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

WASHINGTON
1959
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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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PREFACE

For over three centuries the name of Qāḍī 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 ⁴ and we shall simply translate it from the Russian.

“... The name of Qāḍī Aḥmad appeared first in 1925 in an article by Prof. A. A. Semenov ⁵ 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’ ⁶ 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 Qāḍī 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 Qāḍī Aḥmad, when, toward the end of the same year, he published an article on the fifth volume of the historical chronicle Khulāṣat al-akhbār. ⁷

“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

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to her. In this asephalous copy the author hints at his name only once by referring to his other works, the Khulāsāt al-
akhbūr (see above) and the anthology Majma' al-shu'ārā.

"The Russian articles had remained unknown to Mrs. Ed-
wards, 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 Qādī Aḥmad, namely, the anthology called Majma'
al-shu'ārā seems to have survived, for we have found a
mention of it in the article on Persian anthologies by
S. Khwānsārī."

In 1947, 12 years after the appearance of his first article,
Prof. B. N. Zakhoder published a Russian translation of
Qādī Aḥmad'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 Qādī Aḥmad'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 Salat
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-
able 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 Qādī 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 Qādī Aḥmad
tried to enliven his rather stylized characterizations of the cal-
ligraphers 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 exten-
sive 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 insig-
nificant 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 Qādī 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

'Ālam-ārdā .......... See Bibliography under author, Iskandar-munshi.
GMS ............... Gibb Memorial Series.
Ḥobīb al-ṣiṣr ........ See Bibliography under author, Khwāndamīr.
Izvestiya ........... Izvestiya Akademii Nauk.
J.A. ................. Journal Asiatique.
Muntazam-i Nāṣirī .... See Bibliography under author, Ṣaʿd al-daula, Muhammad Ḥasan.
Nuzhat al-qulūb .... See Bibliography under author, Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi.
Sharaf-nāma .......... See Bibliography under Sharaf khān, Scherof-nāme.
Taḥkīrat ............ See Bibliography under [Shāh Ṭahmāsp].
Tajrīb al-salaf .......... See Bibliography under author, Hindūshāh ibn Sanjar.
Ṭabāṭabā'ī Šādi ........ See Bibliography under author, Šāmīr at-Tāhir, Abū Naṣr.
ZDMG ............... Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZVO ................. Zapiski Vostockogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arheologicheskogo Obshchestva.
Zayn al-'Abidīn ... See Bibliography, Manuscripts, Zayn al-Abidin.

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.

INTRODUCTION BY B. N. ZAKHODER

(Translated from the Russian.)

I. THE AUTHOR

Qādī Ahmad ibn Mir-Munshi 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

to 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 Fā'īma, 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-Majīd Qumī, of whom the calligrapher Qanbar (a native of Abyssinia, like the famous Yāqūt), called himself a ghuṭām (servant-slave). In 1497-98, during the troubled days of the later Aq-qoyunlu he refused to open the town gates to Ayye-sultān 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 Musayyibī Qumī, builder of a khanqāh (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 Šī'īvī 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 Ḥirz, ZDMG, p. 315.
11 In fact, the maternal grandfather of the author's father. V. M.
12 By mistake C. C. Edwards, p. 209, 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 mirāṭ, 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-dīn Ḥusayn Qumi (MS. 35), whom Shah Tāhmasp 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-mirkā, son of the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shah Ismā'īl I. Sām-mirkā's well-known anthology (composed circa 1550), which is also a kind of chronicle, contains no mention of either Sharaf al-dīn'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-mirkā'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 vizeirate of Ahmad-beg Nūr Kānāl, 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 vizeirate in Mashhad, under Prince Ibrāhīm-mirkā, son of Bahrām-mirkā, Shah Tāhmasp's favorite brother. Apparently the "Mir-Munshi" was induced to serve Ibrāhīm-mirkā 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-mirkā (MS. 20) on the grounds of a common enthusiasm for calligraphy; similar information is contained in the biography of the Mir-Munshi's brother and Qādī Aḥmad's uncle, Khālidullāh, who was a master of the nasta'īq and an intimate of Ibrāhīm-mirkā, 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-mirkā and Ibrāhīm-mirkā 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 Aḥūl-Fāḍil Bahrām-mirkā was known as master calligrapher, poet, musician, and artist (MS. 140). In his kitāb-khāna there worked such outstanding masters as Niẓām al-dīn of Bukhārā (MS. 34, 35), Rustam-Aḥūn, son of Bahrām's sister (MS. 102), and others.

Still more gifted was Bahrām-mirkā's second son, Aḥūl-Fāḍil Ibrāhīm-mirkā, born 1543-44, i.e., six years before Bahrām-mirkā's death, of a mother belonging to a noble family of Shīrāz. We know very little about the administrative service of this "secretary" who seems to have been corresponding with all sorts of people, including the author of this work, throughout Persia and the Ottoman empire.

is a profuse source of information on official appointments, does not mention the "Mir-Munshi," and this silence seems still more strange if we credit the statement of our Treatise about Iskandar-mirkā's being on intimate terms with Qādī Ahmad (MS. 3). [This statement is repeated even in the later revised version of the Treatise which meanwhile adds new material on the Mir-Munshi's career; see below, p. 78.]

21 Born in 923/1517-18, appointed governor of Khorasan in 958/1550-51; see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 178, 189, 202, and Zayn al-'Ābidin, fol. 255a, 265a, 270b.

22 MS. 34-35, gives a sample of Bahrām-mirkā's epigrams.

23 Tuhfā-yi Sāmī, p. 9.

24 In medieval works the term kītāb-khāna includes both the library itself and the workshop in which the work of restoring and producing manuscripts decorated with painting was carried on.

25 According to the Šāh-nāma, p. 103, at the time of his death (in 994 H.) Ibrāhīm-mirkā was 34 years old; cf. MS. 117, 118.
career of this prince. Apparently Ibrahim-mirzâ did not play an important role in the political life of the time, a fact that might explain Shah Tahmasp’s kind feelings toward his young nephew, who from childhood showed himself to be a talented artist, poet, and scholar. In 963/1555-56 Tahmasp married Ibrahim-mirzâ to his daughter, Gauhar-sultân begum \(^{22}\) and gave him the governorship of Mashhad, whither, according to Qâdi Ahmad, 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-nâma \(^{23}\) tells of Ibrahim-mirzâ’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 Alam-ârâ asserts that at the time of Tahmasp’s death the Prince was in Qazvin, at the court, where he held the post of eshik-aqasi, \(^{24}\) and does not refer to Mashhad.

Neither the governorship of Mashhad, \(^{25}\) nor the charge of eshik-aqasi at the shah’s court seem particularly important for a member of the dynasty. Ibrahim-mirzâ’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 Qâdi Ahmad 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, es-

\(^{22}\) Sharaf-nâma, vol. 2, p. 209. The name of Tahmasp’s daughter is quoted according to the Alam-ârâ, p. 102; in the Sharaf-nâma she is styled “Ishânum” and not “Sekun.”


\(^{24}\) Alam-ârâ, p. 101. [The eshik-aqasi were chamberlains and masters of ceremonies. Their head, eshik-aqasi-bashi, was the grand master of ceremonies; see Tadhkira al-muluk, 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.

\(^{26}\) [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-mirå’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. Such 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-mirå 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-mirå’s studio and of the aesthetic ideals of the “magnificent” patron and his entourage. Ibrāhīm-mirå 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-mirå pronounced himself a follower of Mir-‘Alī’s style (MS. 111, 112). According to the Treatise, “without exaggeration, half of what Maulānā Mir-‘Alī 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-mirå’s influence the author’s uncle, Khalīlullāh (MS. 121), then 30 years old, went over from the ta’liq to the nasta’liq. The following master calligraphers are named in the Treatise as employed in Ibrāhīm-mirå’s kitāb-khāna: Rustām-‘Alī, formerly of Bahrām-mirå’s library (MS. 102), his son Muḥibb ‘Alī, who was the kitāb-dār 39 of Ibrāhīm-mirå’s library (MS. 103), and ‘Ayshī of Herat (MS. 108). Still more important is the list of artist painters: Shāykh Muhammad of Sāhebār (MS. 144), Aqī-Riḍā’s father, ‘Ali Aqghar Muṣāvīr (MS. 144, 148), and ‘Abdullāh Muḥāḥib, who worked 20 years for Ibrāhīm-mirå (MS. 146). If Mir-‘Alī 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-mirå 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 Bahrām-mirå and calls himself “the slave-servant and son of a slave-servant,” who had “received upbringing and education in the service” of Ibrāhīm-mirå, 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,
Sharaf al-din Ḥusayn, and permeated with filial respect (MS. 35–37), show him as a civil servant versed in the affairs of chancelleries, "whose scholarly merits, owing to worldly affairs and service at the Shah’s court and in the Shāhīnshāh’s assembly, were hidden by the veil of concealment."

Although Mīr-Munshī’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 Ibrāhīm-mīrzā to the artists and calligraphers mentioned in our MS. (pp. 108, 141, 146) were written in Mīr-Munshī’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 bovhood and youth and leaves the impression that this particular period was the brightest and happiest in the whole of Qādī ʿAlī’s life.

The MS. contains no direct reference to the relations that existed between Qādī ʿAlī and the exalted patron of his family, but the deep feeling that permeates the pages devoted to Ibrāhīm-mīrzā shows that they were sufficiently intimate. Qādī ʿAlī’s uncle Khalīlullāh, was the companion of “His Highness the Mīrzā in the games of chouqān and ṣabq-racing” (MS. 122). It was not only the kitāb-khāna, 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 ʿAlī’s own artistic activity in Mashhad is largely explained by the prevailing devotion to art which set the tone at Ibrāhīm’s court.

Like Qum, Mashhad, where the Eighth Imām ʿAli ibn Mūsā al-Ridā 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, ʿAbdullāh ʿAbdulla, the Herat calligrapher in thulūḥ, 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, ʿAbd al-Haqq, decorated the outer facings of the wall of the Imām’s mausoleum (MS. 31). His pupil, Shuykh Kamāl Sabzavārī (MS. 34), and the latter’s son, the artist Shuykh Muḥammad (MS. 144), in their turn carried on the work in Mashhad. Still greater fame was won by Sultān-ʿAlī, 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 panegyric of his pupils (who were employed in various kitāb-khānas and religious institutions) were not a few first-class names, such as Mīr-ʿAlī, Muḥammad Abrishami, and others.

Outside Ibrāhīm-mīrzā’s kitāb-khāna, Qādī ʿAlī undoubt- edly had occasion to meet many representatives of the pictorial and calligraphic arts. About one of these, Shuykh 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: ʿAbdullāh-
Maḥmūd Zarīn-qalān, pupil of the calligrapher ʿAbdi, 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 Qandāghā madrasa—near the Chahār-bāgh”) and speaks of the virtuous friend who “visited the master and enjoyed his conversation.” (b) Mir Sayyid Ahmad, Mir ʿAlī’s pupil, who died in 986/1578–79: “On two occasions when I visited the holy Mashhad and studied there, I practiced under the Mir, learned writing from him and was his pupil. The Mir deigned to write for this humble one a muraqqa’ (album) and several samples of single letters and many qīf’ā” (MS. 97). (c) The artist ʿAlī Asghar, 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 Rīdā, son of ʿAlī-Asghar. [My translation (see below, pp. 188, 192–193) shows that Qāḍī Aḥmad claimed only a remote co-pupilship with Aqā Rīdā, whose father taught Qāḍī Aḥmad. Neither the text nor the chronology support the idea that Aqā Rīdā, who was still young at the time of the composition of the first draft of the Treatise (1596) and died in 1648/1635, 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 vazīr in 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 changing of the guard) after the Shah’s death. The “Circassian” guard, whose candidate was Ismāʿīl-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 Ismāʿīl-mīrzā ascended the throne as Ismāʿīl 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-Hijja 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 Ibrāhīm Jāhī was of small political importance but it spilled tragedy to many of his intimates. According to the ʿĀlam-ārāʾ, Ibrāhīm’s wife, the daughter of Shah Tahmāsp, died of grief a few days after the death of her husband. His daughter, Gauhar-shāh begum, whose name is known to us only from Qāḍī 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. Qāḍī Aḥmad’s uncle, Khalilullāh, after the death of his patron, “shunned all

88 [In fact, “Daghistanian.” V. M.]
89 Šahr-i-ʿalam, vol. 2, pp. 247–255. [Ibrāhīm-mīrzā did not take an active part in the events and for a short time was spared by Ismāʿīl II; see below, p. 164.]
90 One detail in Qāḍī 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 Ismāʿīl II” (MS. 117). According to other sources Shah Ismāʿīl died at the age of 37 or 38, not 34. See ʿĀlam-ārāʾ, p. 35; Tahjīr-i Shāh, pp. 38–39.
91 ʿĀlam-ārāʾ, p. 102.
92 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 Muhammad Khudā-banda (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 ṭulṯ writing, ‘Alā-bek Tabrizi (MS. 38). [According to Qādī Ahmad’s historical work, Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh (quoted by H. R. Roemer, Der Niedergang Iran ... 1577–81, Würzburg 1939, p. 95), in 984/1576 Qādī Ahmad was appointed vazir to the financial administrator (mūsawafī al-mamlāk) Mir Shāh-Ghāzi and held that post for four years. After that he served as vazir to Ār-doghāḥ-khalifa Tākkūlū (988/1580). In Sha‘bān 989/September 1581 the Shah appointed him to the independent post of administrator of pious foundations (mūsawafī-yi maqṣafāt). Consequently he was employed throughout the reigns of Ismā’īl II and Khudā-banda. 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 “Qādī-khān al-Ḥusaynī” whom Iskandar-munsfi (‘Ālam-ārā, p. 203) calls ẓadr-i ʿazam, may be the later avatar of our Qādī Ahmad. This hypothesis is contradicted by Iskandar-munsfi, who (loc. cit., p. 764) explains that the “Qādī-khān” was the son of Mirzā Burhān and belonged to the family of the sayyids of Qazvīn.

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

11. THE WORKS OF QĀDĪ AHMAD AND THE DATING OF THE TREATISE ON CALLIGRAPHERS

As appears from our text, Qādī Ahmad, prior to his work on calligraphy and painting, composed two other works: 23

23 [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, who calls it Majma’ al-shu‘arā. Volume 5 of Qādī Ahmad’s second work formed the subject of an article by Hinz in 1935; in this volume the author calls himself “Qādī Ahmad Ibrāhimi” (evidently in honor of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā), and the date of the work is taken to be 999/1590–91. 24

Majma’ al-shu‘arā is mentioned three times in our MS. in connection with the biographies of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, Ḥakim-Rūknā, and the calligrapher Ḥāfiz-Qanbar. The references to the Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh (five in number) are more detailed. From them we learn that volume 1 of this work was devoted to the Chaghatay sultans (MS. 30), and volume 5 to the Safavids and the sayyids families (MS. 112). Our author speaks of the Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh in connection with the biographies of his great-grandfather Sharaf al-dīn (MS. 33), of the Timurid Prince Ibrāhīm (MS. 30), of the calligrapher

as 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. F the author several times omits his poetical illustrations but refers to the Majma’ al-shu‘arā to which he has transferred them. V. M. J. Hinz, ZDMG, p. 317, mentions still another work of Sufi character written, as the title suggests, in imitation of Farīḍ al-dīn Ṭūnṭūr. 24 Khwānsārī, in Armaghān, p. 49. [In the introduction to his edition of the Dhaif-i ʿĀlam-ārā, 1317/1935, Khwānsārī refers to Qādī Ahmad and his works: “(a) Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh, 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 Qādī Ahmad’s death in 1001/1592; (b) Majma’ al-shu‘arā concerning the lives of the poets; and (c) Galištān-i quzān, concerning the lives of the calligraphers and painters,” i.e., the present work. The date of Qādī Ahmad’s death, probably surmised from the last date found in his history, is definitely wrong (see above). V. M.]

24 Hinz, ZDMG, pp. 315, 229.
Mir 'Abd al-Baqi' (MS. 46), of the vizier Mir Zakariya (MS. 49), and of Ibrihim-mirza (MS. 112).

The Treatise on Calligraphers and Artists is therefore the third of our author's works, which shows that Qadi Ahmad was a man of letters and a scholar, rather than a professional calligrapher or artist.

The preface 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., 'Ali b. Abi-Talib) . . . (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" (risala). Apparently on the strength of these notes some reader made the following entry on the back of the last folio: "Treatise by Qadi Ahmad on the appearance of the qalam and the invention of writing." [But the title under which the Treatise is known in Persia is Gulistan-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-din Ibrahim the author says: "For some time he acted as vizier to Princess Pari-khan Khanum . . . and since the death of the Princess down to the present day, for some 20 years, he has been living in the capital, Qazvin" (MS. 52).

Princess Pari-khan Khanum was one of the outstanding women of her day. She was the daughter of Shah Tahmasp. 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, Pari-khan Khanum took part in the feuds and court intrigues which marked the end of Shah Tahmasp's reign. She was officially betrothed to Prince Ibrahim-mirza's brother, Badi' al-Zaman, but "she was not in his possession" and remained with Shah Tahmasp who loved and favored her." On the night when Shah Tahmasp died and Haydar-mirza hastened to seize the crown, the Princess directed the attack of the Circassians on the palace of Qazvin which ended in the killing of Haydar-mirza. During the reign of Ismail II, Pari-khan Khanum enjoyed unlimited influence; the scheme of a rapprochement with Sunnism is ascribed to her, jointly with Ismail II. The death of Ismail II and Muhammad Khudadbanda's advance from Shiraz against Qazvin put an end to the ambitious plans and the life of the Princess. She was murdered on 3 Dhu-ul-Hijja 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 'Abbâs and to the "Khan of the Time," Abû Mansûr Farhad-khan Qaramânlu. 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 Hasan 'Ali (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 kitâb-khâna were situated (MS. 124, 126). This shows

[This daughter of Tahmasp must be distinguished from his sister of the same name married to the ruler of Shirvan; see Justi, Iranischer Namenbuch, p. 246. In Browne, A literary history of Persia, vol. 4, pp. 81 and 104, they are somewhat confused. The mother of Tahmasp's daughter was not a real Cherkese (of the northwestern Caucasus) but belonged to the family of the Qumis rulers of northern Daghestan (in the northeast Caucasus). In his Khwâjaat al-tâ'ârikh, vol. 5, fol. 273a, Qâdi Ahmad writes that, at the time of Tahmasp, Pari-khan was "the queen of the period and the adviser (of her father)." V.M.]

[Oral tradition, preserved by Adam Olearius, tells that the Princess beheaded Haydar-mirza with her own hand.

[Alam-arâ, p. 162; C. C. Edwards, p. 139. (Roemer, p. 4, etc. V.M.)]

[From here on down to the end of the chapter, corrections have been introduced into Professor Zachodner's text in the light of the fresh evidence supplied by MS. H. 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.44

(d) The fact that the biographies of Mir 'Imād and Mālik Ahmad (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 Ahmad openly speaks of his "distraught mind, and the total loss of property" and many worries (MS. 4). Speaking of the presents made to him by his teacher, Mir Sayyid Ahmad 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.45

The title qādī ("judge") prefixed to the author's name points to his competence in Islamic law.46 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 Niẓām al-dīn 'Ali-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., 'Ali-Riḍā) was the companion and fellow traveler of the Khan of the Time in Khorasan and Māzar-dārān, 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,47 though the miniature 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. Qādī Ahmad's Treatise opens before us a page, until now unknown, of the relations between 'Abbās and Farhād Khān, but in what relation Qādī Ahmad 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 Qādī Ahmad retire to "a corner of seclusion," as his uncle Khālil-lullāh died 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 treatise48 by the sixteenth-century Turkish poet and historian Muṣṭafā ‘Ali, entitled Manāqib-i hāneverān ("Biographies of Artists"), which was composed some 10 years before that of Qādī Ahmad, shows that the latter's plan was

44 'Alam-ārā, p. 373.
45 [The conclusion would be that the first draft was begun at that time. V. M.]
46 As pointed out by C. C. Edwards, p. 201.
47 [We abridge the passage on the relations of Shah 'Abbās and Farhād Khān, as the full text of Qādī Ahmad's dedication is now available in the English translation. V. M.]
48 [According to Zakhoder, traces of the colophon are distinguishable on p. 150. On the addition in MS. H, see below, p. 195. V. M.]
49 Published by the Turkish scholar Mahmūd 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.  

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 books bearing on the subject, of whose existence in medieval collections we know from the 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-Mālīf 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-ʿAli ibn Muqla (tenth century), the creator of the sīṭa (“six styles of writing”), and his follower, ʿAli ibn ʿHūlī, known as Ibn-Bawwāb. The importance of research in such old literature in Arabic is obvious, not only for the 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.)  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 venerated treatise (MS. Or. B550) copied in 1093/1682, of Muḥammad Chapnīvīs Ṯīn mentioned in Qāḍī ʿAḥmad’s work (MS. 89); (2) the prose treatise on calligraphy by Fadhlullāh Ibn-ʿAlī ibn-Muḥammad (MS. Or. B551), dated 955/1556–87 and entitled “On the Foundations and Laws of the sīṭa Writing.”

Qāḍī ʿAḥmad 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 Muḥammad Chapnīvīs (MS. 89), the versified treatise of Sultan-ʿAlī Mashhādī (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 Shāraf al-dīn Yaʿqūb and Hāfiz-ī Abru (MS. 27, 29).

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

54 See also the treatise on calligraphy of the Iranian philologist Ibn-Dinawari (b. 256/871, d. 346/957), published by L. Shukho, Beirut, 1921.
55 M. Iqbal, R étape, p. 107.
56 A second copy of this Treatise is in the British Museum; see Rieu, Catalogue, pp. 551–552, where there is an obvious confusion of the names of Mr Ali and Muḥammad Chapnīvīs. This question was studied in Zakhoder’s article “Muḥsin, the Poet-calligrapher from Herat” in the Presentation Volume to I. Y. Kratchkovsky.
57 Zaleman, Ismāʿīliya, 1907, p. 391.
58 Huurs, p. 222. C. C. Edwards, p. 199, wrongly assumes that there exists no copy of Sultan-ʿAlī’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. Kostigova, Traktat . . . Sultan-ʿAlī Mash- hādī, in Trudi Gosud. Publicnogo Bibliotek i imeni Salitkova-Schedrina, 11 (V), 1937, pp. 101–163. In her Introduction G. I. Kostigova quotes a detailed list of the copies existing elsewhere, see Bodleian Library, Eth, Catalogue, 1, 834 (unidentified); Bibliothèque Nationale, Bischet, Collectif Schéfer, pp. 88 and 103; Caleutta, Ceylon collections, W. Ivanov, Catalogue, 1926, p. 432. V. M.]
ported the whole of Sulṭān-ʿAli’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 Sulṭān-ʿAli’s and Qāḍī Aḥmad’s treatises does not end there. All those parts of Qāḍī Aḥmad’s work that deal with the legendary origin of writing from ‘Ali ibn Abī-Ṭalīb and the strictly historical part on the origin of the nastāʿīq are based essentially on Sulṭān-ʿAli’s treatise. These borrowings, however, do not cover by any means all the abundant material that makes Qāḍī 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, Dīst-Muḥammad, as well as in the ‘Ālam-ārā, the Tārikh-i Rashīdī, 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 Bahram-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 Qāḍī 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 Shiʿa, 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 Qāḍī Aḥmad’s explanation of the origin and development of the art of writing. The old biblical concept of the word, typical of the Qurʾān, as well as of Islamic tradition, namely that ‘the first thing created by God was the qalam’ (MS. 9), is interpreted by the Shiʿa in the characteristically Allīd sense, and ‘Ali ibn Abī-Ṭalīb 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 ‘Kūfic’ style, whose work could be factually examined. Like any other master, ‘Ali ibn Abī-Ṭalīb had his pupils and his descendants, the second, fourth and eighth Imāms, 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 dogmas consecrate not only the process of writing, but naturally enough even the character of the writing; the Kūfī and other styles allegedly stemming from it, such as nashk, thulūḥ, etc., remained for a long time the only varieties of writing which, from the reli-

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48 Qurʾān, XCVI, 3-4, see below, p. 49.
49 See, for instance, the disposition on the top of the twin-torned alif, ascribed to ‘Ali (MS. 15).
igious point of view, could lawfully transmit the Qur'ān and theological literature. In the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, when nastālīq became the predominant style in Persian artistic calligraphy, a tendency arose to extend to this purely Persian style the prerogatives of its predecessors. Hence the tracing of the genealogy of Mir 'Ali Tabrizi, the creator of nastālīq, to the family of 'Ali ibn Abī-Tālib (MS. 72). Hence, too, the religious and moral demands on the master calligrapher. The religious consecration of a process of production, which, generally speaking, is typical for the whole of the Middle Ages, achieves its extreme expression in calligraphy:

The goal of Murtaḍā '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. Sulṭān-'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 Qur'ān with the religious dogmas 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 Qur'ān, 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 Qur'ān. 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-Bukhārī, 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 'Aḥmad'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 qalamān":

God created two kinds of qalamān:
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 Māni, 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-reed, 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 Abī-Tālib appears as the patron both of writing and of the graphic arts. "The portraitists of the image (paykār) of this wonderful skill," explains the Treatise, "trace this art to the marvelously writing qalam of the Frontpiece of the 'Five Companions of the Cloak,' 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 Abī-Tālib" (MS. 128). Thus the Treatise illustrates with sufficient clearness the new attitude of Persian feudal society to-

62 The "Five Companions" protected by one cloak are: Muhammad, Fātima, 'Ali, Hasan, and Husayn.

63 The same idea is found in Dost 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 Tærætise the formulæ on this building the writing was the work of so-and-so” accompanies the majority of the biographies of masters of tæth and nasta’lq. 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 Ýaqût “wrote the súra 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: Simí Nishâpûrî (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 specialties, from calligraphy to painting. Such was, for instance, the family of the great Behzâd, whose nephew, Rustam ‘Ali, was a great master of nasta’lq, just as the latter’s son, Muḥīb “Ali, was a poet, writing under the takhlîl “Ibrâhîmî” (in honor of Ibrâhîm-mirzâ) (MS. 103). Even the spiritual and secular lords of Persia, the shahs, were not only keen connoisseurs of painting but themselves practiced this art; thus Shah Tahmâsp studied painting under the master Sultan-Muhammad and himself had a pupil (MS. 139, 142).

The theory of the equality of the two qalamns 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 Tærætise. Tradition weighed heavily on the Muslim writer. In imitation of the classical styles of writing, our author quotes the same number of artistic styles: isîlîm, khiṭâ’î, fîrâqî, fîsâr, abîr (abr, abra?), akra (Agra?), salâmî (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-Muqâla, the inventor of the styles known by the name of sittâ (“the six”), deviated from the Kufic and created tæth, naskh, rayhân, muhaqqaq, tawqî, and riqû (MS. 16). Later, even in post-Mongolian times, there appeared ta’lîq (derived from riqû and tawqî) (MS. 40) and nasta’lq, whose originator was Khwâja ‘Ali Tabrizî (MS. 55).

Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was demonstrated by Silvestre de Sacy 10 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 Kâfî. No less doubtful is the tradition which ascribes to Ibn-Muqâla the invention of the sittâ. In documents of a much earlier period, even of the beginning of the eighth century, Arabic writing is characterized by elements different from Kâfî and closely related to naskh.11 Nor can we fully rely on our Tærætise regarding the much later ta’lîq and nasta’lq.

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

10 In fact, to the six styles of writing must be added the “gubkâr,” a fine, dust-like writing.
11 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 Aḥmad 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 ʿAlī, the Treatise is in effect an anthology (taḥkīrā), a literary form richly represented in Persian literature. Unlike the calligraphic treatise of Faṭḥullāh ibn-ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib 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 Sultan-Alī’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-Mustaʿsimī (thirteenth century), our author gives only two names, Ibn-Muqāla and Ibn-Baswāh, 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

48 [This must be the reason for the adjustments in the order of the biographies which one finds in H. V. M.]

importance of Qādī Aḥmad’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 Qādī Aḥmad, 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 49 make it desirable to examine the geographical range of Qādī Aḥmad’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-Muqāla, 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 “Mārjānīya,” and the other one lying “beside the bridge” (MS. 21)—and Nasrullah, who decorated “certain buildings” in Baghdad (MS. 21). Among the incidental data are the references to the temporary residence in Baghdad of Maulānā Ḥasan-ʿAlī (native of Mashhad, who went on pilgrimage to Hijaz and died in 1003/1594-95 [MS. 96]), 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

49 [Some new facts are added in H. V. M.]
Maʿrūf (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 Jaḥṣirid Sultan Ṣuwaṣ (1356–77), and the decoration of the newly erected buildings by the masters Muhārak-shāh Zārīn-qalam, and Pīr Yaḥyā Shīf, his pupil (MS. 21, 22).

C. SHIRAZ AND FARȘ

Of more importance are our author's references to Shiraz and Farṣ. With Shiraz, Qāḍī Aḥmad was connected by old family ties: the already mentioned calligrapher Ḥāfż Qanbar, who called himself the slave-servant of the author's ancestor Shāraḥ al-dīn, was a pupil of the Shirāzī master Pīr-Muḥammad I (MS. 32). The flourishing of the arts in Shiraz is linked with the name of Timur's grandson and Shāhrukh's son, Prince Ibrāhīm-Sultān, who became governor of the town and province in 827/1423–24 and died in 838/1434–35. Like another Ibrāhīm, 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, as well as two madrasas, the Dār al-ṣafā (“House of Purity”) and the Dār al-aṣyām (“the Orphanage”), in the decoration of which he took a personal part. Subsequently, both madrasas were destroyed by the orders of Yaṭūb Dhu-l-Qādār (MS. 29). Ibrāhīm-Sultan was responsible for the decoration of the Zāhiriyā building, for the ḡaḍāl written on glazed tiles of the pediment of Sa’dī's tomb in 835/1431–32 (MS. 29), and for the mazar of Bābā Luṭfullāh ‘Imād al-dīn (MS. 30). The

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No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky

artistic traditions established under the Timurids were kept up in later times when Shiraz became the sie of the Aq-qoyyunlu. A name 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 Pīr-Muḥammad, Majd al-dīn Ibrāhīm, Mahmūd Siyāvush, Pīr-Muḥammad II, Shams al-dīn Muḥammād Zāhīr, Rūzbḥān, ‘Abī al-Qādir, Ḥāfż ‘Abdullāh (MS. 26, 27), Ḥusayn Fakhrkhāṣ Shirāzī (MS. 35), and the painter ‘Abdullāh Muhdahhib (MS. 146). To the number of Shiraz artists are to be reckoned natives of Abarqūḥ, a small town between Shiraz and Yazd, such as Mir Nizām al-dīn Ashraf, who held the post of Shaykh al-Islām of certain districts of Farṣ 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 Imam buried in Mashhad (MS. 32, 34, 47): the mazar of Sayyid Abū-Aḥmad (MS. 32); the mosque ‘Iṣḥaq-i ‘Ali, built by Mir Muḥammad, who was at one time vazir to Sulṭān Rustam.
Aq-‘ayyânî (1491–96) and later took up residence in his native Qum (MS. 44, 45); the *ḥusayniyya* built by Aqā Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn, 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-dīn ʿAbd al-Majīd Qumi (MS. 32). To the same category apparently belonged the pupils of Ḥāfiz Qanbar, mentioned in the Treatise: Mir Ḍabīl Qumi (MS. 33), Ḥaydār Qumi, and Sayyid Wali Qumi (MS. 34). Ḥāfiz Qanbar decorated the cathedral mosque and the ʿayyān of Abū Aḥmad’s mazār (MS. 32); in the decoration of the mausoleum of Fāṭima there took part Ḥaydar Qumi, Wali Qumi, and Ibrāhīm Astarābādī, 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 Qādī Aḥmad’s uncle, Khālidullāh, who, after Ibrāhīm-mirzā’s death, devoted himself to “agriculture and pious life” (MS. 122), Mālik Aḥmad (MS. 123), Kamāl al-dīn, “the One-eyed” of Herat (MS. 106), and the painter Ḥabībullāh of Sīvā (MS. 147). [Ou Bulbul see below, p. 82.]

**E. KĀŠHĀN**

Very different from Qum was the town of Kāshān 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—kāshī). The rich artistic life of Kāshān is not sufficiently portrayed in the Treatise. The town is only incidentally mentioned in connection with the biographies of the calligraphers in *nastalīq*, Mu’izz al-dīn Muḥammad (d. 995/1586–87) (MS. 119), Muḥammad Bāqir-khurda (MS. 123), the poet Mir Ḥusayn (MS. 123), the artists ʿAbd al-Vahhāb and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (MS. 142), and finally ʿAlī Aqghar and

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-mirzā, 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 “Murūd garden” entirely decorated by Sultān-ʿAli (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 Naqīsh (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 ʿIrāq. This process began soon after the death of Sultān-Ḥusayn. Thus, according to the Treatise, the famous master of *nastalīq*, Sultān-ʿAlī “after the death of the Mirzā 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
Ḫusayn and later entered the service of Shībānī-khān (MS. 43, 44).

**G. BUKHARA**

The court at Bukhara was growing into a center which attracted the artists of Herat. Here, under Ḥabīb al-Ẓāhirī-khān, son of Ḥabībullah khan, a kītāb-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 ‘Alī and his pupil Khwāja Maḥmūd ibn Iṣḥāq, who were forcibly removed to Central Asia after Herat was seized by the army of Ḥabībullah khan in 935/1528–29 (MS. 87, 88). Some of the artists, however, joined the kītāb-khāna of the Uzbek Maecenas of their own accord, as was the case with Qâdi ‘Alî’s teacher, Sayyid Ahmad Mashhadi (MS. 94, 95); such instances were probably uncommon, for by that time the religious struggle between the Sunni Uzbeks and the Shi‘ite 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: Ḥāfiz Kamāl al-dīn Ḫusayn, nicknamed “the One-eyed” (MS. 106), the artist Aqṭār Ḥasan Naqqāsh (MS. 143), and the artist Kekeq (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), Dāst Muḥammad (MS. 102), Shams al-dīn Muḥammad (MS. 124), and Sayyid ‘Alī Mashhadi 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 “Īrāq and Āzarbāyjān,” i.e., to the residences at Tabriz and Qazvin.

In addition to Qâdi ‘Alî’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 Châhâmad Dimishq, the mosque near the Sulaymānīya on the road to Bālkūn, the Châhârminâr (MS. 22, 23), the Muṣaffa’ariya (MS. 26), the building of Mir Maftūḥband in the Charandāb 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 khīyābān (avenue)” (MS. 42), and the tomb of Mir San’i “opposite the doors of his friend’s house below the minaret of Jān-shāh’s building” (MS. 105); (3) the address of the master Niṣâm al-dīn Shâh-Maḥmûd Zarin-Qalân, who spent some time in Tabriz, “in the Nasiriya 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 ‘Alî-Riḍâ Tabrizi 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 Ahmad Mashhadi, the latter’s address in Qazvin is given as “the bālā-khāna at the gate of the Sa‘ādat-ābād gardens” (MS. 97). Finally, some valuable indications are given about the inscriptions made by the master Mālik in Sa‘ādat-ābād with chronograms of their compilation, 1558–59 and 1561 (MS. 99, 100), and it is stated that the ayān of the Chihil-Sütun was decorated by Shah Tahmâsp 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 ‘Abbâs
transferred the capital to Isfahan. Qâjâr 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 Ismā'īl I, whose enthusiasm for art is well known, is hardly reflected in the Treatise, whereas notes relating to the period of Tahmûsp's reign represent a first-hand source for later historical tradition. The numerous parallels between our Treatise and such histories as the 'Alam-ārā and the Sharāf-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 Qâjâr 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: nastalīq. Binding: pale-brown leather with gold tooling. State of preservation: middling. The initial 'muwāna 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 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."22

There are eight miniatures in the manuscript:

1. Above: Yāqūt Musta'āmī, 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. Sulṭān-ʿAli Mushḥaṭ with three pupils, and a man outside the door (p. 59); see here pl. 4.
4. Abūl-Qaḍā' Ibrāhīm-mīrzā with three shaykhs and three youth (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-Qaḍā' Ibrāhīm-mīrzā with two shaykhs, two musicians, an attendant (p. 141).

E.—My lamented pupil and friend, Mrs. Clara C. Edwards herself gave a description of the manuscript23 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 0 12 bound lines to a page. The size of the pages is 23 × 1

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22 From the inventory description of the Museum of Oriental Culture (Moscow).
23 C. C. Edwards, pp. 199-211.
cm., with a written surface of 17 × 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 nasta'liq 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 (pl. 2) (pl. 4) (pl. 5) (pl. 6)

E....folios 19a 24a 35b 8b 66b 80b 82a 77a (pl. 3) (pl. 7) (pl. 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 × 12 cm., with the written surface of 15 × 9 cm. It is aeccephalous and lacks the introduction but is otherwise complete. It is written in a cursie and very small nasta'liq 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

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" Abūl-Manṣūr Farhād-khān Qaramānī, to whom (jointly with Shah 'Abbās), MS. M was dedicated, had been executed (in 1007/1598) by the order of his former charge, Shah 'Abbās, 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. Inter 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 'Ali-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 (khatima). In H this part forms "Chapter IV," whereas the title of khatima 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 Qādī 'Alīmad's work, in
the collection of Hājji Ḥusayn Aqā Nakhechevāni 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. Ḥ, as I now see from the quotations published by Hājji H. Nakhechevāni 19 (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 Ahmad’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 Ḥ (with insignificant abridgements).

As the translation of the first version 20 of Qāḍī Ahmad’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. Zakhoeder reproduces in original only the introductory pages of Ṣ 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 Ṣ, while the latter has helped to complete the lacunae in Ṣ. In this way a practically uninterrupted text has been established of the earlier version of the Treatise. Pages 1–2 and 4–9 of Ṣ, 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 Ṣ and Ḥ). MS. Ḥ has also been used throughout for the collation of the text. The difficult Conclusion of Ḥ (pp. 72–76), as far as its technicalities could be grasped, has been translated in the Appendix. Only for a very few passages the Russian translation has been used to fill in the gaps.

Professor Zakhoeder ends his Introduction by stating that his translation was made directly from MS. Ṣ; 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) Hājji H. Nakhechevāni gives three quotations from MS. N belonging to him. The extracts from the biographies of the calligrapher Ali Riḍā Tabrizi (see below, p. 172) and the painter Aqā Riḍā (see below, p. 192) show that MS. N corresponds to the later and more complete version represented by MS. Ḥ. According to Hājji H. Nakhechevāni, his MS. contains 165 notices of calligraphers and 41 notices of painters. His identification of Qāḍī Ahmad’s father Mir Munshi with Mirza Ḥusayn Munshi, mentioned in the ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 126, is not correct. As shown by Zakhoeder (see below, p. 99, note 309) this latter corresponds to Mirza Ḥusayn, son of Khwāja ʿInāyat. Of him the ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 126, says that he was a pupil of ‘Alā al-din Manṣūr, was good at talīq and nastaʿlīq, was employed in the Royal Dār al-inshā, and was capable of writing in shorthand (? very fast (kāvāk-nīsī sat’ al-kitābat). V. M.]
QĀDĪ AHMAD'S TREATISE
(Translated from the Persian.)

DEDICATION, EULOGIES

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 medley
   black-and-white design of nights becoming days and days be-
   coming nights (Qur'ān, III, 26), and thanks and eulogy beyond
   imagination befit the Writer of the book of Nūr al-Qalam
   wa mā-yāstirūwa 19 who has arranged the album of the revolv-
   ing 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 dews 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

2. 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 unāmi 19
   On the dura of whose threshold lie both the Persians and the Arabs;

   17 The numbers in the margin correspond to the pages of MS. M. For the correspondence with E and H, see Appendix.
   18 The beginning of the sura LXVIII.
   19 [With reference to the Prophet, "iliterate," but with the sense of "the one who needs no learning."] C. G. Weil, "Mahomvet savait-il lire et écrire?, Travaux du IVe Congrès des Orientalistes, V. M.]
The sprinklings of whose cup of mercy form the paradise fountain Salabil,
And in whose sanctuary Gabriel (Jibrîl) 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 (mâya) of whose zeal the practice of Religion
is unsettled; and especially to the Conqueror-of-lands (i.e.,
'Alî), 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 existence.

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®¹ and sultan of Najaf,
A pearl whose peer has not been found in any shell.

And after that, to the other pure Imâms 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" (Qorân, XLII, 22), and who are described by the text (na'î): "verily Allah
wished that impurity be removed from you, O members of my
house, that He may purify you by his purification" (Qorân,
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
3. inhabitants of the Earth asks (something) from Heaven,®² 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.

® Rubā‘î.
®¹ Arabic: "The Queen of Bees."
®² [P. 3 has been supplied from the Russian translation. V. M.]

No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky 43

The great have deigned to express themselves thus:
A good style of writing is the adornment of man;®³
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,®⁴
It defies (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 compul-
sory 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,®⁵
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, Khwâja Shams al-dîn Muḥammad al-Hâfîz
of Shiraz®⁶ expresses himself thus:
By means of talent establish yourself in every heart;®⁷
This cannot be achieved by a thousand sultanes of beauty.

When, in these joyful times of happiness, kindness and
splendor of the favor of the Glorious Sovereign,®⁸ whose ex-
alted 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,

®³ Verbs in Arabic. Meter: basîl.
®⁴ Meter: ramal.
®⁵ Rubâ‘î.
®⁶ Died circa 791/1390-90.
®⁷ Meter: majlîsîth.
®⁸ Shah ʻAbâs I, who reigned 995-1037/1587-1628.
The entire world has benefited by his generosity,\(^{59}\)
Especially men of letters and talent,

there has occurred to the feeble mind of this lowly, humble, much-sinning Qādī Aṭīmād ibn Mīr-Munshī al-Ḥusaynī—may God exalt the rank of both of them,\(^{60}\) 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., ‘Āli b. Abī-Tālib), 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.\(^{61}\)

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 *ummān*,\(^{62}\) a caliph by reputation,
of sun-like appearance, of Venus-like elevation, of Mercury-like nature, of Jamshid-like glory,

\(^{59}\) *Meter:* *mutaqādīb.*
\(^{60}\) I.e., the author, Qādī Ahmad, and his father, Mīr-Munshī.
\(^{61}\) I.e., of the Twelfth (Hidden) Imam.
\(^{62}\) See above, footnote 78.

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No. 2 CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY

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, *Shāhānšāh* 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 (*Bahrām*), he enjoys the esteem of Jupiter (*Bārīj*) 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 Fāridūn with the august vestiges, Alexandria—energy, leonine majesty, the court of Darius, a sun-like court banner, the high mind of Nūshirvān, 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,
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 Bahram’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.\(^{63}\) Abū Muzaffar sultan Shāh ‘Abbās Bahādur—

\(^{63}\) 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. [Jaydar 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 offences 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 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 (Qur’ān).

7. [Here suddenly begins the praise of Fathād-khān, V.M.]
Hâtim 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 raider of the banners of justice and generosity, punisher of tyrants and enemies, Abul-Mansur Farhad Khan, (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 dâd 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, 'Ali son of Abi-Talib—God’s blessings be upon him! Chapter One: On the thuluth style of writing and those similar to it. Chapter Two: On the style ta’liq. Chapter Three: On the style nasta’liq. Conclusion: On the biographies of painters, gilders, masters of gold sprinkling and découpe (qiṣ'a), 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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100 "Restored as in the text, p. 128.
101 "Ali ibn Abi-Talib.
102 Perhaps a hint at Shah Abbas I; cf. the title of the chronicle of his reign entitled "The World-Adorning History of 'Abbas." [Here, ex abrupto, begins the slightly altered text of H. V. M.]
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 qalam109 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 embalment the works of those gifted like Mānī and of the wizards of China and Europe (Pirang), 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-Abbaṣī111—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 (khūta) 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 'Ali 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 Zakhodar's translation has been restored from H. V. M.]
110 Qur'an, LXXIII, 11, and Cl. 5.
111 [Abbaṣ, bed of torrent between Mecca and Medina, Yāqūt, I, 92. V. M.]
112 [A hīf at the hadīth: "Ali with regard to me is in the position of Aaron (Hārūn) to Moses." V. M.]

No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—MINORSKY

The Lion of God, King of Sanctity, 'Ali,
Expunging of the "large and small" heresy
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 displayed laudable care in it.
The aim of Mūtlaḥ 'Ali in writing.114
Was (to reproduce) not merely speech, letters and dots,
But fundamentals, purity and virtue.115
For this reason he deigned to point to good writing.

Other great men have said:

Down116 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.

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 writing, writing is an adornment of the possessor of accomplishments.118 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.119
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

114 Terms applied to writing.
115 Meter: Ḥājif. Here ends the passage omitted in Zakhodar.
116 These three lines are also found in Suhān-'Ali's treatise. See below, p. 108.
117 In Persian Ḥājī means both "writing" and "down."
118 Meter: true madaqūfīh.
119 This passage has been restored from Fathullāh, fol. 4α, where the same tradition is quoted: "the possessor of accomplishments" refers to the class of literati.
120 Meter: Ḥājif.
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 admin-
istrator (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 writ-
ing—peace on our Prophet and on him! However, according
to records, in olden times there was no writing; the first steps
were taken by Tahirūs Divband,120 and the beginning of

120 A mythical shah of the Funādān 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-ud-dān, 10 and 28.

writing is from him.121 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:122
Hebrew, Berber, *Andalusi, Chinese, Coptic, Nabataean,
wooden,123 Greek, Himyaritic, Syriac, Thamudī, lapidary,124
Rumi, Rumi-open, Kufī, Maqālī, Jafri14, 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 trac-
ings, there was the maqālī writing which consisted of straight
(safīf) lines with no roundness (daurī) in it; the best maqālī
writing is that in which one can distinguish blackness from
whiteness.125

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

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 [Iṣf: Yāfū (d. in 768/1365) in his history, in connection with the name
of ‘Ali b. Hilāl, known as Ibn al-Buwāb, says that all the systems of writing
of various eastern and western nations are 12 in number: Arabic, Himyarī,
Greekt, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew, Rumi (Latin), Coptic, Berber, Andalusian,
Indian, and Chinese, and in other books 8 others are (also) mentioned:
Thāmūdī, Hājrī (Jafri?), Rumi, Maṣūlī (Maṣūlī?) Kufī, Maqīlī (?)
Jafri, and Georgian. V.M.]
123 An example of “wooden” writing is in the well-known passage of the
Fīrās on Russian writing, (20, 21), see Frashō, Farsiyya, t. 3 (1835).
124 [Hajfī, perhaps Jafri, as lower down? V.M.]
125 The term translated by the word “whiteness” (hijacū) designates the shape
of the white spot surrounded by lines in such letters as the Kufic (ṣafīf, ‘ṣafīf,
qaf, See M., p. 77, and Fatullāh’s Tashbīh, fol. 94b): “The white spot of
the qaf resembles the grain of sesame.” (This passage is Indistinct in H.
The term maqālī remains obscure. This writing is also mentioned in Dīw Muhammad,
p. 9. According to him, Adam already wrote on skins; Enoch possibly wrote in
Syriac and Hebrew; after that, ‘Arab b. Qābān altered the writing from
maqīlī to kufī. Dr. M. Eṣṣānī tells me that maqīlī was a writing similar to
kufī and was used in Basra where there is a canal named Maqīlī. V.M.]
None wrote better than that Holiness—God's blessing on him!—and the most excellent kāfi is that which he has traced—God's peace on him!

In the kāfi writing one-sixth (dāngi) is circular and the rest is straight (sāth, "straight"). 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. Consequently Murtaḍā '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"?

By the chief of prophets in knowledge and clemency?

It was (said of) the writing of Murtaḍā 'Ali, and therefore the Prophet said "writing is one-half of knowledge").

Murtaḍā is truly the lord of sāths.

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 Qur'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.

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

116 Meter: kāfi. This obscure verse is by Sulṭān-'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.)

117 Meter: kāfi. Also by Sulṭān-'Ali, see below, p. 108.

118 Meter: muṣāf alīh.

119 The second shah of the Safavid dynasty, son of Shah Ismā'īl (reigned 930-948/1524-76). [H, p. 5, adds: "and the writer of these lines had the honor to see that Qur'ān"]

120 Meter: muṣāf alīh.

121 [H, p. 5, adds: "He used to transcribe the Qur'ān in Sanā'īd of Tūs, which is at present Masjīda, at a place which is now called the masjīda of Qudamgāh. From a son given as a present, the lands known as Qudamgāh, situated near the sanctuary of Masjīda, were bought and made into wāqf for the burial of Muslims. These lands are on 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 last shah sent 100 tombs of Tabrīz to the Mīr-Mushtāri, father of the present writer, who at that time was the vaqī of the late Aḥmadī Shīrāzī, the first Shīrāzī, in order that that place should be enclosed with a wall, with a gateway, and that people should not pass through there and ames should not be brought in. Many dervishes and virtuous people are buried in that place of burial (maqbarat) and Shaykh 'Ali Tābarī is one of them."]
CHAPTER ONE

On thuluth 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 (sittat)." In 310/922-23 he took the circle for the basis of writing, introduced (this invention) instead of the kufi and taught it. These six styles are: thuluth, naskh, muhaqqiq, rayhān, taqfi', and riq'. Ibn-Muqla, who held the office of vāzir under the Abbasid al-Raḍī, was born on the eve of Thursday, 21 Shawwal 272/31 March 866, and died in the capital of the caliphate, Baghdad, in 328/939-40. After Ibn-Muqla's death his son taught 'Ali ibn-Hili, known under the name of Ibn-Bawwāb. Through this intermediary Ibn-Bawwāb is Ibn-Muqla's pupil and master in those

133 [Here begins the text available in E.]

134 [If, p. 6. Ibn-Muqla's invention was based on measurement in dot: (a) muhaqqiq has 14 parts of circular strokes and 42 of straight (sijj) lines; and by its straightness reminds one of the kufi and muqcallī; (b) rayhān is similar to muhaqqiq in design but by its roundness resembles sweet basil; (c) in thuluth the proportion is 2:4; (d) naskh follows the proportion (f) of thuluth; it owes its name to the fact that Qur'āns and books are written in it and that it has canceled (naskh) other writings; (e) in taqfi' the proportion is half and half; qādis keep their documents (jallat), which are submitted to confirmation (taqfi'), in this writing; (f) riq' is smaller than taqfi', though it is difficult to distinguish between them; it is used for letters (taqfi'). Moreover, if you write with a larger pen the writing is jāmi', and if the pen is finer the writing is ḍāhār ("dun"), That is to say, the number of styles becomes eight, but the basic style for which the inventor has set canons, are six.]

156 Caliph in 322-329/934-40.

157 Abū-'Ali Muhammad ibn-'Ali ibn-Muqla, known as Ibn-Muqla, was several times vāzir in the Abbasid caliphate, once under al-Muqtadir, once under al-Qāhir, and twice under al-Raḍī. On the MSS of his work see al-Nadim, K. al-Fibristi, pp. 91, 125, 156. 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 Ta'ārib al-ṣalaf, pp. 210-211.

138 Caliph in 640-656/1242-58.

139 According to the treatise of Fāṭimah bint Abd al-‘Azīz, the succession of the masters of the "six" styles of writing was the following: After Ibn-Muqla, his two sons, 'All and 'Abdullāh, having inherited their father's proficiency, improved on it. 'All specialized in the style muhaqqiq, and 'Abdullāh in naskh. They were followed by the master Ibn al-'Asl, after whom came Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali ibn-Hili (Ibn Khallikān, I, 691, spells: Hili), known as Ibn-Bawwāb, who according to Ibn Khallikān died in 418/1022. Ta'ārib al-ṣalaf, p. 205, quotes the following remark, as coming from Ya'qūb: "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 scholars call the caliphs who ruled after 'All's death (661).

141 Hārūn, p. 84, takes Ya'qūb to have been a native of Amμa in Asia Minor (7).

142 In the text, the Arabic expression is followed by an explanation in Persian.

143 Hārūn, p. 85, translates the term muhārīf 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-Muqla 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, rayhān, muhaqqaq, nasīh, tawqī, and riqā.

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

Tāmar, muhaqqaq, riqā, and rayhān
And nasīh, of which one-third (thulth) wrote the confirmation (tawqī).

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

The fundamentals (ṣūr), the ligatures (marb), the support * kurrās (ṣ) and interrelation (nishāt). 145

144 Meter: ramal.
145 Meter: taswīl. This difficult verse is explained in the MS. of the Institute of Oriental Studies A.C. S.G. 551, where a whole subdivision of the third chapter (fol. 44a-47a) is devoted to the explanation of Yāqūt’s verse. Under ṣūr, translated as “fundamentals,” are understood the elements of separate letters: “ṭā, “ṭānuhā,” “ṭal,” etc. The term marb refers to the ligatures of letters: “alif has no marb with the following letter” (Fathullāh, 24a). The term kurrās [kurrāsh] “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 kurrāsh, represented in the treatise in the

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The upstroke (ṣūr ād) and tashmir (“renvoi”), the downstroke (nasīh) and the flourish (nishāt).

Having become the qibla of calligraphers, Yāqūt made a practice of copying two juz’ 146 of the Qur’ān 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 (muhaqqaq) for anyone 147
That the sweet basil (raṣhān) of his down (i.e., writing) ravishes the heart.

His writing (riqā) has been approved by Time.
By his decree (tawqī) 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 Baalheki miḥqāli 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 kurrāsh 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 nishāt, translated as “interrelation,” mean 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 ṣūr ād, “upstroke,” and marb, “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 tashmir or shāma, according to Fathullāh’s definition, means literally to buckle, 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, isrāl, which in Arabic means “settling off,” according to Fathullāh designates the stroke used either at the end of a line, or in the middle of the line of the nasīh style [a “flourish”—V.M.]

146 One-twelth part of the Qur’ān.
147 Meter: mutagārib.
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-niruz — 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 (sahif) for it really to be ascribed to his (Yaqut's) wizardry and magic. Some relate that Yaqut made the tracings on that towel with his forefinger, foregoing the use of the qalam. The following, too, is common knowledge: When Yaqut 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." Yaqut replied: "Do not worry, I have written a sufficient quantity of what is worth the whole world." Yaqut lived very long, over a century. He departed this life in the beginning of the sultanate of Ghazan-khan in the city of Isfahan, Baghdad, in 696/1296. His tomb is beside that of Ahmad ibn-Iranbal.

Of his pupils six were outstanding and earned the right to sign the name of Yaqut 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 sirat "al-Kahf," and the stonemasons reproduced it in relief, without embellishments, merely with baked bricks. The second was Arguhun.

Kaml, who is also one of the celebrities. There are in Baghdad two madrasas, both faced with glazed bricks (one is the "Marjaniya," the other is "beside the bridge"); in both there are his writings. The third pupil was Nasrullah, a doctor of medicine; the inscriptions on some buildings in Baghdad are of his work. The fourth was Mubarakshah Zarinqalam. He wrote with great delicacy and purity. It is reported that when Sultan Uways the Jalayir had erected buildings in the revered Najaf, he dreamed one night of His Holiness the Shah, the Refuge of Sanctity (i.e., 'Ali), who deigned to command him: "Direct Mubarak-shah to write in the buildings." For this reason he was nicknamed zarin-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 Yusuf Mashhadi. He served Yaqut for a long time, and toward the end of his life left Iraq for Azarbeyjan, where he took up residence in Tabriz, the capital, and spent the remainder of his days in practicing calligraphy and writing. Abdullah Shayrabi (see below, p. 62) was his pupil. The sixth calligrapher was Sayyid Haydar, gunda-navis, i.e., "writer in large characters," who did excellent work. He was possessed and to be rapt in ecstasy. Those who studied under him also became masters of writing and achieved perfection, such as the vaiz Khwaja Ali-shah, and Khwaja Ghiyath al-din Muhammad ibn Rashid; they both were his pupils, both became masters of calligraphy, attained the highest ranks and

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159 See Introduction, p. 3, p. 20.
160 Ghazan-khan ruled 656-703/1255-1304. The date given in our source for the death of Yaqut does not agree with that given by Huart, pp. 85, and Ahmad Musa, p. 88. The latter, who utilized a number of Arabic manuscripts, gives 699/1299.
161 According to Huart, Ahmad ibn-Iranbal, a famous jurist and theologian, was buried in Baghdad; by the side of his grave is that of Ibn-Bawwab.
162 Huart, pp. 89-90, mentions Shaykh Suhravardi himself. A Qur'an copied by him in 718/1318 is preserved in St. Sophia (Stamboul).
163 The 18th chapter of the Qur'an, containing 110 verses.
dignities and achieved every kind of success. But 'Abdullah Shayrāfī would not teach everybody.

Aḥmad 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 muhaqqaq, raybān, naskh, riqā', and tanqī' that some specimens of his calligraphy are more refined and delicate than those of Yaqūt. 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 (ghulāmāk)," i.e., Yaqūt.165

After the masters of the sīṭa come their pupils. Among them are:166 Pir Yaḥyā Ṣūfī, pupil of Mubārak-shāh Zarin-qalam,167 who was a Śūfī by creed and in his way of life (yāḥib-munḥarrab), and spent his time with Śūfī 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 Ilkhānids sultans.168 'Abdullāh Shayrāfī, son of Khwāja Maḥmūd Sarrāf of Tabriz, the Yaqūt of his time, also studied under Suyyid Ḥaydar (see above, p. 61). He had great talent for inscriptions and began by being a master in the making of glazed tiles (kāshī). 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 Sulādž Chūbānī (read: Chūbān Sulādžī). 'Abdullāh was a contemporary of Sultan Aḥū-Sa'īd

165 Yaqūt was a slave-servant (qalīsh) of the caliph Maḥmūd.

166 Hā. p. 9, begins the list with the names of Sultānṣir Ṣamāl and Ṣayyūd Sarrāf al-dīn Shirāzī. The latter lived at the time of Muhammad ʿOlīyayt, who appointed him as teacher to his son Aḥū-Sa'īd, made governor of Khorasan. Aḥū-Sa'īd treated Sarrāf al-dīn with much esteem: he went on foot to his house and on arrival did not allow his master to stand up.

167 Huart, p. 93: Pir Yaḥyā Ṣūfī was a pupil of 'Abdullāh Shayrāfī. [It adds: "pupil of Mubārak-shāh and Aḥmad Rūmī."

168 [It adds: "and of the Amir Chūbān (of the) Sulādž who are a tribe of Mongolian Turks. After the death of Sultan Aḥū-Sa'īd, Malak Ashrafī, a grandson of Amir Chūbān, and some others of the same family, ruled for a few years; they are called Chūbānī."]

23. No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky

īn-ʿOlīyayt169 and of the Chūbānīs. In Tabriz the inscription on the arches of the madrasa of the Chūbānī Dīnashq are his; on the road to Bāliyān-kūh,170 in the mosque near the Sulaymānīya chapel (baq'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 ruins171
Relate that those men have already departed.

Mīrzā-Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh,172 a recognized master of the Ḥaḍrīth style, sent someone to Tabriz with orders that the following holy verse in 'Abdullāh's hand on a stone should be removed by stonemasons 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 Sāmānids 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."173

Ḥājī Muḥammad Band-dūz [Tabrizi] was a pupil of Shayrāfī.174 From Shayrāfī, too, the master Muʿīn al-Dīn

166 Amir Chūbān Sulādž, member of the high Mongol aristocracy, married to close relatives of the Chūbānī Ilkhāns; at the beginning of Aḥū-Sa'īd's reign he enjoyed complete power in state affairs. In 728/1327 Aḥū-Sa'īd executed many members of the family but after his death in 736/1335 the power in anbārābār and Dīyār-bakr was seized by the surviving Chūbānīs. The short period of their rule was marked by numerous feudal struggles.

168 Bāliyān or Bāliyān-kūh is the mountain overlooking Tabriz. It became part of Tabriz when Ghāzān-khān had a wall built around the town (Nuzhat al-ʿulūb, p. 78; transl., p. 81).

171 Meter: ṣawīl.


173 Dīrāsāt, LIII, 54–55.

174 Hā. p. 10, adds: "The master calligrapher Muʿīn al-dīn maṣlānā ḥaḍrīth Muḥammad Band-dūz (1) entered the service of Amir Timūr in 788/1386. When Timūr was sending an epistle (ḥaqqar) to the King of Egypt he ordered the maṣlānā to write it in liquid gold and this epistle was 2 cubits (dhar) wide and 70 cubits long and was taken to Egypt by the Egyptian envoy. Ḥājī Muḥammad was also a pupil of Shayrāfī and received from him the permission.
HAJJII MUHAMMAD received permission to sign the name (of his teacher?). The inscriptions of the Chahār-Minār in the capital, Tabriz, are in Mu'in al-dīn's writing. He was the teacher of MAULĀNA SHAMS AL-DIN MASHRĪQI QATTĀ'I. After him (Mu'in al-dīn?) his sons, 'ABD AL-ḤAYY, 'ABD AL-RAHĪM KHAYVATI, and his (?) pupil MAULĀNA JĀ'FAR TABRIZI 174 were full masters in the realm of calligraphy.

24. Another famous master of calligraphy was 'OMAR ĀQTA'; 175 he had no right hand 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 Gürkân,176 he wrote a copy (of the Qur'ān) in ghubār 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 Āqta' 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 Maulānā Mālik.

Another of the old masters, MAULĀNA MA'RŪF KHATTĀTI BAGDĀDI,177 was the coryphaeus of the calligraphers of his
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 Jalayirid Sultan Ahmad 178 in Baghdaḍ, he went to Isfahan to the Timurid Mirzā Iskandar, son of Mirzā 'Omar-Shaykh,179 and became an important and respected member of his library. It is reported that in one day he wrote fifteen 180 hundred verses (bayt) and for two days wrote nothing, in disobedience to the Mirzā 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." Mirzā Iskandar ordered umbrellas and an awning (otāq) to be raised with a man to trim the qalam, and the ma'ulānā began to write: by the time of the afternoon prayer he had executed in all elegance and perfection 1500 verses. Mirzā Iskandar bestowed numerous gifts upon him. During the conquest of Īrāq,181 Mirzā Shāh-rukh 182 took the ma'ulānā 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 ma'ulānā was a sweet-spoken conversationalist. He wore yellow ('āṣalī) felt garments and on his head a high cap (jāgiya) of the same material with a bandeau wound around it.183 Young men of the capital, Herat, such as MAULĀNA RUHULLĀH [H: Ruh al-'inma'ī] KHWARZMI, and others, entertained friendship with Maulānā Ma'rūf, some for the sake of train-

174 The well-known opponent of Timur, Ghiyāth al-dīn Ahmad, reigned 784-815/1382-1410 and was a patron of the arts; see Markov, p. XXII.

175 The Timurid Iskandar ruled in Persia 812-847/1410-14. (Rieu, Catalogue of Pers. MSS., p. 684n.)

176 Cf. Huart, p. 216.

177 Central Persia is meant here (Īrāq-i 'Ajamī).

178 Shāhrukh, son of Timur (807-850/1404-47), endeavored to reunite the possessions in Iran and Central Asia which had disintegrated after the conqueror's death.

179 Huart, p. 215, in describing Ma'rūf's clothing, apparently translates the same expression (ad novum): "he wore a blue felt turban." See Samarqandi, Mādūl 'al-šafayy, p. 860: alif-i namād dur qirdi as piski. Here alif (?) stands for laf. V. M.]
ing in writing, and others for the sake of his conversation. The maualānā was a man of noble nature and complete self-control (khwāish-tān-dār). Mirzā Bāyunqur, son of Mirzā Shāhhrūkh, 149 ordered the maualānā to transcribe the “Quintet of poems” of Shaykh Nūgāni 150 and sent him some paper. The maualānā 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 maualānā was suspected of complicity with Aḥmad Lūr, who had struck Shāhhrūkh 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 exerted money from them. Maualānā Maʿārif was several times brought to the foot of the gallow, and finally imprisoned in the dungeon (chāh) of the Ikhātīār al-dīn fortress. 151

Maualānā ʿAbdu’llāh Tābbākh 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 master in “gold sprinkling” and restoration (vaqfāt). 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-Hasayn Bāyqara], the inscriptions are by his hand.


151 Famous poet of the twelfth century.

26. The attempt on Shāhhrūkh’s life made by Aḥmad Lūr 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 caravanserai where he lived. In connection with the affair of this dastak, numerous arrests were made. Among those suspected of being accessories was the famous calligrapher Maʿārif. He was several times brought to the foot of the gallow, and he owed his life to his exceptional talent and the intercession of men in power. See Muʿin al-dīn Isfahānī, in Barhār de Meynard, J.AS., vol. 20 (1862), pp. 271-72. The Ikhātīār al-dīn fortress which guarded Herat to the north of the town, is situated on the road to Mashhad (ibid., p. 474, n. 1). [II speak of his accomplishments and quotes from his qasīda composed in reply to Salmān Sāvāzī.]

No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Mindorsky 67

Maualānā Niʿmatullāh [b. Muḥammad] Bawbāw was a pupil of ʿAbd al-Rahim Khulvatī (see above, p. 64). He wrote very beautifully. In Tabrīz in the exalted chapel (buq’a) Muṣafāriya, which was built by [Muṣafār al-dīn] Jhānshāh-mīrzā, 152 the inscriptions are by his hand.

Maualānā Shams al-dīn II was a pupil of Niʿmatullāh Bawbāw. He also wrote with great excellence.

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

Maualānā 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 maqārs and buildings are his work.

Amīr Majd al-dīn Ibrāhīm was a recognized master of calligraphy. He is connected with Zahirī (sic) 153 and was also a native of Shiraz.

Maualānā Muḥammad Shāvūsh and Maualānā Pir-Muḥammad II were both natives of Shiraz and were contemporaries. Most of the inscriptions of the maqārs of Shiraz and of some of the local mosques toward 920/1514-15 are their work.

Maualānā Shams al-dīn Zahir, Maualānā Rūzbīhān, Mir ʿAbd al-Qādir Ḥusaynī, and Ḥāfiz ʿAbdu’llāh were calligraphers of Shiraz. The majority of local inscriptions belong to them and remain of their (work) are numerous. Most of the renowned calligraphers in Fars, Khorasan, Kirman, and ʿIrāq “are eaters of crumbs from their table.” 154

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

148 Sultan of the Qara-qoyumd dynasty, ruled 941-872/1437-67. The reference is to the celebrated Blue Mosque (Gizk-masjid) or to some building attached to it. [On Bawbāw’s signature, see Sauvaget, Art Islamique, vol. 5, part 1 (1918), p. 105.]

153 According to Huarte, p. 252, Maualānā Muḥammad Shāvūsh and Maualānā Pir-Muḥammad II were connected with Zahir of Ardabil (?).

154 Meher: khāfī.
Yaqūt. 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 Baysunqur-mirzâ. The inscriptions in the buildings of the Holy Mashhad are mostly of his writing. He rendered famous the writing of his pupil Mirzâ Baysunqur, son of Mirzâ Shahrūkh. 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 “Baysunqur.” 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 Lutfullāh, known as Ḥāfiz-i Abru Haravi, wrote in honor of Mirzâ Baysunqur a history entitled Zabdat at-tavārīkh al-Baysunqūrī. This book is highly valued in the inhabited quarter of the world. Mirzâ (Baysunqur) was a fine connoisseur and good judge of the fine arts; of the children of Mirzâ Shahrūkh and of his cousins he was the best. He also wrote poetry and intended to adopt the pseudonym of Shāhī (“royal”). Amir Shāhī Sabzavār, the sovereign of the rhyme, was his contemporary. Contesting the takhlīṣ of the Mirzâ 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.

28. Or, of the masters of the “seven styles” (see above, p. 25).

29. Gauhar-shād begum, wife of Shahrūkh and mother of Baysunqur, 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’ūn al-dīn Iṣfahānī, J.A., vol. 20 (1862), p. 308; N. V. Khanikoff, tahr., vol. 15 (1860), p. 342. 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, lit.-geo. abzar, p. 39.

30. The historian Ḥāfiz-i Abru began his work in 1423; the last event described by him is the attempt on Shahrūkh in 1427. He died in 1430. See V. V. Barthold “Ḥāfiz-i Abru,” Encyclopædia of Islam, vol. 2, p. 213.

31. [The remaining part of the paragraph on Baysunqur is omitted in H.]


33. Meier: ḥasaj.

34. Baysunqur died at the age of 38 years and 6 months, see Ṣan’i al-daula, Mustasun-i Nāṣirī, vol. 2, pp. 57–58.

35. Sharaf al-dīn Yarī 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 Ghīyāsh al-dīn Allī, Rasāʾīl-i ghanavāt-i Hindustān, Russian preface, p. xix.

36. According to H, Sultan Ibrāhīm was a pupil of Maulānā Mir Muḥammad Shīrāzī. After Baysunqur’s death, Ḥāfiz-i Abru moved to his court.
which he himself founded in Shiraz in those days, namely Dār al-safā and Dār al-aytām, 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 Dhal-Qadar when he became the ruler of that province. No trace of them has remained except the mausoleum of the Mirzā and his children in the Dār al-aytām and the gumbād ("dome") in the Dār al-safā. Such a despicable action provoked the wrath of the Shah’s court and Yaʿqūb was finally torn to pieces. In the building of Zahrīyya, too, the inscriptions are by the Mirzā, 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 Mirzā on the glazed tiles of its pediment (īzāra):

I am happy in the world, because the world is happy through Him (God).  
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.
Padshāh 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.”  

30. The religious benevolent institutions: the “House of Purity” and the “House of Orphans.”

Dhal-Qadar is a Turkish tribe [in the original Turkish: Dülqadı̄r]. Shah Ismāʿīl during his campaign in Fars in 999/1593-4 entrusted the government of Shiraz to Hisā Dhal-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 ‘Alam-arā, pp. 281, 295; Sharaf-nāmah, vol. 2, pp. 136, 293; Zayn al-ʿAbīdīn, 245a.

31. The ‘asfār is in the part of Saʿdī’s complete works (kulliyāt) entitled “On Fragrances.” In our text two double verses are missing.

32. The Prince carried out this work in the months of the year 835/1431-32. A copy of the Qur’ān made by the Mirzā is known, in the cemetery of Bābā Luṭfullāh ʿImād al-dīn. It is 2 cubits long and 1 ½ cubits wide and he wrote it very well and made of it a waqf in favor of that masjīd.

It is related that a well-wisher from Shiraz made his way into the presence of Mirzā Shāhrukh in Samarqand. The latter questioned (him) on the affairs of Mirzā Ibrāhīm-sultān, and the man spoke much about the accomplishments of the Mirzā, especially about his learned debates and exercises in calligraphy, and finally said that the Mirzā had written over the wall gates of Shiraz: “kunūt-hu (‘I was that person’)—Ibrāhīm-mirzā,” which is an anagram (tajnis) for “kataqab-hu (‘written by’)—Ibrāhīm-mirzā.” Mirzā 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 Khalāṣat al-tavārīkh-i ʿAbbāsī, but this book cannot be repeated here.

MIRZĀ SULTĀN ʿALĪ IBN MIRZĀ SULTĀN KHALĪL IBN ḤASĀN FĀDŠĀH. At the time when Mirzā Sultān Khalīl obtained the fief and government of Fars, a son was born to him in Shiraz whom he called Mirzā Sultān ʿAli. 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
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 Jamshid, situated in the Marv-

33s. Tajnis is a jeu de mots on words expressed in similar characters. In the phrases quoted only the dots have been transposed.


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 Sulaymân, for it is but air.
Here is the kingdom, but where is Sulaymân?
Of the innumerable treasures and riches
What did Sâm 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.

MAULĀNA ‘ABD AL-ḤAQ ĀBAZĀVĀRI was the pupil of ‘Abdullāh Ṭabbāk. The people of Khurāsān 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

32. we owe him purity.

MAULĀNA MUḤAMMAD ḤAFIZ 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 thulūth writing and the teacher of Ḥāfiz Qanbar Sharafī.

ḤAFIZ QANBAR SHARAFĪ was the slave (mamlūk) of the late Qāḍī Sharafī al-dīn ‘Abd al-Majīd Qumī, the maternal grandfather of this humble one; for this reason Qanbar is
called Shārafī. He signed the name of (his master) the qāḍī, in imitation of the practice of Yaqūt al-Musta’sīnī, and like the latter he was a native of Abhysinia. He also studied under Maulānā Pir-Muḥammad Shīrāzī. The inscriptions in the court of the cathedral mosque in the town of the faithful (Qum) and the inscriptions in the ayyān of the light-radiating masār of Sultan-Sayyid Abū-ʾAḥmad, which lies outside the Rayy gate of Qum, are in his writing. He wrote in thulūth exceedingly well, and also became outstanding in nastāʿīq, observing the rules of Maulānā Sultan-ʿAlī, whose contemporary he was, though he did not visit Khurāsān. Ḥāfiz Qanbar was an excellent reader and knew the Qurʾān 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-Sultan (Aq-qoyunlu), rascally Turkmāns were besieging the town of the faithful, Qum. Though Qāḍī Sharafī al-dīn shut the gates of Qum before Aybā-sultan, the town was captured and the qāḍī was killed, with his brother and children, and with them Ḥāfiz Qanbar:

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

[204] [Hi, p. 14, leaves out the end of the biography and refers the reader to the author’s Majmaʿ al-ṣaḥārāʾ.]


[206] Qāḍī Ahmad’s story describes an episode from the feudal wars of the last Aq-qoyunlu, after the death of Yaʿqūb of Qum in 896/1490. The event took place under the son of Yaʿqūb, whose name was Murād ("Désiré"). Ayba-sultan was the title of the general Ibrahim-bek ibn Dānā-Khalīl Qasār; see Sharafīnāma, vol. 2, p. 129. After his victory over Sultan Ahmad in 903/1497, he captured Qum and had coins struck in the name of Sultan Murād, who at the time was in Shīrāz.

As Mir Maqbūl Qumī215 was one of Ḥāfiz Qanbar’s pupils, Qanbar sent this opening verse to him in order that he might compose a ghazal and include it in his diwan. In fulfillment of this wish Mir-Maqbūl 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 unsuspecting of the perjury 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 Maqbūl not have died from envy of your companions,
For (in his grief) he is suffering from a mortal heart affliction.

The story of Qājī Sharaf al-dīn’s life is recorded in detail in volume IV of the Khulqat al-tawārikh, and the biography of Ḥāfiz-Qanbar and his eloquent verses are found in the book Majmoʿ al-shirʿārā-yi ʿAbbāsī.

Maulāna Nizām al-dīn ʿAlī, son of Maulānā Shams al-dīn, was a native of the town of True Edification, Ardabil. He wrote exceedingly well in the six styles, as well as in nastaʿliq, and was one of the master calligraphers of Azarbāyjān. He worked in Ardabil, and lived from the time of the rule of the Turkman sultans to the year 920/1514.

34. MAULĀNA ḤAYDAR QUMĪ was a good pupil of Qanbar Sharafi. He wrote the six styles excellently, as well as Kūfī, 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.216 The inscriptions inside and outside the dome (gūnbad) of Her Most Pure Holiness 215 in Qum are in his writing; he knew the Qurʾān by heart and was a sweet-tongued ḥāfiz.

SAYYID VALĪ QUMĪ was of the Qum sayyids. He wrote in

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215 Mir Maqbūl Qumī was a Turk by origin. In his youth he served in the army of Sultan Yaʿqūb, and later took up residence in Qum (Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 185).
216 [Corrected according to H.]
215 Fātimah, the sister of the Eighth Imām, buried in Qum.

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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 Ḥusaynīyya retreat (zāviya),216 which was built by the late (maternal) grandfather of the author, Aqā Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn Musayyibī (? Qumī, are by him.

MAULĀNA SHAHIRA-MIR QAZVINĪ, the father of Maulānā Mālik-Daylami, was a scribe and calligrapher and wrote excellent naskh. In the beginning Maulānā Mālik practiced thulth and naskh with his father.

MAULĀNA SHAHKAMĀL was a pupil of Maulānā ʿAbd al-Ḥaqīq 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 Riḍā. He was a man of ripe old age and of serene presence.

MAULĀNA NIZĀM OF BUKHARA wrote perfectly in the seven styles and spent his time in the library of His late Highness Abul-Fath Bahram-mirzā. Here is one example of his 35. 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 Bahram-mirzā, with his caustic (vaqqād) humor, composed with regard to the writing with a finger:

The expert of writing in seven styles is Mullā Nizām al-dīn,215
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?

MAULĀNA MUJAMMAD HUSAYN, son of Maulānā Mulyā, known as Bāgh-Dashti, is one of the later calligraphers of the residence of Herat. He wrote extremely well in thulth, ṭiqa',
and naskh, and was an accomplished scribe. His work is compared with the writing of Maulānā 'Abdullah Taḥḥāk.

Maulānā Ḥusayn Fakhkhār 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 (rikhtā) and tasteful.

Mir-Munshi Ḥusaynī—the parent of this humble writer. His honorary name is Sharaf al-dīn Ḥusayn. He was given the name of Mir-Munshi by His Majesty the late Khāqān, equal in dignity to Jamshid, Shah Tahnāsp of eternal memory—may God sanctify his grave!—and under this name became known in the universe. First he was munāhī in the royal city of Herat, in the service of His Highness Sām-mīrzā. After that, during the ministry (vakālat) of Ahmad-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 16 years, on behalf of the Shah (Tahnāsp) he acted in Mashhād as vazīr to the Prince Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā—may God refresh his grave and that God-protected, fragrant (place, i.e., Mashhād)! My parent—may God give repose to his precious soul—was the pupil of Mullā Ḥaydār; having combined the six styles with tāliq and shikasta-yi nastaliq, 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 ('aqī-ī ḥādi 'ashār) Mir Ghiyāth al-dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī. He discussed mathematics and cosmography with Maulānā Taqi, one of the outstanding pupils of Mir Ghiyāth al-dīn; he read the commentary on the

36. There is no opposition to the Bānīya (i.e., Lady Fāṭima) on our part.224

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 nastaliq and talīq, 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 Tūsī's Tajrid al-Fiqād and that the Commentary on it is more likely that by Mullā 'Ali Qāshālī (d. 579/1184), rather than the earlier one by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī (d. 526/1132). As to the Gloses on Qāshālī's Commentary, the classbook was that by Ja'āf al-dīn Duvānī (d. 507/1110). V. M.]

223 [I], p. 16, line 14, enumerates some of them: naggādī ("sorting good and bad money"), nargīl ("art of a goldsmith"), painting and jām-būrī ("glass cutting").]

224 Meters: ḥaṣāji

225 [Bānīya, as suggested by Zakhoder, most 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 Bānīya, E gives mawālī, "good news," and II. has khlīfī-kīšā (I) dar bābī mā mīsī? Dr. Boyani suggests khlīfī-kīšā, "there is no opposition between our kinds (natures)." V. M.]
seventh day of Dhuul-qā‘da, 990/3 December 1582. The master Maulānā ‘Abdi Junbādī composed a qi‘a on this date:

The celestial vault of honor was Mir-Munshi,228
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 pleasures 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 Ahmad-beg Nūr Kamāl, he served 3 years as the munshi of the dīvān-i mamālīk (“Secretary in the department of state affairs”; see Tadhkirat al-mulūk, p. 24); and for 11 years he was on the staff of Qādī-Jhān Vakil (see ‘Ālam-dār, 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 Shūragel-and-Chukhur-Sa‘d (north of the Araxes, now Erivan and Nakchevān), while Prince Ismā‘īl and Shah-qul-sultān Usťajū 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 tafrīqa (?). In thulth he was a pupil of Maulānā ‘Haydar and wrote excellent thulth and nasḵ. Then he turned to tālīq following the canon of Maulānā Darvish. He also wrote shikasta-ji nasta‘līq. He was incomparable in drafting (letters) in Persian and in Turkish. He began his studies in grammar and logic in Kāshān with Sultān-Muhammad Sīdqi Astarābādī, then at the “royal camp” worked on astronomy and mathematics with Ghiyāth al-dīn Shirāzī (etc., as in M).] Mir-Munshi died at Shah ‘Abd al-‘Aṭīm (near Tehran) and was buried there.

228 Meter: mutaqārib.
227 Chronogram: 2 + 5 + 400 + 400 + 3 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 5 + 3 + 900 (A.D. 1582).
226 Reading d‘rāb on *akhlaq (for ikhrāj, akhrāj).

No. 2 CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY

It is not clear what the office of the kāṭib-i tafsīqa was, but on majlis-nīvīs see Tadhkirat al-mulūk, p. 122. Under the later Sāfawīs, 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 Qādī Ahmad 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 Tabrizi, who was of a respected sayyid family and was much “obeyed” at the time of the Aq-qoyunlus. He wrote good thulth and knew also “shikasta mixed with tālīq.” After the seizure of Tabriz by the Ottomans, he became Shaykh al-Islām in Kāshān, and later the chief qādī of Isfahān. V. M.]

MAULĀNĀ ‘ALĪ-BEK 227 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 Maftūḥand Tabrizi’s sister; he wrote very well. The inscriptions of the building of Mir Maftūḥand, situated in the Charand-āb quarter 229 of Tabriz, are in his writing. He went to live in India.

MIR NIZĀM AL-DĪN ASHRĀF [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, Abarqūh.271 He combined various styles (jam‘ bayn al-khuṭṭāt) 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 Abarqūh, and

229 See below, p. 213, on another ‘Ali-bek Tabrizi.
226 According to the Nuzhat al-qulub, pp. 78, 81, many masters were situated in this quarter.
225 A town on the road from Shiraz to Yazd; see Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate,” p. 284.
33. of the districts of Sardasîr: Chahâr-dângî, Bavanâtî, 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!

Maulânà Nizám al-dîn 'Ali Tabrizî, a recognized master of calligraphy in the capital, Tabriz, possessed many accomplishments and virtues; he was the pupil of Maulânà 'Ali-bek, and Maulânà 'Ali-bek Tabrizî took lessons from him.

Maulânà 'Alâ-bek Tabrizî, 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!

Qâdi Muhammâd Bâqîr belonged to a noble family (âdami-sadagân) of judges of the pleasant region of Ordubâd 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.

Maulânà Mirza 'Ali Sultanavî 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 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'an he is incomparable and there is none like him in explaining Arabic sentences (faqarât), 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 (kitâbat). 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'an, 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 purchases and deeds and decisions (qabalât va amthila) of the High Divân of the sadr, which are widely known in Iran, bear witness to his knowledge. He is a native of the pleasant town of Sulţâniyâ, and holds the office of judge in the provinces of the two Tarom, Zanjân and its district.

Maulânà 'Ali Ridâ Tabrizî, "the second Şayrâfî," is a pupil of Maulânà 'Alî-bek Tabrizî, 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 Rûnis (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 Qur'an, which were taken to various regions and countries of the inhabited quarter of the world. The remainder of his achievements and accomplishments will be shown in the section on the masters of nasta'liq (see below, p. 171), because in that art he achieved greater celebrity and became the 'Maulānā Mīr 'Ali' of his time.

Mīrzā Ḥasan-bek, son of the late Māḥmūd-bek Sālim who (in poetry) was the second 'Mīr Khusrū Dāhlavī' and a rival of Maulānā 'Abdullāh Hāṭifī. He is a native of Tabriz and a pupil of Maulānā 'Alā-bek Tabrīzī; the present time is adorned by his noble existence. Generosity, nobility (ādami-zādāqī), grandeur, and self-effacement (nā-μurādhī) 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 (dār al-saltāna) of Isfahān, and at times in the capital, Qazvin. He is now perfecting himself and one must hope that he will succeed. His writing is not inferior to that of the masters of the “six styles.” Copies of the Qur'an in his writing are sent 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 Fīqān (?). Al-Dīn Būstānī, who was brought up in Isfahān and raised his writing in thuluth, naskh, and riqā' to a high degree. Despite his great ambitions (buland-raftāzī), he cannot free his neck from the state of slavery and servitude, and in order to disguise his shame, signs now Isfahānī 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 Rādā Tabrīzī. At times he exercises in nasta'liq. He writes his specimens on pieces of paper sprinkled with gold. 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 sigh said goodbye to Qum
For his songs did not please this town.

240 [Kāfah-khā-yi hall-khāt. This term occurs in the diplomas by which Behzād was appointed head of the Shah's kāfah-khāna (in 928/1522); see Qazvin, Bint-naqdi, vol. 2 (1313/1934), pp. 208-109: hall-khād-i va-sar-khād-i. 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 rigā' and nāqi'. 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 (ravīsh) of his writing, of which the first is characterized by extreme lusciousness and movement. In this variety 247 charts and orders of the late Sulṭān Abū-Saʻīd Gūrkān 248 were written. Thus, too, wrote the munshis of Khurāsān, such as Maulānā Darvish, Mir-Mansūr, Khwāja Jān Jibrīlī, and others. The second (variety) is distinguished by firmness, maturity, solidity, and taste (chahmān), and it was used in the orders of the late sovereign Hasan-bek, Sulṭān Ya‘qūb, 249 and other Aq-qoyunlu sultans. The munshis of Astarābād and ʻIrāq, and especially Shaykh Muḥammad Tāmīnī, Maulānā ʻIdrīs, and others followed that model. Khwāja ʻAbd al-Ḥayy became world famous through conducting the correspondence of Sulṭān Abū-Saʻīd. Verily, in his art he was the Yāqūt of his time, and to this day none has equaled him. Shaykh Muḥammad Tāmīnī 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 glor-

43. Khwāja Jān ʻUghrāyī is known as ʻUghrāyī because of the excellence of his writing of the tughrās 250 for edicts and orders. [He was from Qazvin.] His son, Maulānā Shāykh Muḥammad Tāmīnī, born in the capital, Qazvin, was in charge of the correspondence of the Turkīman sultans. He was known as a bringer of bad luck, and wrote the following verse about him:

O giver of titles, tell us the value of one dear khwāja, 251
Who easily writes in a difficult hand.
What is the munshi, who writes the tughrās of edicts
With the blood of kings!
In whose ever dietān, where he sets his blessed foot,
He writes: "May God enlighten his plea." 252

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 Hasan-pāshā, Rustam-pāshā and Alvand-bek. 253

Maulānā Darvish ʻAbdullāh was a native of Balkh in Khorāsān and wrote very remarkably. Some consider him superior to Khwāja ʻAbd al-Ḥayy, but each of them had a

247 The text wrongly: "in these two."
248 Great-grandson of ʻArūz 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 Ya‘qūb (884–896/1479–90).
250 The tughra is the traced monogram of the royal name used in edicts, documents, diplomas, etc.
251 Metre: ḥasaaj. E gives ku`ab (?), I gives laqabah.
252 A post-nomem formula referring to the Last Judgment. After the death of Abū-Saʻīd, Tāmīnī served at the court of the Aq-qoyunlu sultans during a period of savage feuds. See Hoover, p. 213.
253 A qoqululu rulers: Rustam (897–902/1494–96); Alvand (905–906/1499–1500). [Idris's renown as a statesman is based chiefly on his activities for the organization of Kurdistan under the Orrevan 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‘īd Gūrkān, of Mirzā Sültān-Ḥusayn Bāyqara and his children, and of Şāhēbek-khan Uzbek. It is known that one day Şāhēbek-khan 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, 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.

Maulānā Mir-Muhammād Qumī, munshi, was one of Khwāja ‘Abd al-Ḥayy’s prominent pupils and wrote with extreme luciousness (rūḥāth), 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 (parvānachī) 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 Mir-Muhammād, 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 Mir-Muhammād 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 ‘Alī is the result of his activities. He composed good poetry and had excellent taste. The following verses are by him:

O egoist, smash the jug of your body. Because it is already broken in whatever state it may be.

This opening verse reflects frustration: No one in his life has heard us blaming people! We, poor people, what have we to do with anybody?

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

Munshi is the secretary in charge of correspondence. In our translation the profession of the munshi (inshā) is referred to as “episoral art.” In the Safavid administrative system there was a separate office of correspondence—the dār al-inshā. See Taḥkīrāt al-mulāk, §23.
tary to His Majesty, similar in glory to Jamshid, lord of the happy conjunction of planets, 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 tughrā. After his retirement from attendance at court, he became curator (mutawwalt) in the holy mausoleum of Imam Rīḍa—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 well endowed it with considerable property as waqf.

Mīr `Abd al-Bāqī was a native of the town of worship, Yazd; for years he performed the functions of sādār and waqfī of the above-mentioned glorious sovereign. He wrote in tājliq with great elegance, good qāṣaṭ and excellence. The decrees and the documents (asnād) of the shaykhs and the inhabitants of Yazd are in his noble hand. The account of his life is found in the fifth volume of the Khulāṣat al-tawārikh.

Maulānā Ad-hām, munsī, 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 Qādī-yi Jahān, vakīl,

205 Sabāh-girān as a title refers to a person born under a happy conjunction (see J.A., vol. 17 [1851], p. 252, n. 1), or to a monarch who reigned 30 or 40 years. [The latter was not the case with Ismā'īl I. V.M.]

206 [If adds: “and was a descendant of Shah Nīmatullāh Yāsī”; see Browne, vol. 3, p. 463.]

207 Mīr `Abd al-Bāqī was appointed sādār in 917/1511, and was given the title of vakīl in 919/1513, see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 49 and 157; Zayn al-Abīdīn, 248 and 249. A year later he perished in the battle with the Turkish army at Chaldiran. Besides his talent as munsī, he possessed poetical gifts. He wrote a collection of ghazals under his pen name Bāqī; see Tāfṣir-yi Sabāh, pp. 21-22. He is a title very similar to our “viceroy”! ; Alm.-drā, p. 96: “Hamza-mīrzā (Safavi) . . . received the title of vakīl and the dignity of heir to the throne.” [Cf. Tashkīrāt al-mulūk, p. 114. V.M.]

208 Reading ahdī for anqīl (2).

209 [If adds: “and I have seen them.”] `Abd al-Bāqī, before his appointment as sādār, served in Yazd; see Zayn al-Abīdīn, 248b.

46. No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky

he died by the hand of Damīr-sultān Shāhī, 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 Mālīk Ashtar, and on his father’s from Ahmad Ghazālī.

Mīr Mānsūr 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.

47. Mīr Mānsūr became munsī to Humayūn-pādshāh and with him left Irāq (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 Shams al-dīn Astarābādī conducted for some time the correspondence on behalf of the holy mausoleum of Imam Rīḍa—a thousand thousand blessings be on that venerable 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’aliq as an ‘umān on the gateway (dargah?) of glazed bricks in the holy abode of Her Holiness the Most Pure One—peace be on her and blessings!

207 The murder of Ad-hām Khiyārī-yi Qazvinī occurred in 930/1523 (see Tashkīrāt, p. 9; Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 168; Zayn al-Abīdīn, 232b), i.e., in the first year of Shah Tahmāsp’s rule. Damīr (damīrī) sultān Shāhī 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, vakīl, was a famous statesman of Shah Tahmāsp’s reign; he died in Zanjīn in 940/1532-33, see Tashkīrāt, p. 9, etc.; Alm.-drā, pp. 117-118; Muntazam-i Nāṣīrī, vol. 2, p. 127.

208 Mālīk al-Ashtar was a companion of ‘Ali; Ahmad Ghazālī is mentioned in Browne, vol. 2, p. 256, as a poet. [According to Ivanov, Four Persian poetical Tashkīrāts, p. 39, this poet died in 527/1133. V.M.]

209 Obliged to leave India because of feudal disturbances, Humayūn sought refuge and aid from Shah Tahmāsp in 1544. Humayūn’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 Humayūn, ruled after his father from 1556 till 1605. [I change the order of the biographies but also says that Mānsūr’s son Abu-l-Qasim accompanied Humayūn to India and served under Akbar].
O God! In the name of the just rights of the sons of Fāṭimah. 171
With whose words one finishes (khātima) the prayer.
Whether you reject my appeal or accept it,
My hand and the hem of the robe of the Prophet’s family. 172
This opening verse is also a product of his talent:
I myself have given a place in the desert of my heart to a muskgazelle, 173
And have nurtured a delicate sprig with the sanies of my liver.

Maulānā Sultān-Māhmūd was the son of Maulānā Ibrāhīm. He also wrote well and composed poetry under the
nɒm de plɒm of “Najātī.” 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. 174

Maulānā Isha’ī, another son of Ibrāhīm-munshi, wrote excellent tālīq and also composed good verse. The following
is by him:
Spring has come and the song of the nightingale is everywhere. 175
Cupbearer, bring wine: for wonderful is the time of blossoms!

Maulānā Bahā al-Dīn Husayn, munshi, wrote in the style of Maulānā 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, 176 of Imām Riḍa—prayers and blessings
on the one who rests there! He was a native of that
blessed town. 177

171 Meter: mu’taqrī. By “sons of Fāṭimah” are meant the Imāmas Ḥasan and
172 The meaning is that he plucks the hem of the garment as a sign of entreaty
and does not let it go.
173 Meter: kāṣaj. The same verse is quoted in the biography of Ibrāhīm
Astarābādī in the Tūḥaf ‘alayn Sāmī, p. 82.
174 Meter: kāṣaj. The same verse in Tūḥaf ‘alayn Sāmī, p. 82, according to which,
however, Najātī was the nɒm de plɒm of Isha’ī’s father.
175 Meter: mu’drī.
176 Qa’dān, LIII, 14, the “lotus tree” marking the extremity of Paradise.
177 [H, p. 27, adds the name of his son Mohammad Qásim.]
Khwaja Mirak, 333 munshi, was a sayyid of Kirmaz. 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 Divan. He wrote excellent ta'līq, possessed good taste in the epistolary art and was a man of great parts. [H: He died in 943/1536.]

After the death of Khwaja Mirak the late Muhammadibek 334 became munshi. He was a Kuchaj (or Kuchaji?), a descendant of Shaykh Muhammad Kachaji, by whom were built excellent chapels, lofty buildings, and enclosures in Tabriz. (On his father's side) he was the grandson of Mir Zakariya Vazir, whose record is given in the Khulṣat al-tavārīkh. He wrote excellent ta'līq and was twice entrusted with the correspondence of the exalted Divan. He died in Qazvin [H: in 982/1574].

Mirza-Kāfī was one of the noble descendants of the sultan of the seekers of Truth, teacher of the oceanic sages, Naṣir al-Ḥaqq wal-millat wa'd-din Muhammad al-Ṭūsī, 335 for whom, after the conquest of Baghdad and the extermination of the Abbasid house, the khwaja died in Baghdad, some of his descendants found their way to Ṭazaržān and settled in the pleasant borough of Ordubād. He was exceedingly pure of soul and noble (adami) and possessed a fullness of virtues and many talents; none equaled him in the epistolary art and 50 he wrote excellently. After Muḥammadibek'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 Astārābd.]

333 Khwaja Mirak, who held the post of munshi al-mamluṭ, died in 943/1536.
334 After Khwaja Mirak, the post was given to Muhammadibek ibn Isma'īl (see Zayn al-Ḥaqq, 362), who was a grandson (Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, pp. 133-139; brother) of Mir Zakariya Gauharjī, who in 907/1501-2, when Shah Isma'il I seized Tabriz, was appointed vazir (see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 135). *Hār-ārā, p. 123, mentions Muhammadibek in the list of munshis during the reign of Shah Tāhmāsp.

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munshi, he was an esteemed companion (muṣāhid) of the monarch and enjoyed close relations with, and innumerable honors at the hand of the khāqān, whose dwelling is now in Paradise (Tāhmāsp). 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 Muhammadibek again became munshi and dealt with the correspondence for some 10 years.

Ḥusayn 'Alī-beg 'Arabīrūl was one of the great gurčis of Shah Tāhmāsp of eternal memory. He was the son of Khwaja Shah-qi, vazir of the gurčis. 336 He wrote well, with great taste and transparency. He wrote samples of calligraphy (qāf'a) and his writings went everywhere.

Qādī Ulugh-bek Ordūbādī wrote in the style of Khwaja '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 ḥag. He occupied the post of judge in Ordūbād and in those frontier provinces. He wrote in the rigā' style the waqf documents of the estates of the holy Fourteen Innocents—God's peace on them all. 337 His works are numerous. He spent the last one or two years of his life in Qazvin. As he was of imposing stature, Shah Tāhmāsp of eternal memory improvised a verse about him:

51. A solid man is the judge of Ordūbād, 338
A man like unto some tree.

334 'Alam-ud-dīn, pp. 120-121: The office of the vazir of the gurčis (waqfmen) was hereditary in the 'Arabīrūli family; Husayn 'Alī-beg is mentioned as a master of the 'aṭīq following the style of Bābā al-dīn Husayn. [H, p. 24, line 3, calls him Ḥasan 'Alī-beg and refers to his father as the vazir of the gurčis of the khāqān-ye shirāj (the shah's "Private Purse")]. V. M.
336 [H explains that the waqf was established by the late Princess Sulṭān-khānum, apparently one of Shah Tāhmāsp's daughters.]
337 Mūsīr: khatīf. [In H the author adds that the qāf was an old acquaintance and a neighbor of his father, and was learning the epistolary art from him. The qāf died in 973/1563.]
Musa-beg, although a Turk by origin, was a possessor of accomplishments and wrote excellently in the nastā'īq style. For some time he worked in the royal chancellery (daftarkhāna) and there was no master scribe like him. He was given the vazirot of Ardabīl, and there he died.

Mirzā Ahmad, son of the late ‘Ata-āllāh Isfahānī, to whom for a certain time was entrusted the vazirot in Azarbāyjān, Qarabāgh, and Shirvān 290 in the days of the late Shah Tāhmāsp, was a gifted and capable youth, wrote ta’līq well, 290 possessed good taste in correspondence and composed good verses. During the war near the fort of Turbat, in the year 900/1582, 291 he was killed by a musket fired by his brother’s son.

Qadī ‘Abdullāh of Khoy was the son of Qadī Sa’dullāh. The judicature in Khoy and Salmās belonged to his father and to himself. He possessed the majority of the talents, wrote tastefully in ta’līq and other styles, such as naskh and nastā’īq, was an incomparable munšī, 292 and had no equals in the Turki language. For some time he was entrusted with correspondence in the paradisiac court assembly of Shah Tāhmāsp. 293 Even after (his master’s death) he carried on his duties for

290 ‘Alam-ārā, p. 121: ‘Ata-āllāh is mentioned as vazirot of Azarbāyjān and Shirvān.
291 ‘Alam-ārā, p. 121: Mirzā Ahmad, like his father, was an important official and an amateur of the calligraphic art; at first he worked on the ta’līq with the master ‘Alā al-dīn Mānsūr, then he took up the šikasta following the last manner of the master Darvish.
292 In that year ‘Ali-quli-khān, ruler of Herat on behalf of the infant ‘Abbās-mīrzā (the future Shah ‘Abbās 1), marched against Shah Muhammad Khudā-banda and Hāmza-mīrzā. The latter set out to meet him. Having reached Sābzavār, ‘Ali-quli-khān returned to Herat, leaving his lieutenant Mursīd Khudā-banda at the fort of Turbat-i Zāva. The fruitless siege of the fort by Muhammad Khudā-banda’s troops lasted throughout the winter of 990/1582; see Sharaf-nāma, vol. 2, p. 267. ‘Alam-ārā, p. 126, describes the death of Mirzā Ahmad. The town, Turbat-i Zāva, with the mausoleum of Shaykh Ħaydar, is the present-day Turbat-i Haydar; see Le Strange, p. 356.
293 Mentioned in the list of officials of Shah Tāhmāsp in ‘Alam-ārā, p. 123.

52. 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 Tāhmāsp. He was a learned man and wrote quite good verse. Here is a Turkish rubā’i by him:

O qādī, in what a sad 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-mīrzā 294 was returning from Herat, Qadī ‘Abdullāh was taken ill in Holy Mashhad and died in the neighborhood of Sābzavār in the month of Shāvval 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’līq excellently, clearly, and with taste. For some time he acted as vazirot to the late Princess Pari-khān khānum and in that office was useful to the Muslimahs. 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, Qazvīn. 295 He is an extremely noble-minded man with darvish (habits).

Khwāja ‘Alā al-dīn Mānsūr is a native of Kara-rūd 296 and writes very well. 297 For 30 years in Mirzā Kāfī’s service

294 Ḥamza-mīrzā, the second son of Muhammad Khudā-banda and a uterine brother of ‘Abbās-mīrzā, was born about 972/1564; see ‘Alam-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 Tābīz (994/1586). The return from Herat, mentioned here, was the continuation of the campaign against the rebel ‘Ali-quli-khān (see above, p. 94, n. 291).
295 [It adds that he died in 1054/1549].
296 Later Sultān-Abbād, now Arāg.
297 ‘Alam-ārā, p. 123: ‘Alā al-dīn Mānsūr followed in ta’līq the style of the master Darvish, but wrote in larger characters. [H. gives more details: "In the days of Muḥammadī-bek nūnshi, ‘Alā al-dīn’s authority increased and he remained in service even after (Muḥammadī’s death in 1591). He used to..."
he was engaged in correspondence at the Dār al-inšā, and for a long time was admitted to the assembly of the court. For some years he was confirmed as state secretary (munšī al-manālík) and traced tughras in gold. After the death of Shah Tahmāsp he retired to Kara-rūd where he is engaged in agriculture.

Khwaja Malik Muḥammad Harāvī was a relative of 53. Maulānā Ikhtiyār, munšī. He wrote taʿliq extremely well but his talent was limited (kam-istiɗdād). For eight years he conducted the correspondence of the Department of State Affairs in the divān of Shah Sulṭān-Muḥammad Padshāh. During the war with the Tākkālū Turkmans, being a friend of that tribe, he disappeared without trace.296

Maulānā Muḥammad-Amin, munšī, was the grandson of Maulānā Ad-ham, munšī, but was brought up in the capital, Qazvin. He wrote excellent taʿliq and could write rapidly. He was an incomparable munšī, possessed taste, and for some time was employed in the Secretarial Office (Dār al-inšā). 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-manaalik) under the lord of the slaves, who has achieved happiness, the most noble, most exalted Abul-Muẓaffar Shah ‘Abbas—may God make tracings in gold (on the documents) personally. After the death of Shah Tahmāsp he served as mustaṭfī to the Turks. Finally he retired to the province of Kara-rūd and lived there as an exile (shurbat).” Tadhkira al-mulāˇk, §23, is definite in saying: “The tracing of the tughrā in liquid gold and red ink is done by the pen of the Munšī al-manaalik 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-yan tribe. Huart, p. 319, also refers to his service with “sultān al-turkman” (?). V.M.)

296 Manālīk as opposed to the khāisa, “the shāh’s Private Purse.”

297 Huart, p. 320: was killed. [H adds that he began his career in Herat. He disappeared in the battle of the Tākkālū with Prince Hamza, at Sā’in-qua’l. V.M.]

298 In Alam-ārdā, pp. 121 and 126, Muhammad-Amin is mentioned as Musafī Qāsim’s son. He was on the list of the officials of the daftar-khāna of Shah Tahmāsp and served for some time in Azerbājjan and Shīrvān.

No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky prolong his reign. He died in the year of the Dragon, 1001/1592–93.293

The late Mirzā-Muhammad was the son of ‘Alī-bek Surkh and the grandson (on his mother’s side) of Khwāja Mirāki (sic), munšī. He was a gifted and worthy youth and even in those days possessed dignity and grandeur. For some time he was employed as scribe (taḥrīr) at the Dār al-inšā,294 and later attained the post of redacteur (inshā). Then he rose to be (the head) of the accountancy (isti非常高) of all state affairs. Twice he was vāzir of the divān, but was finally killed in the year 997/1588–90.295 He wrote very well and had good taste in the epistolary art, as well as in poetry.296

Iskandar-beq, munšī, stands in the relation of child to this humble one.297 He possesses praiseworthy qualities and pleasant manners. He writes taʿliq, nastaʿliq, and shikasta very well. For some time he was employed in the royal chancellory (daftar-khāna) as a bookkeeper; there was no other calligrapher and born munšī in the royal chancellery. He was versed in the knowledge of siyāq (accountancy).298 For some

293 Lu-yl, “the year of the Dragon,” is the fifth year of the Turkish 12-year cycle.

294 Alam-árdā, p. 123, mentions him in the list of munšīs of Shah Tahmāsp’s reign.


296 [H adds that his uncle Zayn al Kar (“def?”) worked in the chancellery and was in charge of the Qara-ulūs (tribes of mixed origin) section. This family is also connected with Mir Zakariya Kachai (of Tabriz). As a grandson of Muḥammad-munšī, Muhammad was admitted to the Dār al-inšā (which the author calls additionally dār al-irshād); cf. also H, p. 256). Thence he was transferred to the court (majlis-i asrāf). Under Ismāʿīl II he became his companion (musābīk) and the chief munšī of the state (munšī al-manā-alīk). Under Shāh-Muhammad he became the controller (mumazzal) of Dargazā (near Hamadan) and then mussaftī al-manāalīk. He was the companion of Prince Hamza, after whose death the Shah appointed him prime minister (vāzir-i dānam). Under ‘Abbas I, during the regency (vakilat) of Mursid-qi-khān Cha’ušulu (Usâlu), he was arrested and heavily fined. After the death of Mursid-qi-khān, 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.]

297 Iskandar-munšī, author of the Ṭi-ālā-ārdā, was born about 960/1556; consequently at the time of the writing of our Treatise he was about 30 years old.

298 Siyāq is a special and very complicated system of alphabetie abbreviations
time, too, he was an officer in the Divân of the Chief Vakil, after which he passed into the service of the Secretariat (dăr al-inṣāḥ). In epistolary art and in writing any kind of matter he is peerless; he is entrusted with the correspondence and the writing of orders (parvanā) and missives to sultans. He has acquired perfect experience in the affairs of the Divân 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 he left the divân-i vakilat and was transferred to dăr al-inṣāḥ, he was employed for some time under Maulānā Muhammād Amin, munshi. He is a wonderful scribe and in the art of sīyaq there are few calligraphers and secretaries like him. At present, the direction (madār-i tāhir) of orders (parvanā) and the redaction of correspondence with (other) sovereigns is his charge. . . . It seems that the following rubā‘ī 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.507

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

507 Literally "my harvest has burned." For the explanation of mazhab, Prof. A. Naqqali refers me to Hāfez, Divān, p. 115, No. 167: "My friend places me now at the head of the dais (mazhab). Look, a town beggar has become the chairman of the assembly." Sīyaq-alīm "a man clad in a black rug" is "an unfortunate man." The quatrain is very suggestive autobiographically.

No. 2 CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY 99

Wherever there is an unfortunate with troubled heart
He is my pupil who got his robe of honor (khirqa) from me.

MIRZĀ MUḤAMMAD HUSAYN is the son of Mirzā Shukrullāh Ḥusainī who for some time held the office of muʿtabī al-mamālīk in the days of Shah Tahmāsp [H: and under Shah Ismā‘īl II became his grand vazir]. He writes very elegantly, clearly and with taste. [In tāliʿī 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.508]

MIRZĀ HUSAYN, munshi, son of Khwāja ‘Īnāyat who acted as vazir to Ḥusayn-beg yūzbashī ("centurion") of the Uṣṭāju tribe, is a gifted youth. He writes tāliʿī well and his writing is elegant and of good quality. For a long time he has been writing in the Dār al-inṣāḥ.509

MAULĀNĀ GHIYĀTH AL-DIN SHAKĪR, known as Ghiyāthā,510 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-inṣāḥ, and now he acts as munshi to the great and most glorious Mahdī 'ulayya-begum,511 daughter (tīc) of Shah Tahmāsp.512

508 'Ālam-dra, p. 126, also speaks of Muḥammad-Husayn with much praise as a follower of Maulānā Darvish in tāliʿī. It reports on his death in India. Cf. also Huraq, p. 210, according to whom he was a pupil of Mir Sayyid Ahmad and the teacher of Muḥammad-Amin 'Āqil [‘Uqayli?].

509 'Ālam-dra refers to Mirzā Husayn as master in tāliʿī (as a pupil of ‘Āli al-din Manṣūr) and in māṣīlah. [H, p. 26, line 9, adds that Mirzā Husayn’s father and uncle were in attendance (dār nisāḥ) on Ḥusayn-beg and Husayn-beg, yūzbashī of the Uṣṭāju tribe, as their vazir and wazīf. For some time Husayn was employed in the Dār al-inṣāḥ (Dār al-‘irshād-i inṣāḥ). Circumstances were unfavorable to him and he emigrated to India.

510 [Such forms of honorary titles are frequent in the Safavid period (Qadīnā, Ruknā), see Taddhīrat al-muṣūk, p. 124.]

511 Mahdī ‘ulayya is usually the title of the principal wife of the king. The 'Ālam-dra, p. 96, etc., applies it to the wife of Shah Muhammad Khudā-banda, daughter of Mir ‘Azīzullāh-khān Marvashī of Mazandaran and mother of the princes Ḵānum, Abūs and Abū-Ṭalib; she was murdered in 1579. In our case the title may apply to the senior (t) of the daughters of Shah Tahmāsp and aunts of Shah 'Abdābās.

512 [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 KHWAJA 55. Mir ‘Ali Tabrizi. He taught his son ‘Ubaydullāh, and the latter became an outstanding (master) in this art. MAULĀNA JA’FAR was the pupil of ‘Ubaydullāh and Maulānā Āzhār. 510

MAULĀNA ‘ABD AL-RAHMĀN AL-KHWĀRAZMĪ wrote in a different manner. He left two sons who both became outstanding master calligraphers. 511

The first of these is MAULĀNA ‘ABD AL-RAḤĪM, known as Anisī (“companion”). He received this nickname because he was a companion and admirer (muṣāḥaḥ-vu ‘āshiq) of Ya’qūb-pādshāh (Aq-goyuntu); this monarch called him Anisī and joked with him. Consequently he adopted Anisī for his pen

510 Our information on the inventor of the nasta’liq style is scanty and unreliable. The scholars who studied his biography (Kesu Catalogue, pp. 621-22; Huart, p. 207) usually quote the verified treatise of Sulān-‘Ali Mashhādī (see below, p. 116). The latter, speaking of Mir-‘Alī as a contemporary of the poet Kamāl Khujandī (MS. 73), who was an older contemporary of Hāfiz, and died either at the end of the fourteenth century or in the very beginning of the fifteenth. The manuscript of the poems of Khwaja Kirmāni (d. 1037/1430) belonging to the British Museum (Add. 18,113) bears the signature of “Mir-‘Alī ibn-Muḥammad al-Tabrizī.”

H uart, p. 208: ‘Abdullāh Shākirīn-galām (“Sweet Pen”). [He calls him ‘Abdullāh and adds that according to some less reliable sources he did not achieve great success.]

511 Huart, p. 210, thinks it possible to identify this Ja’far with Ja’far Haravi, head of the library of the Timurid Bāyqunqūr.

512 Huart calls the master Āzhār in one place (p. 208) pupil of ‘Abdullāh ibn-Mir-‘Alī Tabrizī, and at another (p. 19) pupil of Ja’far Tabrizī.

513 Sakhsian, La miniature perse, p. 95, n. 1: in the Evqaf Museum (šam-boul) there is a manuscript (No. 1562) dated 1456 and signed by the calligrapher ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Khwārazmī. The manuscript was written for one of the sultans of the Qara-qoyuntu dynasty in Shiraz.

514 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; 529
For with Anisī 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; 526
One cannot stem the course of the Jayhūn with brushwood.

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

The second son of ‘Abd al-Rahmān, MAULĀNA ‘ABD AL-KARĪM, is known under the nickname Pādshāh. He wrote in the manner of his brother, Anisī, 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, 522 though he was a poor and harmless man. He signed his qī’ās now “written by a giraffe” 523 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, 524
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, 525
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, MAULĀNA SULTĀN-ĀLĪ

510 Meter: haqaj.

526 Meter: ramal. The Jayhūn is the Anī-daryā. The same opening verse is quoted in the biography of the master in the Tuhfa-yi Sāmi, p. 84.

527 The text of our Treatise reproduces literally ‘Abd al-Karim’s biography in Tuhfa-yi Sāmi, pp. 81-82.

522 In Tuhfa-yi Sāmi, p. 82: “written by God.” [H: “by God.”]

524 Meter: haqaj. Mardum means both “men, people” and “the pupil of the eye.”

525 Meter: haqaj.
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 Maulanā wrote a treatise in which he described his life (ḥalāt) 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., 'Ali) 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 verisimilitude 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 Sultan-Hasayn-mirzā 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-naṣīs, which is one of the Turkish compositions of Mir 'Ali-Shir. 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 Mirzā and the ruin of his family, the Maulanā came to Holy Mashhad. The palace garden situated on the road from the citadel of Herat to Gāzārgāh; the name has survived in that of the settlement of Bāgh-i Murād; see H. Khānīkoff, Šetar niẓām-i ʿarabī, vol. 15 (1860).


[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.]

According to Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 201, Sultan-'Ali, after the death of his Herat patron, was for some time in the service of Shaybānî-khan Uzbek. (This report may be connected with an anecdote added in H: when Sultan-'Ali and secluded himself until he gave up his life into the hands of the snatchers of souls, the angel 'Aẓīrā'īl. The date of his death is the 10th Rabi' 1 926/2 March 1520. The phrase ghām bī hisāb (“unfathomable sorrow”) has become a chronogram (of the event) by way of an enigma (aṭāniyā). 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 Maulanā 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.

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

Hār, whose pen traced writing that ravished the soul, Across his letters the Scribe of Time has drawn a line. A qalām acquired life when it touched his hand, brought a gift of his work to Shābebkhan Uzbek, “that ignorant Turk” made on it his corrections. V. M.

In his biography by Khwāndamīr, the date of his death is given as 916/1513-14; see Habib al-sīyar, vol. 3, pp. 344-345; in Mirkand, 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 Sultan-'Ali himself (M. 21).

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

On the tomb of Sultan-'Ali in Mashhad, see also Habib al-sīyar, vol. 1, p. 345; the location 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 Shahrūkh... The duration of his life was 85 years.”]
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-Muṣā 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 Maułānā Sultaṅ-'Ali’s own talent, and Maułānā Muḥammad Abrishumā wrote it (also) on the maulana’s tombstone and signed: “This rub’ai is by the late master; scripsit Muḥammad Abrishumi.”

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 maulana wrote good verse. This opening verse is by him:

The rose of spring is the reflection of those rose-hued cheeks,223
As my year is the reflection of my blood-filled heart.

The following verses are autobiographical:

My age is over sixty-three, more or less,238
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 Sultaṅ-'Ali.”

A monument to the mastery of the maulana, 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 231 (taKh-i maqbarā) of Mirzā


238 Meter: maṭaqārī. Also quoted in Tuḥfa-fi Sāmī, v. 69.

231 According to the chronicle of Muʿīn al-dīn Isḥāqī, the mountains of Herat were famous for their quarries of white stone, similar to marble; this

No. 2 CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY 105

Mansūr [b. Mirzā Bāyqara b. Mirzā ʿ Omar-shaykhi b. Amir Timur], father of the late sovereign Mirzā Sultaṅ-Ḥusayn, which stands beside the mazār of the pīr of Herat Khwāja 60. ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī 239—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 (suffa) 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 Sultaṅ Ghiyāth al-saltāna wal-dīn Mansūr and his virtuous children in the year 882 (1427–78). 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-Sultaṅ 259
This very satisfactorily became the chronogram of the building. Scripsit God’s slave: Sultaṅ-‘Ali al-Mashhadi.

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

239 [It adds that the lofty mausoleum was erected by the son of the defunct, Sultaṅ Ḥusayn.] The tomb of the famous pīr (“sage”) of Herat, ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī (eleventh century) is situated to the northwest of the town at the foot of the mountain range; see Khankōf, “Plan archéologique des alentours de Herat,” J.A.S., vol. 15 (1860), pp. 337–343; Barbier de Meynard, ibid., vol. 16 (1860), pp. 419 and 506; and Barthold, Istoriye-geografitchesky ocher Irama, p. 40. Khanikofov, “Lettre à M. Reinach,” J.A.S., vol. 15, p. 542, saw at Gāzargāh five tombs of Timurids, one of which was that of Ghiyāth al-dīn Mansūr.

231 [Meter: ramāl. The numeric value of marqad-i Sultaṅ Mansūr is 1771. The value of bikhārī, which is apparently to be deduced from 1771, is 707. But this gives 1044 instead of the expected 882. V.M.J]

240 Apart from the above-mentioned Gāzargāh, the second burial place of the Herat nobility was Mūsallā, where N. Khanikofov found nine tombstones; ibid., pp. 542–543.
Of the maulānā’s pupils there are five who became celebrated: 106 MAULĀNA MUḤAMMAD ABRĪSHMĪ, MAULĀNA SULTĀN-MUḤAMMAD NŪR, MAULĀNA MUḤAMMAD KHAN- DĀN, 102 MAULĀNA ZAYN AL-DĪN MAHMŪD and MAULĀNA MĪR ‘ALĪ JĀMĪ. These five men developed into masters of writing (while they were) in attendance on Maulānā Sultān-‘Ali; they were outstanding in their time and masters through the ages.

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

61. **EPISTLE OF MAULĀNA SULTĀN-‘ALĪ**

O qolam! Sharpen the tongue of explanation 243
For the glorification of the Lord of the two worlds,
The Lord who created the qolam
And traced the decree of creation with that qolam.
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 Sanctuary* 244
*the Lion of God, the Conqueror, ‘Alī son of Abī-Ṭalīb.*

As Muṣṭafā 245 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,”

243 [H adds: “Besides Maulānā Mīr-‘Alī, who reached equality (barābari) with his master,” but then mentions the same five pupils. V.M.]
244 [Hart, p. 224, calls him the son of Sultān-‘Ali Mashhadi. The Public Library of Leningrad possess albums with samples of his work (Oriental, No. 147). [On the autograph of the “Epistle” see p. 19, n. 58.]
245 [The “Epistle” is in the khaffī meter throughout.
246 [The subtitles and the division of the chapters are different in the three MSS.]
247 One of the names of the prophet Muḥammad.

No. 3  **CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY**

“The span of two bow-lengths” is his place and abode. 246
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). 247
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 Ḥāshimite, the Muṭṭalibite.
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. 248
And when, turning his attention (ṣar) to writing, (God) dictated (?) a book,
The writing was in Hebrew and mdqilt. 249
Muṭṭadā (‘Alī) laid the foundations of the Kūfī script
And developed it.
And those other styles of writing, which masters
Invented, know they are also derived from the Kūfī.
The inventors, whose names are found in this chapter,
Are Fār-Muqāl and Ibn-Bawwāb.
The foundation (masnad) of the name of writing 250 consists in the practice of virtue, 251
In which case Muṭṭadā-‘Alī is (present) from the beginning,
As he is present in all sciences.
He is the imām of sciences for those learned in science.

246 Qur’ān, LIII, 9: “The Prophet at the moment of revelation was within this distance from God.”
247 [Nīthār is the term for throwing money to the crowd on solemn occasions. V.M.]
248 [I.e., qul: ūnā hāzah ʿahad, “say: He is One God,” Qur’ān, CXII, 1. I owe this explanation to my friend, Prof. A. Eghbal. The expected meaning would be that, before Muḥammad, men received their guidance directly from God’s Oneness. V.M.]
249 See above, p. 53.
250 [H: “of the art of writing.”]
251 See above, p. 54.
Meekly did the amie 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 Murtudā-‘Ali in writing  
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 Murtudā-‘Ali
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
And must be kissed by angels and men.
Harken as it behooves thee, to this couple of distichs,
Which are from the Ḥadīqa in honor of the Lion of God:
“For every enemy whom he throw off his feet,
‘Glory is upon his arm, and the striker is God.’
“Do not be ignorant concerning the sons of Ḥāshim,
“And concerning (the verse) ‘God’s hand is over their hands!’ ”
(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 Kā’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.

253 [Cf. above, p. 54.
254 [Omitted in E. II gives instead: “The sheet of paper covered with the writing of the Shah (of Sanctity).”]
255 Ḥadīqa of San‘ā, Bombay, 1275/1859, p. 131. [Misunderstood in H: “har from me . . . for they are a Ḥadīqa (garden) in praise of God” and the Lion.”]
256 Qur‘ān, XI VIII, 10.

64. 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 favours I became joyful,
Because he was an ‘abd al and a possessor of ḥāl,
And it was his ḥāl 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),

256 [H: “On the author’s dispositions and the beginning of his studies.”]
257 [The verb is in the 2d or 3d person singular and seems to be a quotation.
H omits this verse.
258 The ‘abd al are the 70 righteous men for whose sake, according to Muslim tradition, God does not put an end to the universe.
259 Ḥāl (plur. Ḥawāl) in common parlance is “circumstances,” “conditions,” but, as a qafī term, it refers to “the state of mystic ecstasy.”
260 [Possibly as a part of his vow (?). V. M.]
261 [H omits this verse. V. M.]
Let him not have an evil opinion of me.
I, Sultan-'Ali, am 'Ali's slave.
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.\(^{362}\)

\(\text{On himself}\)

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 (\textit{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 Rida,
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!

\(\text{On his progress}\)

66. 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,

\(^{362}\text{Khafi and jali are also terms of calligraphy: "small and large script."}\)

\(\text{No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky}\)

From among the Turks, and from among the Tázikhs.
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 detective,
But what the secret eyes have seen becomes cherished.

\(\text{On how he became a calligrapher}\)

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."

\(\text{Calligraphy}\)

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.

\(\text{On the qalam}\)

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 bead 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.

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 (jalāya) 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 fuss.

Until the time when it settles (baqi‘am),
And your heart is tranquil in writing.
Do not spare labor in this.
Know that otherwise your work has been in vain.

363 According to Fathullāh, 9a, several kinds of reed for making galams were imported in the sixteenth century from Wāsīt, Amol, Egypt, and Māzandarān. Those from Wāsīt were considered the best, those from Amol 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 Haur, pp. 222-223. Besides the recipe of Sulṭān-

No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky

On paper

There is no paper better than Chinese (khita‘ī),
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‘ī) paper.
There is no need for you to test:
Writing on it is good, it is also good for gold,
It is excellent and 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.

366 In a poem devoted to varieties of paper, ‘All, p. 11, 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 rasmī kind, or sulṭāni, try to buy the best."

369 [Perhaps handī, "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.]
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 (lāb-i xirīk).
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.372

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 (khatir-khwāh),
So that it should penetrate into the inside (khāna) 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.”

No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky

Otherwise know that you have been working in vain.
Make the left side (insi) and the right side (tavāsī) even,
For the rule of four-sixths and two-sixths is obsolete.

71.

On the nay-qât 373

The nay-qât 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-qât;
If you hold the qalam with your finger (fingers?) it is good 374
First of all take hold firmly of the penknife,
If you are not unfamiliar 376 with the nay-qât.
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 (qatt) 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.376
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.376

371 A spatula on which the qalam is trimmed.
372 M and H: gar na-girî, but E: gar bi-girî.
373 [E. 43b]: bâ nay-qât, gar na’i aqval (?). H, 33, 1.13: aqval “if you are not squire-eyed with regard to the nay-qât (?)”
374 A well-known Arabic saying seems to take an augury from the sound produced by the qalam when it is trimmed: idhâ qâla l-qalamu “qatt” ihbah bi-bamî l-khâf “when the qalam has said: qatt, rejoice: the writing will be good.” Cf. pp. 57–58. V. M.
376 [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 (asalt?),
And his pedigree goes up to 'Ali (son of Abi-Ṭālh).
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.278
Do not reject him out of ignorance!
Know that he was not without blessedness (or “without a birthplace”) 279
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,560
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.”

277 The expression naskh-i ta’liq can mean: “abrogation, abolishing of the ta’liq,” and at the same time: “ta’liq naskh (style).” A widespread tradition accepts the first explanation.

278 Ap rather poor pun on the similar ending of shakhris and Tabriz, the latter of which might be explained as “deliverer from fever,” V.M.

279 [Filastin means both “sanctity” and “a province.” V.M.]

280 Meaning the poet Kamāl Khujandī, who died in Tabriz in 893/1480.

On the form and the rules of writing

The outward aspect of writing consists of the fundamentals (ujal) and the shape (ta’liq),
Whereas the arrangement (ta’liq) consists of “setting” (kursi) 281 and proportions (nisbat).
After these there exist “the ascent” and “the descent,”
The shawra 282 also plays its part and is accepted,
But do not seek the irdāl 283 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 qalam, and the other nazarī.284
These words cannot be contested.285
Qalam is the exercise in reproduction,
Exercising small (writing) during the day and large (writing) in the evening.
Nazarī is to gaze at a writing
And to become aware of words, letters, and dots.

281 Kursī, “a seat,” is the disposition of letters in a scheme similar to a musical stave, see above, p. 58.

282 Alias tashmir, “dourish,”

283 “Letting off,” perhaps "final flourish."

284 The terms are clear: qalam (from qalam, “the pen”) is the actual practice in calligraphy; nazarī (from nazar, “to look”) is the study of some style by means of observation.

285 Nabhūn in sukhan nabhī va marī (?): “cannot be denied” (nahy), or “contested” (marī).
Actual writing

Whatever writing you wish to reproduce (ṣaqq),
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 (tirākūb).
Watch their "ascent" and "descent"
Taking pleasure in both.
Take account of the thirāb ("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 a 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 (mufrīdaṭ)
I shall say. Be content with that much.

No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky

On the rules of writing

Several letters, the shape of which
Is essentially similar, consider as the same.386
I shall make clear before you without deficiency (shāyn)
The length of the lengthened sin and the head of the ‘ayn.
This is a versified discourse on letters
From the alif to the kafṣa and the dots.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 (jirāf)

For an alif three movements are needed,
Although this does not come from the gulum.388

386 Following Ibn-Muqla, Fathullah, 20b, calls the letters differing only by diacritical points, "sisters."
387 The verse is out of order, as the rhymes in the hemistichs do not agree.
[II: “right or wrong, here they are.” Koutugov gives more verses.]
388 Fathullah, 19a-19b, says: “There should be some movement (harakat) in the alif; in muhakkak it is imperceptible, in thuluth evident, in tawwī’ and rajī’ very evident, in naṣīh and rajīdī extremely imperceptible.” The two degrees of imperceptibility, or evidence, of the element called harakat (“movement”) seems to refer to the thickness or thinness of the line, but not to its twisting or inclination. This latter characteristic is separately mentioned in another sentence where the 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; 399
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 all be right.

77. The alifs of the kaf 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 sâd 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, 383
Consists of two horseshoes, even though (?) they are like a sâd.
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 nasta’lîq, as represented in sixteenth-century manuscripts, is vertical and has the following characteristics: (1) In comparison with the sîra writing, its height is only 1:2 or 1:3; (2) its top is slanted and its bottom is brought down to the shamsa; (3) It narrows imperceptibly down the whole body of the letter. Thus it seems to me that under the three "movements" of Sultân-'Ali's treatise can be understood: (1) the slanting of the top, (2) the narrowing of the body, and (3) the shamsa of the bottom. The lavishness of all these "movements" may account for the additional clause: "although this does not come from the qalam." [H: "although it comes from the qalam."] V. M.

390 In Fatâullâh’s treatise, 19b-20a, the graphic representation of the letter sâd and others similar to it is divided into two elements: the "shoulder" and the "straight," apparently corresponding to the "beginning" and "end" of Sultân-'Ali’s treatise.
391 The letter jim in Fatâullâh 20b is composed of two elements: the shoulder and the circle. The beginning—the shoulder in the "six" writings—was equal to six dots.
392 The "alif of the kaf" is its vertical part.
393 The author refers to the so-called "sin, like a bow," i.e., the one written in a line and not with three teeth.
394 [This verse is found only in H, but even with it the description of the ‘ayn is obscure, V. M.]

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

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,
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 concupiscient soul,
Then you will know what a minor religious war is, 389
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 (vir'd).
Do not be unclean for a single hour,
Ever recognize the necessity of eschewing
Lies, covetousness, and calumny,
Avoid envy and envious men,
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.

On retirement and exercises

Murtadā ('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'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.

389 Meaning the conquest of one's passions.
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! I 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 (yabāb), 
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 (mulilah). 
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 prattle 406 came to an end,

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), 407 
Not those who gladden the leader of the host of detractors (Satān). 
May God preserve those who veil weaknesses, 
In the name of the Prophet, and his honorable family!

MAULĀNA SIMĪ NISHAṆPŪRĪ was an extremely gifted master of the arts. He became a master calligrapher in Holy Mashhad, equal in degree to the loftiest sphere of heaven, and taught in a school. He wrote in seven styles of writing, 408 was peerless in poetry, inscriptions (kitābat), and enigmas, and was outstanding in his time in blending colors (rangāmīz), preparing ink (siyāḥ), gold sprinkling, and ornamenting in gold. He wrote a treatise 409 on the arts and (another) on the epistolary art (tarāssul), 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 everyone under his tuition attained some rank. KHWĀJA 'ABBĀS AL-IJÁY, munshi, is his pupil. Contemporaries regarded (him) as an undisputed (master). It is reported that for a bet (ba-da'vā) Maulānā Simī 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

83. verse and had the engraver cut it:

One day, in praise of the shah of pure nature 410 
Simī recited and wrote two thousand verses... .

This verse is also his:

The heart of this unfortunate one, needy and full of yearning 411 
From love for your eyebrows bounces up to the ceiling.

403 I.e., those who are meek and understanding.
404 Fathulābī, 17a; “and of styles of writing there are seven: mughāq, thalūth, tawqī, rashān, nashk, riqā”, and ghubīr.” Cf. above, p. 25.
405 [H: several weathers.]
406 Rādā'ī.
407 Mete: hatāaj.
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

Maulânâ Mir-'Ali came of a family of great sayyids of the capital of Herat. He carried off from all, the ball of preeminence and superiority, for in laying down the foundations of the nastâ'îq he was the initiator of new rules and of a praiseworthy canon. He did not, however, equal Maulânâ Sulân-`Ali, wherefore the following hemistich was composed:

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

The Mir at first studied under Maulânâ Zayn al-din Mah-mâd, 416 after which, in Holy Mashhad, he joined the service of Maulânâ Sulân-`Ali; there he exercised himself and achieved his development. He brought the art of the large and small (script), and the writing of samples (qif'a) 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 Imâm Rîdâ, equal in degree to the highest.

412 Meter: rumâl. [Hâb-i bûm, "The rays of the sun have reached the edge of the roof" (i.e., are dying). This is the usual Persian simile for anyone of whose life only the last rays can be seen. V. M.]

413 Meter: hâqâq. [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. Mâqâke can mean also the brain, the kernel of a grain. V. M.]

414 The biography of Sind Nishâpûri who, in addition to his colossal poetic output, possessed a similarly inordinate appetite, is recorded in Hârât, p. 187 (according to Dowlat-shâh and Kowândâmîr). (The reason why H, p. 28, has transferred his biography before that of Sulân-`Ali (see above, p. 106) may be chronological. H adds that Simi was a contemporary of Mirzâ `Ali al-daula, son of Bâyzanqur, son of Shâhrehk. This Princes, who was a rival of Ughbâreg, was born in 820/1417 (see Barthold, Ughbâreg, p. 119) and died in 865/1950 (see Lâk-Poole, p. 227, table). According to Zambârâ he died in 863 (1). H abridges the poetical quotations. V. M.]


416 Pupil of Sulân-`Ali, see above, p. 106.

The sphere of heaven—on its pilgrims a thousand thousand mercies and blessings!

Peace on the family of the sultans Tâh-hâ and Yâstîn! 417
Peace on the family of the best of the prophets!
Peace on the Flower-garden in which he is exalted.
(Peace) on the Imâm, protecting the "kingdom" and the "faith."
The true Imâm, the absolute king,
The sanctuary of whose doors is the place of gendrification for sultans,
The king of the palace of mystic knowledge, the blossom of the garden of generosity,
The moon of the Zodiac of potentiality (irmân), the pearl of the casket of greatness.
`Ali ibn-Musa Rîdâ, whose title from his God
Became rîdâ, 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 his.
The servant of the family of `Ali: `Ali al-Husayn. 421

He added to it (sar nivishtâ) the following last verse of a ghazal (by Jâmî?):

When Jâmî 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 Mir 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 lies remained from my musk-scented pen 424

417 Meter: mutaqârîb.
418 Rîdâ means "benevolence, mercy."
419 Meter: mutaqârîb.
420 Meter: rumâl.
421 I.e., the poet Mir-'Ali.
422 Famous poet (b. in 812/1414, d. in 899/1492) who lived at the court of the Timurids Abu-`Abd Allah Sulân-Husayn. (He adds that Jâmî was one of the admirers (`ashikhâq) of Sulân-`Ali, and refers to his own Tadkhîrat al-shu`ârâ. V. M.)
423 Meter: mutaqârîb.
424 Meter: rumâl.
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. 436

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 Imam. 428
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 Imam.” 437
And this rubā‘i 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 griefs, while he lives.

This piece was composed in praise of Zahir al-din Muhammad Bābur-mirzā 438 ibn-‘Omar-shaykh ibn-Sultān Abū-Sa‘id ibn-Sultān Muhammad ibn-Mirzā Mirān-shāh ibn Amir-Timur Gūrkan, lord of Indian kingdoms:
My head is the dust of the door of the Lord of the kingdom of letters. 438
The pride of the kings of kingdoms, the honor of Timur’s family,

435 The numeric value of the letters composing the words kīlī qadā, “Pen of Fate,” is 20 + 30 + 20 + 100 + 800 + 1 = 971. 10 Dhul-qa‘da 971 was 21 June 1546, but in the light of the biographical data of Mir-‘Ali quoted on p. 130, this date seems doubtful. If we take for chronogram daḥam-1 Dḥt-qadā the date will be 938/1531. [E decipheres the chronogram as 928/1521, which seems to be wrong. V. M.]
428 Meter: ramal.
437 The chronogram contained in these words gives: 40 + 4 + 8 + 1 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 40 + 10 + 50 = 959/A.D. 1552-53.
428 Founder of the Great Moghul dynasty in India, d. in 937/1530.
429 Meter: ramal.

No. 2  Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky  129

The sovereign of the virtuous, the sea of generosity, the mine of kindness,
The leader of the talents, Shāh Muḥammad Bābur. 436

This too is the expression of the Mir’s deep feelings (toward Sultān Bābur):
You are the leader of the century and the head of all the homeless,
You are the valuable khāqān and the Khidr 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‘i (in Chaghatai Turkish) the Mir composed in Bukhārā for ‘Ubayd-khan 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 subjegated by him!
This rubā‘i 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 ‘Ubaydullah-khan ibn-Mahmūd, nephew of Shaybān-khan, ruled in Buhkara from 1512, was at the head of all the Uzbeks from 1533, and died in 1539; see Barthold, “Istoriya kulturnoy zhizni Turkestana,” p. 97. Tūḥfa-yi Sānī, p. 20, mentions him as a poet.
433 [Before this rubā‘i, H inserts a matla’ and a rubā‘i which must be read jointly in a complicated way and which are apparently dedicated to a minister called Sharaf al-mulk Habibullāh. V. M.]
434 The same rubā‘i, slightly altered, is found in the biography of Mir-‘Ali in the Tūḥfa-yi Sānī, 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 maulâna lived for a long time in the capital, Herat.
When in 935/1528–29 ‘Ubayd-khan Usbek captured Herat—in the days when the late Husayn-khan Shâmlu was its governor and (the) guardian (lala) to the Prince, the angelic Sâm-mirzâ—he carried off Maulânâ Mir-'Ali, together with other notables of Herat, to Buhhârâ.430 The Mir spent some time in Buhhârâ in the kitâb-khâna of 'Abd al-'Azîz-khân,437 son of 'Ubayd-khan. The following poem (qi'â) was composed by the Mir in Buhhârâ, 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.438
Until the handwriting of this unfortunate one had become of such a canon

a prey to love is Majnûn. Having lost its head and its tail, his name becomes jâni, 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-Islâmî. V. M.]

430 Meter: ramal.

430 On the events see 'Alâm-ârâ, p. 19, Sharâf-nâmâ, vol. 2, pp. 169–171. Husayn-khan ibn-'Alî-bebek Shâmlu, a nephew of Shâh Tahmasp on the distaff side, was appointed governor of Herat in 931/1525–26, after the death of his brother Durrîsh-khân; see Zayn al-'Abîdin, 253a. The date of Mir-'Ali's removal to Buhhârâ, as given in the Tuhfa-yi Sâmî, p. 47 (925/1519), and by Huart, p. 227 (945/1538–39), is mistaken.

437 Ruled in 947–957/1538–49. We know of a manuscript prepared by Mir-'Ali in 1537–38 for 'Abd al-'Azîz-khân's library: Mâhkâm al-âsrâr of Nişâmî; see Blochet, Peintures des manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 7.

438 Meter: ramal.

No. 2 CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY

That all the kings of the world sought me out, whereas
In Buhhârâ, 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 writing.440
Ah! Mastery in calligraphy has become a chain on the feet of this demented one.

In Buhhârâ the maulânâ departed for the world of eternity 441—on him the clemency of the beloved God! Albums (muraqqa'), specimens (qi'â), and writings of the Mir are scattered throughout the inhabited quarter of the world.

Khwâja Mahmûd ibn-Khwâja Ishaq al-Shahââ is a native of the village Siyâvushân 442 of Herat. His father Khwâja-Ishaq, at the time of the governorship of Durrîsh-khân Shâmlu,443 was mayor (kalântar) of Herat. When, as already mentioned, 'Ubayd-khân seized Herat, he took away 88. Khwâja Ishaq with his family (kâch) and children to Buhhârâ. As Maulânâ Mir-'Ali was traveling in the same company, in consideration of their being of the same town, he took Khwâja Mahmûd as his pupil. Khwâja Mahmûd, who received education 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 'Alâm-ârâ, p. 129, connects the couplet with the biography of Aqâ-Ridâ, and substitutes Isfâhan for Buhhârâ.

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 Sâmî, the date of his demise might be 931/1544. In the printed edition of Tuhfa-yi Sâmî the date of Mir-'Ali's death is omitted. Cf. below, p. 128, n. 425. [H quotes a chronogram composed by Mir-'Ali on the foundation of the madrasa-yi 'Ali-yi Mir-i 'Arâb, which gives 942/1535. On the other hand, according to H, p. 49, 'Mir-'Ali died in 940/1533, though it is possible that the last digit (nought) was meant to be rectified. V. M.]


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

Khwāja Maḥmūd spent some time in Bukhārā, but grew weary of the place, traveled to Bakhchisaray 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 qif'ā. He played well on the lute and the shīturgha and talked mainly about games and entertainments.

Maulānā Maḥmūd Chapnevis ("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-

444 See 'Ālam-ārā, pp. 124-125.
445 Meter: khəft.
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 Huṣār, p. 229.
447 A Central Asian stringed instrument.
448 According to Huṣār, p. 229, he died in Herat in 991/1583 (?). [According to Huṣār he often signed his specimens with the following verse: "This is the exercise of Māhībūd al-Shāhābī, whose like you will never find in the world."]
449 [M and F 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 Chapnevis, son of Kamāl al-dīn Rafīqī.] The word chapī, the left side, means also the obverse, the inside out. Hence chapnevis is writing done in reverse, as on seals. According to Huṣār, p. 107, n. 1, masters who were called chapnevis wrote with the left hand.

450 Shakarīstān means both "a sugarcane plantation" and metaphorically "the lips of the beloved." The latter gives a better meaning.
451 [Perhaps meaning by this that the writing on one side was straight, and on the other in reverse? V.M.]
452 Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 85: "(Magón) composed in my honor an episode in verse in the meter of Layti-yi 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."

454 H omits Maḥmūd. See above, p. 132, n. 449.
455 See Zakhoder, Majnūn, poet and calligrapher from Herat, in the Collectanea in honor of I. Y. Kritchkovsky.
let him write so much as to become blind." Shayan 'Abdūl-lāh Kāţīb 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 Nūrūl-lāh, known everywhere as "Sultān Muḥammad Nūr," was a good pupil of Mawlānā Sultān-'Ali and a recognized calligrapher of Herat and wrote very well in a minute hand. Maulānā Sultān Muḥammad Khāndān 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 is 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 (fārū) 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, ⁴⁴⁶
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
suffices us. ⁴⁴⁸

Maulānā Shāh-Maḥmūd Zarin-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-'Ali and Mir-'Ali." ⁴⁵⁰

No. 2  CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY  135

Maulānā Nizām al-Dīn Shāh Maḥmūd Zarin-qalam ⁴⁶⁰
was a pupil of 'Abdī and a native of Nishāpūr. In calligraphy
he was peerless and there is no one like him. [H: He is the
third of the trio, together with Sulṭān-'Ali and Mir-'Ali]. His
calligraphic samples, both in a large and a small hand, are
numerous. He wrote (Nizām's) Khamṣa in minute script
(gubār) for the late Shah Tahmāsp, and all the masters
certified that no calligrapher had ever written according to
that canon with such clearness. This Khamṣa was additionally
aded with miniatures by Master Behzād, the painter. ⁴⁶⁵
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 Tahmāsp.
For some time he resided in the capital, Tabriz, in the madrasa
Nasrīya, in the upper story (bālā-ḵannā), 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 tranquility of his subjects, ⁴⁶⁷ 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
Qadām-gāh-i ḥaḍrat-i inām, which lies beside the Chahār-
bāgh, and spent his time in pilgrimages and worship. In the
meantime he (continued) his work, writing specimens of callig-
raphy. 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 (kadhkhudāī); he did not
marry, but worked and lived in accordance with the sacred
dī'at: "God annouceth John to thee, who shall be a witness

⁴⁴⁶ 'Abdī is a contraction for 'Abdūllāh, cf. Huart, p. 225.
⁴⁴⁷ Mean.: mudārī.
⁴⁴⁸ See the poem quoted in Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 81. The same source (written
in 1357/1550) says: "He departed in these (one or
two) years." This suggests
that he died about 1548–50.
⁴⁴⁹ Cf. above, p. 62, the story of Ahmad Rūmī.
⁴⁵⁰ C. C. Edwards, pp. 202–205; text and English translation of the biography
of Shāh-Maḥmūd Zarin-qalam, i.e., "Golden Pen"; Huart, p. 225, mistakenly
gives this nickname to 'Abdī, though it belongs to Shāh-Maḥmūd, as confirmed in
'Ālam-ārād, p. 124.
⁴⁶⁰ The same in Huart, p. 239, but this author mistakenly calls Shāh-Maḥmūd
the pupil of Mir-'Ali and Sulṭān-'Ali; see Tuhfa-yi Sāmī, p. 81.
⁴⁶¹ Shah Tahmāsp's loss of interest in art is also mentioned in the 'Ālam-ārād,
pp. 127 and 133. 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." He remained
unmarried, had neither kith nor kin, and was retired and alone.
From no source had he any pension or grants of land (soyer-
ghal), and he received no patronage from anyone. He died
in Mashhad in the year 972/1564-65, and was buried beside
the tomb of the late Maulânah Sultân-'Ali. Maulânah Shâh-
Mahmûd composed very good poetry of various kinds, such as qasîda, ghazal, qi'a, and rubâ'. The following verses are from a qasîda 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 (dar al-siyâda):

O God, although throughout his life Mahmûd the scribe 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 (far) 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 ghazals which we have copied for the adornment of the present book:

My heart sought the mouth of the beloved and lost itself.
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.
What a benison! Her tormented eyes

92.

93.

No. 2 Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky

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 Mahmûd 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.
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,
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,
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,
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.

462 Qur'ân, III, p. 34.
464 Heart wrongly separates Mahmûd of Nishâpur (p. 226) from Maulânah Mahmûd (p. 239) and takes 952/1545 as the date of the former's dawân and 970/1562 as the date of the latter's death.
465 [C adds that the number of poems composed by Niẓâm al-dîn was 500. V.M.]
466 Meter: mutaqqârîh.
467 [The following quotations are omitted in H, which refers the reader to the author's Tadbirat al-shu'ârâ'.]
468 Meter: mujaffâth.
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 maulânah 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 maulânah. 412

Maulânâ Qâsim Shâdîshâh was a recognized calligrapher, looked upon as a rival to Maulânâ Sultan-Muhammad Khandân. He prepared elegant samples of calligraphy (qi‘a). 414

Maulânâ Jâmshîd Mu‘ammat was the son of Maulânâ Aḥmad Rûmî, 415 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. 416

[H inserts here a notice of Mîr ‘Abd al-Vahhâb, who belonged to a family of Ḥusayni sayyids of Mashhad. His mother was a daughter of Sultan-‘Ali, and the latter had no sons, treated him as his own child. When the author was in Mashhad, ‘Abd al-Vahhâb was sixty years old and dyed his beard. He was very clever (zâka? [sic]) and his manners were those of an aged darvish (bâbâ-mashrab). He wore bright and motley garments and went about with large portfolios (juz‘dân) 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 417 Mîr Sayyid-Aḥmad Mashhadî was one of the

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412 In H the author adds that he heard the maulânâ 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 Sultan-‘Ali. V.M.

413 In Huart, p. 299, the date of Qasim Shadiushâh's death (1050/1640-41) is wrong. According to H he was active in 950/1545. 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 Mîrzâ Husayn Bakhtari (see below, p. 150). V.M.

414 Nickname meaning "composer of riddles."

415 The appellation Rûmî suggests that the father of Maulânâ Jâmshîd came from Turkey.

416 In E the author uses the form ustâdī "my master (?)" V.M.

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NO. 2 CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY 139

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 Maulânâ 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 kâpanük 417 he walked to Balkh, and from Balkh to Bukhârâ, where he again lived with the Mir, working in the library of ‘Abd al-‘Azîz-khân, son of ‘Ubayd-khân Uzbek. 418 He wrote well in (both) a minute and a large hand. After the death of ‘Abd al-‘Azîz-khân, Aḥmad returned to Holy Mashhad. After some time he left Mashhad and went to the court of Shah Tahmâsp in (Persian) ‘Irâq and Āzarbâyjân. 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 Mîr-Aḥmad wrote the missives which went to the Lord of Turkey (Rûm) and his men. After that he was allowed to retire to exalted Mashhad there (to continue) to write for the Shah. Sums were transferred (taheil) which the late Aqā-Kamâli, vazir of Khorasan, 419 should pay him out of the revenue of the royal private purse, and he also received a soyûrgâh (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 (qi‘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 (‘âshiq-va ma’shâq) 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.

417 Kâpanük is the coarse woolen cloak of a shepherd.

418 ‘Âlam-ârâ, p. 124, reports that Mîr-Sayyid Ahmad’s calligraphic works were widely spread in India and Central Asia.

419 Aqâ Kamâli al-dîn Zayn al-’îbad is mentioned in the list of vazirs of Khorasan; see ‘Âlam-ârâ, 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 Maulana Hasan-i Ali, who after the death of the Mir went to Herat, stayed there for some time, then went to (Persian) Iraq 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 Hijar in 1003/1592–93.

The other pupil was Maulana Ali-Rida. Both he and Hasan-i Ali 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 Ahmad was working on behalf of the Private Purse department) Shah Tahmasb, 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 Murad-khan of Mazandaran, 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 Mazandaran 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, Isma’il 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 Sa’dat-abad garden. When Shah Isma’il departed this world, the Mir once again returned to

96. Tabâdîr va sayyâghâlât-i sana’âvat-râ iflag numûd.
97. [H: “By that time Mir Murad died and the Mir returned to Mashhad.” According to H the Mir, while in Mazandaran, copied the Lesâ’î of Jámi’.

No. 2  Calligraphers and Painters—Minorsky  141

Mazandaran 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 (rubâ’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 (rubâ’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 (musrûdât), and many specimens of calligraphy (qi’a). Owing to the revolutions of Time, the events, the disturbances of peridious Fate, and the annoyances of evil men, they have all been lost.

Maulana Malik, though known as a Daylam, was a native of Fihâkosh of Qazvin. At first he exercised himself under the guidance of his father, Maulana Shahrâ-mir, in thulût 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 (wa’dâ) of the nasta’lîq and in this hand became famous in his own

484. Meter: raml.
485. According to ‘Alam-ard, p. 124, Maulana Malik 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 (maulaviyya); 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 Shīrāzī (see above,
p. 77), was one of the greatest and most profound
scholars, was also on that exalted staff, and Maulānā Mālīk
studied under him [II: 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 Sultān Ibrāhim-
mīrzā. In 964/1556–57 he accompanied the Mīrzā to Mash-
had and spent a year and a half in that sacred place (raūda).
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 Imāms (Shah Tahmāsp),
completed the building of the da'ulat-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 Mīr took up his duties. The inscrip-
tions in the Sa'ādat-ābād garden are in his writing, while the chron-
ogram in the garden is by the late Qādī ʿAtā-Allāh Varamīnī.
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.

99. Huart, p. 232: Maulānā Mālīk belonged to the Naqshbandī order of
darvishīs.

488 [H adds: He studied most of the sciences, such as astronomy, grammar,
logic, and rhetoric and was especially skilled in mathematics, namely in arith-
metic, geometry, astronomy, and music (the latter considered by Muslims as a
part of mathematics). V. M.]
489 Government buildings.
490 Meter: mulaqārib. [Omitted in H.]

When the shah inquired about the date, I said:
"The loftiest Paradise" and "the best of dwellings." 492

The inscription on the portico (ayvān) of Chihil-sutūn re-
produces the ghazal of Khwāja Ḥāfīz:

At dawn the constellation of the Gemini presented (its) baldrick
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 Kamāl:
"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 Maulānā Ḥusām al-dīn Maddāḥ on the portals of
Chihil-sutūn:

100. We are the slaves of the King of Men 494
We recognize no other leader than ʿAll;
We are dust of the feet of Abū-Dhar Ghaffār, 495
Slaves of the faith of Salmān.
Concerning our loyalty and love for ʿIrāqī,
Whatever you may say, we are a thousand times more.
Thirsty for the road of Karbalā and Najaf,
We are pilgrims of the Khorasanian Kaʾba.
All that can be said is praise of Murtaḍā,

492 The numeralic value of both chronograms is 969, which corresponds to
A.D. 1561-62. According to Zayn al-ʿĀlidīn, the palace gardens in Qazvin were
begun on Shah Tahmāsp's personal plans in 950/1543-44. In Sharaft-nāma, vol. 2,
p. 196, this detail is missing.
493 Meter: muddārī. [H completes the text of the ghazal which consists of
26 couplets; see the edition of M. Qazvinī and Dr. Ghānī, No. 329.]
494 [H: He wrote it in 966/1558.]
495 Meter: ḵaṭījī.
496 One of ʿAll'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 Ḥusām 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.⁴⁴⁶
He was a calligrapher, a scholar, a dervish following the right path,
He was the Yağūt of his age; the day when he left this world,
Has become the chronogram of his death: “Yağūt of the century—
Mālik.” ⁴⁴⁷

He composed good verse, mostly qaṣīdas and ghasals. For the Prince Sultan Ibrāhīm-mirzā he wrote the poem Gūyu-chouqān, 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,⁴⁴⁸
But when you kicked 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,⁴⁴⁹
He only shows himself in love to torture me.

By him also:
My whole body is covered with bruises from the stones thrown
by her fingers,⁴⁵⁰
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,⁴⁵¹
For at times you will be annoyed by his moods (nik-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 nasta'liq, but has not been fortunate enough to complete it; perhaps he has no divine grace. Most of his friends were anxious (to see it) but that is how it happened. Maulānā Mālik left one son, 102. MAULĀNĀ IBRAHĪM by name. He excelled in his studies and in poetry, his pen name being Ṣaghīr. After Mirzā Makhdūm Sharīfī ⁴⁵² fled to Turkey (Rūm), he, too, fled thither and died there.

MĪR ṢADR AL-DĪN MUHAMIY is the son of Mirzā Sharaf-ī 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 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 (Tadhkīrat al-shu'ārā). Let us hope that he will be successful in completing this work, in the form in which his bountiful thought has planned it.⁴⁵⁴

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⁴⁴⁶ Meter: muḍārāt.
⁴⁴⁷ 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, loc. cit., p. 238.
⁴⁴⁸ Meter: muḍārāt.
⁴⁴⁹ Meter: ramāl.
⁴⁵⁰ Meter: hūṣāj.
⁴⁵¹ Meter: ramāl.
⁴⁵² [Both M and E give “has,” whereas H uses “had,” and for both the illustrative verses refers to the author's Tadhkīrat al-shu’ārā.]
⁴⁵³ Mirzā Makhdūm Sharīfī was one of the intimates of Pari-khān khānum and, like this Princess, was in favor of the reunion of the shī'ī with the sunna. During the short reign of Ḥusayn II he was one of the two ṣadrā (ʿĀlam-dīrā, p. 110). [H omits the mention of the son.]
⁴⁵⁴ Ṣadr-dīrā, p. 125, confirms Qāḍī Ahmad's praise of Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥam-
[H carries the events much further. It explains that this Tadhkhirat al-shuʿarāʾ had been planned after the homonymous work of Daulat-shah. After 40 years’ work the copy remained unfinished. For 10 years ʿṢadr al-dīn Muḥammad received subventions for its completion from Shah ʿAbbās. Finally he despaired of this task and asked Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Salam to lend him his own Tadhkhirat al-shuʿarāʾ to publish it “in this disguise.” He induced the Shah to request the copy from Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Salam but the latter excused himself by saying that it was not ready. Then ʿṢadr al-dīn had recourse to slander and said that 45 years before, when Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Salam’s father was vazir in Mashhad he took a book from the library and it remained in Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Salam’s possession. In order to complete his Tadhkira ʿṢadr al-dīn wanted this book. “No Qazvīni has ever uttered such nonsense.”

By this intrigue the mind of the Shah was poisoned and he dismissed Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Salam, who returned to Qum. When in the month of Ṣafar His Eminence the ʿṢadr Mīr Abūl-Vālī Injū came to Qum, Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Salam swore to him on the Qurʾān that ʿṢadr al-dīn’s claim was a sheer lie and invoked the judgment of ʿImām Riḍā and his sister (buried in Qum). In the same Ṣafar, ʿṢadr al-dīn left Isfahan for Khorasan but suddenly died in Rabīʾ al-awwal 1007/October 1598 (Turkish Tongus-yīl). Thus the divine vengeance operated barely a month after Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Salam took his oath. Verse: “The oppressor thought that he (could) do us harm. The harm missed us and remained on his neck.” Amīr Ḥūdī b. ʿAlī b. Kāshānī wrote a long poem on his death containing a double chronogram: multāsāy na mālād-i anā = 1008; ṣadr-i jihān va jihān-i sharaf = 1008 (A.D. 1599). “To record the whole story would require volumes, but some details will be found in my Tadhkira al-shuʿarāʾ.” As to ʿṢadr al-dīn’s Tadhkira, it fell into the hands of the Shah who selected seven verses from it. V. M.]

Maulānā Dūst-Muḥammad of the town of Herat 506 is a pupil of Mawlānā Qāsim Shāhīdī. He made a copy of the Qurʾān in nastaʿliq. The late Shah, equal in dignity to Jamshīd, 507 was well disposed toward him. He dismissed all the scribes from the kitāb-khāna, except him. He also taught writing to the Princess Sulṭānī. 508

Maulānā Rustam-ʿAlī, the nephew (sister’s son) of Maulānā Behzād the painter, wrote excellently. He was employed at first in the kitāb-khāna of Prince Bahram-mīrzā, and in his old age in the library of the latter’s son, Sulṭān 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 Sulṭān-ʿAlī Mashhādī.

Maulānā Muḥīb-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 Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā. He wrote under the pen name of Ibrāhīmī. After 20 [H: eight] years of service at the court of His Highness, Muḥīb-ʿAlī was dismissed from the service 509 and summoned to Qazvin. After a certain time he obtained leave to visit the holy places (of Mesopotamia), equal in dignity to the “farthestmost 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 qīṭa, which the late master Mīr Sayyid Ḥūdī wrote on his tombstone:

Alas! Mullā Muḥīb-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 (shahīf Ismāʿīl, Kīshān barqāh), the reference must be to Shah Ismāʿīl II (7). V. M.]
508 Sister of Shah Tahmāsp, Mīhīn-bānī, nicknamed “Sulṭānī,” died in 969/1561-62; see Sharaf-uṭūm, vol. 2, pp. 217-218. Two calligraphic samples in nastaʿliq written by her hand are included in the well-known album of Bahram-mīrzā; see Saksīsī, loc. cit., pp. 118-120. [H praises Dūst-Muḥammad’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 Mullā Muḥibb-Allī."

Ḥāфиз 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 Ḥāфиз Gāsim-the-Singer had no peer in the art of singing. Their father, Ḥāfīz 'Abd al-'Allī Turbati, was in the service of the late sovereign Ḥusayn-mīrzā Bāyyaqa. From the pleasant borough of Turbat they came to (Persian) Iraqq and settled there.

[H inserts here Mīrzā Māhmūd, son of Mīrzā Qarāhāt, surgeon of (the Shah's) Private Department (khāṣṣa). He had been a sufī ("table-decker") of the late Shah Ni'matullāh Taqī (* Thānī *).] The latter employed everybody on his staff on the preparation of an album. Consequently Mīrzā Muḥammad (*Māhmūd?) 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 Shah-Nī'matullāh to show him his own specimens, but Shah-Nī'matullāh produced the writings of Mīrzā Muḥammad and claimed that he wrote better than Sultān-'Allī or Maulānā Mīr 'Allī. Mau-

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516 The doubling of the letters in the words "mollā" and "Muḥibb" is disregarded and the numerical value is 973/1455-66. [In H the date is repeated in plain script.]
517 *Alam-ārd, p. 124, mentions him among the masters of nastaʿliq, and Tābīyya-yi Sāmī, p. 82, refers to his skill in composing riddles.
519 *Zar-nīṣhtālī. Tābīyya-yi Sāmī: Bābā Jān worked on bone (ivory?).
520 In M the reference to Gāsim seems to be missing.
521 *This Nī'matullāh II (?), who is given the prince-like title of nāsābād, was a descendant in the fifth generation of the famous saint Shah-Nī'matullāh Valī, who died a cenographer in 1431. See Sāmī: mufṣāl, Brit. Mus. Or. 210, f. 42a, and Āyatī, *Tārīkh-i Yauz, 1317/1938. Toward 1451 Nī'matullāh Nī'matullāh II married a daughter of Sultan Jihān-shāh Qer-Qauyunlu; see BSOAS, vol. 16, pt. 2 (1955), p. 275. According to the Rījāl-i Ḥabīb al-ṣīyar, 1324/1945, p. 246, he died in 906/1401. (The date is omitted in the lithographed Ḥabīb al-ṣīyar, vol. 3, pt. 9, p. 390.) Later, members of the family had marriage links with the Safavids and were regarded as possible candidates to the throne. Therefore, Shah Ṣafī blinded most of them in 1631-32. See Khiyāl-i havīr, in *Dhašī-ī Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārd, ed. Khwānsārī, 1517/1938, p. 98. V. M.]

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105. Muḥtaṣīb. In this love he reached the stage of burning passion (ṣūn-ī gudāz). Like a madman he wandered in Tabriz and like a moth he was consumed in the fire of his love for

lanā Mālik replied: "You also write better than I but cannot write better then they." This is the boy about whom a wit said:

Khwāja Qabāhāt constantly claims to be intelligent
Before well-spoken people (arbāb-i qabāhāt).
But his catanite (his) son, without intelligence,
Gives (freely) nasts (nastāliq) and does not understand what guilt
(qabāhāt) is.

Mīr Ṣan'i Nīshāpūri, although a poet in his day, wrote nastaʿliq excellently and with taste. 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.
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
(šīr?)

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

Mīr Ṣan'i 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) Iraqq and thence traveled to Āzarbāyjān and settled down in Tabriz. He became enamored of the late Mīrzā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, nephew of Mīr Rāstī, muḥtaṣīb. In this love he reached the stage of burning passion (ṣūn-ī gudāz). Like a madman he wandered in Tabriz and like a moth he was consumed in the fire of his love for

516 Kār for šāh.
517 Tābīyya-yi Sāmī, p. 48, also praises his calligraphic talents.
520 Meter: kaṣīr.
521 The first kenésh is in style both in M and E. In H the author just mentions the name of Ṣayfī (*Ṣan'i*) and for details refers the reader to his Tādhkirat al-ḥaḍārād. Mayer: Ḡadār.
the young man. Within a short time the bird of his soul flew away and fluttered to another world. He was buried opposite the doors of the house of the young man, below the building of Jihānshāh.\textsuperscript{522} Wits of those days composed this chronogram which they had engraved on the stones of the minaret:

Mir Ṣān‘ī was a table set with salty meanings.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{524}

MIR-MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN BĀKHARZI,\textsuperscript{525} one of the pupils of Maulānā Qāsim Shādīshāh, came from renowned sayyids of Zara in Bākharz. He was a descendant of Mir Ṣān‘ī,\textsuperscript{526} who at one time acted as vazir to the late sovereign, Sultān-Ḥusayn-mirzā. 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-

\textsuperscript{522} According to 'Ālam-ārād, p. 111, Mirzā 'Abd al-Husayn, son of Mir Fasih, on his mother's side was a descendant of Jihān-shāh of the Qara-qoyulu dynasty (841-872/1437-67). He lived in the neighborhood of the chapel (buq'a) called Jihānshāhiya or Musaffariya, of which he was the curator (mutawallī). The buq'a in question may be the addition to the famous Blue Mosque built by Yaqūb Aq-quyunlū, husband of Jihān-shāh's daughter; see Dānīshmand-ī Arzafāşādūn, p. 121.)

\textsuperscript{523} Meter: rāmal.

\textsuperscript{524} “Passion for poetry” gives 976/1568-69. In the second chronogram, instead of the repetition Fār-i 'ishq, one should read: UBEKH-i 'ishq “trouble of love” to obtain the same value.

\textsuperscript{525} Bākhārz is a district of Khorasan lying to the west of the loop which the Heri-rūd makes there.

\textsuperscript{526} On the enmity between Mir 'Āli Shīr and Mir Ṣān‘ī and the latter's disgrace, see Barboz, Mir 'Āli Shīr, p. 162.

terregnum he was ruined and died in those very days. Mir Muḥammad was unselshī (az khud guzashī), well-born, self-effacing (fā'ini), 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 ḥāl (“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 Ṣayyid Aḥmad Mashhādi. When the Shah (Abbās) was in Mashhad he gave him some lessons (sar-i khaṭṭī) and together with the Shah went to Qazvin. After a few days spent in Kāshān he went to the Deccan where (under Ibrāhīm 'Adil-shāh II) he enjoyed great respect. When the Shah was in Isfahan, in fulfillment of a vow ("nādhr"?), Khalilullāh sent him as a present 200 tunams' worth of Indian jewels (nafa'īs).]

MIR MAḤMŪD 'ARĪḌī belonged to the family of the 'Arīḍī 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 hasaj.

\textsuperscript{528} Meter: rāmal.

\textsuperscript{529} Rubā'ī.
Maulānā Shāh-Mahmūd Kāṭib 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.554

The following ghazal belongs to him:

You seem to like torturing my soul, O moon! 556
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.
Maulānā Ṭuḥammad-Amīn, a native of Mashhad, was a pupil of Maulānā Shāh-Muḥammad.557 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.

Maulānā ʿAṣīḥī was an acknowledged scribe of Herat. He worked well and wrote in the style of Maulānā Sultān Muḥammad-Nūr. From Herat he came to Mashhad and was employed in the library of the Prince Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā. He was in receipt of a (regular) salary and rich presents. ʿAṣīḥī 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.558
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.

531 [H gives 974/1565–67, as in Huart, p. 323.]
532 Muḥammad Asārābdī was appointed ʿādil in the beginning of Shah ʿAbbās’s reign in 930/1525–24; see sharaf-nama, vol. 2, p. 169; Zayn al-Ābidin, 252b, quotes his name as Muḥammad; Huart, p. 234, has mistakenly Haydar.
533 Huart, p. 234: the date of Salīm Kāṭib’s death, 990/1582.
534 Mete: ramāl.
535 Huart, p. 235: “Vasikī.”
536 Mete: ḥasaj. If quoting a different rubātī.
537 Mentioned in Ḥam-dād, p. 126.
538 Mete: ramāl. [If 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 unconsider and did not waken.
King-Love-for-him (Sultān-i ʿishq-ārkh?) has given us (some) taste
of freedom.
He has given us no delight better than that of captivity.
From the time when you, ‘Ayshī, 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
Maulāna ‘Abd al-Hādī Qazvīnī 540 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
(taṣrifat?). 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 (musanuf). A divān of his ghazals containing
some 2,000 verses is extant. He died in Qazvin in 976/
1568–69.

539 According to Huart, p. 220: ‘Ayshī, employed by Prince ibrahīm, 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: ḥāzal.
542 [Musanuf] [H: dar Qazvin] in ghazal-rā dar Nishāpūrak mawṣil hastand.
The eminent musicologist Dr. H. Farmer notes to me that the scale of Nishāpūrak is given in al-Ladhiqī’s Fathiya (sixteenth century). V. M.]

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

His handwriting is heart-ravishing like the down of beauties, 543
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-ʿAlī as the Prince, equal in dignity to Mars; none collected
more specimens of Mir-ʿAlī’s script than he. The opinion of
this wretched ʿīr slave of the late Prince is that without exag-
ergation half of what Maulānā Mir-ʿAlī wrote in any class
and style during his lifetime was kept in the well-ordered
kitāb-khāna of that light of the eyes of the world and its
inhabitants. Several albums (muraqaʿa) which Maulānā Mir-
ʿAlī 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.

112. 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 544 came to life, or Ibn-Muqla were resusc-

543 [The long paragraph on Prince ibrahīm 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: muṣāʿārīk.
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 547 volume of the book Majma’ al-shu’arā wa manāqib al-ṣuṣulā. Also in the fifth volume of the Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh, written on the events of the Safavid sultans and the family which traces its descent from Murtada ’Ali, 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 (7) 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 Qur’ān from the late Shaykh Fakhr al-dīn Tayyī and the latter’s father Shaykh Hasan ’Ali. 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 548 of the time and the cause of Healing 549 for all men. In mathematics—cosmographic, numeric, astronomic, and musical—he was an artist, a master and a composer. Melodies and songs (nāqsh-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 (shāhī) he adopted the pen name of Jāhī (“glorious”) and composed both Persian and Turki verses, as he also improvised sweet popular songs (varsaq).549 He was an expert at meters and rhymes and his dīvān is extant containing about 5,000 560 verses of every kind. The following verses were written by way of benison (tayyammūn):

The malice of time has not taken pity on me,561
And finally threw me far away from the dust of that threshold.
That moon which is knowingly (danīsta) 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 562
Our reunion will occur, O you whose love is insufficient.

And this:
After a thousand nights, when you have reached her feast,563
Jāhī! profit by the occasion and take not your eyes off her!

And this:
Jāhī! Perhaps with the blessings of the martyr of Tūs 564
Your feet will get out of the mud (clay) of Sabzavār.

And this:
Do not groan at the cruelty, Jāhī, impatience is wrong.565
God may return clemency to the heart of our sovereign.

547 An obvious clerical error; the words “fifth volume” refer to the Khulāṣat al-taṣawwīrīḥ. [In the revised version of it the author refers to the Conclusion (khūṣūm) of his Tadhkira al-shuʿarāʾ (sic) and to the sixth volume of his Khulāṣat al-taṣawwīrīḥ. This suggests that the plan of these books had been reconsidered. V.M.]
548 Titles of Avicenna’s medical works.
549 [Varsaq is a special kind of popular Turkish songs and tunes, connected with the tribe of that name. Cf. Tadhkira al-malāk, p. 194. V.M.]
560 [I, p. 53; Qādāl Ahmad collected some 3,000 of them and wrote a preface to them.]
561 Meter: muḥārīr.
562 Meter: rāmal.
563 Meter: muḥārīr.
564 Meter: muḥārīr. [On Prince Ibrāhīm’s governorship in Sabzavār, see below, p. 163.]
565 Meter: rāmal.
And this:
Till when will you repeat that you will visit me in my sleep at night, 556
How long will you be putting to sleep my eyes which keep awake?
And this rubā‘ī:
That coquette is my mortal enemy, as yet, 557
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 lān tārānī, 558 as yet.

No sultan or khāqān possessed a more flourishing kitāb-khāna than that powerful Prince. The majority of excellent calligraphers, painters, artists, gilders, and bookbinders were employed there. Of the poets, Khwāja Ḥusayn Thanā’i Mashhadi, “the second Khāqān” 559 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 Luṭfi Īsfahānī (or Turbādhagānī), Maulānā Maylī Haravī, Maulānā Sharaf Ḥakkāk, Maulānā Ḥafīz, 560 Maulānā Kamāl Siushṭārī, Maulānā Shu’ūrī ‘Nishāūrī, and Khwāja Aḥmad Mirak Šaftī Mashhadi one day addressed a petition to His Highness the Mirzā, the nonpareil of his age, asking his leave to take with them Maulānā Qāsim Qānūnī for a stroll. In conversation His Highness the Mirzā used to call Maulānā

556 Meter: ramal.
557 [It quotes only this quatrain as a specimen of the Prince’s poetry.]
558 [“You will not see me,” said God to Moses, Qur’ān, VII, 139. V.M.J]
559 Twelfth-century poet. According to Ālam-ārd, p. 131, Thanā’i was a native of Khurasan.
560 Ṭūḥa-ya Sāmī, p. 155, mentions a poet Ḥafīz, but his identity with our poet is uncertain.

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Qānūnī “my soul,” and in his reply to the missive he traced with his blessed pen the following resolution: “My soul has been pleased (lūfī) to accompany the poets on whatever stroll they undertake (meylī). He will regard it as an honor (sharaf) and would not utter a single word (harfī) 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 (ṣīfīgārī).’ ”

In poetical criticism, in solving fine points of versification, in the knowledge of subtle hints, in sufism and the ars amandā he was not second to Khāqānī, Maulānā Ma’navī, 561 and Mir Khusru Dihlavi. Among the latest poets he greatly appreciated the verses of Maulānā Lisānī Shirāzī, 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 Muṭaḍā ‘All and in manliness and impetuosity to Ḥaydar, 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 Māni and the master Behzād Haravī. He found no equal in the game of polo, in qabaq-racing, 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 dispelled himself on the surface

561 I.e., Ja‘āl al-dīn Rūmī, the famous thirteenth-century poet.
562 According to Ṭūḥa-ya Šāmī, 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: mutaqqārīb.
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 tanbūr extremely well. He played chess without looking at the board. He had a skillful hand in the culinary art, in making European delicacies (tanaqqušāt), in baking "Georgian bread," in preparing condiments (jvārīshāt), various sweetmeats, preserves, and divers dishes. He was a master in other arts, too, such as carving zihgirs,567 shaping arrows, engraving, carving spoons, sewing gloves (for hawk hunting), making tanbūrs, binding books, covering paper with gilding and gold sprinkling, making 'aks,568 blending colors (rašq-amīzī), 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 (wādī'). 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 ('ishq-u 'āšhiqī) 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:

Majnūn was a vagrant and the Mountain-digger (Parhad) was hard-hearted.60

It is Jahān who has laid down in the world the usage and rules of passion.

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 Muradā 'Ali, that paragon of the lineage of Muṣṭafā [H: Šafavi 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.670 (At that time) the noble age of that most exalted Prince was 34 years, corresponding to the life span of his royal grandsire, the glorious monarch of eternal memory, Sultān Shah Ismā'īl671—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.672

O Lord! We grieve about his life,673
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 (gitāl) of the princes, each of whom was a constellation in the sky of sultanate and caliphate, this rubā', reflecting the feel-

567 The ring which archers wear on the thumb of the right hand.
568 Zakhdsher takes it as covering the margins with light outlines of flowers and animals. See below, p. 193.
569 Meter: ramāl.

570 [Here H. p. 57, line 9, adds that the Prince abstained from drinking wine, "which is the prerogative (lāsima) of kingship and sultanate," but sometimes indulged (mudānrat) in brak (?), or took fālānīya and tirṣāk (opium). Fālānīya, 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 'Alam-dār, Shah Ismā'īl died at the age of 37, and according to Tuhfā-yi Sāmi, pp. 38-39, at the age of 38.
573 [Before this rubā', H. p. 57, line 10, refers the reader to vol. 4 of the author's Khulāsas al-tawārīkh 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: 578

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-Hijja 984/23 February 1577. The daughter of that much-favored Prince, Gauhar-shâd 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-sultân khânum, daughter of Shah Tahmâsp] 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 (sardâba) which possessed perfect purity, cleanliness, and transparency and was free from any admixture.

The most eloquent of the recent poets, Maulâna ‘Abdî Junâbâdî 579 composed this chronogram of the event:

The rose of the flower garden of Ḥāydar Karrâr,579
The seer of the house of Ahmad,579 Ibrâhîm,
He whose crown reached the skies, laid down
The head of submission in the abode of Râdâ;
On his departure from this palace of vanity,
With a true heart and a sound nature.

578 [‘Irāqî, “transfer, moving to another place.” This is possibly a hint at the author’s being “moved on.” However, H has ‘Irâdî, “demise,” apparently with reference to the dead princes.]
579 The poet ‘Abdî is mentioned in Ch. Ries’s Catâlogue of Persian MSS., Supplement No. 307, as an imitator of Sa’dî; he died in 1583/1580, the place of his birth not being indicated.
579a Meter: kha’if, Karrâr, “he who attacks repeatedly,” is one of the titles of ‘Alî.
579b One of the names of the Prophet Muhammad.

No. 2 CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS—MINORSKY 163

He said: “Write down the date of my murder:
Ibrâhîm (was) killed.” 579

(In Arabic.) O God, unite him (on the Day of Judgment) with the one who is called Abul-Hasan, the Imám to whom submission is due and whose protection is necessary, may God bless him and turn away from (any of) his shortcomings and trespasses 579a

In H the account of Prince Ibrâhîm’s reply to the masters who wished to take Maulâna Qâsim Qânûnî of Herat on an excursion is followed by a biography of this musician, equally famous as a performer on the sâz and as a theorist. The author thinks that in the latter respect even the famous philosopher and musician Abû-Naṣr Fârâbî (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 Yâjiḥ al-dîn Khalîlullâh (who was to him like a trusted brother) to Qazaz-khana Takkâlî to ask him for Qâsim Qânûnî. This was done in secret, for in those days, for fear of the Shah, none dared listen to music or keep a singer.579b Khalîlullâh brought Qâsim in 967/1559 and the Prince built for him an excellent house in the Panj-bâgh of (? the Chahâr-bâgh. The musician performed for him every morning and evening, and his fame spread far and wide. Qâsim spent some 10 or 12 years in the service of Prince Ibrâhîm and accompanied him on his journey to Herat and during his governorships in Qâ‘în and Sabzvâr. Hard times came when by order of the Shah, Khwâja Muham-mad Mu‘tîm, vazir of Shâh-Vali-sultan (?), hanged Nâ‘îyi Atâ (?), because of certain involvements (mukhâlât) with (? Prince ʕâydar.579c He was an excellent player on the tambûr, and his disgrace was followed by the order of the Shah that all players and singers (sâzandû va gûyandû), and in particular Qâsim Qânûnî, should be put to death. Prince Ibrâhîm had an underground chamber (sâr-dâba) built in his

579 The words kushta Ibrâhîm have the numerical value of 984, i.e., A.D. 1577.
579a For a complement to this biography, see below, ch. 4, p. 133.
579b See above, p. 133.
579c Or mukhâlât “opposition to Prince ʕâydar.”
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-Vali-sultān (a rather important name) an amīr for whom Khwāja Muqim acted as vāzir, or was Shāh-Vali-sultān the person further described as “Nā’i-yi A’lā,” who was hanged by Khwāja Muqim? “Nā’i-yi A’lā” does not figure in the lists of musicians of Shah Tāhmāsp’s time; see ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 135, although this source knows Qāsim Qānūnī and calls Prince Ibrāhim his pupil, ibid., p. 150. This strange name (“Supreme Flautist”), unsuitable for a ḥanūbūr-player, might be Turkish: *Nā’i-oğlū, “flautist’s son.” The title of the Shah (siphr-i-ṭīlā) is also ambiguous. In 982/1574–75, during Shah Tāhmāsp’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 shāhi-sevān; see ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 91. On his recovery Tāhmāsp treated his sons with leniency, but he may have punished the meddlers and go-betweeners. 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 Tāhmāsp, whose general dislike of musicians is confirmed in the ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 135. V.M.]

Maulānā Yārī Kāthīr was a native of Herat and was unequalled 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 Mu‘izz al-dīn Muḥammad 682 of the Ḥusaynī sayyids of the town of Faith, Kāshān, was a self-effacing man (fāni) 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 burst her own hand with a brand-iron, 683
Has anyone done so to his own hand?

This rubā’ī 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
(houris?),
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 ‘īnayatullāh Tabrizī. Having arrived in Holy Mashhad he became the pupil of my late master Amīr Sayyid Ahmad Mashhadi. Within a short time he made good progress and perfected his writing to the point of equaling the masters. 684 From thence he went to ‘Irāq. During the reign of Shah Ismā’īl 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 Isfahān; 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

682 Mentioned in ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 125.
684 In praising his work ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 125, makes a curious reservation: “although the writing of the masters of naṭījā, as practiced in ‘Irāq and Azarbāyjān, has no great distinction in the eyes of the Khorasan calligraphers.”
lote-tree of Paradise, and for some time worked in the city of peace, Baghdad, where he died in the year 996/1587-88.\footnote{755}

Maulana Muhammad Ridha Charkhi\footnote{756} was 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.

\textbf{121.} Isä-beg was the son of Muhammad-the-Runner (shāfīr),\footnote{757} who was one of the messengers of the late sovereign, Shah Tahmāsp. Isä-beg, who for some time was in attendance (rikābdari) on the Shah, was extremely well mannered and able, and wrote good nasq'a\textsuperscript{liq}. He worked mostly in color (rang-dvisi) and himself presented people with his qīf'ās. [H: after the death of Shah Tahmāsp he acted as curator (mawādlī) at the imām-zāda of Kākh in Junābād, and died in Khorasan.]

\textbf{Maulana Muhammad 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.

\textbf{Mir Vajih al-Din Khalilullah Husayni,} uncle of this humble one. Although in the beginning he wrote in ta'līq [H: in imitation of Maulānā Darvish], after 30 years he went over to nasq'a\textsuperscript{liq}. During his residence in Holy Mashhad in the service of the late Prince Abul-Fath Sultan-Ibrāhīm-mirzā, he was one of his particularly close intimates. While he was in attendance on the Prince he began practicing nasq'a\textsuperscript{liq} under the guidance of my master Mir Sayyid Ahmad Mashhadī. Although his hand had already acquired definite habits (kāna

\textbf{122.} girīfa jā namāda\textsuperscript{,} by means of long exercises, pains and labors he became a calligrapher and wrote neatly (ṣāf) in a large hand.\footnote{758} He was eminent in soldierly qualities, valor, and archery.\footnote{759} 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{760} He also wrote good poetry, and this verse is by him:

\begin{quote}
My contact from the feast of reunion is no fault of this exile,\footnote{761} Cruel fate has done it, for (such tricks) are not remote (from its designs).
\end{quote}

\textbf{Maulana Muhammad Shāri\'f} 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 nasq'a\textsuperscript{liq} in which he wrote, he made engravings on cornelian. In soldierly qualities and courage he displayed his hereditary gifts (jāhib mirāth).

\textbf{Mir 'Imād} is of the "Sayfi" 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 Mir-ʿAli, and he also writes in a large hand extremely well. In all his writings he imitates the manner of Mir-ʿAli. It is some time since he went to Hijaz.\footnote{762}
The following verse is by him:

Things have come to such a pass that, were it not a (sign) of impiety, 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.

Not to sleep but to see hundreds of vague dreams.

ḤAKIM-RUKNĀ, whose name is Rukn al-din Mas'ūd, 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-panāhī [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 nastālīq 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, qī'a, rubā', and mathnāwī. His biography and his juicy verses are recorded in the book Majmaʿ al-shu'arāʾ va manāqib al-fuḍāla. The following verses are by him:

He who has fallen a martyr of your intoxicated eyes

Even on the day of resurrection he will awake still intoxicated.

And this too:

He who has not died of yearning for a friend is inhuman.

How can a man die a natural death in (this) world?

598 Meter: mwaṭiṭḥ.
599 Meter: raml.
600 [H, p. 66, calls this book simply Tadhkirat al-shu'arā and adds that for a time Rukn acted as doctor to the Divān of Shah 'Abbas. When there appeared some deterioration in the sovereign's health, Rukn 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, Rukn with his children took the way of India. Under 1002/1593, 'Alam-drā quotes a witty poem composed by Ruknā. The shah visited Mashhad in 1007/1598. V. M.]
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 Kātib is a native of the Province of Bīstām. He studied under my late teacher, Mir 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-khāna of the Shah (‘Abbās), enjoys intimacy (with the sovereign) and respect, and has a salary and a tīyāl (grant of land).

Maulānā Sultan Ḥusayn Tūsī is a pupil of Mir Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bākhārzī. He writes good nastā’liq, 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.

[H inserts here a biography of Maulānā Muḥammad-Amin ‘Aqīlī (or ‘Uqaylī?), an eminent pupil of Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tabrizī. His father, a very pious man from Rūstamdar (in Māzandarān), accompanied Prince Sām to Ardabil where Mir Ḥusayn was born. His uncle, Maulānā Mir Ḥusayn ‘Aqīlī, was one of the learned and pious men admitted to Shah Tāmās’s assemblies. Maulānā Muḥammad-Amin grew up among the Shaykḥāvands (i.e., the lateral line of the Safavids established in Ardabil). In the days of Prince Sulṭān-Iṣma‘īl, he acted as librarian to Ismī-khān Shānhūlī. He was a favorite of the Prince and had the title of

603 Meter: ḥaft.

604 [Instead of Qazvin, E has “the capital, Isfahān”; cf. p. 185. H says that for some time he worked in the library of Fārāb-dār; cf. Huarti, p. 261.]

“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 dervish, practicing calligraphy and copying (books). He wrote sweet poetry in Turkish (a Turkish rubā’i is quoted). In Muḥarram 1015/1606 we met in Qazvin.

Maulānā Niẓām al-dīn ‘Alī-Riḍā Tabrizī. Earlier in the record of the masters of the thulth (see above, p. 81) we mentioned his praiseworthy qualities, but in his constitution there was a predisposition that in the art of the nastā’liq 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 Maulānā Mir-‘Alī’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 Yaqsūn  
Paid one mithqāl of gold for a letter.  
Were Yaqsūn to see (‘Alī-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.

127. For two years he was the companion and fellow traveler of the Khan of the Time (Farḥād-khān Qaramānūl) 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 ‘Abbās), 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 thulth, he became a calligrapher.”

606 Meter: ḥaft. [In H, p. 51, this quatrain appears in the biography of Prince Ibrāhīm.]
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 rabā'ī representing the fruit of his meditations:

Since the time when from the flame of my love for you my heart has rosted 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 Mir-'Ali. 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 khān "and now for 10 or 12 years he has been in his service accompanying him on all his campaigns and journeys (yūrīsh-va-yasāg) and he is one of His Majesty's intimates." H quotes one more quatrains 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 Nīmatullāh is a descendant of the readers of the Qur'ān in Holy Mashhad.608 His father was a muezzin in

that sanctuary; he, too, is peerless in this art and is a master of reading. He writes nasta'liq well. At first when he was a child he took instruction in Mashhad from my teacher, Amir Sayyid Aḥmad. Later, in the capital, Qazvin, he worked under 128. the guidance of the Master of the Time, Maulānā '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 rabā'ī 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: mujāthaḵh.
610 Meter: mudārī'.
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 Mini 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 Muṣṭafā—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-Ṭālib." 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.

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 (būtkhāna) and by guile and trickery secured the good will of...
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-
Should demand from (the first painter) a likeness of himself.
That artist (naghth-tirâz) with the hand of Mâni
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 (sinân),
(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
pl. 6.)

As in writing there are six basic styles, so in the art of
painting seven (manners) are known: istãmi, khitãi, frangi,
fištâli, abr, akrah, salâmî.

Well done, the magic-working masters of the brush.
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 circlâ of the sky to the surface of the earth.
They cast their glances about creation

[136.]

137.
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: Khwâja Mirak, Maulâna Hâjjî Muhamm ad, Ustâd Qâsim-'Ali Chihra-gushây, and after them Ustâd Darvish and KHALIFA OF Khîva, they had no peers and none
like them. [H adds here a few stray notes: Khwâja Mirak, Hâjjî Muhamm ad, and Qâsim-'Ali flourished at the time of
Sultân-Husayn (Bayqara). Qâsim-'Ali worked in the library
of the Great Amir 'Ali-Shîr Navâ'î and under his guidance
became outstanding. Khwâja Mirak and Hâjjî Muhamm ad
were his contemporaries. Hâjjî Mirak 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, Mâster Behzâd OF Herat.

Behzâd 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 Mâni
But, by God, Behzâd is the best born (beh-zâd) of her.

[625] Qu'arân, XL, 44.


627. See Habîb al-siyyar, translated by Sir Thomas Arnold (pp. 139-140). Khulâ-
sat al-akhbâr gives a detailed biography of this master. Chihra-gushây, literally
"portraitist," see BâG, pp. 189-190, but also painter in general.

628. Râba'i. In content, the first and third verses are very close to Dûst Muhamm ad's chronogram quoted in BâG, p. 186.
The master had lost his father and mother in his childhood and was brought up by Ustad Mirak Naqash, who was librarian to the late sovereign, Sultân-Husayn-mirzâ. 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 Mâni. Had Mâni 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 Mirzâ Sultân-Husayn until some time after the opening days of the reign of the late Shah Tahmâsp. Wonderful specimens of his painting are numerous. His death occurred in Herat and he was buried in the neighborhood of Kûhî-Mukhtâr, within an enclosure full of paintings and ornaments.

Dêst-i-Divâna, one of the incomparable pupils of Maulânâ Behzâd, was perfect in skill and ability. He spent some time in the service of the monarch, equal in dignity to Jamshîd (Tahmâsp?), after which he went to India and made much progress there.

Ustad Sultân-Muhammad (H: Maḥmûd?) was a native of Tabriz. At the time when Maulânâ Behzâd arrived in

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628 Meter: mutaqârîb.
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 Sâ’dî’s Bustân: “The hill of Murâd.” This indication of the site of Behzâd’s tomb is unusual. In addition to Ettinghausen’s article, see B. P. Denike, Persian painting (in Russian), Moscow, 1978, p. 85; S. Khvânsâlî in Armaghân (1937), No. 4. [And M. Qazvini “Two historical documents referring to Behzâd,” in Qazvini, Bûst maqâla, vol. 2 (1313/1934), pp. 205-209, V. M.]
631 [I dare not translate naqsh-u nisâr as "painted images" since even for Behzâd such embellishment of a resting place would be extravagant. V. M.]
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 (maflis) by him are found in the pavilion (uyan) 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 assess.

[In H the end of this paragraph is more explicit. Among the several scenes painted by the Shah in the Chihil-Sutun, the author mentions one representing Yusuf and Zulaykhah 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 Zulaykhah,
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 Qadi-Jahanghakil was in ascendance. He was a Qazvini and used to join the parties,

637 Rain drops swallowed by the shell become pearls. See Sa'idi, Bistân, book IV, No. 1.
638 [Tash'ir technically means “a flourish,” but here the author of these obscure verses may be hinting additionally at its literal meaning: “to make woolly (shabby?).” V.M.]
639 RGW, p. 189: “group pictures, genre pictures.”
640 Ayed-i chihil-sutun.
641 Meter: ramal.
642 When Yusuf entered the hall, the ladies, who were cutting fruit, were 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 Maulanâ Şunûf (sic?) Dâmghâni composed the verse already quoted.] 644

His Highness Bahram-Mirza 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 Abûl-Fath Sultan Ibrahim-Mirza 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 (irrnanate) minerals.

141. In Holy Mashhad he put together an album (muraqa'at) of the writings of masters and paintings of Maulanâ Behzad and others. It was completed 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-gushâd), 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 (tâliq?) (and) the virtues of its beautiful writings, not even one-third (thulth) 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 Ahsan al-‘aswârâth, ed. Seddon, p. 488, this verse was composed by a poet called Bûq al-sîkţ, “Love’s trumpet,” and this attribution is confirmed in the ‘Alam-î-brû. V.M.]
645 [H omits Bahram-mirza and (p. 67) transfers his praise to his son Ibrahim-mirzâ. Then again H, p. 67, speaks of Ibrahim-mirzâ in more detail; see above, p. 163.]
646 Meter: haqaj.
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-vitaq),
Men devoid of discord in their communion!

This album, with other treasures, fell to the lot of the late
Princess Gauhar-Sultân khânun, one of the daughters of the
late Shah Tahmâsp, at the moment of the wedding of that
shining luminary with Ibrâhîm-mîrzâ. 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
kharâj of a whole clime.

The paintings of the late Prince are numerous and are in
every town and in every clime.

Maulâna Nazîrî of Qum 648 was an incomparable painter
and worked in the library of the late Shah Tahmâsp in the
days when painters and calligraphers enjoyed favor and
esteem. 660 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.

[AQA MîRâK was of the sayyids of Isfâhan 651 and had no
peer in artistic design (tarrâhi). He finally became the
gurâk-yyaqaq 652 of His Majesty (Shah Tahmâsp) and stayed mostly
in Tabriz. He was an incomparable painter, very clever, en-
amored of his art, a bon vivant, an intimate (of the Shah),
and a sage.

MîR MuşâVÎr was a native of Badakhshân. 652 He was a
portraitist, working neatly, and made very pleasant and pretty
images. When Humâyûn-pâdshâh came to Iraq, he said (to
Shah Tahmâsp): 664 “If that sultan of the universe (vâh-i
ard) gives me Mir Muşâvîr, I shall send him from Hindu-
stan one thousand tumanis as a present.” In view of this
circumstance, his son, MîR Sayyîd ‘Alî, 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” 655 and died
there; as Ghâzâlî says:

I am going to India, for there 656
The affairs of the clever people march nicely,
Whereas liberality and generosity ran away from the men of (this)
time
Into black earth.

Maulâna Qâdîmî 657 was a man with the character of a
darvîsh (abdâl). The late Shah kept him in the kitâb-khana

648 [H, p. 69; adds: “that it should not fall under the eyes of Shah Ismâ‘îl.”
This fact, with the same explanation, is quoted in the ‘Alam-ard, 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.
651 H, characteristically: “of the capital, Isfahan.”
652 [The duty of this official was to purvey the materials required for an
office; see Tâdchirat al-nulûk, transl. V. Minorsky, p. 178. This Aqa Mirak
must be distinguished from Khwâja Mirak; see above, p. 92. V. M.]
653 H adds that his real name was Mawsîr; cf. Sakisian.
654 Here the lacuna in M ends.
655 [Ba-samin-i siyâh jurâ râfsand va anjâ râhâl numbând. Zakhofer inter-
prets this obscure expression as “found themselves in bad circumstances,”
though according to Sakisian, pp. 116–117, Mir Sayyid ‘Ali was one of the
founders of the Indo-Persian school of miniatures in India.—Perhaps simply
“buried (themselves) there.”]
656 Meter: khâlîf. [There were several poets called Ghâzâlî, see W. Ivanow,
Four Persian poetic Tâdchiras, Calcuta, 1923, p. 38. This particular Ghâzâlî
may have been Ghâzâlî Mashhâdi who died in India in 980/1572. V. M.]
657 BWG, p. 186: Muhammad Qâdîmî. Sakisian mentions a miniature bear-
ing 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, your gatekeeper did not let him in. May I be the dog of your gatekeeper!

**KHWAJA 'ABD AL-VAHHAB** and his son **'ABD AL-'AZIZ** are natives of Kāshān: they are both unequalled in the art of painting. The late Shah used to call 'Abd al-'Aziz his pupil and he took instruction in the art of painting from that peerless monarch. Khwāja 'Abd al-'Aziz 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.

**MIRZA GHAFFAR** was the son of a Qizilbash; he achieved such success that he was recognized by all and was unequalled.

**MAULANA MIRZA-'ALI** was the son of Maulana Sültan-Muhammad. In the art of painting he had no equals. During his father's lifetime he grew up in the kitāb-khāna of the late khāqān.

**MAULANA MUZAFFAR 'ALI** was the nephew (sister's son) of Maulana Rustam-'Ali, already mentioned among the masters of nastaliq (see above, p. 147). His father was a good pupil of Maulana Behzād. He finally achieved such success that people considered him equal to Behzād; besides painting, he had a most wonderful hand in calligraphic copying (muthānā), wrote nastaliq well, excelled in gold sprinkling and gilding, and was outstanding in his time in coloring and lacquer work (raughan-kārī). Few have been so versatile as he. He also arranged one muraqqa'.

**AGHĀ HĀSAN NAQĀSH** was a native of Herat. He was unequalled in the art of painting. On the order of the late Muhammad-khan Sharaf al-din-oghli Tākālī he ornamented with painting the inside of the holy tomb of Imām 'Ali-Ridā. There he inscribed the following verse (H: of Mir Ḥasan Dihlavī), corresponding to his attitude:

Hasan circumambulated your door in the manner of the tawāf, and like the Ka'ba you have settled all his needs.

He died in the capital of Herat and was buried next to the ma'zar of the Pir of Herat (Anṣārī), in Gāzargāh, in a chamber (khānā) full of paintings and embellishments.

**MIR ZAYN AL-'ABIDIN TABRIZI** was the pupil and grandson (daughter's son) of Maulanā Sültan-Muhammad. He is not inferior to others with regard to portraiture, gilding, and painting. All his life he practiced art in the Shah's establishments and received a salary and presents.

**MAULANA SHAYKH MUHAMMAD** of the town of the faithful, Sabzavār, was the son of Maulanā Shaykh Kamāl, mentioned earlier as a master of the thulth style. This incomparable artist was a pupil of Maulanā Dūst-i Divānā. He wrote well and worked excellently in nastaliq. In painting he closely followed (qalam bar qalam) the Chinese. Even though in portraits (shirat) he made some mistakes, people said: "Well done (bah)!") In copying 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, gildor (ornamentalist),

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684 Meter: mājistāth. Tawāf is the circumambulation of the Ka'ba.
685 'Alam-ārā, p. 127; English transl., Arnold, p. 141.
686 Kāv-khānā, "workshops" attached to the court. [H adds: "He made the painted crown and other accessories of the royal assembly."]
688 See above, p. 75.
689 Khatātī, Zakhoder, reading kḥitī', translates: "and no matter how much Chinese (kḥitī') he put into his paintings."
690 [Muthānā, "replica." The fact that the corrections were made by the brush suggests that the author refers to calligraphy and not to the dīonjā technique. V.M.]
and scribe, and worked in Holy Mashhad in the kitāb-khāna of the late Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-mirzā, 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.⁶⁶³

Maulānā ‘Alī Asghar Muṣāvīr,⁶⁶⁴ 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 Mudhahhib⁶⁶⁵ 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,⁶⁶⁴ 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 Majhūn and the condition of the Mountain-digger (Fārḥād).
Perhaps, through reunion with you Yārī will recover life,
If not, without you, life and death are all one to him.

⁶⁶⁵ Mentioned by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Daḵštāl, see BWG, p. 191; also in ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 129, in the biography of Master Ḥasan Baghdādi. Arnold, in the English translation, p. 144, calls him “Bāri” (?).
⁶⁶⁶ Meter: mafthākh.

Maulānā Ghiyāth al-dīn Muḥammad Mudhahhib of Mashhad, the inventor of gold sprinkling,⁶⁶⁷ was unrivaled in painting and (ornamental) gilding. He was the contemporary of the late Maulānā Sulṭān-‘Alī Mashhādi. He died on the last day of Jamādā I 942/26 November 1535, in Holy Mashhad and was buried beside Maulānā Sulṭān-‘Alī.

Maulānā Ḥasan Mudhahhib was a native of Baghdad⁶⁶⁸ but was educated in Tabriz. In his time he was inimitable in the art of (ornamental) gilding. He decorated the holy mausoleum (āsīānā) of Imām Abū-‘Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn,⁶⁶⁹ and truly in this work showed the hand of Moses (yad-i bayḍā). Till the end of time he will remain an object of consideration for men.

Maulānā ‘Abd al-Ṣamād Mashhādi⁶⁷⁰ was also their contemporary, and was unequaled in the art of gold sprinkling.

146. He also composed good verse. The following rubā’i 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, ‘adval-kash and mudhahhib,⁶⁷¹ was from Mashhad. He had no peer in ornamental gilding, no rival in the art of repairing books (vaṣṣālī), gold sprinkling and tinting of paper, especially in various abri.⁶⁷² He was the teacher of this humble one. In his art he had no peer and he possessed many accomplishments and talents. [II: He was a perfect darvish, noble-minded, humane, and kindly. He found his rest in Holy Mashhad.]

Maulānā ‘Abdullāh Murdāhib,⁶⁷³ who was a native of

⁶⁶⁷ See below, p. 193, n. 691.
⁶⁶⁸ ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 129; English transl., Arnold, p. 144.
⁶⁶⁹ [II says the “fifth member of the family of the Cloak”; see above, p. 23.]
⁶⁷⁰ See above, p. 178, and below, p. 194.
⁶⁷¹ ‘Ālam-ārā, p. 129; English transl., Arnold, p. 144.
Shiraz, was highly skilled in ornamental gilding and in drawing frontispieces (ṣar-lauha) and culs-de-lampes (shamsa). None worked better than he in preparing oil colors. For 20 years he was employed in the kitāb-khāna of Prince Abul-Fatḥ Sultan-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 Yaḥyā 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 darvish, is modest, selfless (nāmurād?), 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. [II, p. 72: Now that Isfahan has become the capital (i.e., in 1007–1599), he lives in that pleasant city.]

147. Abūl-Maʿṣūm-mīrzā is a descendant of the great amirs of the Mauzilū Turkmans. On his mother’s side he is a cousin of the Shah, equal in dignity to Alexander, Abūl-Ghālib Sultan-Muḥammad (Khudā-banda). He has good taste in portraiture and in artistic design (tarrāūhī). 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. [II

adds that Abūl-Maʿṣūm-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.”]

Sīyavūsh-beg was a slave (mamlūk) of Shah Tahmāsp. [II, p. 70: “He came from Georgia and, while he was still a child, the Shah assigned him to the naqqāš-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. [II, p. 71: “as one of the royal ghulāms, together with his (Georgian) countrymen, he is now in Shiraz and is employed on (various) commissions (yasaq), 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. [II, p. 71: “Navvāb Ḥusayn-khān 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 khān, and now he is in the capital, Isfahan, employed by the court department (sarkār-i humāyūn) as a painter.”]

Ṣādiq-beg 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 qaṣidas, qī’as, ghazals, and rubā’is by him. In painting he brought the harmony of colors (rang-āmīs), portraiture, and details (talāṣ?) 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.

683 Rang-i raughan, see II, p. 70, i.e., colors used, for example, on the lids of pen cases (qalam-dān).

684 [II, p. 71, says that his father was Māzā-sultan Mauzilū and reduces the titles of the disestablished father of Shah ‘Abbās to “navvāb bolān-Muḥammad pāḏshāh.”]

685 [II: waṣṣāf wa faṣṣāf, “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 pūst kordan).]

686 ʿĀlam-ārī, 128, English transl., Arnold. p. 142, gives a record of Ṣādiq-beg Afshār, artist, poet, and soldier of valor, very similar to that of Qādī Ahmad. [II, Ṣadiq-beg.]
The painter of beauty 686 Aqā Riḍā is the son of Maulānā ‘Ali Asghar [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, skilful artists who live in our times regard him as perfect (musallām). 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.687 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-khāna of his Highness Mirzā 688 Abūl-Fath Ḥabrāhim-mīrzā, 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 (pichak) under him, and because of the proximity of Qum and Kāshān (our parents?) lived in unity (yagānāgī). 

[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: “(Aqā 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

686 Mūsawir-i ẓibā. Mrs. C. C. Edwards, pp. 207-208, has translated this passage.

687 [Thus in M and E, but erasure and correction in E is clear. On the contrary, H, p. 71, has “that the monarch kissed his hand.” This original version was probably considered unbelievable by the other copyists.]

688 Nawāb-i mīrzā’īyān, “my lord the Mirzā.”

Aqā Riḍā’s nature. The company of hapless people (nāmūrād, read *nā-mūrād*) and libertines (lavand) is spoiling disposition. He is addicted to watching wrestling and to acquiring competence (vaqīf) and instruction (ta’limān) in this profession.”]

Maulānā Nadīr [H: Naqār]-‘Ali Qātī came to Holy Mashhad from Badakhshān. He walked about dressed in felt, in darvish attire, and was an extremely spiritual and pure man. Looking at samples of Mīr-‘Ali’s script he cut out qiṭ’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 (of the sheet of paper) 690 became a qiṭ’a, and that from which cuttings were made was in itself another qiṭ’a.690 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 (mu’takif) in Holy Mashhad in the Shahrakhi 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-Req Tarrizī was an incomparable bookbinder, a peerless master of leather binding. He was so unique and skillful that he would have sewed the pages of Pate in the back of the binding, and with the binding knife would have
leveled the days of Destiny; 692 his work in the corner pieces (kuni) was similar to stars, and that in medallions (turunj) like the sun. He had (the nature) of a darvish and was self-effacing (fani). Owing to the disorders caused by the evil Ottomans and the ruin of Tabriz he came to (Persian) 'Iraq 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!

Maulana Yahya is a native of Qazvin. In the restoration of books, tinting of paper, and in abri he is very ........... with regard to the abri paper (?) he has good achievements and abri ........... And the greater part of his time (he spends) in the cathedral mosque of the capital city, in the service ........ And the help to termination from God 693 693

692 [I follow Zakhoder’s reading of M. V. M.]
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 Qadi Ahamad’s book. H omits the paragraph on Maulana Yahya (different from Mir Yabhy), and its own Conclusion (khatima) 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 kitab-khana.

HOW TO RULE ORNATE (Muraqa’) FRAMEWORK.

Verse. Draw three lines close to one another,
The line in gold being preferably the last.
Mark the four corners boldly (daruht)
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 (mishan) you draw a second marginal line (mubahna)
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 Qadi Ahmad 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. Bayani for solving many of my difficulties. V. M.
695 Tabriz: “Very thin lines drawn round the letters, written in colors other than black” (Dr. M. Bayani).
696 “Sparks (tala’un) such as are seen in amber” (Dr. M. Bayani).
Still lower than those two lines
Draw a light green (ṣilā) line, 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.

How to grind (málidan) lapis lazuli.—Cast the lapis lazuli into a vessel with one or two drops of gum upon it and prepare a paste (khāmir, “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 Märchashm (?), and after these Divalāghi (?). The best stones are those which have the best color and are lustrous. The pounding (salāya) (of the lapis lazuli) consists of

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-biz?) and then washed with ʿIrāqi soap.

How to wash with soap.—One pours some pure water into a vessel and heats 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 (qadāh) and the hard residue is collected, pounded (salāya) 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 (pāch). 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 (sirīsham) 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 (muhrā-yi jās`). 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.

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607 "Lower," i.e., more to the inner side (Dr. Bayānī).
608 As explained by Dr. M. Bayānī.
609 Some idea of the complicated technique can be obtained from the marginal framework of a sar-laḥ 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 tabri ("contour," i.e., "the line separating the different colored parts of the design," see The Oxford English Dictionary).

700 These kinds of lapis lazuli are not mentioned in Biruni’s Kitāb al-Jawāhir, ed. F. Keen, 1535/1936, pp. 195-196.
701 Here salāya seems to refer more to the sorting of particles.
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 (as 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 (rangi) 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 (salaya). 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 (sitab). For use on a brush it should be thin enough (tunik) 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 (salayā) with water and then knead it (sirishhad) 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 (rugā) 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 (māzu).

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 (sulānā) and it is better to obtain the soot from (a lamp filled with) hemp oil (raughan-i bavak). Put it onto paper, cover the paper with paste (dar khamir), and place it in a hot oven on a burnt brick (khisht-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 misnār ki dānation) (to give it) the consistency of honey. Then put the soot in a mortar and pour on it some of that moistened (khis khurda) gum arabic which has been brought to the consistency of honey, until the mixture becomes like dough. Knead (kibid) it very long. Then put minced gallnuts (māzū) 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 afshān. Let it stand 24 hours and then boil it until the gallnut water does not spread (nasr) on paper; then strain it through a fresh piece of linen (korbās-i nau, spelled navā). Having distilled the gallnut water, keep it. Then dissolve some Cyprus alum (zar-i qubrus) and, having distilled it, add it to the gallnut water. After a day, distill the gallnut water and alum again so that no sediment (durf) remains in it. (Pour) some of it into a mortar and upon it pour sour gum and gum arabic and pound.

702 See above, Sultan-Allī'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 Abstamanticum, Bārburz, see Ahū-Maštār Muwaffak Haravi, transl. A. Achmīdūd, Halle, 1993, No. 529.
How to remove writing from paper.—Take some liquid ceruse (safid-āb-i arziz), triturate it with liquid gum arabic and apply to the writing. When it is dry, use the polisher and the writing will disappear.\textsuperscript{700}

* * *

It is hoped that the readers of this lofty composition (nuskha-yi munifa) will act upon (ba-mu'addā?) the saying: "Who hits the target\textsuperscript{700} 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 be 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.

\textsuperscript{700} Here ends the note on "the accessories of a kīb-khāna," and the conclusion seems to be by Qudūs Ahmad himself.

\textsuperscript{700} Reading: man hadasa (perhaps: man 'ṣanasa?) fa-qad istahdafa.
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