane, and kindly. He found his rest in Holy Mashhad.]

Maulānā ‘Abdullāh Mudhahhib, who was a native of

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675 See below, p. 193, n. 691.
676 ʿĀlam-ārā, p. 129; English transl., Arnold, p. 144.
677 [H says the “fifth member of the family of the Cloak”; see above, p. 23.]
678 Sakisian, pp. 116–117, quotes him as one of the founders of the Indo-Persian school of miniature painting.
679 I.e., specialist in ruling the frames encompassing the text, and ornamentalist in gold.
680 See above, p. 178, and below, p. 194.
681 ʿĀlam-ārā, p. 129; English transl., Arnold, p. 144.
Shiraz, was highly skilled in ornamental gilding and in drawing frontispieces (sar-lauha) and culs-de-lampes (shamsa). None worked better than he in preparing oil colors. For 20 years he was employed in the kitāb-khana of Prince Abūl-Fath Sulṭān-Ibrāhīm-mīrzā; he was a courtier and drew a salary. After the demise of that exalted Highness, he left the court service and having settled down in Holy Mashhad, took up the duties of a carpet spreader (farrāsh) at the sanctuary and attendant at the grave of the above-mentioned Prince.

Mīr Yāḥyā is of the genuine sayyids, of the capital, Tabriz. Originally he is from Hilla. He has no rival in ornamental gilding, and is a master of the time: In the highest degree, he possesses the nature of a darvīsh, is modest, selfless (nā-murād?), and always busy at work. Since the troubles caused by the evil Ottomans (Rūmī) and the destruction of the capital, Tabriz, he has been living in the town of the Unitarians, Qazvin. [H, p. 72: Now that Isfahan has become the capital (i.e., in 1007-1599), he lives in that pleasant city.]

147. Abūl-Ma’ṣūm-mīrzā is a descendant of the great amīrs of the Mausillū Turkmans. On his mother’s side he is a cousin of the Shah, equal in dignity to Alexander, Abūl-Ghālib Sulṭān-Muḥammad (Khudā-bandā). He has good taste in portraiture and in artistic design (ṭarrāḥī). He spends all his time on art and work; not for a moment does he slacken in this. He is incomparable in painting, carving, restoration of books, gold sprinkling, bookbinding, making cardboard, engraving seals, carving tables and spoons, dissolving lapis lazuli, and other small artistry. He spent a long time with beardless youths until his hair turned gray. All his noble time he has spent on art and now is engaged in that same occupation. [H

682 Rang-i raughān, see II, p. 70, i.e., colors used, for example, on the lids of pen cases (galām-dān).

683 [H, p. 71, says that his father was Mūsā-sulṭān Mausillū and reduces the titles of the disestablished father of Shah ‘Abbās to “navvāb Sulṭān-Muḥammad pādshāh.”]

684 [H: wasṣālī wa faṣṣālī, “repairing books and unbinding them.” According to Dr. M. Bayānī, by the latter operation not only folios wrongly bound were put in order, but sometimes the two pages of one single folio were transferred to different folios (du ḫūṣt kardan).]
adds that Abul-Ma'ṣūm-mīrzā died in 1005/1596 and was buried at the sanctuary of Qum. “He was not devoid of high aspirations and (the feeling) of the transience of this world. In his company there were always some clever and gifted men as well as poor and hapless people who profited by the open table of his liberality.”

Siyāvush-beg was a slave (mamlūk) of Shah Tahmāsp. [H, p. 70: “He came from Georgia and, while he was still a child, the Shah assigned him to the naqqāsh-khāna.”] He studied under Maulānā Muẓaffar ‘Alī and excelled in portraiture. In this work he is a rare phenomenon, in view of the expressive force of his qalam and his power of design. Now he has abandoned that occupation and does not work any more. [H, p. 71: “as one of the royal ghulāms, together with his (Georgian) countrymen, he is now in Shiraz and is employed on (various) commissions (yasāq), but he is a good artist.”]

Maulānā Ḥabībullāh of Sāva lived in Qum. For the skill of his hands he was one at whom men point their fingers and with regard to art he became a ravisher of the souls of his contemporaries. Every day he makes further progress. [H, p. 71: “Navvāb Ḥusayn-khan Shāmlū, governor of Qum, had attached him to his person when he went to Herat, but the felicitous Prince (‘Abbās I?) took him away from the khan, and now he is in the capital, Isfahān, employed by the court department (sarkār-i humāyūn) as a painter.”]

Ṣādīq-beg685 belongs to the Afshār tribe (oymaq). In painting and portraiture he is unequaled and unrivaled. At present he is acting as kitābdār to the Shah (‘Abbās I). He composes very good poetry; there exist many qaṣīdas, qiṭās, ghazals, and rubā’is by him. In painting he brought the harmony of colors (rang-āmīzi), portraiture, and details (taksīrā) to such perfection that men of clear vision are amazed in contemplating his work. Nor in gallantry and bravery does he regard himself inferior to the champions of this time.

685 ‘Ālam-arū, 128, English transl., Arnold, p. 142, gives a record of Ṣādīq-beg Afshār, artist, poet, and soldier of valor, very similar to that of Qāḍī Ahmad. [H: Ṣādīq-beg.]
The painter of beauty Aqa Riḍā is the son of Maulānā ‘Ali Aṣghar [H, p. 71: Kāshānī]; it is fitting that the present age should be proud of his existence, for in the flower of his youth he brought the elegance of his brushwork, portraiture, and likeness to such a degree that, if Mānī and Behzād were living today, they would praise his hand and brush a hundred times a day. In this age he has no rival; master painters, skillful artists who live in our times regard him as perfect (musallam). He has snatched the ball of precedence from his forerunners and has yet days for perfecting himself; one must hope that he will prosper. He has been appointed to the court of Shah ‘Abbās, the powerful monarch of the family of most pure Imāms. On one occasion he made such a portrait that this glorious monarch involuntarily expressed a thousand approvals and praises. Although this humble one has not had the honor of meeting him, and he is not acquainted with this humble one, yet there is between us a bond of pupilship. At one time when his honored father was in Holy Mashhad in the kitāb-khanā of his Highness Mirzā Abul-Fath Ibrāhim-mirzā, for nearly 10 years he lived in the house of this humble one's father, who held the office of vazir to His Highness the Prince. In his early youth this humble one practiced drawing the arabesque (pīchak) under him, and because of the proximity of Qum and Kāshān (our parents?) lived in unity (yagānagi).

[H omits the whole development about the family links and reflects the change which intervened in the interval between the first and second redactions of the book: “(Aqa Riḍā) is (now) in the most honorable service of the felicitous Shah, lord of the necks (of nations), whose service is supported by the celestial vault, Sultan Shah ‘Abbās, may God make his reign eternal. But vicissitudes (of fate) have totally altered...]
Aqā Rīḍā’s nature. The company of hapless people (*nā-
murād, read *nā-mard*) and libertines (*lavand*) is spoiling his disposition. He is addicted to watching wrestling and to acquiring competence (*vuqūf*) and instruction (*taʿlīmāt*) in this profession.”]

**Maulānā Nadhr [H: Nazar]-ʿAlī Qāṭī’** came to Holy Mashhad from Badakhshan. He walked about dressed in felt, in darvish attire, and was an extremely spiritual and pure man. Looking at samples of Mīr-ʿAlī’s script he cut out qīṭ’a so that there was no difference and no superiority between what was written and what was cut out; all that came out of there (out of the sheet of paper) became a qīṭ’a, and that from which cuttings were made was in itself another qīṭ’a. He settled down in Holy Mashhad and many people studied under him and imitated him, but could not equal him.

**Maulānā Kepek**, a native of Herat. He lived as a recluse (muʿtakif) in Holy Mashhad in the Shāhrukhl madrasa. He was good at ‘aks, and in mastering that art made (new) discoveries. He created curious images, wonderful designs, rare colorings. His ‘aks made people free from (their former use of) gold sprinkling.691

**Maulānā Qāsim-beg Tabrizī** was an incomparable bookbinder, a peerless master of leather binding. He was so unique and skillful that he would have sewed the pages of Fate in the back of the binding, and with the binding knife would have

688 MS. E ends here.
690 [Qīṭ’a has a double meaning: “a specimen of calligraphy” and “the technique of the découpage work.” In this work the artist (*qiṭti*), armed with scissors, cuts out letters from the script and pastes them up on a sheet of colored paper. The end of the passage seems to indicate that when the artist had cut out the letters, what remained of the paper represented an à jour replica of the cuttings. V. M.]
691 Kepek is a Turkish name. The term *aʃān* translated as “gold sprinkling” designates the covering of the background and the margins with gold dust; see Semenov, *A MS. of Saʿdī’s Būstān*, 1925. In modern usage the term *aʃān* “reflection (of light)” is used for photography, but in our text it possibly refers to the covering of the background with faint contours (of plants, flowers, animals, etc.), which in fact was a technique superior to the mere “gold sprinkling.” [Dr. Bayānī says more definitely that *aʃān* refers to the use of stencils, which became common in the ninth/fifteenth century.]
leveled the days of Destiny;\textsuperscript{692} his work in the corner pieces (kunj) was similar to stars, and that in medallions (turunj) like the sun. He had (the nature) of a darvish and was self-effacing (fâni). Owing to the disorders caused by the evil Ottomans and the ruin of Tabriz he came to (Persian) ‘Irāq and settled in Qazvin where he worked as a bookbinder. Finally, he adopted Ardabil as his residence, but Fate did not favor him, in confirmation of the saying: “What dost thou know where thou shalt die?” and he died during the epidemic of plague in the year 1000/1591–92 in Qazvin—on him be the clemency of God!

\textsc{Maulānā Yahya} is a native of Qazvin. In the restoration of books, tinting of paper, and in abri he is very \ldots \ldots with regard to the abri paper (?) he has good achievements and abri \ldots \ldots. And the greater part of his time (he spends) in the cathedral mosque of the capital city in the service \ldots And the help to termination from God \textsuperscript{693} \ldots.

\textsuperscript{692} I follow Zakhoder’s reading of M. V. M.

\textsuperscript{693} This formula supports Zakhoder’s statement that at this place traces of the colophon are seen in M. This in fact must be the end of the earlier version of Qādī Aḥmad’s book. It omits the paragraph on Maulānā Yahya (different from Mir Yahyā), and its own Conclusion (khātima) must be a later addition. V. M.
APPENDIX

(H, 72, line 14) CONCLUSION 694

On ruling, gilding, diluting lapis lazuli, preparing various colors, ink and other accessories of a kitāb-khāna.

HOW TO RULE ORNATE (Murassa') FRAMEWORK.

Verse. Draw three lines close to one another,
The line in gold being preferably the last.
Mark the four corners boldly (durusht)
So as to draw (the lines) face to face, and back to back.
The space which can be left between the two lines
Should be less than the back of a knife.
It is better that there should be (only) two lines in the middle,
So that blanks should not appear everywhere.
After that do not fail to use the polisher (muhra) (73)
To be able to draw a contour.695
Draw two contours round the first two lines,
Then three contours round the other line.
When in the inner space (miyān) you draw a second marginal line (muthannā)
It will need also four contours (i.e., two on each side).
Do not let (the lines of) the corners go beyond each other,
Let them lie head to head.
In the middle draw first two lines
In lapis lazuli devoid of marghash.696
Those two lines are joined on the inner side
And in the middle (between them) introduce lapis lazuli.

694 The Conclusion is written in a very poor Persian style with no pretense to literary merit. It surely belongs to some technician and not to Qāḍī Aḥmad himself. Quite a few passages of the Conclusion are not discernible on the photographs (H, pp. 72-76) and even the Persian scholar who used the original MS. H to prepare his transcript seems to have been embarrassed at places. Some technicalities in the text remain obscure, but I am greatly obliged to Dr. M. Bayānī for solving many of my difficulties. V.M.

695 Tahrir: “Very thin lines drawn round the letters, written in colors other than black” (Dr. M. Bayānī).

696 “Sparks (tala'lu') such as are seen in amber” (Dr. M. Bayānī).
Still lower\textsuperscript{697} than those two lines
Draw a light green (silā) line,\textsuperscript{698} and do not omit it!

First marginal line (jadval).—Draw first a thin line and after that a thicker gold line so that between the two lines there should remain the space of a knife's back. Then use the polisher and draw a contour round the thin line, and four contours round the other line—two before and two behind. Then put lapis lazuli upon it (?). Second (muthannā) marginal line.—First draw two gold lines opposite one another, then use the polisher for the gold and draw two contours to each line. Then round (them?) draw lapis lazuli. Marginal line with three contours.—First draw a gold line and use the polisher. Then draw two contours, one in front and one behind, and finally draw lapis lazuli.\textsuperscript{699}

How to grind (mālidan) lapis lazuli.—Cast the lapis lazuli into a vessel with one or two drops of gum upon it and prepare a paste (khamir, "dough"). Then drop by drop pour water over it and grind it. Should it be thick, add a few drops of water; should it lose color, add a couple of drops of gum. After that, as they say, adding gum to color is a fault and is not good, except for the red color which requires more (gum).

How to dilute lapis lazuli.—Know that the best stones of lapis lazuli are those called S.m.q (?). After it in quality is Mārchasmi (?), and after these Divlaghi (?).\textsuperscript{700} The best stones are those which have the best color and are lustrous. The pounding (šalāya)\textsuperscript{701} (of the lapis lazuli) consists of

\textsuperscript{697} "Lower," i.e., more to the inner side (Dr. Bayānī).
\textsuperscript{698} As explained by Dr. M. Bayānī.
\textsuperscript{699} Some idea of the complicated technique can be obtained from the marginal framework of a sar-lauh in my possession. It consists of the following lines (from outside inward): 1, Blue (thick); 2, pink; 3, gold, with two very thin lines on the outside and one on the inside; 4, narrow green separated by a thin line from 5, gold, with a thin line on the inner side. Blank spaces are seen only between 1, 2, and 3. The thin lines are presumably the tahrīr ("contour," i.e., "the line separating the different colored parts of the design," see The Oxford English Dictionary).
\textsuperscript{700} These kinds of lapis lazuli are not mentioned in Birūnī's Kitāb al-jawāhir, ed. F. Krenkow, 1355/1936, pp. 195–196.
\textsuperscript{701} Here salāya seems to refer more to the sorting of particles.
breaking the stone into fine pieces, while those of good color are separated from those of poor color. Each kind is ground in a separate mortar and sifted in a flour sieve (ārd-bīz?) and then washed with ‘Irāqī soap.

*How to wash with soap.*—One pours some pure water into a vessel and beats up the said soap into foam, so that the lye (tīzāb) becomes sharp. The sifted stone is cast into the water, stirred up and left for an hour until the agitated water becomes calm. Then that water is poured into a different bowl (qadāḥ) and the hard residue is collected, pounded (ṣalāya) again, washed with lye and put into another vessel. Again the residue (tah-nishin) is collected, washed, and ground (bimāland), using the same soap, or hot water with (?) milk, several times, until the lapis lazuli entirely comes out of it (mustakhlaṣ). Then it is dried and wrapped in paper.

*How to dilute gold.*—For each gold leaf do not use more than four drops of gum. Crush it at the bottom of a vessel and not on its sides. Do not grind (zūr?) on the sides. Rub it between three or four fingers leaving no particles (khurda) in it. If your hand grows dry (74) moisten it with a little water. The crushing up of gold should not last more than two or three hours because it may become loosened (pūch). When it has softened and there have remained no filaments (rishta) in it, fill the cup with water up to four-sixths and wash the gold off the hands and the sides of the vessel (kāsa) until it all comes down to the bottom. Then cover the vessel with paper and in no case leave it uncovered. After an hour or two, pour the water off the gold and put the vessel on the fire to dry, but take it off soon for it should not remain on the fire too long. Then pour a little black glue (sirisham) upon it, open (the vessel), add a few drops and rub it again. For half a day pour some water on it and leave it for some time to set, so that, when you look at it, it should reflect your face. Then take a little of it on a hair brush and use it. Apply to it immediately a polisher made of shell (muḥra-yi jaz‘). Should the bastimān (setting?) of the gold be insufficient, let it solidify (bastimān) another time. Should the color of this gold be blackish, add some water.
Various colors and how to mix them.—Know that before using colors one should add liquid gum arabic to them. Should it for some reason (az jihat) be oily (mad-hūn), i.e., (too?) fat (charb) for the tool (brush?), mix it with yolk. For verdigris (zangārī) add vinegar. When grinding antimony, mix with it some gum arabic and add water to the amount necessary for the color. Cinnabar is ground like antimony and washed thus: Put it in a glazed (rangīn) vessel, add water, shake it and leave it for an hour until the water grows clear. Then the water is poured (off?) and the color pounded (ṣalāyā). The operation is repeated twice. Wash it even (albatta?) up to three times and when it has been washed, keep it free from dirt and dust, and grind it another time, adding some gum arabic to it until it hardens (ṣitabr). For use on a brush it should be thin enough (tunuk) to allow the brush to dip (?) into it. Lapis lazuli: Grind it with a stone (sang) mixing with it vinegar and gum arabic until it becomes greenish (sabz?). It is washed like cinnabar. All the colors improve with washing. The orpiment (zarnikhi) color: If you want the orpiment yellow, pound it (ṣalāyā) with water and then knead it (ṣirishad) with gum arabic until it becomes soft (ravān?). Red color (surkh): If you wish the orpiment red (surkh), grind it first carefully; the more one grinds it dry the redder it grows. White color: Add water to ceruse and rub it with a flimsy rag (rugū?) until it becomes neat and clean, then add liquid gum arabic to it and use it. Sky blue (āsmānī) is obtained (?) from lapis lazuli. If you wish to whiten lapis lazuli (75) to the sky-blue shade (āsmān-gūn), grind indigo carefully with ceruse, as much as needed, but the result is better if you use ceruse with lapis lazuli. Pink (gul-gūn): Mix verdigris (zangār) with ceruse and with liquid gum arabic or with yolk, and as soon as it is ready (chinānchi guzasht) use it. Gum arabic is used both for wood and paper. For the purpose of painting (naqsh) there is another good method of mixing lapis lazuli with cinnabar and diluting them with liquid gum arabic.
Preparation of Ink

Take equal weights of soot and alum, a double weight of gallnuts (māzū)
A threefold weight of gum and then (use) the strength of your arm.

One must collect the soot on the bottom of an earthen pot (sufālūna) and it is better to obtain the soot from (a lamp filled with) hemp oil (raughan-i bazrak). Put it onto paper, cover the paper with paste (dar khamir), and place it in a hot oven on a burnt brick (khīst-i pukhta) until the dough is cooked. By that time the oiliness (raughan) of it will be gone. Then take the soot out of the paper. Pour some clean and strong gum arabic into a vessel (zarf) and pour water on it as much as you think necessary (in miqdār ki dānād) (to give it) the consistency of honey. Then put the soot in a mortar and pour on it some of that moistened (khīs khurda) gum arabic which has been brought to the consistency of honey, until the mixture becomes like dough. Knead (kūbid) it very long. Then put minced gallnuts (māzūj) in a vessel and fill it with a tenfold quantity of water. Add to the gallnuts 1 dram of leaves of henna and 1 dram of mū leaves, half a dram of indigo (vasma), and half a dram of aftīmūn. Let it stand 24 hours and then boil it until the gallnut water does not spread (nashr) on paper; then strain it through a fresh piece of linen (karbās-i *nau, spelled navā?). Having distilled the gallnut water, keep it. Then dissolve some Cyprus alum (zāj-i qubrusi) and, having distilled it, add it to the gallnut water. After a day, distill the gallnut water and alum again so that no sediment (durd) remains in it. (Pour) some of it into a mortar and upon it pour soot and gum arabic and pound

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702 See above, Sultan-‘Ali’s recipe, p. 112.
703 Dr. Bayānī says that in the days of old, ink was packed upon the saddle of a quick camel to be properly mixed.
704 I.e., by covering the lamp with a pot that will collect the soot.
705 Cooking on hot bricks is a well-known Persian practice.
706 Mū, Meum Athamanticum, Bārwurz, see Abū-Mansūr Muwaffak Haravi, transl. A. Achundov, Halle, 1893, No. 529.
(sahq) as much as it can be pounded. Then cast into the mortar some moistened (sīrāb) indigo and some aloe (šabr), and having pounded (the mixture), leave it for 100 hours, i.e., five days and nights, more or less. After that period (the mixture) is ready, but in less than that (time) the pounded (mixture) would not be ready. Then cast into the mortar some Indian salt and some Egyptian sugar (nabāt). Then little by little pour into the mortar all of the (prepared) mixture of alum and gallnuts, while triturating it and testing it until it acquires the degree of excellence (ḥadd-i muṭawwas). Then take it out of the mortar and strain it through silk. Take half a dram of Tibetan musk and one mithqāl of saffron and dissolve them in 10 drams of rose water, which (must be) extremely pure, and pour it into the ink. Then write and it will be extremely good, fluent and excellent. Another recipe: Put some wheat starch into a copper pot and bake it on a slow fire until it becomes black, but see that it does not burn. Then triturate it. Put some gallnuts into water until they soften. Distill them, pour into the starch and gradually mix them (ba-rūy afkanad?), and put (the mixture) on the fire to boil. (76) Then strain it, adding to it some alum, and use it. This sort of ink is called nishāstāji ("starchy"), whereas the sort described in the first place is called ṣamghi ("prepared with gum"). The following other sort is also ṣamghi. Put some lampblack into a mortar and pound it until it becomes very shiny. Then distill (ṣāf) some gum arabic, which should be neither thick nor thin, and pour it little by little into the mortar, rubbing it carefully until it grows strong. Then mix a little sugar or candy (nabāt ya ṯabarzad) and salt with rose water and mix it (with the contents of the mortar). On the next morning rub the whole and close carefully in a bottle. Then use it when necessary. If you wish that flies (read: *magas, instead of 'aks) should not sit on it, put some cow gall in the ink holder. Another sort: Take (some) tin and quicksilver in equal quantities and pour the quicksilver on the tin. Then pound (ṣalāya) it until it softens. Add some gum arabic and use it, rubbing the back (of the paper) with the polisher.
How to remove writing from paper.—Take some liquid ceruse (safid-aš-i arzīz), triturate it with liquid gum arabic and apply to the writing. When it is dry, use the polisher and the writing will disappear.708

* * *

It is hoped that the readers of this lofty composition (nuskha-yi munīfa) will act upon (ba-mu'addā?) the saying: "Who hits the target becomes the target of the eyes," (namely) that everyone who casts a glance on these folios should inscribe (dākhil) what, according to his enlightened views, has been omitted (tark), and with the pen of improvement cross out whatever (seems to be) superfluous or incompatible with his high appreciation.

Verse. Much work (lies) before the Pen,
But the power of writing has decreased.
Let God’s favors be my guide
And the pen of writing my helper,
That I should conclude this story
And, as intended, turn my attention toward another one.

Finished the book by the grace of the Lord of Generosity.

708 Here ends the note on "the accessories of a kitāb-khana," and the conclusion seems to be by Qāḍī Aḥmad himself.
709 Reading: man hadafa (perhaps: man *janfa?) fa-qad istahdafa.
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درکانی یکی و دوست با هم دارند دو چند چهارشاخه
رضوان باکه دبور و بصلان میند یافتن و دریاچه زیر
استا (۷)

ارواپر اطهاریت و ملیت، برد
ارواه بقای آسد، سیف دکتر کا درنا پنجور در
جاها دو و دویم آن این زر و چهارچوب شبان پر
فرود نمرت شوی شاشی محور و چهلی در

استا دوست هدیه روش توقیف برد زیرای خورگونه و

شیرینی بارکا باز و حلکان شا یا یا پیشانی

کرکان در کنستانته عیان عفت کریمی"

با کارتی تصویر و دویم فن سیما دکتر هدیه و تقریباً شده
سفر از شیرین و نزدیکا لذت و لذت از سوگا می‌کنیم و
درک کر و بر حال شگفتی قطب و شگفت و شگفتی

MS. E, folio 84, recto = MS. M, p. 139.
MS. M, p. 19: Yaqūt Mustaṣsimī on a Minaret engaged in Writing.
MS. E, folio 19, recto: Yaqūt Musta'ṣimi on a Minaret engaged in Writing.
MS. M, p. 59: Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi with Three Pupils, and a Man Outside the Door.
MS. E, folio 8, verso: Abul-Fath Ibrâhim-mirzâ with Three Shaykhs and Three Youths.
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