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CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS

A TREATISE BY QĀDĪ AḤMAD, 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



PUBLICATION 4339

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-Munshī 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. Zakhoder¹ 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. Semenov² in which the author, speaking of the grave of the painter Behzād, referred to ‘a remarkable illustrated MS.’ belonging to the Ars Asiatica Museum in Moscow (now The Museum of Asiatic Cultures). Ten years later I [i.e., B. N. Zakhoder] published a special article on this truly remarkable ‘Treatise on calligraphers and artists’³ and at the same time, at the suggestion of the board of the Museum, began to work systematically on the manuscript.

“It seemed then that 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*.⁴

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

¹ Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīm b. Mir-Munshī al-Ḥusaynī, *Traktat o kalligrafah i khudozhnikah, 1596–97/1005*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1947, pp. 5–6.

² Semenov, A. A., “A Manuscript of Sa’dī’s *Bustān*,” *Izvestiya*, ser. 6, t. 19, No. 18 (1925), p. 975, note 1.

³ Zakhoder, B. N., “On the Artistic Culture of Iran in the 16th century,” *Iskusstvo*, No 5 (1935), pp. 121–136.

⁴ Hinz, W., “Eine neuentdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte Irans im 16. Jahrhundert,” *ZDMG*, pp. 315–328.

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

"The Russian articles had remained unknown to Mrs. Edwards, but, while her article was still in the press,⁵ her assumption 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).⁶

"It can be added that the third of the above-mentioned works of Qāḍī Aḥmad, namely, the anthology called *Majma' al-shu'arā*, seems to have survived, for we have found a mention of it in the article on Persian anthologies by S. Khwānsāri."⁷

In 1947, 12 years after the appearance of his first article, Prof. B. N. Zakhoder published a Russian translation of Qāḍī Aḥmad's Treatise based on the Moscow MS., with an elaborate introduction, numerous notes, an index, and a photographic reproduction of 16 pages of the original.⁸

In view of the importance of Qāḍī 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 Salar Jung Library in Hyderabad, Deccan, and through the courtesy of its trustees and the kind mediation of my friend Prof. M. Nizamuddin, a photographic copy of it was obtained.

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

⁵ Edwards, C. C., "Calligraphers and artists," BSOAS, vol. 10 (1939), pp. 199-212.

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

⁷ *Armaghān*, vol. 19 (1937), No. 1, p. 69.

⁸ Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Traktat*.

sible to complete practically all the lacunae in the text carefully marked out by Zakhoder, as well as those passages which he intentionally omitted in view of their rhetorical and bombastic character; it was also possible to add to it many new facts contained in the Hyderabad text, which represents a later and revised version of Qāḍi 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 Qāḍi Aḥmad tried to enliven his rather stylized characterizations of the calligraphers and artists often present great difficulties, owing to their extreme artificiality and the fact that many of them are quoted out of context.

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

Despite the numerous explanations and commentaries on the text, I wish to make it clear that the present book is only a translation of Qāḍi 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-ārā* See Bibliography under author, Iskandar-munshī.
 BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. London University.
 BWG L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*. See Bibliography.
 GMS Gibb Memorial Series.
Ḥabīb al-siyar See Bibliography under author, Khwāndamīr.
Izvestiya *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*.
 J.As. *Journal Asiatique*.
Muntazam-i Nāṣiri .. See Bibliography under author, Ṣanī' al-daula, Muḥammad Ḥasan.
Nuzhat al-qulūb See Bibliography under author, Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi.
Sharaf-nāma See Bibliography under Sharaf khān, *Schéref-nāmeḥ*.
Tadhkirat See Bibliography under [Shāh Ṭahmāsp].
Tajārib al-salaf See Bibliography under author, Hindūshāh ibn Sanjar.
Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī See Bibliography under author, Sām Mirzā, Abūl Naṣr.
 ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
 Zap. Inst. Vost..... *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk*.
 ZVO *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*.
 Zayn al-Ābidin See Bibliography, Manuscripts, Zayn al-Ābidin.

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

Qāḍī Aḥmad ibn Mīr-Munshī al-Ḥusaynī, as the author calls himself (MS. 4),⁹ came from the town of Qum, which lies about 125 km. to the south of Tehran; thus the appellation "Qumī," applied both to himself¹⁰ 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 Shī'ite centers: the tomb of Fāṭima, the sister of the Eighth Imām, who was buried there, was much revered and attracted numerous pilgrims. Quite naturally the noble families of the local Shī'ite clergy occupied a prominent position in the town and district, even before the Shī'a had become the established creed. One such influential family was that of the author's paternal great-grandfather,¹¹ Qāḍī Sharaf al-dīn 'Abd al-Majīd Qumī, of whom the calligrapher Qanbar (a native of Abyssinia, like the famous Yāqūt),¹² called himself a *ghulām* (servant-slave). In 1497–98, during the troubled days of the later Aq-qoyunlu he refused to open the town gates to Aybe-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 *khānqāh* (MS. 34). On both his mother's and father's side our author belonged to the same branch of the descendants of the Prophet as the members of the Ṣafavid dynasty, which began to rule in the first years of the sixteenth century.

⁹ All the quotations by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder refer to MS. *M* (see below, p. 34).

¹⁰ Hinz, *ZDMG*, p. 315.

¹¹ In fact, the maternal grandfather of the author's father. V. M.

¹² By mistake C. C. Edwards, p. 200, calls Qāḍī Aḥmad 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.¹³ As a rule they formed the backbone of the government officials who filled the various offices, but we often find such sayyids, or *mīrs*,¹⁴ 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 Qumī (MS. 35), whom Shah Tahmāsp called "Mīr-Munshī" (MS. 35), i.e., "Sayyid-Secretary," began his career in distant Herat as one of the amanuenses of the munshī in the chancery of the governor of Khorasan, Sām-mīrzā, son of the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shah Ismā'il I. Sām-mīrzā'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 "Mīr-Munshī" died in 990/1582 at the age of 76 (MS. 37), he was only 20 years old during Sām-mīrzā's governorship in Khorasan, when he naturally could not have held any important post. Nor does the young "Mīr-Munshī" seem to have achieved much distinction in the three years spent in the capacity of munshī to the High Dīvān during the vazirate of Aḥmad-beg Nūr Kamāl, i.e., approximately in the period from 936/1529–30 to 942/1535–36.¹⁵ The highest post in the bureaucratic world that he succeeded in attaining was a 10-year vazirate in Mashhad, under Prince Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, son of Bahrām-mīrzā, Shah Tahmāsp's favorite brother.¹⁶ Apparently the "Mīr-Munshī" was induced to

¹³ R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, p. 80.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80: "Tous les mīrs, chérifs, passent sous le nom de Seodat."

¹⁵ Aḥmad-bek Nūr Kamāl, a native of Isfahan, remained vazir during six years until the return from captivity in Gilān of Qāḍī-yi Jahān (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 117), which occurred in 942/1535–36 (*Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 187).

¹⁶ The history of Shah 'Abbās I by Iskandar-munshī, called *Ālam-ārā*, which

serve Ibrāhīm-mīrzā not for gain and advancement alone, but by virtue of the close relations which existed between this line of the Safavid dynasty and the author's family. Evidence to this effect is found in Qāḍī Aḥmad's mention of his father's friendship with Bahrām-mīrzā (MS. 20) on the grounds of a common enthusiasm for calligraphy; similar information is contained in the biography of the Mīr-Munshī's brother and Qāḍī Aḥmad's uncle, Khalilullāh, who was a master of the *nasta'liq* and an intimate of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, with whom he shared various interests in art and sport (MS. 120, 121). As calligraphy, painting, and poetry were highly popular at the court of the first Safavids, a common interest in these arts played quite an important role.

Among the sons and grandsons of the founder of the Safavid dynasty, the names of Bahrām-mīrzā and Ibrāhīm-mīrzā hold a distinguished place. Both princes not only patronized artists but were themselves gifted amateurs in several branches of the arts. Shah Ismā'il's son ABUL-FATH BAHRĀM-MĪRZĀ¹⁷ was known as master calligrapher, poet,¹⁸ musician,¹⁹ and artist (MS. 140). In his *kitāb-khāna*²⁰ there worked such outstanding masters as Niẓām al-dīn of Bukhārā (MS. 34, 35), Rustam-'Alī, son of Behzād's sister (MS. 102), and others.

Still more gifted was Bahrām-mīrzā's second son, ABUL-FATH IBRĀHĪM-MĪRZĀ, born 1543-44, i.e., six years before Bahrām-mīrzā's death, of a mother belonging to a noble family of Shīrvān.²¹ We know very little about the administrative

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

¹⁷ Born in 923/1517-18, appointed governor of Khorasan in 958/1549-50; see *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, pp. 178, 189, 202, and Zayn al-'Ābidīn, fol. 255a, 263a, 270b.

¹⁸ MS. 34-35, gives a sample of Bahrām-mīrzā's epigrams.

¹⁹ *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 9.

²⁰ In medieval works the term *kitāb-khāna* includes both the library itself and the workshop in which the work of restoring and producing manuscripts decorated with painting was carried on.

²¹ According to the *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 103, at the time of his death (in 984 II.) Ibrāhīm-mīrzā was 34 years old; cf. MS. 117, 118.

career of this prince. Apparently Ibrāhīm-mīrzā did not play an important role in the political life of the time, a fact that might explain Shah Tahmāsp's kind feelings toward his young nephew, who from childhood showed himself to be a talented artist, poet, and scholar. In 963/1555–56 Tahmāsp married Ibrāhīm-mīrzā to his daughter, Gauhar-sulṭān begum²² and gave him the governorship of Mashhad, whither, according to Qāḍī Aḥmad, the Prince proceeded in the following year 964/1556–57 (MS. 98).

We do not know the duration of this governorship. According to the Mir-Munshī's biography, it lasted 10 years (MS. 36). The *Sharaf-nāma*²³ tells of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's presence in Mashhad in 972/1564–65. From then on we have no further information about him until the fatal year, 984/1577. Was the Prince ruling in Mashhad during all that time? Where was his permanent residence? The *Ālam-ārā* asserts that at the time of Tahmāsp's death the Prince was in Qazvin, at the court, where he held the post of *eshik-aqasi*,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. Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's place in the history of Persia in the sixteenth century is due not to his official position but to the role he played in the arts and scholarship of the time. Despite the artificial and hyperbolic style of the pages which Qāḍī Aḥmad devotes to the Prince, they are full of warm feeling and admiration which make it difficult to suspect the author of deliberate flattery and servility, espe-

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

²³ *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 223.

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

²⁵ I.e., apparently only of this town, and not of the whole great province of Khorasan. [More facts about his governorship are found in MS. H; see below, p. 163. V. M.]

cially as he was writing some 20 years after the death of his patron.²⁶ The image of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā which he presents is that of an exceptionally gifted man.

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

Ibrāhīm-mīrzā also attracted the attention of his other contemporaries. In describing this Prince as a man of great accomplishments, the *Sharaf-nāma* refers to those fields of activity in which his talents and art found their expression as "unaccustomed sciences."²⁷ Qāḍī Aḥmad's Treatise enables us to draw up a more detailed catalogue of these branches of knowledge which are certainly unusual for the majority of noblemen. They are: Calligraphy (MS. 110, 112), painting (MS. 113, 115, 140), medicine, mathematics, astronomy and music (MS. 113), poetry (MS. 113, 114), the epistolary art (MS. 114, 115), various sports (MS. 114, 115), and handicrafts down to glovemaking [for falconry? V. M.] and cookery (MS. 116), and, seemingly in the last place, theology (MS. 112, 113). However exaggerated the compliments addressed by the author of the Treatise to the Prince, "equal in dignity

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

²⁷ *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 253; cf. French translation, vol. 2, pp. 1, 643.

to the planet Mars," the above list undoubtedly testifies to Ibrāhīm-mīrzā'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 Qāḍī Aḥmad's memoirs compels one to abandon the accepted ideas about the organization of artistic life in the Muslim East and seek comparisons far to the West. Much as in the Florence of the Medicis, the notions of "palace" and "studio" were blended, and the studio was the constant background of the high-born Maecenas, entirely devoted to his artistic pursuits. One readily imagines Ibrāhīm-mīrzā 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-mīrzā's studio and of the aesthetic ideals of the "magnificent" patron and his entourage. Ibrāhīm-mīrzā 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-mīrzā pronounced himself a follower of Mīr-'Alī's style (MS. 111, 112). According to the Treatise, "without exaggeration, half of what Maulānā Mīr-'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-mīrẓā's influence the author's uncle, Khalilullāh (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-mīrẓā's *kitāb-khāna*: Rustam-'Alī, formerly of Bahrām-mīrẓā's library (MS. 102), his son Muḥibb 'Alī, who was the *kitāb-dār*²⁸ of Ibrāhīm-mīrẓā's library (MS. 103), and 'Ayshī of Herat (MS. 108). Still more important is the list of artist painters: Shaykh Muḥammad of Sabzavār (MS. 144), Aqā-Riḍā's father, 'Alī Aṣghar Muṣavvir (MS. 144, 148), and 'Abdullāh Mudhahhib, who worked 20 years for Ibrāhīm-mīrẓā (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 (*muraqqa'*) 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-Munshī became. We have no direct information on the time of his appointment to the vazirate. An indirect confirmation of the fact that the Mir-Munshī arrived in Mashhad in the same year as Ibrāhīm-mīrẓā 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-mīrẓā and calls himself "the slave-servant and son of a slave-servant," who had "received upbringing and education in the service" of Ibrāhīm-mīrẓā, one can guess that in 1556-57 he came to Mashhad with his family and that he was of the same age as Prince Ibrāhīm.

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

²⁸ *Kitāb-dār*—"head librarian."

Sharaf al-dīn 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 Shāhinshāh’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 ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, for their duties consisted mainly in preparing and registering all kinds of documents.²⁹ 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 boyhood and youth and leaves the impression that this particular period was the brightest and happiest in the whole of Qāḍī Aḥmad’s life.

The MS. contains no direct reference to the relations that existed between Qāḍī Aḥmad 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. Qāḍī Aḥmad’s uncle Khalilullāh, was the companion of “His Highness the Mīrzā in the games of *chougān* and *qabaq-racing*”³⁰ (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. Qāḍī Aḥmad’s own artistic activity in Mashhad is largely explained by the

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

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

prevailing devotion to art which set the tone at Ibrāhīm's court.

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

Outside Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's *kitāb-khāna*, Qāḍī Aḥmad undoubtedly had occasion to meet many representatives of the pictorial and calligraphic arts. About one of these, Shaykh Kamāl, already mentioned, he remarks: "I had in 965/1557-58 the honor to meet him in the holy city of Mashhad . . . he was a man of ripe old age and of serene presence" (MS. 34). Our author names five masters as his teachers:³² (a) Shāh-

³¹ Barthold, *Historico-geographical survey of Iran*, pp. 71-72.

³² C. C. Edwards, p. 201, speaks of four teachers, omitting the father of Aqā Riḍā. [The text is obscure. V. M.]

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

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

The year 984/1577, when Ibrāhīm-mīrzā was murdered, is referred to with such deep emotion that it can be taken for the crucial date in our author’s life. The events that led to the death of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā are the following: On the night when Shah Tahmāsp died (May 1576), after a reign lasting

over 50 years, some of the courtiers decided to set upon the throne his third son, Ḥaydar-mīrzā, over the head of Muḥammad-mīrzā, the Shah's eldest son. The coronation was performed hastily, contrary to every tradition, less than "a watch" (i.e., the time for the changing of the guard) after the Shah's death. The "Circassian" guard,³³ whose candidate was Ismā'il-mīrzā, intervened, and this led to a feud within the capital. Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, who was in Qazvin at the time, took an active part in defending Ḥaydar-mīrzā against the Circassians besieging the palace. When Ismā'il-mīrzā ascended the throne as Ismā'il II, Ibrāhīm-mīrzā was put to death, together with many other scions of the Safavid dynasty.³⁴ According to our MS., this happened on 5 Dhul-Ḥijja 984/23 February 1577. The correctness of this date is confirmed by the numerical value of the letters in the rhymed chronogram "Ibrāhīm has been killed" (MS. 118 and 119).³⁵

The death of Ibrāhīm Jāhī was of small political importance but it spelled tragedy to many of his intimates. According to the *Ālam-ārā*,³⁶ Ibrāhīm's wife, the daughter of Shah Tahmāsp, died of grief a few days after the death of her husband. His daughter, Gauhar-shād begum, whose name is known to us only from 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.³⁷ The Prince's intimates were also greatly affected by his death. Qāḍī Aḥmad's uncle, Khalilullāh, after the death of his patron, "shunned all

³³ [In fact, "Daghestanian." V. M.]

³⁴ *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, pp. 247-253. [Ibrāhīm-mīrzā did not take an active part in the events and for a short time was spared by Ismā'il II; see below, p. 164.]

³⁵ 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 Ismā'il" (MS. 117). According to other sources Shāh Ismā'il died at the age of 37 or 38, not 34. See *Ālam-ārā*, p. 33; *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 38-39.

³⁶ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 102.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

company, turned away from everything and, in the province of Qum gave himself up to agriculture and piety" (MS. 122).

The turbulent days of the reign of Ismā'il II (1576–78) and Muḥammad 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 *thulth* writing, 'Alā-bek Tabrizī (MS. 38). [According to Qāḍī Aḥmad's historical work, *Khulāṣat al-tavārikh* (quoted by H. R. Roemer, *Der Niedergang Irans . . . 1577–81*, Würzburg 1939, p. 95), in 984/1576 Qāḍī Aḥmad was appointed vazir to the financial administrator (*mustaufī al-mamālik*) Mīr Shāh-Ghāzī and held that post for four years. After that he served as vazir to Ār-doghdī-khalīfa Tākkālū (988/1580). In Sha'bān 989/September 1581 the Shah appointed him to the independent post of administrator of pious foundations (*mustaufī-yi mauqūfāt*). Consequently he was employed throughout the reigns of Ismā'il II and Khudā-banda. More curious still is the fact that the composition of the *Khulāṣat al-tavārikh* was entrusted to him by Ismā'il II, the murderer of his earlier patron; see Hinz, *ZDMG*, p. 319. H. R. Roemer (*loc. cit.*, p. 95), expressed the view that "Qāḍī-khān al-Ḥusaynī" whom Iskandar-munshī (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 203) calls *ṣadr-i a'zam*, may be the later avatar of our Qāḍī Aḥmad. This hypothesis is contradicted by Iskandar-munshī, who (*loc. cit.*, p. 764) explains that the "Qāḍī-khān" was the son of Mīrzā Burhān and belonged to the family of the sayyids of Qazvin.

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

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

As appears from our text, Qāḍī Aḥmad, prior to his work on calligraphy and painting, composed two other works:³⁸

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

1. *Majma' al-shu'arā-yi 'Abbāsī*, "Collection of Poets (dedicated to Shah) 'Abbās" (MS. 33), or *Majma' al-shu'arā va manāqib al-fuḍalā*, "Collection of Poets and the Lives of the Learned" (MS. 112, 124); and 2. *Khulāṣat al-tavārikh-i 'Abbāsī*, 'Abbās's Substance of Annals" (MS. 30), or simply *Khulāṣat al-tavārikh*, "The Substance of Annals" (MS. 30, 33, 49, 112).

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ Hinz, ZDMG, pp. 315, 320.

Mir 'Abd al-Bāqī (MS. 46), of the vazir Mir Zakariyā (MS. 49), and of Ibrāhīm-mīrzā (MS. 112).

The Treatise on Calligraphers and Artists is therefore the third of our author's works, which shows that Qāḍī Aḥmad was a man of letters and a scholar, rather than a professional calligrapher⁴¹ or artist.⁴²

The preface⁴³ 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., 'Alī b. Abi-Ṭālib) . . . (as well as) on the biographies of each of the masters, artists and all men of talent who are connected with this glorious group and excellent class or with books and libraries" (MS. 3). A little further on he calls his work an "epistle" or "treatise" (*risāla*). Apparently on the strength of these notes some reader made the following entry on the back of the last folio: "Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad on the appearance of the *qalam* and the invention of writing." [But the title under which the Treatise is known in Persia is *Gulistān-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-dīn Ibrāhīm the author says: "For some time he acted as vazir to Princess Parī-khān khānum . . . 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 Parī-khān khānum was one of the outstanding women of her day. She was the daughter of Shah Tahmāsp. 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, Parī-khān khānum took part in the feuds and court intrigues which marked the end of Shah Tahmāsp's reign. She was officially betrothed to Prince Ibrāhīm-mīrzā's brother, Badi' al-Zamān, but "she was not in his possession" and remained with Shah Tahmāsp who

⁴¹ As in C. C. Edwards, p. 200.

⁴² As in Semenov, p. 975, n. 1.

⁴³ Absent in the MS. belonging to C. C. Edwards [and in *H*].

loved and favored her.⁴⁴ On the night when Shah Tahmāsp died and Ḥaydar-mīrzā hastened to seize the crown, the Princess directed the attack of the Circassians on the palace of Qazvin which ended in the killing of Ḥaydar-mīrzā.⁴⁵ During the reign of Ismā'il II, Pari-khān khānum enjoyed unlimited influence; the scheme of a rapprochement with Sunnism is ascribed to her, jointly with Ismā'il II. The death of Ismā'il II and Muḥammad Khudā-banda's advance from Shiraz against Qazvin put an end to the ambitious plans and the life of the Princess. She was murdered on 3 Dhul-Ḥijja 985/11 February 1578.⁴⁶

Consequently the date of our Treatise must be: $985 + 20 = 1005/1596-97$. The following considerations support the correctness of this view:⁴⁷

(a) Of particular importance is the dedication of the book jointly to Shah 'Abbās and to the "Khan of the Time," Abū Maṣṣūr Farhād-khān Qaramānlu. 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 Ḥasan 'Alī (MS. 96) died in Hijaz.

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

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

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

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

⁴⁷ [From here on down to the end of the chapter, corrections have been introduced into Professor Zakhoder's text in the light of the fresh evidence supplied by MS. 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.⁴⁸

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

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

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

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

⁴⁸ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 373.

⁴⁹ [The conclusion would be that the first draft was begun at that time. V. M.]

⁵⁰ As pointed out by C. C. Edwards, p. 201.

⁵¹ [We abridge the passage on the relations of Shah 'Abbās and Farhād-khān, as the full text of Qāḍī Aḥmad's dedication is now available in the English translation. V. M.]

painter who illustrated a passage of 'Alī-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. Qāḍī Aḥmad's Treatise opens before us a page, until now unknown, of the relations between 'Abbās and Farhād-khān, but in what relation Qāḍī Aḥmad himself stood to Farhād-khān and Niẓām al-dīn 'Alī-Riḍā is less clear (see p. 172). After the death of the general, whom the author has addressed in such ambiguously exaggerated terms, did Qāḍī Aḥmad retire to "a corner of seclusion," as his uncle Khālī-lullāh did on the death of Ibrāhīm-mirzā? [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

According to the plan outlined by the author (MS. 9), the Treatise consists of an Introduction, three chapters, and a Conclusion. Introduction: On the creation of the *qalam* and the appearing of writing, with the tracing of the origins of the latter to 'Alī, son of Abī-Ṭālib . . . (MS. 9–15). Chapter 1: On the *thulth* style and those resembling it (MS. 16–40). Chapter 2: On the *ta'liq* style (MS. 40–54). Chapter 3: On the *nasta'liq* style (MS. 54–128). Conclusion: On the work of artists, gilders, masters of 'aks, gold sprinkling and "découpé" (*qāḥi'ān*), paper coloring, etc. (MS. 128–150).⁵² Chapter 3 includes a versified treatise by the master of the *nasta'liq*, Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi.

The treatise⁵³ by the sixteenth-century Turkish poet and historian Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, entitled *Manāqib-i hünerverān* ("Biographies of Artists"), which was composed some 10 years before that of Qāḍī Aḥmad, shows that the latter's plan was

⁵² [According to Zakhoder, traces of the colophon are distinguishable on p. 150. On the addition in MS. *H*, see below, p. 195. V. M.]

⁵³ Published by the Turkish scholar Maḥmūd Kamāl-bey, Istanbul, 1926.

far from original. Apart from the Introduction, the disposition of the chapters and the content of the two treatises are so similar as to suggest the existence of a fully elaborated scheme deeply rooted in Muslim tradition.⁵⁴ For the study of this category of medieval Islamic writings, conditions are still unfavorable, as the number of sources still unpublished, and therefore not readily accessible for study, is greatly in excess of the material available in printed editions. To say nothing of the considerable number of works bearing on the subject, of whose existence in medieval collections we know from the *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 'Īsā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf published in 1923, we have learned of the existence in local collections of copies of treatises by the founders of the Muslim medieval cursive, such as the *vazīr* Abū-'Alī ibn Muqla (tenth century), the creator of the *sitta* ("six styles of writing"), and his follower, 'Alī ibn Hilāl, known as Ibn-Bawwāb. The importance of research in such old literature in Arabic is obvious, not only for the general history of this class of literature but also for tracing its development on Persian soil. Even a cursory examination of one of the oldest treatises on calligraphy written in Persian and incorporated in the chronicle of Muḥammad Rāvandī (thirteenth century A.D.)⁵⁵ shows that the terminology, nay even single points of technique and formulas of Persian treatises, are directly dependent on the earlier Arabic tradition. Even the investigation of the available material in Persian literature, be it only for the late Middle Ages, has barely begun, although the existence of such material has been established in a number of catalogues of European collections of oriental manuscripts. In particular, the Leningrad collection of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of the U.S.S.R. possesses two MSS. remarkable in this respect: (1) The versified treatise (MS. Or.

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

⁵⁵ M. Iqbāl, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, p. 307.

B550) copied in 1093/1682, of Maḥmūd Chapnivīs⁵⁶ mentioned in Qāḍī Aḥmad's work (MS. 89); (2) the prose treatise on calligraphy by Faṭḥullāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Maḥmūd (MS. Or. B551), dated 955/1586–87 and entitled "On the Foundations and Laws of the *sitta* Writing."⁵⁷

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

Of the enumerated works we can confidently accept as sources only the anthology of Sām-mirzā and Sulṭān-'Alī's poem treatise, especially the latter. The didactic autobiography of the renowned master of the *nasta'liq* seems to have enjoyed great popularity. Apart from the variant incorporated in Qāḍī Aḥmad's Treatise, two other copies of the work are known in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale⁵⁸ and, according to Mrs. C. Edwards, a MS. of the British Museum⁵⁹ contains 12 hemistichs from Sulṭān-'Alī's work. Our author has incor-

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

⁵⁷ Zaleman, *Izvestiya*, 1907, p. 801.

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

⁵⁹ Br. Mus. Add. 23541, f. 486b.

porated the whole of Sulṭān-‘Alī’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-‘Alī’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 ‘Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib and the strictly historical part on the origin of the *nasta‘liq* are based essentially on Sulṭān-‘Alī’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 Mīrkhond, Khwāndamīr, Dūst-Muḥammad, as well as in the *‘Ālam-ārā*, the *Tārīkh-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 Bahrām-mīrzā, our author did not lose contact with artistic circles even after the death of his exalted patron. Many details in the records on contemporary artists and events show how well informed he was.

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

In the days when 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 Shī'a, whose traditions reflected the struggle through centuries against orthodox Islam and had absorbed many tenets hostile to it, had already hardened into a rigid dogma, admitting only some variations in detail but not in essence. No careful scrutiny can reveal anything new in the whole of Qāḍī Aḥmad's explanation of the origin and development of the art of writing. The old biblical concept of the word, typical of the Qor'ān,⁶⁰ as well as of Islamic tradition, namely that "the first thing created by God was the *qalam*" (MS. 9), is interpreted by the Shī'a in the characteristically 'Alid sense, and 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib has become the originator of the one and only writing that is consecrated and true from the religious point of view. 'Alī appears not only as a religious truth—"the half of all knowledge" (MS. 14)—but also as a master calligrapher, the initiator of the special "Kufic" style, whose work could be factually examined.⁶¹ Like any other master, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib 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 dogma consecrates not only the process of writing, but naturally enough even the character of the writing; the *Kūfi* and other styles allegedly stemming from it, such as *naskh*, *thulth*, etc., remained for a long time the only varieties of writing which, from the reli-

⁶⁰ *Qor'ān*, XCVI, 3-4, see below, p. 49.

⁶¹ See, for instance, the disquisition on the top of the twin-horned *alif*, ascribed to 'Alī (MS. 15).

gious point of view, could lawfully transmit the Qor'ān and theological literature. In the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, when *nasta'liq* 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 Mīr 'Alī Tabrīzī, the creator of *nasta'liq*, to the family of 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (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 'Alī 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. Sultān-'Alī Mashhadī's biography contains a vivid description of such religious and ascetic exertions of a master (MS. 64-65). The same attitude of the Muslim East toward the written word is responsible for linking the copying of the Qor'ān with the religious dogma of absolution.

Graphic art, as we understand it, especially the art of representing human beings, was in an entirely different position. As is known, the main source of Islamic dogmatics, the Qor'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 Qor'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.

Qāḍī 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 *qalams*":

God created two kinds of *qalams*:

The one, ravishing the soul, is from a plant . . .

The other kind of *qalam* is from the animal (MS. 10).

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

The comparison of the artist's brush to a pen (*qalam*) is highly significant. If, in the theological sense, the artist's brush has the same properties as the *qalam*-reed, then religious consecration applies to it as a matter of course. Furthermore, the consecration of the brush by the Qor'ān legalizes the position of the graphic art as a whole, and 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib appears as the patron both of writing and of the graphic arts. "The portraitists of the image (*paykar*) of this wonderful skill," explains the Treatise, "trace this art to the marvelously writing *qalam* of the Frontispiece of the 'Five Companions of the Cloak,'⁶² i.e., 'Alī, 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 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib" (MS. 128).⁶³ Thus the Treatise illustrates with sufficient clearness the new attitude of Persian feudal society to-

⁶² The "Five Companions" protected by one cloak are: Muḥammad, Fāṭima, 'Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn.

⁶³ The same idea is found in Dūst Muḥammad, BWG, p. 133.

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 'Alī was only a master of the ornament, and that on the whole the behavior of artists representing live beings is at times reprehensible. Despite such casual qualifications, the recognition of equal rights for the brush and the pen was dictated by the background of cultural life in medieval Persia and by the whole development of the graphic arts.

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

The theory of the equality of the two *qalams* reflected the position the graphic arts held in the life and culture of that period, but this new attitude, though admitted in theory, is

somewhat feebly reflected in the actual contents of the Treatise. Tradition weighed heavily on the Muslim writer. In imitation of the classical styles of writing, our author quotes the same number⁶⁴ of artistic styles: *islīmī*, *khiṭā'ī*, *firangī*, *fiṣālī*, *abar* (*abr*, *abra*?), *akra* (*Agra*?), *salāmī* (MS. 136), but does not go beyond this enumeration. The whole plan of the work is centered on the development of calligraphy.

The pattern of its history is more or less the following: At first there existed the Kufic writing, which "like kohl cleared the sight of men of understanding" (MS. 13). In the tenth century Ibn-Muqla, the inventor of the styles known by the name of *sitta* ("the six"), deviated from the Kufic and created *thulth*, *naskh*, *rayḥān*, *muḥaqqaq*, *tauqī'*, and *riqā'* (MS. 16). Later, even in post-Mongolian times, there appeared *ta'liq* (derived from *riqā'* and *tauqī'*) (MS. 40) and *nasta'liq*, whose originator was Khwāja 'Alī Tabrīzī (MS. 55).

Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was demonstrated by Silvestre de Sacy⁶⁵ 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 *Kūfī*. No less doubtful is the tradition which ascribes to Ibn-Muqla the invention of the *sitta*. In documents of a much earlier period, even of the beginning of the eighth century, Arabic writing is characterized by elements different from *Kūfī* and closely related to *naskh*.⁶⁶ Nor can we fully rely on our Treatise regarding the much later *ta'liq* and *nasta'liq*.

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

⁶⁴ In fact, to the *six* styles of writing must be added the "ghubār," a fine, dust-like writing.

⁶⁵ In his work "Sur quelques papyrus écrits en arabe."

⁶⁶ V. A. and I. Y. Kratchkovsky, "The earliest Arabic document from Central Asia," *Sogdiyskiy sbornik*, 1934, p. 85.

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."⁶⁷

There is little point in criticizing Qāḍi Aḥmad's work from this angle, for his history of the development of writing only reflects the accepted and widely prevalent tradition. Its originality and importance lie in the valuable historical and artistic material found in the chapters devoted to the various styles of writing. Like the very similar work of the Turk Muṣṭafā Āli, the Treatise is in effect an anthology (*tadhkira*), a literary form richly represented in Persian literature. Unlike the calligraphic treatise of Faṭḥullāh ibn-Aḥmad on the foundations and laws of styles of writing, also written at the end of the sixteenth century, Qāḍi Aḥmad's work does not aim at describing the technique of writing, except for the passage about Yāqūt's trimming of the *qalam* (MS. 17), and the corresponding paragraphs in Sulṭān-'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 chronological⁶⁸ order; Qāḍi 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-Musta'simī (thirteenth century), our author gives only two names, Ibn-Muqla and Ibn-Bawwāb, without utilizing the fairly abundant material on the history of calligraphy, which was known in Safavid times no less than in our own days. The fundamental

⁶⁷ V. A. Kratchkovsky, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vol. 3, pp. 201-204.

⁶⁸ [This must be the reason for the adjustments in the order of the biographies which one finds in *H. V.M.*]

importance of Qāḍī 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 Qāḍī 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 biography⁶⁹ make it desirable to examine the geographical range of Qāḍī 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-Muqla, Yāqūt, and Muḥammad al-Tūsī (MS. 16, 20, 49), as well as the notices of two of Yāqūt's pupils: Arghūn Kāmil, who took part in the decorating of two Baghdad seminaries—the one called "Marjāniya," and the other one lying "beside the bridge" (MS. 21)—and Naṣrullāh, who decorated "certain buildings" in Baghdad (MS. 21). Among the incidental data are the references to the temporary residence in Baghdad of Maulānā Ḥasan-'Alī (native of Mashhad, who went on pilgrimage to Hijaz and died in 1003/1594-95 [MS. 96]), to the work and death in Baghdad in 996/1587-88 of Maulānā Bābā-shāh of Isfahan (MS. 120), and finally to the Baghdad origin of the calligrapher

⁶⁹ [Some new facts are added in *H. V. M.*]

Ma'rūf (MS. 24) and of the illuminator Ḥasan (MS. 145). None of these remarks suggests any close acquaintance with the artistic life and monuments of Baghdad.

B. NAJAF

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

C. SHIRAZ AND FARs

Of more importance are our author's references to Shiraz and Fars. With Shiraz, Qāḍī Aḥmad was connected by old family ties: the already mentioned calligrapher Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar, who called himself the slave-servant of the author's ancestor Sharaf al-dīn, was a pupil of the Shirazī 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 Bahrām-mirzā, this Timurid possessed great gifts as a calligrapher and was known as a builder and a patron of the arts. In 820/1417–18 he erected in Shiraz a building in the courtyard of the cathedral mosque,⁷⁰ as well as two madrasas, the *Dār al-ṣafā* ("House of Purity") and the *Dār al-aytām* ("the Orphanage"), in the decoration of which he took a personal part. Subsequently, both madrasas were destroyed by the orders of Ya'qūb Dhul-qadar (MS. 29). Ibrāhīm-Sultān was responsible for the decorating of the Zāhiriya building, for the *ghazal* written on glazed tiles of the pediment of Sa'di's tomb in 835/1431–32 (MS. 29), and for the *mazār* of Bābā Luṭfullāh 'Imād al-dīn (MS. 30). The

⁷⁰ Where he placed a stone brought from Tabriz and bearing an inscription worked by Maulānā 'Abdullāh Ṣayrafī (MS. 23).

artistic traditions established under the Timurids were kept up in later times when Shiraz became the fief of the Aq-qoyunlu. A member of that dynasty, Prince 'Alī ibn-Khalīl, 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, Maḥmūd Siyāvush, Pīr-Muḥammad II, Shams al-dīn Muḥammad Zāhir, Rūzbihān, 'Abd al-Qādir, Hāfiẓ 'Abdullāh (MS. 26, 27), Ḥusayn Fakhkhār Shirāzī (MS. 35), and the painter 'Abdullāh Muḍhahhib (MS. 146). To the number of Shiraz artists are to be reckoned natives of Abarqūh, a small town between Shiraz and Yazd, such as Mīr Niẓām al-dīn Ashraf, who held the post of Shaykh al-Islām of certain districts of Fars and died in 995/1586-87, and Ad-ham (MS. 46). The artistic school of Shiraz enjoyed great influence: according to the picturesque expression of our author, the masters of Fars, Khorasan, Kerman, and 'Irāq "used to eat the crumbs from their (i.e., the Shirāzīs') table" (MS. 27). The advent of the Safavid dynasty apparently did not impair the importance of Shiraz as an artistic center. In 920/1514-15 the Shiraz artists were still decorating the mosques of their town (MS. 27), though already the next generation of calligraphers, as for example Muḥammad Amīn, grandson of Ad-ham, gravitated toward Qazvin, the Safavid capital (MS. 53).

D. QUM

Qum, where our author was born, was a religious center and, judging by the data contained in his Treatise, played a considerably lesser role in the artistic life of the country. Here the activity of the artists naturally depended on various religious institutions, of which the Treatise names the cathedral mosque with the tomb of Fāṭima, sister of the Eighth Imām buried in Mashhad (MS. 32, 34, 47); the *mazār* of Sayyid Abū-Aḥmad (MS. 32); the mosque '*Ishq-i 'Alī*, built by Mīr Muḥammad, who was at one time *vazīr* to Sulṭān Rustam

Aq-qoyunlu (1491–96) and later took up residence in his native Qum (MS. 44, 45); the *Husayniya* 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 "Ḥāfiẓ" (i.e., one knowing the Qor'ān by heart), one of the teachers of Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar (MS. 32), the slave-servant of our author's ancestor, and the judge Sharaf al-dīn 'Abd al-Majīd Qumī (MS. 32). To the same category apparently belonged the pupils of Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar, mentioned in the Treatise: Mīr Maqbūl Qumī (MS. 33), Ḥaydar Qumī, and Sayyid Walī Qumī (MS. 34). Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar decorated the cathedral mosque and the *ayvān* of Abū Aḥmad's *mazār* (MS. 32); in the decoration of the mausoleum of Fāṭima there took part Ḥaydar Qumī, Walī Qumī, 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 Qāḍī Aḥmad's uncle, Khalilullāh, who, after Ibrāhīm-mīrzā'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 Sāva (MS. 147). [Ou Bulbul see below, p. 82.]

E. KĀSHĀN

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 *nasta'liq*, Mu'izz al-dīn Muḥammad (d. 995/1586–87) (MS. 119), Muḥammad Bāqir-khurda (MS. 123), the poet Mīr Ḥusayn (MS. 123), the artists 'Abd al-Vahhāb and 'Abd al-'Azīz (MS. 142), and finally 'Alī Aṣghar and

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

F. HERAT

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

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

Ḥusayn and later entered the service of Shībānī-khān (MS. 43, 44).

G. BUKHARA

The court at Bokhara was growing into a center which attracted the artists of Herat. Here, under 'Abd al-'Azīz khān, son of 'Ubaydullāh khān, a *kitāb-khāna* was created where many of them found employment. Service in Bukhara was not always voluntary, as may be seen from the biographies of Mīr 'Alī and his pupil Khwāja Maḥmūd ibn Iṣḥāq, who were forcibly removed to Central Asia after Herat was seized by the army of 'Ubaydullāh khān in 935/1528-29 (MS. 87, 88). Some of the artists, however, joined the *kitāb-khāna* of the Uzbek Maecenas of their own accord, as was the case with Qāḍī Aḥmad's teacher, Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhadī (MS. 94, 95); such instances were probably uncommon, for by that time the religious struggle between the Sunni Uzbeks and the Shī'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: Ḥāfiẓ Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn, nicknamed "the One-eyed" (MS. 106), the artist Aqā Ḥasan Naqqāsh (MS. 143), and the artist Kepek (MS. 149).

I. TABRIZ AND QAZVIN

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

Of the artistic centers just enumerated, with the exception of Mashhad, Qum, and perhaps Herat, the author could hardly have written from personal observation. The picture

is quite different in the passages devoted to “‘Irāq and Āzar-bāyjān,” i.e., to the residences at Tabriz and Qazvin.

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

Similar details are quoted in connection with the second Safavid capital, Qazvin. When speaking of the migration to Qazvin of the master ‘Alī-Riḍā Tabrīzī 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 Aḥmad Mashhadī, 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 completion, 1558–59 and 1561 (MS. 99, 100), and it is stated that the *ayvān* of the Chihil-sutūn was decorated by Shah Tahmāsp himself (MS. 140).

Our author’s close acquaintance with artistic life in Tabriz and Qazvin manifests itself in the number of details quoted in biographies of artists, calligraphers, or simple amateurs connected with the favorite Safavid residences before Shāh ‘Abbās

transferred the capital to Isfahan. Qāḍī 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'il I, whose enthusiasm for art is well known, is hardly reflected in the Treatise, whereas notes relating to the period of Tahmāsp's reign represent a first-hand source for later historical tradition. The numerous parallels between our Treatise and such histories as the *'Ālam-ārā* and the *Sharaf-nāma* are quoted in footnotes to the translation.

The purpose of the present survey being to acquaint the students of art and history with the author and the contents of his Treatise, it has been thought superfluous to subject Qāḍī 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 ⁷¹

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: *nasta'liq*. Binding: pale-brown leather with gold tooling. State of preservation: middling. The initial *'unwān* has not been preserved although signs of it are visible. The end of the MS. is also missing. Many pages are stained, some are torn. Between pages 141 and 142 there is a lacuna. Nearly all the miniatures have suffered more or less from age and careless handling, as well as at the hand of the restorer. The fact that contours of

⁷¹ [This chapter of the Introduction has been rewritten by me. V. M.]

plants and other details originally marked out show through the later layers of paint might suggest that some of the miniatures had been left unfinished and such unfinished parts were painted over at a later date, with some architectural and other details roughly added to them. The older parts, namely the basic composition and the drawing, bear the signs of the fine tradition of the heyday of Iranian painting."⁷²

There are eight miniatures in the manuscript:

1. Above: Yāqūt Mustaʿšimī, 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥayy and his pupil Shaykh Muḥammad Tamīmī; three more figures of pupils (p. 42).

3. Sulṭān-ʿAlī Mashhadī with three pupils, and a man outside the door (p. 59); see here *pl. 4*.

4. Abul-Faḥ Ibrāhīm-mīrzā with three shaykhs and three youths (p. 110).

5. Shah ʿAbbās with Nizām al-dīn ʿAlī-Riḍā Tabrīzī and five musicians and attendants (p. 126).

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. Abul-Faḥ Ibrāhīm-mīrzā with two shaykhs, two musicians, and an attendant (p. 141).

E.—My lamented pupil and friend, Mrs. Clara C. Edwards, herself gave a description of the manuscript⁷³ which, as far as I can remember, she acquired in Persia. In 1949, after the grave illness which had unhappily rendered her further work on the Treatise impossible, her husband, my late friend A. C. Edwards (d. 11 September 1951), having heard of my intention to translate Professor Zakhoder's work, most kindly gave me the MS., which I now quote as *E*. It has 88 folios of 12 bound lines to a page. The size of the pages is 23 × 14

⁷² From the inventory description of the Museum of Oriental Cultures (Moscow).

⁷³ C. C. Edwards, pp. 199–211.

cm., with a written surface of 17×9 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:

<i>M</i> pages	19	42	59	110	121	132	135	141
	(pl. 2)		(pl. 4)			(pl. 5)	(pl. 6)	
<i>E</i> 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 acephalous and lacks the introduction but is otherwise complete. It is written in a cursive 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" Abul-Manşūr Farhād-khān Qaramānlu, 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, later details of the artists' careers have been introduced, especially toward the end of the book. Thus, for example, the appreciation of the general character of such a prominent man as '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 (*khātima*). In *H* this part forms "Chapter IV," whereas the title of *khātima* has been given to a new chapter on the tools and colors used by the artists. Its style is at great variance with the bulk of the text, and it looks as though it were by some different author (see below, p. 195).

N.—During my recent visit to Tehran (May 1954) I heard of the existence of a fourth MS. of Qāḍī Aḥmad's work, in

me a transcript of *H* made in a good modern hand and covering pp. 1–11 and 34–76 of the original. Prof. A. Eghbal presented me with an almost complete typescript of some unspecified MS., on which see the following pages.

the collection of Hājji Husayn Aqā Nakhchevānī in Tabriz, and I saw a copy of it in the possession of the Director of the Public Library in Tehran, Dr. Mahdī Bayānī. It bears the title of *Gulistān-i hunar*, "The Rose-garden of Art," and contains a version similar to that of our MS. *H*, as I now see from the quotations published by Hājji H. Nakhchevānī⁷⁵ (see Post-script on p. 39). I am very grateful to Dr. Bayānī for his kindness in explaining to me a number of difficult terms in Qāḍī Aḥmad's work. Some time later I received from my late friend 'Abbās Eghbāl a typed copy of a MS. of the *Gulistān-i Hunar*, which is unknown to me and which gives a text identical with our *H* (with insignificant abridgements).

As the translation of the first version⁷⁶ of Qāḍī Aḥmad's work was completed, it was found advisable to retain it as the basis of the present publication, while completing it with a series of notes in which all the factual alterations and additions of the second edition have been summed up.

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

⁷⁵ On the MS. belonging to Hājji H. Nakhchevānī, see a notice in *Nashriya-yi dānishkada-yi adabiyāt-i Tabriz*, 1336/spring of 1957, No. 1, pp. 1-12.

⁷⁶ This alone contains the important introduction, as well as a considerable number of poetical quotations which in the second version were omitted to be incorporated in the author's other work (*Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*).

few passages the Russian translation has been used to fill in the gaps.

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

POSTSCRIPT

[In the article quoted above (p. 38) Ḥājjī H. Nakhchevanī gives three quotations from MS. *N* belonging to him. The extracts from the biographies of the calligrapher Ali Riḍā Tabrizī (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. *H*. According to Ḥājjī H. Nakhchevanī, his MS. contains 165 notices of calligraphers and 41 notices of painters. His identification of Qāḍī Aḥmad's father Mir Munshī with Mirza Ḥusayn Munshī, mentioned in the '*Ālam-ārā*, p. 126, is not correct. As shown by Zakhoder (see below, p. 99, note 309) this latter corresponds to Mirza Ḥusayn, son of Khwāja 'Ināyat. Of him the '*Ālam-ārā*, p. 126, says that he was a pupil of 'Alā al-dīn Maṣṣūr, was good at *ta'liq* and *nasta'liq*, was employed in the Royal *Dār al-inshā*, and was capable of writing in shorthand (?) very fast (*kāvāk-nivīsi sarī' al-kitābat*). V. M.]

QĀDĪ AḤMAD'S TREATISE

(Translated from the Persian.)

DEDICATION. EULOGIES ⁷⁷

1. In the name of God, Compassionate and Merciful.

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

Praise and laud joined with sincerity are due the Creator
who (covered) the pages of changing time with the motley
black-and-white design of nights becoming days and days be-
coming nights (*Qor'ān*, III, 26), and thanks and eulogy beyond
imagination befit the Writer of the book of *Nūn! Wal-Qalam
wa mā-yasṭurūna* ⁷⁸ 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 dew from the fountain-head of His bounty.
Praise, O Exalted God, Guardian and Sage,
Who by virtue of Thy wisdom art powerful over all!

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

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

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

⁷⁸ The beginning of the *sūra* LXVIII.

⁷⁹ [With reference to the Prophet, "illiterate," but with the sense of "the one
who needs no learning." Cf. G. Weil, "Mahomet savait-il lire et écrire?"
Travaux du IV^e Congrès des Orientalistes. V. M.]

The sprinklings of whose cup of mercy form the paradisiac fountain Salsabil,
 And in whose sanctuary Gabriel (*Jibrā'il*) is the ethereal bird,

as well as to that family and those felicitous children whose love forms the back of the binding of the folios of creed, and without the paste (*māya*) of whose aid the practice of Religion is unsettled; and especially to the Conqueror-of-lands (i.e., 'Alī), without whose endorsement no worship is accepted in the region of existence, and without submission to whom acts of obedience are not registered on the pages of acceptance.

O Arab King, Lord of the noblemen of yore,⁸⁰
 Son-in-law of the Prophet, who art a collection of noble qualities,
 We mean: the master of the hive⁸¹ and sultan of Najaf,
 A pearl whose peer has not been found in any shell.

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

3. If, for example, some supplicant from among the best of the inhabitants of the Earth asks (something) from Heaven,⁸² 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.

⁸⁰ *Rubā'i*.

⁸¹ *Anglice*: "The Queen of Bees."

⁸² [P. 3 has been supplied from the Russian translation. V. M.]

The great have deigned to express themselves thus :

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

And it has also been said :

If the style of writing is devoid of the signs of beauty,⁸⁴
 It defiles (even) a scrap of paper.

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

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

The most eloquent of interlocutors and the most agreeable of predecessors, Khwāja Shams al-dīn Muḥammad al-Hāfiẓ of Shiraz⁸⁶ expresses himself thus :

By means of talent establish yourself in every heart ;⁸⁷
 This cannot be achieved by a thousand sultanates of beauty.

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

⁸³ Verses in Arabic. Meter: *basīf*.

⁸⁴ Meter: *ramal*.

⁸⁵ *Rubā'ī*.

⁸⁶ Died circa 791/1389-90.

⁸⁷ Meter: *mujtathth*.

⁸⁸ Shah 'Abbās I, who reigned 995-1037/1587-1628.

The entire world has benefited by his generosity,⁸⁹
Especially men of letters and talent,

there has occurred to the feeble mind of this lowly, humble, much-sinning Qāḍī Aḥmad ibn Mīr-Munshī al-Ḥusaynī—may God exalt the rank of both of them,⁹⁰ in the name of the Prophet and his appointed successor!—the thought of writing a goodly treatise on the first appearance of the *qalam* and the invention of writing, with the tracing of the origin of the latter to His Holiness the Shah (i.e., 'Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib), the refuge of sanctity—may God's clemency and peace be on him!—(as well as) on the biographies of each of the masters, artists and all men of talent who are connected with this glorious company and excellent class, or with books and libraries. Thus, despite the distraction of thought, the disorder of external circumstances, the total loss of property and the conscience of every kind of dissipating factor, (this lowly one) has collected, for the time being, some patchy sheets, but truly there has resulted a treatise which is likely to travel from hand to hand among the interested people, and a composition which may find a place in the flourishing *kitāb-khāna* of the Shah of the World and the Khan of the Time, by the side of masters of writing and artists.

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

5. The Shah of the World is a world-conquering Chosroes,
Leading the army of the Lord of the Time.⁹¹

The Shah whose glory is similar to that of Jamshīd, whose troops are as numerous as stars, who is God's shadow, whose descent is from the Prophet called *ummī*,⁹² a caliph by reputation, of sun-like appearance, of Venus-like elevation, of Mercury-like nature, of Jamshīd-like glory,

⁸⁹ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

⁹⁰ I.e., the author, Qāḍī Aḥmad, and his father, Mīr-Munshī.

⁹¹ I.e., of the Twelfth (Hidden) Imām.

⁹² See above, footnote 79.

Father upon father up to God's Envoy

They were in the world kingly Shahs, refugees of the Universe,

arranger of the world, Darius-minded, as evident as the moon, sublime as the celestial vault, *Shāhinshāh* 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 (*Barjīs*) and the magnificence of the Sun; his levies are like stars, his armies like fixed stars; he possesses the throne of Jamshīd, the fortune of victory, the royal halo of Farīdūn with the august vestiges, Alexandrine 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 Jamshīd-like,

6. He sets the foundations of hidden justice,

He is the creator of justice, he both dispenses and submits to justice.

He is Chosroes of blessed appearance and of Bahrām's happiness,

He is just, of sublime descent and good name.

He is destined for the favors of the bounteous God, he is fortified by the Merciful One, he is the Sultan, son of a Sultan, son of a Sultan, and the Khāqān, son of a Khāqān,⁹³ ABŪ MUẒAFFAR SULTĀN SHĀH 'ABBĀS BAHĀDUR-

⁹³ Here the khāqāns are Shah Tahmāsp and Shah Ismā'il, but the suggestion is that the sultanate goes even higher up to Ismā'il's ancestors. [Iḥaydar 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:

7. O God, make this shadow last eternally,
 (While) the Khan of the Time⁹⁴ 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 (*Qor'ān*).

⁹⁴ [Here suddenly begins the praise of Farhād-khān. V. M.]

With a sun-like sword, merging with the firmament, rising up to the Pleiades, companion of Victory, triumphal in his ways and steadfast as a mountain.

(*In Turkish*)

Having the worth of the celestial vault, the khan of praiseworthy nature

Is the Moon of Greatness in the Firmament of Perfection.

His worth is as sublime as the firmament,

On the day of liberality he is a mine of generosity,

A cloud of gifts on the sky of kindness.

From father to father, a khan and a victor,

Himself a lord of success and possessor of the halo (of kingship, *farr*, sic!) and authority (*hang*).

Hail, O Khan of khans, of illustrious house,

Be (our) protector, O most exalted Excellency!

8. The world-arranging Shah distinguished this elect of Fortune with the rank of "sonship"⁹⁵ and exalted him with the appellation (in Arabic): "Thou art of me."

What a khan, who is a leader of khans,

And father upon father is "khan, son of a khan"!

As this felicitous one strongly supports religion,

A coronet, a clime and a throne have been granted to him.

His existence is a joy for the people.

By his kindness every difficulty is solved.

The Creator protects his person,

By (the intercession) of the Prophet, and the "Eight and Four."⁹⁶

The refuge of creatures in the world, master of liberality and generosity,

The hand of his liberality is an April cloud,

Equal to the lowly and the high,

Equitable to the helpless poor,

Haughty with the Lords of thrones.

On the kidneys struck with pain and ailment

His kindly speech acts as a liniment.

When he stretches his hand of kindness out of his pocket,

Hātim-Ṭayy⁹⁷ pulls his hand back into his sleeve.

⁹⁵ At this period Shah 'Abbās (born in 978/1571) was 25 years old.

⁹⁶ I.e., the Twelve Imāms.

⁹⁷ The paragon of Arab generosity.

Hātim is the beggar at his assemblies,
His company is the meeting place of the virtuous.

The right hand of the mighty sultanate and of the brilliant caliphate, the raiser of the banners of justice and generosity, punisher of tyrants and enemies, ABUL-MANŞŪR FARHĀD KHĀN, (*in Arabic*) let his famous threshold remain the refuge of the highest sultans and his high door an asylum of the most distinguished khans. May God—be He praised and exalted—enable him to reach the goal which He intends for him and to spend his days as he likes and pleases, by the merit of him who pronounced the letter *ḍād* 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 Amīr of the Faithful, 'Alī son of Abī-Ṭālib—God's blessings be upon him! Chapter One: On the *thulth* style of writing and those similar to it. Chapter Two: On the style *ta'liq*. Chapter Three: On the style *nasta'liq*. Conclusion: On the biographies of painters, gilders, masters of gold sprinkling and *découpé* (*qiṭ'a*),⁹⁸ 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 Amīr of all Amīrs*⁹⁹

Let it not be concealed from the world-adorning gaze¹⁰⁰ 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

⁹⁸ Restored as in the text, p. 128.

⁹⁹ 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib.

¹⁰⁰ Perhaps a hint at Shah 'Abbās I; cf. the title of the chronicle of his reign entitled "The World-Adorning History of 'Abbās." [Here, *ex abrupto*, begins the slightly altered text of H. V. M.]

Lord, who taught the use of the writing reed"!,¹⁰¹ and the tradition of the Prophet—God's blessing on him and his family!—to the same effect: "The first thing the Lord created was the *qalam*."

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰¹ *Qor'ān*, XCVI, 3-4.

¹⁰² Meter: *hazaj*.

¹⁰³ Meter: *sarī'*.

¹⁰⁴ *Tūz* or *tūzhe* is the bark of *khadang* ("white poplar"?), which was used as a protective layer on bows. It was also used instead of paper (even in the tenth century; see Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, p. 127).

¹⁰⁵ The name of the magician, contemporary with Moses, who, according to the legend, made a talking calf, *Qor'ān*, XX, 90.

¹⁰⁶ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

The *qalam* is an artist and a painter.

God created two kinds of *qalam*:

The one, ravishing the soul, is from a plant

And has become a sugarcane for the scribe;

The other kind of *qalam* is from the animal,

11. And it has acquired its scattering of pearls from the fountain of life.¹⁰⁷

O painter of pictures which would have enticed Mānī!¹⁰⁸

Thanks to you the days of talent have been adorned.

The vegetable *qalam*¹⁰⁹ is the sweetener of the palate of writing inspired by divine generosity, for it is an example of "the noble writers" and (of the mystery) of the letter *nūn*, in "knowledge of certainty."¹¹⁰ The animal *qalam* is (but a) hair by whose enchantment the works of those gifted like Mānī and of the wizards of China and Europe (*Firang*), have settled on the throne of the land of Talent and become artists (*naqsh-band*) in the shop of Destiny. According to an indication, the vegetable *qalam* is the chosen one of the book of Creation, and the elect of that person necessary-by-his-nature, the Arab Prophet, Muḥammad al-Abṭaḥī¹¹¹—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 (*khitta*) 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 Manichæan religion, which in the Middle Ages played an important role in Europe and Asia. According to tradition Mānī (put to death in A.D. 273) was the inventor of a special kind of writing and an artist. Persian literature often uses Mānī, as it does Behzād, as a symbol of the ideal artist.

¹⁰⁹ [The following paragraph omitted in Zakhoder's translation has been restored from H. V. M.]

¹¹⁰ *Qor'ān*, LXXXII, 11, and CII, 5.

¹¹¹ [*Abṭaḥ*, bed of torrent between Mecca and Medina, Yāqūt, I, 92. V.M.]

¹¹² [A hint at the *ḥadīth*: "Ali with regard to me is in the position of Aaron (*Hārūn*) to Moses." V.M.]

The Lion of God, King of Sanctity, 'Ali,
Expunger of the "large and small"¹¹³ 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 Murtaḍā 'Ali in writing¹¹⁴
Was (to reproduce) not merely speech, letters and dots,
But fundamentals, purity and virtue¹¹⁵
For this reason he deigned to point to good writing.

Other great men have said:

12. 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

¹¹³ Terms applied to writing.

¹¹⁴ Meter: *khafif*. Here ends the passage omitted in Zakhoder.

¹¹⁵ These three lines are also found in Sulṭān-'Alī's treatise. See below, p. 108.

¹¹⁶ In Persian *khafṭ* means both "writing" and "down."

¹¹⁷ Meter: true *mutaqārib*.

¹¹⁸ This passage has been restored from Fathullāh, fol. 4a, where the same tradition is quoted: "the possessor of accomplishments" refers to the class of *literati*.

¹¹⁹ Meter: *hazaj*.

from affliction, the writing is good. It is said: "Good speech conquers hearts, and excellent writing clears the eyes." If someone, whether he can read or not, sees a good writing, he likes to enjoy the sight of it. The Prophet has also said: "Know that writing is revealed only by the teaching of a teacher, and proficiency in writing depends on exercise, and on practice in joining letters. The teacher's duty is to shun what is forbidden and to observe the prayers, but the basis of writing is in the knowledge of single letters." Certain great sages have said: "The essence of writing is in the spirit, even though it is manifested by means of the limbs." And others have said: "A beautiful handwriting is a fortune for the needy one, an adornment for the rich man, perfection for the administrator (governor)." [Therefore he whose soul (*H*, p. 3) is free from affliction, envy, and hatred, and other similar defects, writes well and neatly, and in the contrary case, badly.] The sage Plato says: "Writing is the geometry of the soul, and it manifests itself by means of the organs of the body." For this reason Plato did not connect writing necessarily with the hand, or make it the slave of the hand, for it involves all the limbs of the body. This lowly one has seen a man who had lost both hands: Holding the *qalam* with his toes this man wrote excellently. It is also possible to acquire the habit of holding the *qalam* in one's mouth. (In such matters) habit prevails.

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

¹²⁰ A mythical shah of the Pishdādian dynasty. Epic tradition glorifies him as the conqueror of monster-dīvs, hence his appellation, *Dīvband*, "one who holds the dīvs in bonds." For the same tradition regarding him as the originator of writing, see *Fārs-nāma*, 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, Berberi, *Andalusi, Chinese, Coptic, Nabataean, wooden,¹²³ Greek, Himyaritic, Syriac, Thamūdī, lapidary,¹²⁴ Rūmī, Rūmī-open, Kūfī, Ma'qilī, Jafri, Indian, Persian, Georgian. These were the letters in existence among the people and which were used for correspondence. Previous to the time when Persian writing came to be used and the universe was embellished, as in our days, with wonderful letters and tracings, there was the *ma'qilī* writing which consisted of straight (*saḥī?*) lines with no rotundity (*daurī*) in it; the best *ma'qilī* writing is that in which one can distinguish blackness from whiteness.¹²⁵

14. Then that writing which, like kohl, cleared the sight of men of understanding with divine revelation (*H* 4) and the commands and prohibitions of His Holiness the prophet—God's prayer on him and his family!—was the *kūfī* writing. And there exist tracings by the miraculous *qalams* of His Holiness the Shah, the Refuge of Sanctity (i.e., 'Alī) 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 [*H*: Yāfī'ī (d. in 768/1367) in his history, in connection with the name of 'Alī b. Hilāl, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb, says that all the systems of writing of various eastern and western nations are 12 in number: Arabic, Ḥimyarī, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew, Rūmī (Latin), Coptic, Berberi, Andalusian, Indian, and Chinese, and in other books 8 others are (also) mentioned: Thamūdī, Ḥajarī (Jafri?), Rūmī, Maṣlūb (Maqlūb ?), Kūfī, Ma'qilī (?), Ja'fari, and Georgian. V. M.]

¹²³ An example of "wooden" writing is in the well-known passage of the *Fihrist* on Russian writing (20, 21), see Fraehn, *Izvestiya*, t. 3 (1835).

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

¹²⁵ The term translated by the word "whiteness" (*bayāḍ*) designates the shape of the white spot surrounded by lines in such letters as the Kufic *alif*, 'ayn, *fā*, *qāf*. See *M*, p. 77, and Faṭhullāh's Treatise, fol. 34b: "The white spot of the *fā* resembles the grain of sesame." [This passage is indistinct in *H*. The term *ma'qilī* remains obscure. This writing is also mentioned in Dūst Muḥammad, p. 9. According to him, Adam already wrote on skins; Enoch possibly wrote in Syriac and Hebrew; after that, 'Arab b. Qaḥṭān altered the writing from *ma'qilī* to *kūfī*. Dr. M. Bayānī tells me that *ma'qilī* was a writing similar to *kūfī* and was used in Basra where there is a canal called *Ma'qil*. V. M.]

None wrote better than that Holiness—God’s blessing on him!
—and the most excellent *kūfī* is that which he has traced—
God’s peace on him!

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

The warrant of the art of writing is good behavior,¹²⁶

Consequently Murtaḍā ‘Alī has existed (?) from the beginning.

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

Of whom was it said “writing is one-half of knowledge”¹²⁷

By the chief of prophets in knowledge and clemency?

It was (said of) the writing of Murtaḍā ‘Alī,

And therefore the Prophet said “one-half of knowledge.”

Murtaḍā is truly the lord of saints.

In the days of the usurpation of the caliphs

He made seclusion his distinctive sign:

In order to escape for a time from unnecessary converse

For most of the time he wrote the Qor’ān.

Hence writing received dignity, greatness, and honor.

Such writing! How could it be within the power of humanity!

15. That was a different pen and a different hand!

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

Had there been no engrossment in writing,¹²⁸

How would the bright meanings and soul-improving thoughts blossom forth?

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

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

¹²⁷ Meter: *khafīf*. Also by Sulṭān-‘Alī, see below, p. 108.

¹²⁸ Meter: *mujtathth*.

Heavens, the commander of the faithful, ḤASAN,¹²⁹—God's blessing be on him!—who used to transcribe the Qor'ān.¹³⁰ One Qor'ān in the writing of His Holiness was in the library of the King, whose dwelling is now in Paradise, in the highest sphere of heaven, SULTĀN-SHĀH ṬAḤMĀSP AL-ḤUSAYNĪ¹³¹ of eternal memory—may God sanctify his tomb—who attached no importance to titles and external commendations, but glorified himself with titles which he considered the pride of his throne, such as: "The dust of the threshold of His Holiness the Best of Men (i.e., 'Alī)," or "propagator of the creed of Twelve Imāms," or "the own and faithful slave of His Holiness the Prince of the Faithful, Ḥaydar, father of eternity."

Among the pure imāms—God's blessings be on them all!—His Holiness the Fourth Imām, the adornment of the pious, the *qibla* of the devout, and the leader of those who prostrate themselves, ZAYN AL-'ĀBIDĪN, and His Holiness the Eighth Imām, the seventh *qibla*, to whom we owe obedience and purity,

The martyr of the land of Khorasan, the fragrant and pure Imām,¹³²
'ALĪ, SON OF MŪSĀ, son of Ja'far, son of Muḥammad Bāqir,

wrote excellently and set standards in writing. There exist copies of the Qor'ān in their noble writing.¹³³

¹²⁹ Son of 'Alī.

¹³⁰ [H adds: "and during the usurpation of (Mu'āwiya)—on him be curses—he lived in seclusion and wrote the Qor'ān."]

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

¹³² Meter: *mujtathth*.

¹³³ [H, p. 5, adds: "He used to transcribe the Qor'ān in Sanābād of Tūs, which is at present Mashhad, at a place which is now called the madrasa of Qadamgāh. From a sum given as a present, the lands known as Ghul-gāh, situated near the sanctuary of Mashhad, were bought and made into *vagf* for the burial of Muslims. These lands are by the side of the place where the body of that Holiness (the Eighth Imām?) was washed. At this place there stands now a mosque which is a place of pilgrimage and worship. In the year 966/1558–59 the late shah sent 100 tomans of Tabriz to the Mīr-Munshī, father of the present writer, who at that time was the vazir of the late Abul-Faḥ Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzhā, in order that that place should be enclosed with a wall, with a gateway, and that people should not pass through there and asses should not be brought in. Many dervishes and virtuous people are buried in that place of burial (*maqbara*?) and Shaykh 'Alī Ṭabarsī is one of them."]

CHAPTER ONE ¹³⁴

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

16. May it not be hidden from the minds of the clear-sighted that IBN-MUQLA was the inventor of the "six styles of writing (*sitta*).” In 310/922–923 he took the circle for the basis of writing, introduced (this invention) instead of the *kūfī* and taught it. These six styles are: *thulth*, *naskh*, *muḥaqqaq*, *rayḥān*, *tauqīʿ*, and *riqāʿ*.¹³⁵ Ibn-Muqla who held the office of vazir to the Abbasid al-Rāḍī,¹³⁶ was born on the eve of Thursday, 21 Shawwāl 272/31 March 866, and died in the capital of the caliphate, Baghdad, in 328/939–940.¹³⁷

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

¹³⁴ [Here begins the text available in *E*.]

¹³⁵ [*H*, p. 6. Ibn-Muqla’s invention was based on measurement in dots: (a) *muḥaqqaq* has 1½ parts of circular strokes and 4½ of straight (*saṭḥ*) lines, and by its straightness reminds one of the *kūfī* and *maʿqilī*; (b) *rayḥān* is similar to *muḥaqqaq* in design but by its roundness resembles sweet basil; (c) in *thulth* the proportion is 2:4; (d) *naskh* follows the proportion (?) of *thulth*; it owes its name to the fact that Qorʿāns and books are written in it and that it has canceled (*naskh*) other writings; (e) in *tauqīʿ* the proportion is half and half; qāḍīs keep their documents (*siḡillāt*), which are submitted to confirmation (*tauqīʿ*), in this writing; (f) *riqāʿ* is smaller than *tauqīʿ*, though it is difficult to distinguish between them; it is used for letters (*ruqʿa*). Moreover, if you write with a larger pen the writing is *tūmār*, and if the pen is finer the writing is *ghubār* (“dust”). Thus the number of styles becomes eight, but the basic styles for which the inventor has set canons, are six.]

¹³⁶ Caliph in 322–329/934–940.

¹³⁷ Abū-ʿAlī Muḥammad ibn-ʿAlī ibn-Muqla, known as Ibn-Muqla, was several times vazir to Abbasid caliphs, once under al-Muqtadir, once under al-Qāhir, and twice under al-Rāḍī. On the MSS. of his work see al-Nadīm, *K. al-Fihrist*, pp. 91, 125, 130. Ibn-Muqla’s career had a tragic end: he fell into disgrace, was imprisoned, and finally executed. In prison his right hand was cut off; according to tradition, Ibn-Muqla continued to write with his left hand so well that his writing was indistinguishable from that which he wrote before with his right. See *Tajārib al-salaf*, pp. 210–211.

styles of writing. He wrote excellently and was esteemed by sultans and enjoyed favor and high rank. He was the first of the masters to write admirably, following and realizing what Ibn-Muqla—God's gratitude for his labors!—invented and established. None equaled him, either in his time or after him. Down to the time of Musta'sim¹³⁸ and the rise of Yāqūt, writing and copying was done according to the canons of Ibn-Bawwāb.¹³⁹

[Jamāl al-dīn] YĀQŪT AL-MUSTA'ŠIMĪ, the cynosure of calligraphers, was the slave of the Abbasid Musta'sim, the last of the usurper caliphs.¹⁴⁰ He was a native of Abyssinia.¹⁴¹

17. In the art of writing he followed the tradition of Ibn-Bawwāb, but in the trimming of the *qalam* and in the clipping of its nib he altered the manner of the earlier masters, while he drew his guidance from the marvelous words of His Holiness the Shah, the Refuge of Sanctity—God's peace be on him!—namely:¹⁴² "Cut the *qalam* so that its point be long, and leave it thick; cut the end of the *qalam* at an angle,¹⁴³ after which it should ring like the ringing of Mashriqī's sword." And this Mashriqī, they say, was a man who made sword blades known for their excellency and quality; when someone trying out his blade struck something, he cut it in two, and if the blade was set in motion, it vibrated and there was heard a ringing of extreme acuteness. Therefore it is best that the end

¹³⁸ Caliph in 640–656/1242–58.

¹³⁹ According to the treatise of Fathullāh, ff. 6a–7b, the succession of the masters of the "six" styles of writing was the following: After Ibn-Muqla, his two sons, 'Alī and 'Abdullāh, having inherited their father's proficiency, improved on it. 'Alī specialized in the style *muḥaqqaq*, and 'Abdullāh in *naskh*. They were followed by the master Ibn al-'Aṣā, after whom came Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Hilāl (Ibn Khallikān, I, 691, spells: Hilāl), known as ibn-Bawwāb, who according to Ibn Khallikān died in 413/1022. *Tajārib al-salaf*, p. 208, quotes the following remark, as coming from Yāqūt: "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 Shī'ites call the caliphs who ruled after 'Alī's death (in 661).

¹⁴¹ Huart, p. 84, takes Yāqūt to have been a native of Amasia in Asia Minor(?).

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

¹⁴³ Huart, p. 85, translates the term *muḥarraf* 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

18. extreme elegance and beauty:

My enchantress writes in six styles, without any trouble:¹⁴⁴
Thulth, *rayḥān*, *muḥaqqaq*, *naskh*, *tauqī'*, and *riqā'*.

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

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

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

The fundamentals (*uṣūl*), the ligatures (*tarkīb*), the support
 * *kurrās* (?) and interrelation (*nisbat*),¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Meter: *ramal*.

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

The upstroke (*su'ūd*) and *tashmīr* ("renvoi"), the downstroke (*nuzūl*) and the flourish (*īrsāl*).

Having become the *qibla* of calligraphers, Yāqūt made a practice of copying two *juz'*¹⁴⁶ of the Qor'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 (*muḥaqqaq*) for anyone¹⁴⁷

That the sweet basil (*rayḥān*) of his down (i.e., writing) ravishes the heart.

His writing (*riqā'*) has been approved by Time.

By his decree (*tauqī'*) magic has been dispelled.

His dust (*ghubār*) on the borders of silvery silk

Is like down on a charming face.¹⁴⁸

When Hulagu-khān seized Baghdad (in 656/1258) and the Mongol army sacked the town, Yāqūt fled to a minaret (cf. *pls.* 2 and 3). He took with him ink and a *qalam*, but he had no paper for practicing. All he had was a towel of Baalbeki *mithqalī* linen,¹⁴⁹ and so he wrote a few words on that towel in such a manner that looking at them one is seized with

guise of a five-line stave on which separate characters are disposed. The *kursī* determined a strict proportion in the interrelation of parts of the letter to the line. Hence the meaning of the word in contemporary Persian: "beauty, elegance." The term *nisbat*, translated as "interrelation," means in the calligraphic sense the harmony of design between the "fundamentals of the letters," the relation of the actual script to the "white spaces," etc. The term *su'ūd*, "upstroke," and *nuzūl*, "downstroke," designate two movements of the *qalam* on the same line up and down. The downstroke when separated from the upstroke often has its own rules of tracing. The term *tashmīr* or *shamra*, according to Faḥḥullāh's definition, means literally to tuck up, to roll up (the hem of a robe, etc.), and technically means "to make the end (tail) of a letter curved and fine." The last term, *īrsāl*, which in Arabic means "letting off," according to Faḥḥullāh designates the stroke used either at the end of a line, or in the middle of the line of the *naskh* style [a "flourish"—V. M.]

¹⁴⁶ One-thirtieth part of the Qor'ān.

¹⁴⁷ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

¹⁴⁸ The whole verse is made up of puns on the double meaning of the names applied to the styles of writing; see above, p. 56.

¹⁴⁹ Russian "mitkal"; (see K. Inostrantsev, "From the History of Old Textiles," ZVO, vol. 13, p. 85).

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-Faḥ Bahrām-mīrẓā¹⁵⁰—may God refresh his grave! The world-conquering Prince used to give this piece of material to the Mīr-Munshī, 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

20. of material and I seem to remember that the writing was sufficiently straight (*sath?*) for it really to be ascribed to his (Yāqūt's) wizardry and magic. Some relate that Yāqūt made the tracings on that towel with his forefinger, foregoing the use of the *qalam*. The following, too, is common knowledge: When Yāqūt 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." Yāqūt replied: "Do not worry, I have written a sufficient quantity of what is worth the whole world." Yāqūt lived very long, over a century. He departed this life in the beginning of the sultanate of Ghāzān-khān,¹⁵¹ in the city of Islam, Baghdad, in 696/1296. His tomb is beside that of Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal.¹⁵²

21. Of his pupils six were outstanding and earned the right to sign the name of Yāqūt on their calligraphic works. They are called "masters of the *sitta*." The first of them was the son of SHAYKH SUHRAVARDĪ,¹⁵³ born in Baghdad. There the inscriptions on buildings are mainly his work; in the cathedral mosque of Baghdad he wrote the entire *sūrat* "*al-Kahf*,"¹⁵⁴ and the stonemasons reproduced it in relief, without embellishments, merely with baked bricks. The second was ARGHŪN

¹⁵⁰ See Introduction, p. 3, n. 20.

¹⁵¹ Ghāzān-khān ruled 696–703/1295–1304. The date given in our source for the death of Yāqūt does not agree with that given by Huart, p. 86, and Aḥmad Mūsā, p. 88. The latter, who utilized a number of Arabic manuscripts, gives 699/1299.

¹⁵² According to Huart, Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal, a famous jurist and theologian, was buried in Baghdad; by the side of his grave is that of Ibn-Bawwāb.

¹⁵³ Huart, pp. 89–90, mentions Shaykh Suhrawardī himself. A Qor'ān copied by him in 718/1318 is preserved in St. Sophia (Stamboul).

¹⁵⁴ The 18th chapter of the Qor'ān, containing 110 verses.

KĀMIL,¹⁵⁵ who is also one of the celebrities. There are in Baghdad two madrasas, both faced with glazed bricks (one is the "Marjāniya," the other is "beside the bridge"); in both there are his writings. The third pupil was NAṢRULLĀH, a doctor of medicine; the inscriptions on some buildings in Baghdad are of his work. The fourth was MUBĀRAK-SHĀH ZARĪN-QALAM. He wrote with great delicacy and purity. It is reported that when Sultan Uvays the Jalāyirid¹⁵⁶ had erected buildings in the revered Najaf, he dreamed one night of His Holiness the Shah, the Refuge of Sanctity (i.e., 'Alī), who deigned to command him: "Direct Mubārak-shāh to write in the buildings." For this reason he was nicknamed *zarīn-qalam* ("golden pen"), and under this name acquired wide renown. He was a native of that pleasant country, the God-protected and famous Tabriz. The fifth was YŪSUF MASHHADĪ.¹⁵⁷ He served Yāqūt for a long time, and toward the end of his life left 'Irāq for Āzarbāyjān, where he took up residence in Tabriz, the capital, and spent the remainder of his days in practicing calligraphy and writing. 'Abdullāh Ṣayrafi (see below, p. 62) was his pupil. The sixth calligrapher was SAYYID ḤAYDAR, *gunda-navīs*, i.e., "writer in large characters,"¹⁵⁸ who did excellent work. He was possessed and used to be rapt in ecstasy. Those who studied under him also became masters of writing and achieved perfection, such as the vazir KHWĀJA 'ALĪ-SHĀH,¹⁵⁹ and KHWĀJA GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD IBN RASHĪD;¹⁶⁰ they both were his pupils, both became masters of calligraphy, attained the highest ranks and

¹⁵⁵ Huart, p. 88: 'Abdullāh Arghūn, d. 744/1343-44.

¹⁵⁶ Ruled 760-776/1358-74, known as a patron of the arts and as a good calligraphist. See Markov, *Katalog Dzhelairidskih monet*, pp. XII-XVII.

¹⁵⁷ Huart, pp. 88-89: Yūsuf Khorāsānī died at the same time as Yāqūt.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88: *Kende-navīs*, the explanation of this term being similar to ours. The transcription which we have adopted results from the spelling indicated in the text of *M* and *H*.

¹⁵⁹ Tāj al-dīn Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī-shāh Tabrīzī, d. 724/1324, vazir to the Chingizids Ōljeytū and Abū-Sa'īd. On his building activity in Tabriz see Tiesenhansen, "O mecheti Ali-shaha v Tavrizе," ZVO, vol. 1, pp. 114-118.

¹⁶⁰ Vazir to the Chingizid Abū-Sa'īd, appointed vazir in 728/1327-28. See Khwāndamīr, *Iḥābīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, pp. 122-124.

dignities and achieved every kind of success. But 'Abdullāh Şayrafī 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 *muḥaqqaq*, *rayḥān*, *naskh*, *riqā'*, and *tauqī'* that some specimens of his calligraphy are more refined and delicate than those of Yāqūt. His self-assurance is expressed in the words he addressed to his son: "Exert yourself! If you cannot (write) like me, then write like that slave of no account (*ghulāmak*)," i.e., Yāqūt.¹⁶¹

After the masters of the *sitta* come their pupils. Among them are:¹⁶² PĪR YAḤYĀ ŞŪFĪ, pupil of Mubārak-shāh Zarīn-qalam,¹⁶³ who was a Şūfī by creed and in his way of life (*şāḥib-mashrab*), and spent his time with Şūfī shaykhs. His work (is to be found) on many buildings of the revered Najaf—a thousand prayers and blessings on the one reposing there! He was in the service of the Jalāyirid and Ilkhānid sultans.¹⁶⁴ 'ABDULLĀH ŞAYRAFĪ, son of Khwāja Maḥmūd Şarrāf of Tabriz, the Yāqūt of his time, also studied under Sayyid Ḥaydar (see above, p. 61). He had great talent for inscriptions and began by being a master in the making of glazed tiles (*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 Amīr Suldūz Chūbānī (read: *Chūbān Suldūz*). 'Abdullāh was a contemporary of Sultan Abū-Sa'īd

¹⁶¹ Yāqūt was a slave-servant (*ghulam*) of the caliph Musta'sim.

¹⁶² [*H*, p. 9, begins the list with the names of Sulaymān Nīshāpūrī and Sayyid Sharaf al-dīn Shīrāzī. The latter lived at the time of Muḥammad Ōljeytū, who appointed him as teacher to his son Abū-Sa'īd, made governor of Khorasan. Abū-Sa'īd treated Sharaf al-dīn with much esteem: he went on foot to his house and on arrival did not allow his master to stand up.]

¹⁶³ Huart, p. 93: Pīr Yaḥyā Şūfī was a pupil of 'Abdullāh Şayrafī. [*H* adds: "pupil of Mubārak-shāh and Aḥmad Rūmī."]

¹⁶⁴ [*H* adds: "and of the Amīr Chūbān (of the) Suldūz who are a tribe of Mongolian Turks. After the death of Sultan Abū-Sa'īd, Malik Ashraf, a grandson of Amīr Chūbān, and some others of the same family, ruled for a few days; they are called *Chūbānī*."]

ibn-Öljeytü¹⁶⁵ and of the Chübānids. In Tabriz the inscription on the arches of the madrasa of the Chübānid Dimishq are his; on the road to Baliyān-kūh,¹⁶⁶ in the mosque near the Sulaymāniya chapel (*buq'a*) this verse laid in Chinese tiles outside the window is in his writing, and without exaggeration no writing of such beauty has ever been seen:

In Arabic: These sites, traces and ruins¹⁶⁷

Relate that those men have already departed.

Mīrzā-Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh,¹⁶⁸ a recognized master of the *thulth* style, sent someone to Tabriz with orders that the following holy verse in 'Abdullāh's hand on a stone should be removed by stoncutters from its site and set up in the court of the building which stands in the midst of the cathedral mosque of the royal town, Shiraz, and was built at the time of the 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."¹⁶⁹

HĀJJĪ MUḤAMMAD BAND-DŪZ [Tabrizī] was a pupil of Ṣayrafi.¹⁷⁰ From Ṣayrafi, too, the master MU'IN AL-DĪN

¹⁶⁵ Amīr Chübān Suldūz, member of the high Mongol aristocracy, married to close relatives of the Chingizid Ilkhāns; at the beginning of Abū-Sa'īd's reign he enjoyed complete power in state affairs. In 728/1327 Abū-Sa'īd exterminated many members of the family but after his death in 736/1335 the power in Āzarbāyjan and Diyār-bakr was seized by the surviving Chübānids. The short period of their rule was marked by numerous feudal struggles.

¹⁶⁶ Baliyān or Valiyān-kūh is the mountain overlooking Tabriz. It became part of Tabriz when Ghāzān-khān had a wall built around the town (*Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 78; transl., p. 81).

¹⁶⁷ Meter: *ṭawīl*.

¹⁶⁸ According to Daulat-shāh, p. 380, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, son of Shāhrukh and grandson of Timur, died in 834/1430-31. Judging by p. 29 of our MS., this is hardly correct. According to Ṣanī' al-daula, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣiri*, vol. 2, p. 58, this Timurid died in 838/1434-35.

¹⁶⁹ *Qor'an*, LIV, 54-55.

¹⁷⁰ [*H*, p. 10, adds: "The master calligrapher Mu'in al-din maulānā *shaykh Muḥammad Band-gīr* (?) entered the service of Amīr Timūr in 788/1386. When Timūr was sending an epistle (*kitābat*) to the King of Egypt he ordered the maulānā to write it in liquid gold and this epistle was 3 cubits (*dhar'*) wide and 70 cubits long and was taken to Egypt by the Egyptian envoy. *Hājjī Muḥammad* was also a pupil of Ṣayrafi and received from him the permission

ḤĀJJĪ MUḤAMMAD received permission to sign the name (of his teacher?). The inscriptions of the Chahār-Minār in the capital, Tabriz, are in Mu'in al-din's writing. He was the teacher of MAULĀNĀ SHAMS AL-DĪN MASHRIQĪ QATṬĀ'Ī. After him (Mu'in al-din?) his sons, 'ABD AL-ḤAYY, 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM KHALVATĪ, and his (?) pupil MAULĀNĀ JA'FAR TABRĪZĪ¹⁷¹ were full masters in the realm of calligraphy.

24. Another famous master of calligraphy was 'OMAR AQTĀ';¹⁷² he had no right hand and with his left filled the pages in such a manner that the eyes of experts were filled with wonder and the reason of sages was troubled by the contemplation of them. For the Lord of the Time, Amīr Timūr Gurkān,¹⁷³ he wrote a copy (of the Qor'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, (Timūr) did not approve of it or accept it and did not deign to favor him. 'Omar Aqṭa' 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, MAULĀNĀ MA'RŪF KHAṬṬĀT-I BAGHDĀDĪ,¹⁷⁴ was the coryphaeus of the calligraphers of his

to sign (in his master's?) name, etc." This possibly indicates the confusion of two Muḥammads. On Timūr's letter to Sulṭān Faraj, see Huart, pp. 92-93, who also reflects some confusion of the names: Ḥājjī Muḥammad Band-dūz of Sīstān (?) and Amīr Muḥammad Badr al-din of Tabriz. V. M.]

¹⁷¹ [H: "After him his sons 'Abdul-Ḥayy and 'Abdul-Raḥīm, as well as Maulānā Ja'far Tabrīzī, were pupils of Maulānā Shams al-din."]

¹⁷² *Aqṭa'*, "a man one of whose hands has been cut off."

¹⁷³ The "Tamerlane" of European tradition (*Gurkān* is a traditional misreading of Turkish *kürākān*, "son-in-law"). Timūr died in 736/1335-1405.

¹⁷⁴ I.e., a master calligrapher of Baghdad. Cf. Samarqandī, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, p. 589 (after Ḥāfiz-i Abur).

time and a rarity of the ages. Apart from calligraphy, he was extremely gifted in all arts and crafts, was a man of great parts and capacity, and composed good poetry. Having turned away from the Jalāyirid Sultan Aḥmad¹⁷⁵ in Baghdad, he went to Isfahan to the Timurid Mirzā Iskandar, son of Mirzā 'Omar-Shaykh,¹⁷⁶ and became an important and respected member of his library. It is reported that in one day he wrote fifteen¹⁷⁷ 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 maulānā 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 'Irāq,¹⁷⁸ Mirzā Shāh-rukh¹⁷⁹ took the maulānā away to his capital, Herat, issued a decree for him to be his scribe, gave him a situation in the *kitāb-khāna*, and entrusted him with writing. The maulānā was a sweet-spoken conversationalist. He wore yellow (*'aṣali*) felt garments and on his head a high cap (*tāqīya*) of the same material with a bandeau wound around it.¹⁸⁰ Young men of talent in the capital, Herat, such as MAULĀNĀ RUHULLĀH [*H: Ruḥ al-a'imma*] KHWĀRAZMĪ, and others, entertained friendship with Maulānā Ma'rūf, some for the sake of train-

¹⁷⁵ The well-known opponent of Tīmūr, Ghiyāth al-dīn Aḥmad, reigned 784–813/1382–1410 and was a patron of the arts; see Markov, p. XXII.

¹⁷⁶ The Timurid Iskandar ruled in Fars 812–817/1409–14. (Rieu, *Catalogue of Pers. MSS.*, p. 634a.)

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Huart, p. 216.

¹⁷⁸ Central Persia is meant here ('Irāq-i 'Ajami).

¹⁷⁹ Shāhrukh, son of Tīmūr (807–850/1404–47), endeavored to reunite the possessions in Iran and Central Asia which had disintegrated after the conqueror's death.

¹⁸⁰ Huart, p. 215, in describing Ma'rūf's clothing, apparently translates the same expression (*ad sensum*): "he wore a huge felt turban." [See Samarqandī, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, p. 590: *alif-i namad bar gird-i ān pīchīdī*. Here *alif* (?) stands for *laff*. V. M.]

ing in writing, and others for the sake of his conversation. The maulānā was a man of noble nature and complete self-control (*khwīsh-tan-dār*). Mīr-zā Bāysunqur, son of Mīr-zā Shāhrukh,¹⁸¹ ordered the maulānā to transcribe the "Quintet of poems" of Shaykh Niẓāmī¹⁸² and sent him some paper. The maulānā kept the paper for about a year and a half and then sent it back to the Mīr-zā, who was greatly angered. By the coincidence of days and events, in those very same days the maulānā was suspected of complicity with Aḥmad Lur, who had struck Shāhrukh with a knife in the cathedral mosque of 26. the capital, Herat. He was seized, and the majority of talented young men who had often visited him turned away from him, and the invidious extorted money from them. Maulānā Ma'aruf was several times brought to the foot of the gallows, and finally imprisoned in the dungeon (*chāh*) of the Ikhtiyār al-dīn fortress.¹⁸³

MAULĀNĀ 'ABDULLĀH ṬABBĀKH was a native of the capital, Herat. There he achieved success, rose to eminence and became known in all countries. He wrote admirably and was a remarkable master in "gold sprinkling" and restoration (*vaṣṣālī*). In the majority of buildings of Herat, especially in the Gāzargāh, there is some of his writing. In the Holy Mashhad, equal in dignity to the highest heaven, in the building called Aghache, in honor of Aghache-begum [*H*: erected by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqara], the inscriptions are by his hand.

¹⁸¹ Timurid, d. 837/1433. See Ṣanī' al-daula, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣiri*, vol. 2, p. 57, and Barbier de Meynard, *J.As.*, vol. 20 (1862), p. 273 n. 2, on the mistake in the date quoted by N. V. Khanikoff, *ibid.*, vol. 15 (1860), p. 542.

¹⁸² Famous poet of the twelfth century.

¹⁸³ The attempt on Shāhrukh's life made by Aḥmad Lur took place in February 1427 (A.H. 830). The criminal was torn to pieces on the threshold of the mosque, and in his clothing was found the key to the room in the caravansarai where he lived. In connection with the affair of this darvish, numerous arrests were made. Among those suspected of being accessories was the famous calligrapher Ma'rūf. He was several times brought to the foot of the gallows, and he owed his life to his exceptional talent and the intercession of men in power. See Mu'in al-dīn Isfīzārī, in Barbier de Meynard, *J.As.*, vol. 20 (1862), pp. 271-72. The Ikhtiyār al-dīn fortress which guarded Herat to the north of the town, is situated on the road to Mashhad (*ibid.*, p. 471, n. 1). [*H* speaks again of Ma'rūf's accomplishments and quotes from his *qaṣīda* composed in reply to Salmān Sāvajī.]

MAULĀNĀ NI'MATULLĀH [b. Muḥammad] BAWWĀB was a pupil of 'Abd al-Rahīm Khalvatī (see above, p. 64). He wrote very beautifully. In Tabriz in the exalted chapel (*buq'a*) *Muẓaffariya*, which was built by [Muẓaffar al-dīn] Jihānshāh-mīrẓā,¹⁸⁴ the inscriptions are by his hand.

MAULĀNĀ SHAMS AL-DĪN II was a pupil of Ni'matullāh Bawwāb. He also wrote with great excellence.

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

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

27. AMĪR MAJD AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM was a recognized master of calligraphy. He is connected with Ḥāhīrī (*sic*)¹⁸⁵ and was also a native of Shiraz.

MAULĀNĀ MAḤMŪD SIYĀVUSH and MAULĀNĀ PĪR-MUḤAMMAD II were both natives of Shiraz and were contemporaries. Most of the inscriptions of the madrasas of Shiraz and of some of the local mosques toward 920/1514–15 are their work.

MAULĀNĀ SHAMS AL-DĪN ḤĀHĪR, MAULĀNĀ RŪZBIHĀN, MĪR 'ABD AL-QĀDIR ḤUSAYNĪ, and ḤĀFĪẒ 'ABDULLĀH were calligraphers of Shiraz. The majority of local inscriptions belong to them and remains of their (work) are numerous. Most of the renowned calligraphers in Fars, Khorasan, Kirman, and 'Irāq "are eaters of crumbs from their table."¹⁸⁶

MAULĀNĀ SHAMS BĀYSUNQURĪ was one of the choicest masters of writing; he wrote extremely well in the "six styles" in which he followed step by step the cynosure of calligraphers,

¹⁸⁴ Sultan of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty, ruled 841–872/1437–67. The reference is to the celebrated Blue Mosque (*Gök-masjid*) or to some building attached to it. [On Bawwāb's signature, see Sauvaget, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 5, part 1 (1938), p. 105.]

¹⁸⁵ According to Huart, p. 252, Maulānā Maḥmūd Siyāvush and Maulānā Pīr-Muḥammad II were connected with Ḥāhīr of Ardabil(?).

¹⁸⁶ Meter: *khafif*.

Yāqūt. He wrote very delicately, correctly, and agreeably. This humble one compared his writing with that of the seven masters¹⁸⁷ and it proved not inferior to any of them. He was the teacher of Bāysunqur-mīrzā. The inscriptions in the buildings of the Holy Mashhad are mostly of his writing. He rendered famous the writing of his pupil MĪRZĀ BĀYSUNQUR, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh. 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 "Bāysunqurī." He traced the inscriptions of the cathedral mosque of the Holy Mashhad, which is one of the foundations erected by Gauhar-shād begum,¹⁸⁸ his mother. The cleverest of sages and the most learned of historians, Maulānā Nūr al-dīn Luṭfullāh, known as Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū Haravī, wrote in honor of Mīrzā Bāysunqur a history entitled *Zubdat at-tavārīkh al-Bāysunqurī*.¹⁸⁹ This book is highly valued in the inhabited quarter of the world. Mīrzā (Bāysunqur) was a fine connoisseur and good judge of the fine (arts); of the children of Mīrzā Shāhrukh and of his cousins he was the best.¹⁹⁰ He also wrote poetry and intended to adopt the pseudonym of *Shāhī* ("royal"). Amīr Shāhī Sabzavārī, the sovereign of the rhyme, was his contemporary.¹⁹¹ Contesting the *takhalluṣ* of the Mīrzā he sent him this *ghazal*:

O thou, who ceaselessly ringest the goblet at the feast of joy,¹⁹²
 What claim to love hast thou who knowest not the taste of the
 blood of thy heart.

¹⁸⁷ Or, of the masters of the "seven styles" (see above, p. 25).

¹⁸⁸ Gauhar-shād begum, wife of Shāhrukh and mother of Bāysunqur, enjoyed much influence in state affairs during her husband's lifetime. After his death she took an active part in the struggle for the throne, but was put to death in 861/1456. See Mu'īn al-dīn Isfīzārī, *J.As.*, vol. 20 (1862), p. 308; N. V. Khanikoff, *ibid.*, vol. 15 (1860), p. 542. The mosque and madrasa built by Gauhar-shād begum in Herat were considered among the most beautiful in that town. With the exception of the minarets, they are no longer in existence. See Barthold, *Ist.-geogr. obzor*, p. 39.

¹⁸⁹ The historian Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū began his work in 1423; the last event described by him is the attempt on Shāhrukh in 1427. He died in 1430. See V. V. Barthold "Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū," *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, vol. 2, p. 213.

¹⁹⁰ [The remaining part of the paragraph on Bāysunqur is omitted in *H.*]

¹⁹¹ Amīr Shāhī Sabzavārī wrote a well-known elegy on the death of Bāysunqur. See Browne, *A literary history*, vol. 3, pp. 352 and 501.

¹⁹² Meter: *ramal*.

Thou despoilest Shāhī, wounded in his heart,
With thy hand thou strikest the breast of intimate friends.

The Mīrzā was ashamed, gave up his intention (what justice!) and, despite his sultanate and his royal dignity, left the *takhalluṣ* of *Shāhī* to Amīr Shāhī.

This *ghazal* is one of the Mīrzā's poems :

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

29. In the full blossom of life and youth ¹⁹⁴ in the capital, Herat, the Mīrzā was gathered to the proximity of God's mercy.

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

¹⁹³ Meter: *hazaj*.

¹⁹⁴ Bāysunqur died at the age of 38 years and 6 months, see Ṣanī' al-daula, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣiri*, vol. 2, pp. 57-58.

¹⁹⁵ Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī is the compiler of the last of the three versions of the official history of Timūr, written 20 years after the death of the great conqueror; see Barthold, *Iran*, p. 81, and Ghiyāth al-dīn 'Alī, *Rūznāma-yi ghazavāt-i Hindustān*, Russian preface, p. xix.

¹⁹⁶ According to *H*, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was a pupil of Maulānā Mīr Muḥammad Shīrāzī. After Bāysunqur's death, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū moved to his court.

which he himself founded in Shiraz in those days, namely *Dār al-ṣafā* and *Dār al-aytām*,¹⁹⁷ were of his writing. Those two buildings, the like of which the eye of heaven had not seen, were destroyed at the orders of the abject Ya'qūb Dhul-Qadar¹⁹⁸ when he became the ruler of that province. No trace of them has remained except the mausoleum of the Mīrzā and his children in the *Dār al-aytām* and the *gumbad* ("dome") in the *Dār al-ṣafā*. Such a despicable action provoked the wrath of the Shah's court and Ya'qūb was finally torn to pieces. In the building of *Zahīriya*, too, the inscriptions are by the Mīrzā, and on the raised platform of Shaykh Muṣliḥ al-dīn Sa'dī—God's grace be with him!—the following *ghazal* of the poet was written in the royal writing of the Mīrzā on the glazed tiles of its pediment (*izāra*):

I am happy in the world, because the world is happy through
Him (God)¹⁹⁹

I am in love with the whole world, because the whole world is
from Him.

30. Neither heaven, nor angel can fathom
That which, coming from Him, is at the bottom of the hearts.

Joy or grief—what matters it to the sage?

O cupbearer, give (us) some wine of joy, for that sorrow is from
Him.

Pādshāh and beggar are all one to us,

Because before this door all have bowed the back of reverence before
Him,

O Sa'dī, if the stream of nonexistence destroys the dwelling of life,
Strengthen your heart, for the foundations of eternity are strong
through Him."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ The religious benevolent institutions: the "House of Purity" and the "House of Orphans."

¹⁹⁸ Dhul-Qadar is a Turkish tribe [in the original Turkish: *Dulghadir*]. Shah Ismā'il during his campaign in Fars in 909/1503-4 entrusted the governorship of Shiraz to Ilyās Dhul-Qadar. Ya'qūb, the last governor of Shiraz of this line, was put to death by Shah 'Abbās in 999/1590-91. The reason for Ya'qūb's execution was, of course, not the destruction by him of monuments of art and antiquity, but the rebellious tendencies which he manifested; see *'Ālam-ārā*, pp. 281, 295; *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, pp. 136, 293; Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 245a.

¹⁹⁹ Meter: *ramal*.

²⁰⁰ The *ghazal* is in the part of Sa'dī's complete works (*kulliyāt*) entitled "On Fragrances." In our text two double verses are missing.

The Prince carried out this work in the months of the year 835/1431–32. A copy of the Qor'ān made by the Mīrzā is known, in the cemetery of Bābā Luṭfullāh 'Imād al-dīn. It is 2 cubits long and 1½ cubits wide and he wrote it very well and made of it a *waqf* in favor of that *mazār*.

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

- MĪRZĀ SULṬĀN 'ALĪ IBN MĪRZĀ SULṬĀN KHALĪL IBN ḤĀSAN PĀDŠĀH.²⁰² At the time when Mīrzā Sulṭān Khalīl obtained the fief and government of Fars, a son was born to him in Shiraz whom he called Mīrzā Sulṭān 'Alī. When the
31. 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 God²⁰³
That I am nine years old and write like this.

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

²⁰¹ *Tajnīs* is a *jeu de mots* on words expressed in similar characters. In the phrases quoted only the dots have been transposed.

²⁰² A prince of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty, killed in 896/1490. See Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, pp. 4, 19; *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 128 (translation, vol. 1, p. 501); Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 239a.

²⁰³ Meter: *mutaqārib*. [On the origin of this *bayt*, inscribed in Persepolis, see Minorsky, BSOAS, vol. 10, pt. 1 (1939), pp. 152 and 177–178.]

dasht of Shiraz.²⁰⁴ They are written suitably for that place and are very well written:

Who will strive for association with the world? ²⁰⁵
 To whom was it true that we should rely on it?
 Do not seek the kingdom of Sulaymān,²⁰⁶ for it is but air.
 Here is the kingdom, but where is Sulaymān?
 Of the innumerable treasures and riches
 What did Sām ²⁰⁷ 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 831/1476-77.²⁰⁸

MAULĀNĀ 'ABD AL-ḤAQQ SABZAVĀRĪ was the pupil of 'Abdullāh Ṭabbākh. The people of Khorasan recognize him as a master (of his art). Of his writing are the inscriptions outside and inside the holy *gunbad* of his Holiness the valorous Imām, the eighth warrantor, to whom we owe obedience, as
 32. we owe him purity.

MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD ḤAFĪZ was one of the recognized calligraphers and a native of the town of the faithful, Qum. He was a contemporary of the Aq-qoyunlu sultans. He was outstanding in his time, a rarity of the ages, peerless in *thulth* writing and the teacher of ḤĀfĪZ Qanbar Sharafī.

ḤĀFĪZ QANBAR SHARAFĪ was the slave (*mamlūk*) of the late Qāḍī Sharaf al-dīn 'Abd al-Majīd Qumī, the maternal grandfather of this humble one; for this reason Qanbar is

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

²⁰⁵ Meter: *sarī'*.

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

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

²⁰⁸ [On the poem, see Minorsky, *loc. cit.* The first lines (*bayt*) belong to Nizāmī, *Makhzan al-asrār, maqāla* III.]

called Sharafi. He signed the name of (his master) the qāḍī, in imitation of the practice of Yāqūt al-Musta'šimi, and like the latter he was a native of Abyssinia. He also studied under Maulānā Pīr-Muḥammad Shīrāzī. The inscriptions in the court of the cathedral mosque in the town of the faithful (Qum) and the inscriptions in the *ayvān* of the light-radiating *mazār* of Sulṭān-Sayyid Abū-Aḥmad, which lies outside the Rayy gate of Qum, are in his writing. He wrote in *thulth* exceedingly well, and also became outstanding in *nasta'liq*, observing the rules of Maulānā Sulṭān-'Alī, whose contemporary he was, though he did not visit Khorasan. Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar was an excellent reader and knew the Qor'ān by heart. He also composed poetry very well,²⁰⁹ and the following verses are by him:

The dust of his street has acquired the color of the tulip from my
rose-colored tears,²¹⁰

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?

33. And the opening verse quoted below was composed and recited (by Qanbar) at the place where he was killed, when in 904²¹¹ in the days of the hapless (*nā-murād*) Murād, son of Ya'qūb-Sulṭān (Aq-qoyunlu), rascally Turkmans were besieging the town of the faithful, Qum. Though Qāḍī Sharaf al-dīn shut the gates of Qum before Ayba-sulṭān, the town was captured and the qāḍī was killed, with his brother and children, and with them Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar:

Shame will overcome you in the end for killing me.²¹²

Remember that I am dead but you are (still) alive.

²⁰⁹ [H, p. 14, leaves out the end of the biography and refers the reader to the author's *Majma' al-shu'arā*.]

²¹⁰ Meter: *ramal*.

²¹¹ Qāḍī Aḥmad's story describes an episode from the feudal wars of the last Aq-qoyunlu, after the death of Ya'qūb-sulṭān in 896/1490. The event took place under the son of Ya'qūb, whose name was Murād ("Désiré"). Ayba-sulṭān was the title of the general Ibrāhīm-bek ibn Dānā-Khalīl Qājār; see *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 128. After his victory over Sulṭān Aḥmad in 903/1497, he captured Qum and had coins struck in the name of Sulṭān Murād, who at the time was in Sharvan.

²¹² Meter: *muḍāri'*.

As MİR MAQBŪL QUMĪ²¹³ was one of Ḥāfiẓ Qanbar's pupils, Qanbar sent this opening verse to him in order that he might compose a *ghazal* and include it in his *divān*. In fulfillment of this wish MİR-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 perfidy of an evildoer.
(But) the rose whose lips in gaiety do not close from smiles
Seems unaware of the brevity of her own life.
How can Maqbūl not have died from envy of your companions,
For (in his grief) he is suffering of a mortal heart affection.

The story of Qāḍī Sharaf al-dīn's life is recorded in detail in volume IV of the *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, and the biography of Ḥāfiẓ-Qanbar and his eloquent verses are found in the book *Majma' al-shu'arā-yi 'Abbāsī*.

MAULĀNĀ NIẒĀM AL-DĪN 'ALĪ, 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 *nasta'liq*, and was one of the master calligraphers of Āzarbāyjān. He worked in Ardabil, and lived from the time of the rule of the Turkman sultans to the year 920/1514.

34. MAULĀNĀ ḤAYDAR QUMĪ was a good pupil of Qanbar Sharafī. 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.²¹⁴ The inscriptions inside and outside the dome (*gunbad*) of Her Most Pure Holiness²¹⁵ in Qum are in his writing; he knew the Qor'ān by heart and was a sweet-tongued ḥāfiẓ.

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

²¹³ MİR Maqbūl Qumī was a Turk by origin. In his youth he served in the army of Sulṭān Ya'qūb, and later took up residence in Qum (*Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 185).

²¹⁴ [Corrected according to *H.*]

²¹⁵ Fāṭima, the sister of the Eighth Imām, buried in Qum.

thulth extremely well and was one of the master calligraphers of (Persian) 'Irāq. The inscriptions on the platform in the court of Her Most Pure Holiness, and in the court of the *Ḥusayniya* retreat (*zāviya*),²¹⁶ which was built by the late (maternal) grandfather of the author, Aqā Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn Musayyibī (?) Qumī, are by him.

MAULĀNĀ SHAHRA-MĪR QAZVĪNĪ, the father of Maulānā Mālik-Daylamī, was a scribe and calligrapher and wrote excellent *naskh*. In the beginning Maulānā Mālik practiced *thulth* and *naskh* with his father.

MAULĀNĀ SHAYKH KAMĀL²¹⁷ was a pupil of Maulānā 'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Sabzavār. He wrote excellently in the six styles and was constantly engaged in the copying of the Qor'ān 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.

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

The expert of writing in seven styles is Mullā NiẒām al-dīn,²¹⁸
 He whose writing has few parallels on the tablets of the universe.
 He writes in *thulth* with the tip of his finger, O Lord!
 Who has seen a scribe whose *qalam* is his finger?

MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN, son of Maulānā Muḥyī, known as Bāgh-Dashti, is one of the later calligraphers of the residence of Herat. He wrote extremely well in *thulth*, *riqā'*,

²¹⁶ [*H* adds: "situated in the K.nkān street."]

²¹⁷ In *H*, p. 18.

²¹⁸ Meter: *hazaj*.

and *naskh*, and was an accomplished scribe. His work is compared with the writing of Maulānā ‘Abdullāh Ṭabbākh.

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 (*rikhta*) and tasteful.

MĪR-MUNSHĪ ḤUSAYNĪ—the parent of this humble writer. His honorary name is Sharaf al-dīn Ḥusayn. He was given the name of Mīr-Munshī by His Majesty the late Khāqān, equal in dignity to Jamshīd, Shah Tahmāsp of eternal memory—may God sanctify his grave!—and under this name became known in the universe. First he was munshī in the royal city of Herat, in the service of His late Highness Sām-mīrzā. After that, during the ministry (*vakālat*) of Aḥmad-beg Nūr Kamāl,²¹⁹ the correspondence of the exalted divān was entrusted to him, and he performed these duties for three [E, for two] years. Then for a second period of 10 years, on behalf of the Shah (Tahmāsp) he acted in Mashhad as vazir to the Prince Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā²²⁰—may God refresh his grave and that God-protected, fragrant (place, i.e., Mashhad)! My parent—may God give repose to his precious soul—was the pupil of Mullā Ḥaydar; having combined the six styles with *ta’līq* and *shikasta-yi nasta’līq*, he wrote in all these styles excellently. In the epistolary art he had no equal, for he was a man of excellent taste.

He studied much and at first was a pupil of the teacher of humanity, the Eleventh Intellect (*‘aql-i ḥādī ‘ashar*) Mīr Ghiyāth al-dīn Manṣūr Ṣhīrāzī.²²¹ He discussed mathematics and cosmography with Maulānā Taqī, one of the outstanding pupils of Mīr Ghiyāth al-dīn; he read the commentary on the

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

²²⁰ See Introduction, p. 2.

²²¹ He held the office of *ṣadr* in 936-937/1529-31; see *Shāraf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 178: Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, 254b and 257a. [“Eleventh” in addition to the ten recognized Great Intellects.]

Tajrīd and the "Glosses"²²² with the late Khwāja Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd Shirāzī. He had a gift for poetry and readiness in improvization, but did not devote much of his attention to this. Were the author to mention his perfections in their entirety,²²³ this might be attributed to his being his slave-servant and son. Owing to worldly affairs and his service at the shah's court and the shahinshah's Divān, his scholarly qualities were hidden by the veil of concealment. As regards the great number of his spiritual mortifications, devotions, and his purity of soul, from the days of his youth to the limit of his age, wherever he was, during the time of employment or at the approach of the time of retirement, he behaved in the same way and followed the same line of conduct. Maulānā Mu'in Astarābādī has a *qaṣīda* in his praise from which the following is a quotation:

Mīr-Munshī of Qum, pure of spirit,²²⁴

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

He possessed a saintly spirit and an angelic disposition. He was wonderfully skillful in writing quickly. He wrote the *shikasta*, which (is) a combination of *nasta'liq* and *ta'liq*, 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 *Tajrīd* mentioned here is Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-i'tiqād* and that the Commentary on it is more likely that by Mullā 'Alī Qūshchī (d. 879/1479), rather than the earlier one by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1326). As to the Glosses on Qūshchī's *Commentary*, the classbook was that by Jalāl al-dīn Davānī (d. 907/1501). V. M.]

²²³ [*H*, p. 16, line 14, enumerates some of them: *naqqādī* ("sorting good and bad money"?), *zargarī* ("art of a goldsmith"), painting and *jām-burī* ("glass cutting"?).]

²²⁴ Meter: *hazaj*.

²²⁵ [*Bānūya*, as suggested by Zakhoder, must refer to "Lady Fāṭima," as the patron saint of Qum. The meaning of the verse would then be that "we accept the blessings of your native town." However, instead of *Bānūya*, *E* gives *navīd*, "good news," and *H*. has *khilāf-i bābūya* (?) *dar bāb-i mā nīst?* Dr. Bayānī suggests *khilāf-i *bāb-i vey dar bāb-i mā nīst*, "there is no opposition between our kinds (natures)." V. M.]

seventh day of Dhul-qa'da, 990/3 December 1582. The master Maulānā 'Abdī Junābādī composed a *qiṭ'a* on this date:

The celestial vault of honor was Mīr-Munshī,²²⁶

At whose feet heaven laid its head in modesty.

When he felt weary of the flower garden of the material world,
He took refuge in the 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 Mīr-Munshī: Under Aḥmad-beg Nūr Kamāl, he served 3 years as the munshī of the *dīvān-i mamālik* ("Secretary in the department of state affairs"; see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 24); and for 11 years he was on the staff of Qādī-Jihān Vakīl (see *Ālam-ārā*, pp. 107, 117, 164). Then he was appointed controller (*mumayyiz*) of all the Arab and *Khalaj (tribes)²²⁸ of the kingdom. Then he became vazir of the Private Purse department in the province of Shūragel-and-Chukhūr-Sa'd (north of the Araxes, now Erevan and Nakhchevān), while Prince Ismā'il and Shah-quli-sulṭān Ustājlu were governors there. Then for 7 years he stayed in Mashhad with Prince Ibrāhīm. Then for 3 years he acted as vazir of Mashhad and its provinces on behalf of the vazir of Khorasan Aqā Kamāl. From Khorasan he returned to the court and till the end of Shah Tahmāsp's days acted as the *majlis-nivīs* and the writer of *tafriqa* (?). In *thulth* he was a pupil of Maulānā Ḥaydar and wrote excellent *thulth* and *naskh*. Then he turned to *ta'liq* following the canon of Maulānā Darvīsh. He also wrote *shikasta-yi nasta'liq*. He was incomparable in drafting (letters) in Persian and in Turkish. He began his studies in grammar and logic in Kāshān with Sulṭān-Muḥammad Sidqī Astarābādī, then at the "royal camp" worked at astronomy and mathematics with Ghiyāth al-dīn Shīrāzī (etc., as in *M*). Mīr-Munshī died at Shah 'Abd al-'Aẓīm (near Tehran) and was buried there.

²²⁶ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

²²⁷ Chronogram: 2 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 2 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 3 + 1 + 10 + 1 + 6 = 990 (A.D. 1582).

²²⁸ Reading *a'rāb va-*akhlāj* (for *ikhraj, akhrāj*).

It is not clear what the office of the *kātib-i tafriqa* was, but on *majlis-nivīs* see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 122. Under the later Safavids, this official played the role of deputy vazir, but, under Tahmāsp, he may have been, as his title suggests, strictly a recorder of the proceedings of the audiences. The rapidity of Mīr-Munshī'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 Mīr-Munshī is not mentioned in other sources, while Qāḍī Aḥmad himself stresses especially the piety and literary gifts of his father. (See above, p. 39.)

Here *H*, p. 17, inserts a notice on MĪR NĪ'MATULLĀH, son of Mīr 'Abd al-Vahhāb Tabrīzī, 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 *ta'liq*." After the seizure of Tabriz by the Ottomans, he became Shaykh al-Islām in Kāshān, and later the chief qāḍī of Isfahan. V. M.]

MAULĀNĀ 'ALĪ-BEK²²⁹ 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 MAQṢŪD was the son of Mīr Maftūlbānd Tabrīzī's sister; he wrote very well. The inscriptions of the building of Mīr Maftūlbānd, situated in the Charand-āb quarter²³⁰ of Tabriz, are in his writing. He went to live in India.

MĪR NIZĀM AL-DĪN ASHRAF [*H*: *al-Sharaf*] was one of the greatest of the sayyids who trace their descent from Imām Mūsā, and one of the highest notables of the Town of Happiness, Abarqūh.²³¹ He combined various styles (*jam' bayn al-khuṭūṭ*) 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, n. 233, on another 'Alī-bek Tabrīzī.

²³⁰ According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, pp. 78, 81, many *mazārs* were situated in this quarter.

²³¹ A town on the road from Shiraz to Yazd; see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 284.

33. of the districts of *Sardasīr*: Chahār-dānga, Bavānāt²³² and their dependencies. He possessed an open nature and good taste in the epistolary art and had no equal in flowery expression and the knowledge of Arabic. He died in 995/1586–87 [in the royal camp] near Ganja—on him be God’s mercy and forgiveness!

MAULĀNĀ NIẒĀM AL-DĪN ‘ALĪ TABRĪZĪ,²³³ a recognized master of calligraphy in the capital, Tabriz, possessed many accomplishments and virtues; he was the pupil of Maulānā ‘Alī-bek, and Maulānā ‘Alā-bek Tabrīzī took lessons from him.

MAULĀNĀ ‘ALĀ-BEK TABRĪZĪ,²³⁴ a native of Tabriz, is one of the more recent calligraphers of that excellent town; inscriptions by him are seen on the gates of mosques and buildings in Tabriz. This humble one, when he came to Tabriz in 988/1580–81, found him still alive and was honored by making his acquaintance; he was extremely humane and sociable—God’s mercy on him!

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

MAULĀNĀ MĪRZA ‘ALĪ SULTĀNAVĪ²³⁶ 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

²³² Bavānāt lies south of Abarqūh. [Sardasīr, “the cold zone.”]

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

²³⁴ Huart, p. 103: ‘Alā-bek bore the title Jamāl al-mulk and was a pupil of Shams al-dīn Tabrīzī. In his turn, he taught ‘Abd al-Bāqī Dānishmand, ‘Alī-Riḏā-yi ‘Abbāsī, and Khwāja Maqṣūd.

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

²³⁶ [H, p. 19, calls him “Maulānā Mīr-zāda” and continues to speak of him as being alive. V. M.]

39. 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 munshī; in the art of reciting the Qor'ān he is incomparable and there is none like him in explaining Arabic sentences (*faqarāt*), expressions, and sermons; in the art of reciting he is a master, and as a preacher he is unmatched. Few like him combined the mastery of all eight²³⁷ styles of writing, and he is as good in one style as in another. He has deep knowledge of the art of making inscriptions (*kitābat*). In the epistolary art he occupies a high place, and in eloquence has reached a high degree. He has written in his own hand many scholarly works on tradition, jurisprudence, and prayers, and he has discussed and commented on them, adding to them his original notes. He has made a complete copy of the Qor'ān, verified and furnished with notes according to the seven schools of reading; no one else has done or accomplished it in this way. His writings are numerous and the purchase-deeds and decisions (*qabalāt va amthila*) of the High Divān of the *šadr*, which are widely known in Iran, bear witness to his knowledge. He is a native of the pleasant town of Sulṭāniya, and holds the office of judge in the provinces of the two Tāroms,²³⁸ Zanjān and its district.

MAULĀNĀ 'ALĪ RIḌĀ TABRĪZĪ, "the second Ṣayrafī," is a pupil of Maulānā 'Alā-bek Tabrīzī, and possesses agreeable manners and praiseworthy qualities. In these days he has no peer and (our) time is adorned by his noble existence.²³⁹ After the troubles caused by the evil Rūmis (i.e., Ottoman Turks)²⁴⁰

²³⁷ I.e., the "six," plus *ghubār* and *nasta'liq*.

²³⁸ Tāromayn, i.e., the upper and the lower Tārom, lie to the north of Sulṭāniya, at a distance of a day's journey. Zanjān is a town to the northwest of Sultāniya on the road to Tabriz. [See *Encyclopaedia of Islām, sub verbis*. V. M.]

²³⁹ [This sentence is characteristically omitted in *H*. The author seems to have reconsidered his opinion; see below, p. 171. V. M.]

²⁴⁰ This reference is to the Ottoman campaigns in Āzarbāyjān which began in 993/1585 by the expedition of 'Othmān pasha and, with a few interruptions, lasted five years, down to the peace signed in 998/1590, by which Turkey made a number of acquisitions including Tabriz, the capital of Āzarbāyjān. See Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 7, p. 209, L. L.

and the destruction of the capital, Tabriz, he went to the city of the Believers in the divine Unity, Qazvin, and took up residence there. The inscriptions in the cathedral mosque of Qazvin, which was then rebuilt, are entirely in his luminous writing. In those days he also finished several copies of the Qor'ān, which were taken to various regions and countries of the inhabited quarter of the world.²⁴¹ The remainder of his achievements and accomplishments will be shown in the section on the masters of *nasta'liq* (see below, p. 171), because in that art he achieved greater celebrity and became the "Maulānā Mir 'Alī" of his time.

MĪRZĀ ḤASAN-BEK, son of the late Maḥmūd-bek Sālim who (in poetry) was the second "Mīr Khusrāu Dahlavī"²⁴² and a rival of Maulānā 'Abdullāh Hātifi.²⁴³ He is a native of Tabriz and a pupil of Maulānā 'Alā-bek Tabrīzī;²⁴⁴ the present time is adorned by his noble existence. Generosity, nobility (*ādami-zādagi*), grandeur, and self-effacement (*nā-murādī*) 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-saltana*) of Isfahan, and at times in the capital, Qazvin. He is now perfecting himself and one must hope that he will succeed.²⁴⁵ His writing is not inferior to that of the masters of the "six styles." Copies of the Qor'ān in his writing are taken by merchants to the borders and limits of the inhabited quarter of the world and "make gift" of them at wonderful prices.

[Here *H*, p. 19, inserts a notice of FIGHĀN (?) AL-DĪN BULBUL, who was brought up in Isfahan and raised his writing in *thulth*, *naskh*, and *riqā'* to a high degree. Despite his great

Bellan, *Chah Abbas I; sa vie, son histoire*, pp. 122-123, and Minorsky, "Tabriz," *Encyclopaedia of Islām*.

²⁴¹ [The details about "various regions" and the comparison with "Mīr 'Alī" are omitted in *H*.]

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

²⁴³ Poet who died in 927/1520 (see *Tuhfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 97), friend of the painter Behzād. On Hātifi's portrait by Behzād, see Sakisian, *Ars Islamica*, vol. 3 (1936), pp. 10-11, fig. 10.

²⁴⁴ [*H*: "A pupil of the late Maulānā 'Alī-beg."]

²⁴⁵ [*H* omits this sentence.]

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

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

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

CHAPTER TWO

On the masters of the ta'liq style

On the Truth-reflecting mirror it becomes manifest that the *ta'liq* style was developed from the *riqā'* and *tauqī'*. Its inventor was KHWĀJA TĀJ-I SALMĀNĪ, a native of Isfahan, who wrote elegantly.

41. When it became the turn of KHWĀJA 'ABD AL-ḤAYY, he found the proportions, elegance, and canons of this script. A chain of writers in *ta'liq* followed these two masters. The Khwāja was a native of the town of Believers, Astarābād. There exist two varieties (*ravish*) of his writing, of which the first is characterized by extreme lusciousness and movement. In this variety²⁴⁷ charters and orders of the late Sulṭān Abū-Sa'id Gūrkan²⁴⁸ were written. Thus, too, wrote the munshīs of Khorasan, such as Maulānā Darvīsh, Mīr-Manṣūr, Khwāja Jān Jibrā'il, and others. The second (variety) is distinguished by firmness, maturity, solidity, and taste (*chashnī*), and it was used in the orders of the late sovereign Ḥasan-bek, Sulṭān Ya'qūb,²⁴⁹ and other Aq-qoyunlu sultans. The munshīs of Āzarbāyjān and 'Irāq, and especially Shaykh Muḥammad Tamīmī, Maulānā Idrīs, and others followed that model. Khwāja 'Abd al-Ḥayy became world famous through conducting the correspondence of Sulṭān Abū-Sa'id. Verily, in his art he was the Yāqūt of his time, and to this day none has equaled him. SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD TAMĪMĪ was his pupil, but in the end he forgot the duties of a pupil and became rebellious. He used to say in gatherings: "I write better than the Khwāja." The latter cursed him, and, because of this curse, he died. The Khwāja lived down to the beginning of the reign of the glori-

²⁴⁷ The text wrongly: "in these two."

²⁴⁸ Great-grandson of Timūr who in 861/1456-57 seized Herat. In 872/1467-68 he led a campaign against Uzun-Ḥasan, but was taken prisoner and executed.

²⁴⁹ Rulers of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty: (Uzun)-Ḥasan (871-883/1466-78) and his son Ya'qūb (884-896/1479-90).

ous Chosroes of eternal memory, Shah Ismā'il I,²⁵⁰ but, having abandoned attendance at the court, lived in seclusion in Tabriz, where he died in 907/1501–2. At the beginning of the Tabriz avenue (*khīyābān*) he built an enclosure in which he was
43. buried. It is known by his name, 'Abd al-Ḥaiyya.²⁵¹

KHWĀJA JĀN ṬUGHRĀYĪ is known as *Ṭughrāyī* because of the excellence of his writing of the *ṭughras*²⁵² for edicts and orders. [He was from Qazvin.]

His son, MAULĀNĀ SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD TAMĪMĪ, born in the capital, Qazvin, was in charge of the correspondence of the Turkman sultans. He was known as a bringer of bad luck, and wits composed the following verse about him:

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

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

MAULĀNĀ DARVĪSH 'ABDULLĀH was a native of Balkh in Khorasan and wrote very remarkably. Some consider him superior to Khwāja 'Abd al-Ḥaiyya, but each of them had a

²⁵⁰ Shah Ismā'il I, founder of the Safavid dynasty, reigned 907–930/1502–24.

²⁵¹ [*H*, p. 21, adds here MAULĀNĀ ḤĀJJĪ 'ALĪ ASTARĀBĀDĪ, a good pupil of 'Abd al-Ḥaiyya. He acted as munshī to Kepek-mīrzā in Herat and for some time served the rulers of Sharvān and Gilān in the same capacity. V. M.]

²⁵² The *ṭughra* is the traced monogram of the royal name used in edicts, documents, diplomas, etc.

²⁵³ Meter: *hazaj*. E gives *ka'āb* (?), H gives *laqqāb*.

²⁵⁴ A post-mortem formula referring to the Last Judgment. After the death of Abū- Sa'īd, Tamīmī served at the court of the Aq-qoyunlu sultans during a period of savage feuds. See Huart, p. 213.

²⁵⁵ Aq-qoyunlu rulers: Rustam (897–902/1491–96); Alvand (905–906/1499–1500). [Idris's renown as statesman is based chiefly on his activities for the organization of Kurdistan under the Ottoman Sultan Selim. V. M.]

style of his own. Both were equals and contemporaries. Maulānā Darvīsh lived with the Khwāja as though he were his pupil. He conducted the correspondence of the children of Abū-Sa'īd Gūrkan, of Mirzā Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqara²⁵⁶ and his children, and of Shābek-khān Uzbek.²⁵⁷ It is known that one day Shābek-khān ordered Maulānā Darvīsh to write a letter to one of the contemporary sultans and gave him a
 44. 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 Darvīsh was disturbed, as he could find no excuse. So he took out a clean roll of paper and began to read the contents of the letter and those present approved of it. But some of the courtiers, who sat at the assembly close to the maulānā, were astonished

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

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

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

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

²⁵⁸ Meter: *hazaj*.

MAULĀNĀ MĪR-MUḤAMMAD QUMĪ, munshī,²⁵⁹ was one of Khwāja ‘Abd al-Ḥayy’s prominent pupils and wrote with extreme lusciousness (*ruḡūbat*), with much movement and maturity. He was munshī to the late sovereign Rustam-mīrzā ibn-Maqṣūd-bek ibn-Ḥasan-pādshāh. The edicts of the days
 45. of this king are in his writing. It is related that Rustam-mīrzā had once a wonderful gerfalcon to which he was much attached. This gerfalcon fell ill and reached the fringes of death. Every hour Rustam-mīrzā sent some one of his intimates or secretaries (*parvānachi*) for news, saying: “I shall kill anyone who brings me the news of the death of the gerfalcon.” Finally, under strict orders, he sent Khwāja Mīr-Muḥammad, but the latter’s arrival coincided with the flight of the gerfalcon’s soul to the (predestined) nest. On his return the Khwāja reported: “The gerfalcon has fallen on the ground, spread its wings and stretched out its neck.” Despite all his fondness for the gerfalcon, Rustam-mīrzā liked the story and its form. After the death of Rustam-mīrzā, Khwāja Mīr-Muḥammad abandoned his attendance at court, retired to Qum and gave himself up to penitence and religious duties. The building of the mosque known by the name of ‘*Ishq-i ‘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,²⁶⁰

Because it is already broken in whatever state it may be.

This opening verse reflects frustration: ²⁶¹

No one in his life has heard us blaming people!

We, poor people, what have we to do with anybody?

KHWĀJA ‘ATĪQ, munshī, was a native of the pleasant region of Ordūbād and wrote very maturely and clearly. As a secre-

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

²⁶⁰ Meter: *muḏārī’*. [*H* omits the quotations and refers the reader to the author’s *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā*.]

²⁶¹ *Nā-murādana uftada*.

46. tary to His Majesty, similar in glory to Jamshid, lord of the happy conjunction of planets,²⁶² conqueror of the world, inhabiting the highest abode of Paradise, Shah Ismā'il of eternal memory, he won great advancement. He created the Shah's *tughrā*. After his retirement from attendance at court, he became curator (*mutavvali*) in the holy mausoleum of Imām Riḍā—on it be a thousand mercies and blessings!—and spent (many) years beside that holy sepulchre and at its lofty threshold. He erected an excellent building near the Shāhrukh madrasa to house his tomb, and in his will endowed it with considerable property as *waqf*.

MĪR 'ABD AL-BĀQĪ was a native of the town of worship, Yazd;²⁶³ for years he performed the functions of *ṣadr* and *vakīl*²⁶⁴ of the above-mentioned glorious sovereign. He wrote in *ta'liq* with great elegance, good taste, and excellence. The decrees and the documents (*asnād*) of the shaykhs and the inhabitants²⁶⁵ of Yazd are in his noble hand.²⁶⁶ The account of his life is found in the fifth volume of the *Khulāṣat al-tavārikh*.

MAULĀNĀ AD-HAM, munshī, 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 Qāḍi-yi Jahān, vakīl,

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

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

²⁶⁴ Mīr 'Abd al-Bāqī was appointed *ṣadr* in 917/1511, and was given the title of *vakīl* in 919/1513, see *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, pp. 49 and 157; Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 248 and 249b. A year later he perished in the battle with the Turkish army at Chaldiran. Besides his talent as munshī he possessed poetical gifts. He wrote a collection of *ghazals* under his pen name Bāqī; see *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 21–22. *Vakīl* is a title very similar to our "viceroy"; *Ālam-ārā*, p. 96: "Ḥamza-mīrzā (Safavi) . . . received the title of *vakīl* and the dignity of heir to the throne." [Cf. *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 114. V. M.]

²⁶⁵ Reading *ahāli* for *awāli* (?).

²⁶⁶ [H adds: "and I have seen them."] 'Abd al-Bāqī, before his appointment as *ṣadr*, served in Yazd; see Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 248b.

he died by the hand of Damri-sultān Shāmlu,²⁶⁷ 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 Mālik Ashtar, and on his father's from Aḥmad Ghazālī.²⁶⁸

- MĪR MANŞŪR was a native of Astarābād. He wrote with great excellence, in a style not inferior to that of Maulānā Darvīsh; his son, MAULĀNĀ QĀSIM, also wrote pleasantly.
47. Mir Manşūr became munshī to Humāyūn-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.²⁶⁹

MAULĀNĀ IBRĀHĪM ASTARĀBĀDĪ conducted for some time the correspondence on behalf of the holy mausoleum of Imām Riḍā—a thousand thousand blessings be on that venerated place! He wrote with great delicacy, pleasingly and lightly. This humble one does not consider his style inferior to that of Maulānā Darvīsh.²⁷⁰ 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 *nasta'liq* as an '*unvān* on the gateway (*dargāh?*) of glazed bricks in the holy abode of Her Holiness the Most Pure One—peace be on her and blessings!

²⁶⁷ The murder of Ad-ham Khiyārchī-yi Qazvīnī occurred in 930/1524 (see *Tadhkirat*, p. 9; *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 168; Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 252b), i.e., in the first year of Shah Tahmāsp's rule. Damri (*dānirī?*)-sultān Shāmlu is mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 172, under the year 933/1526–27, as having been killed in fighting the Uzbeks. Qāḍī-yi Jahān, vakīl, was a famous statesman of Shah Tahmāsp's reign; he died in Zanjān in 960/1552–53, see *Tadhkirat*, p. 9, etc.; '*Ālam-ārā*, pp. 117–118; *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, vol. 2, p. 127.

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

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

²⁷⁰ [Or that of 'Abd al-Ḥayy, according to *H*.]

O God! In the name of the just rights of the sons of Fāṭima²⁷¹
 With whose words one finishes (*khātima*) the prayers,
 Whether you reject my appeal or accept it,
 My hand and the hem of the robe of the Prophet's family.²⁷²

This opening verse is also a product of his talent:

I myself have given a place in the desert of my heart to a musk-
 gazelle,²⁷³
 And have nurtured a delicate sprig with the sanies of my liver.

MAULĀNĀ SULTĀN-MAḤMŪD was the son of Maulānā Ibrāhīm. He also wrote well and composed poetry under the *nom de plume* of "Najāti." The following distich is by him:

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

MAULĀNĀ ISMĀ'ĪL, another son of Ibrāhīm-munshī, wrote excellent *ta'liq* and also composed good verse. The following is by him:

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

MAULĀNĀ BAHĀ AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN, munshī, wrote in the style of Maulānā Darvīsh. His writing has great taste and maturity. For some time he was in charge of correspondence at the holy, most pure mausoleum, equal in degree to the ("farthest") lotus tree,²⁷⁶ of Imām Riḍa—prayers and blessings on the one who rests there! He was a native of that blessed town.²⁷⁷

²⁷¹ Meter: *mutaqārib*. By "sons of Fāṭima" are meant the Imāms Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, sons of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib.

²⁷² The meaning is that he plucks the hem of the garment as a sign of entreaty and does not let it go.

²⁷³ Meter: *hazaj*. The same verse is quoted in the biography of Ibrāhīm Astarābādī in the *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 82.

²⁷⁴ Meter: *hazaj*. The same verse in *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 82, according to which, however, *Najāti* was the *nom de plume* of Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm.

²⁷⁵ Meter: *muḍārī'*.

²⁷⁶ *Qor'ān*, LIII, 14, the "lotus tree" marking the extremity of Paradise.

²⁷⁷ [*H*, p. 23, adds the name of his son Muḥammad Qāsim.]

KHWĀJA IKHTIYĀR, munshī, was a native of the capital, Herat. He wrote very finely, purely, and with good taste. He left many samples of his work. For 30 years he was engaged in Herat in carrying on the correspondence of His Majesty, who has attained happiness, equal in dignity to Alexander, Shah Sultān-Muḥammad of eternal memory, who in those days was the Mīrzā of Khorasan.²⁷⁸ The maulānā never set foot outside Herat and never traveled anywhere.

MĪRZĀ SHARAF-I JAHĀN was the son of the late [*H*: Nawwāb] Qāḍī-yi Jahān Ḥasanī (*Ḥusaynī?*). He wrote with much delicacy and transparency, and was a repository of all the perfections and a vessel of all the virtues.

MĪR RŪḤ-ALLĀH, his son, wrote in his father's style and composed very good verse; in the field of science he became a master of investigation and argumentation, had leanings toward philosophic readings, and was engrossed in medicine and medical treatment.²⁷⁹ He departed this life at an early age in the borough of Abhar while coming to Tabriz in the year 992/1584. The following verses are by him:

Those waiting for you died of anxiety on the threshold,²⁸⁰
And when the time arrived, with deep emotion tumultuously they
joined you.

He wrote in every style neatly and transparently.

MĪR QĀSIM, munshī, [son of Mīr Maṣṣūr], was a native of Astarābād. He sprang from a family of sayyids, genuine in descent, possessed great virtues, wrote excellently, and tried to combine the styles of writing (*jam' bayn al-khuṭūṭ*).²⁸¹ In the (Shah's) paradisiac assembly he achieved complete intimacy and became a constant favorite of the glance, which was similar to the philosopher's stone.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ Muḥammad-mīrzā, son of Shah Tahmāsp, nicknamed Khudā-banda, born in 938/1531, and at the age of 6 in 943/1536 appointed governor of Khorasan with residence in Herat (*Ālam-ārā*, p. 95), in the place of Bahrām-mīrzā.

²⁷⁹ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 124, mentions him among the doctors. [*H* abridges.]

²⁸⁰ Meter: *muḥtathth*.

²⁸¹ I.e., out of the elements of several styles tried to create a new one.

²⁸² [*H*, pp. 23 and 24, mentions Mīr Qāsim twice. The first time it says that he was the son of Mīr Maṣṣūr; he left for India with Shah Humāyūn and

KHWĀJA MĪRAK,²⁸³ munshī, was a sayyid of Kirman. For a long time, in the beginning of the reign of the Shah of heavenly dignity, lord of sultans, he was munshī to the exalted *Divān*. He wrote excellent *ta'liq*, possessed good taste in the epistolary art and was a man of great parts. [*H*: He died in 943/1536.]

After the death of Khwāja Mīrak the late MUḤAMMADI-BEK²⁸⁴ became munshī. He was a Kachajī (or Kuchajī?), a descendant of Shaykh Muḥammad Kachajī, by whom were built excellent chapels, lofty buildings, and enclosures in Tabriz. (On his father's side) he was the grandson of Mir Zakariyā Vazīr, whose record is given in the *Khulāṣat al-tavārikh*. He wrote excellent *ta'liq* and was twice entrusted with the correspondence of the exalted *Divān*. He died in Qazvin [*H*: in 982/1574].

MĪRZĀ-KĀFĪ was one of the noble descendants of the sultan of the seekers of Truth, teacher of the oceanic sages, Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wal-millat wad-dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsi,²⁸⁵ for when, after the conquest of Baghdad and the extermination of the Abbasid house, the khwāja died in Baghdad, some of his descendants found their way to Āzarbāyjān and settled in the pleasant borough of Ordūbād. He was exceedingly pure of soul and noble (*adamī*) and possessed a fullness of virtues and many talents; none equaled him in the epistolary art and he wrote excellently. After Muḥammadī-bek's first retirement he was entrusted with the correspondence. While being a

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

²⁸³ Khwāja Mīrak, who held the post of *munshī al-mamālik*, died in 943/1536-37. See *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 189, Zayn al-Ābidīn, 263. Huart, p. 319, mistakenly gives the date as 982/1574.

²⁸⁴ After Khwāja Mīrak, the post was given to Muḥammadī-bek ibn Ismā'il (see Zayn al-Ābidīn, 363a), who was a grandson (*Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, pp. 188-189; brother) of Mir Zakariyā Gauharjī, who in 907/1501-2, when Shah Ismā'il I seized Tabriz, was appointed vazīr (see *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 135). *Ālam-ārā*, p. 123, mentions Muḥammadī-bek in the list of munshīs during the reign of Shah Tahmāsp.

²⁸⁵ Philosopher and mathematician of the thirteenth century. Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1, pp. 508-512, and Supplementband vol. 1, pp. 924-933; Browne, vol. 2, pp. 484-485.

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

ḤUSAYN 'ALĪ-BEG 'ARABĠIRLU was one of the great *qurchis* of Shah Tahmāsp of eternal memory. He was the son of Khwāja Shah-quli, vazir of the *qurchis*.²⁸⁶ He wrote well, with great taste and transparence. He wrote samples of calligraphy (*qiṭ'a*) and his writings went everywhere.

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

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

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

²⁸⁷ [*H* explains that the *waqf* was established by the late Princess Sulṭān-khānum, apparently one of Shah Tahmāsp's daughters.]

²⁸⁸ *Meter: khafif*. [In *H* the author adds that the qāḍī was an old acquaintance and a neighbor of his father, and was learning the epistolary art from him. The qāḍī died in 973/1565.]

MŪSĀ-BEG, although a Turk by origin, was a possessor of accomplishments and wrote excellently in the *nasta'liq* style. For some time he worked in the royal chancellery (*daftar-khāna*) and there was no master scribe like him. He was given the vazirate of Ardabil, and there he died.

MĪRZĀ-AḤMAD, son of the late 'Atā-allāh Iṣfahānī, to whom for a certain time was entrusted the vazirate in Āzarbāyjān, Qarabāgh, and Shīrvān²⁸⁹ in the days of the late Shah Tahmāsp, was a gifted and capable youth, wrote *ta'liq* 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.

QĀDĪ 'ABDULLĀH OF KHOY was the son of Qāḍī 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'liq* and other styles, such as *naskh* and *nasta'liq*, was an incomparable munshī,²⁹² and had no equals in the Turki language. For some time he was entrusted with correspondence in the paradisiac court assembly of Shah Tahmāsp.²⁹³ Even after (his master's death) he carried on his duties for

²⁸⁹ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 121: 'Atā-allāh is mentioned as vazir of Āzarbāyjān and Shīrvān.

²⁹⁰ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 121: Mīrzā Aḥmad, like his father, was an important official and an amateur of the calligraphic art; at first he worked on the *ta'liq* with the master 'Alā al-dīn Manṣūr, then he took up the *shikasta* following the last manner of the master Darvish.

²⁹¹ In that year 'Alī-qulī-khān, ruler of Herat on behalf of the infant 'Abbās-mīrzā (the future Shah 'Abbās I), marched against Shah Muḥammad Khudā-banda and Ḥamza-mīrzā. The latter set out to meet him. Having reached Sabzavār, 'Alī-qulī-khān returned to Herat, leaving his lieutenant Murshīd Khudā-banda at the fort of Turbat-i Zāva. The fruitless siege of the fort by Muḥammad Khudā-banda's troops lasted throughout the winter of 900/1582; see *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 267. *Ālam-ārā*, p. 126, describes the death of Mīrzā-Aḥmad. The town, Turbat-i Zāva, with the mausoleum of Shaykh Ḥaydar, is the present-day Turbat-i Ḥaydarī; see Le Strange, p. 356.

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

²⁹³ [Hereafter we use mainly the personal names of the shahs. Each of them had a special and fulsome posthumous title which the annalists use but which are only misleading in translation. V. M.]

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 Tahmāsp. He was a learned man and wrote quite good verse. Here is a Turkish *rubā'i* by him:

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

When the army of Shah Muḥammad Khudā-banda and of the Prince, Lord of the Time, Sulṭān Ḥamza-mīrzā²⁹⁴ was returning from Herat, Qāḍī 'Abdullāh was taken ill in Holy Mashhad and died in the neighborhood of Sabzavār in the month of Shavvāl 991 (18 October–16 November 1583).

KHWĀJA MAJD AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM is a native of the royal town of Shiraz. He possesses many virtues and accomplishments, and he writes in *ta'liq* excellently, clearly, and with taste. For some time he acted as vazir to the late Princess Pari-khān khānum and in that office was useful to the Muslims. After the events connected with the princess and down to the present time, i.e., for some 20 years, he has been living in retirement in the capital, Qazvin.²⁹⁵ He is an extremely noble-minded man with darvīsh (habits).

KHWĀJA 'ALĀ AL-DĪN MANṢŪR is a native of Kara-rūd²⁹⁶ and writes very well.²⁹⁷ For 30 years in Mīrzā Kāfi's service

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

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

²⁹⁶ Later Sulṭān-ābād, now Arāg.

²⁹⁷ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 123: 'Alā al-dīn Manṣūr followed in *ta'liq* the style of the master Darvīsh, but wrote in larger characters. [*H*. gives more details: "In the days of Muḥammadī-bek munshī, '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-inshā*, and for a long time was admitted to the assembly of the court. For some years he was confirmed as state secretary (*munshī al-mamālik*) and traced *tughras* in gold. After the death of Shah Tahmāsp he retired to Kara-rūd where he is engaged in agriculture.

53. KHWĀJA MALIK MUḤAMMAD HARAVĪ was a relative of Maulānā Ikhtiyār, munshī. He wrote *ta'liq* extremely well but his talent was limited (*kam-isti'dād*). For eight years he conducted the correspondence of the Department of State Affairs²⁹⁸ in the *divān* of Shah Sulṭān-Muḥammad Pādshāh. During the war with the Tākkālū Turkmans, being a friend of that tribe, he disappeared without trace.²⁹⁹

MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD-AMĪN, munshī, was the grandson of Maulānā Ad-ham,³⁰⁰ munshī, but was brought up in the capital, Qazvin. He wrote excellent *ta'liq* and could write rapidly. He was an incomparable munshī, possessed taste, and for some time was employed in the Secretarial Office (*Dār al-inshā*). He was entrusted with the greater part of such correspondence in Turkish and Persian in which Arabic expressions abounded. For two years he was in charge of the correspondence in that department (*inshā al-mamālik*) under the lord of the slaves, who has achieved happiness, the most noble, most exalted Abul-Muḥaffar Shah 'Abbās—may God

make tracings in gold (on the documents) personally. After the death of Shah Tahmāsp he served as *mustaufī* to the Turks. Finally he retired to the province of Kara-rūd and lived there as an exile (*ghurbat*).” *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, §23, is definite in saying: “The tracing of the *tughra* in liquid gold and red ink is done by the pen of the Munshī al-mamālik and by no one else.” The reference to exile may be connected with his service with the Turks—possibly some rebellious chiefs of the Shāhī-sevan tribes. Huart, p. 319, also refers to his service with “sultans turcomans”(?). V. M.]

²⁹⁸ *Mamālik* as opposed to the *khāssa*, “the shāh’s Private Purse.”

²⁹⁹ Huart, p. 320: was killed. [*H* adds that he began his career in Herat. He disappeared in the battle of the Tākkālū with Prince Ḥamza, at Sā'in-qal'a. V. M.]

³⁰⁰ In *Ālam-ārā*, pp. 121 and 126, Muḥammad-Amīn is mentioned as Muḥaffar Qāsim’s son. He was on the list of the officials of the *daftar-khāna* of Shah Tahmāsp and served for some time in Āzarbāyjan and Shīrvān.

prolong his reign. He died in the year of the Dragon, 1001/1592–93.³⁰¹

The late MĪRZĀ-MUḤAMMAD was the son of 'Alī-bek Surkh and the grandson (on his mother's side) of Khwāja Mirakī (*sic*), munshī. He was a gifted and worthy youth and even in those days possessed dignity and grandeur. For some time he was employed as scribe (*tahrīr*) at the *Dār al-inshā*,³⁰² and later attained the post of redacteur (*inshā*). Then he rose to be (the head) of the accountancy (*istifā*) of all state affairs. Twice he was vazir of the *divān*, but was finally killed in the year 997/1588–89.³⁰³ He wrote very well and had good taste in the epistolary art, as well as in poetry.³⁰⁴

54. ISKANDAR-BEK, munshī, stands in the relation of child to this humble one.³⁰⁵ He possesses praiseworthy qualities and pleasant manners. He writes *ta'liq*, *nasta'liq*, and *shikasta* very well. For some time he was employed in the royal chancellery (*daftar-khāna*) as a bookkeeper; there was no other calligrapher and born munshī in the royal chancellery. He was versed in the knowledge of *siyāq* (accountancy).³⁰⁶ For some

³⁰¹ *Lu-yil*, "the year of the Dragon," is the fifth year of the Turkish 12-year cycle.

³⁰² *Ālam-ārā*, p. 123, mentions him in the list of munshīs of Shah Tahmāsp's reign.

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

³⁰⁴ [*H* adds that his uncle Zaynal Kar ("deaf"?) worked in the chancellery and was in charge of the Qara-ulūs (tribes of mixed origin) section. This family is also connected with Mir Zakariyā Kachajī (of Tabriz). As a grandson of Muḥammadi-munshī, Muḥammad was admitted to the *Dār al-inshā* (which the author calls additionally *dār al-irshād*; cf. also *H*, p. 26). Thence he was transferred to the court (*majlis-i ashraf*). Under Ismā'il II he became his companion (*muṣāḥib*) and the chief munshī of the state (*munshī al-mamālik*). Under Shāh-Muḥammad he became the controller (*mumayyiz*) of Dargazin (near Hamadan) and then *mustaufī al-mamālik*. He was the companion of Prince Ḥamza, after whose death the Shah appointed him prime minister (*vazīr-i a'zam*). Under 'Abbās I, during the regency (*vakālat*) of Murshid-quli-khān Cha'ushlu (Ustājlu), he was arrested and heavily fined. After the death of Murshid-quli, he again became prime minister for six months, but in 997/1589, as he was traveling from Khorasan, he was put to death. V. M.]

³⁰⁵ Iskandar-munshī, author of the *Ālam-ārā*, was born about 968/1560; consequently at the time of the writing of our Treatise he was about 30 years old.

³⁰⁶ *Siyāq* is a special and very complicated system of alphabetic abbreviations

time, too, he was an officer in the *Divān* of the Chief Vakīl, after which he passed into the service of the Secretariat (*dār al-inshā'*). In epistolary art and in writing any kind of matter he is peerless; he is entrusted with the correspondence and the writing of orders (*parvāna*) and missives to sultans. He has acquired perfect experience in the affairs of the *Divān* and is a consummate master in writing rapidly. The affairs of the Secretariat depend on him and he conducts the whole business.

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

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

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

³⁰⁷ Literally "of me whose harvest has burned." For the explanation of *maṣṭaba*, Prof. A. Eghbal refers me to Ḥāfīz, *Divān*, p. 113, No. 167:

"My friend places me now at the head of the dais (*maṣṭaba*).
Look, a town beggar has become the chairman of the assembly."

Siyāh-gilīm "a man clad in a black rug" is "an unfortunate man." The quatrain is very suggestive autobiographically.

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

MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN is the son of Mīrzā Shukr-ullāh Iṣfahanī who for some time held the office of *mustaufī al-mamālik* in the days of Shah Tahmāsp [*H*: and under Shah Ismā'il II became his grand vazir]. He writes very elegantly, clearly and with taste. [In *ta'liq* he is the second Maulānā Darvīsh. . . . He had no luck in Iran and left for India, where he is now employed as secretary to the sovereign].³⁰⁸

MĪRZĀ ḤUSAYN, munshī, son of Khwāja 'Ināyat who acted as vazir to Ḥusayn-beg *yūzbashi* ("centurion") of the Ustājlu tribe, is a gifted youth. He writes *ta'liq* well and his writing is elegant and of good quality. For a long time he has been writing in the *Dār al-inshā*.³⁰⁹

MAULĀNĀ GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN SHARĪF, known as *Ghiyāthā*,³¹⁰ is a noble youth. He is interested in knowledge, has tried to combine (*jam'*) all the styles of writing and has good taste (in calligraphy). For some time he was writing in the *Dār al-inshā*, and now he acts as munshī to the great and most glorious Mahd-i 'ulyā-begum,³¹¹ daughter (*sic*) of Shah Tahmāsp.³¹²

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

³⁰⁹ *Ālām-ārā* refers to Mīrzā Ḥusayn as master in *ta'liq* (as a pupil of 'Alā al-dīn Maṣṣūr) and in *nasta'liq*. [*H*, p. 26, line 9, adds that Mīrzā Ḥusayn's father and uncle were in attendance (*dar silsila?*) on Ḥasan-beg and Ḥusayn-beg, *yūzbashis* of the Ustājlu tribe, as their vazir and mustaufī. For some time Ḥusayn was employed in the *Dār al-inshā* (*dār al-irshād-i inshā*). Circumstances were unfavorable to him and he emigrated to India.]

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

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

³¹² [In *H* the order of records in this chapter has been changed, but alterations are restricted to additions made to the existing biographies. V. M.]

CHAPTER THREE

On the masters of the nasta'liq style

The inventor of the *nasta'liq* style of writing was KHWĀJA 55. MĪR 'ALĪ TABRĪZĪ.³¹³ He taught his son 'UBAYDULLĀH,³¹⁴ and the latter became an outstanding (master) in this art. MAULĀNĀ JA'FAR³¹⁵ was the pupil of 'Ubaydullāh and Maulānā Aẓhar.³¹⁶

MAULĀNĀ 'ABD AL-RAḤMAN AL-KHWĀRAZMĪ³¹⁷ wrote in a different manner. He left two sons who both became outstanding master calligraphers.³¹⁸

The first of these is MAULĀNĀ 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM, known as *Anīsī* ("companion"). He received this nickname because he was a companion and admirer (*muṣāḥib-va 'āshiq*) of Ya'qūb-pādshāh (Aq-qoyunlu); this monarch called him *Anīsī* and joked with him. Consequently he adopted *Anīsī* for his pen

³¹³ Our information on the inventor of the *nasta'liq* style is scanty and unreliable. The scholars who studied his biography (Rieu, *Catalogue*, pp. 621-22; Huart, p. 207) usually quote the versified treatise of Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhadī (see below, p. 116). The latter speaks of Mīr-'Alī as a contemporary of the poet Kamāl Khujandī (MS. 73), who was an older contemporary of Ḥāfiz, and died either at the end of the fourteenth century or in the very beginning of the fifteenth. The manuscript of the poems of Khwājū Kirmānī (d. 803/1400) belonging to the British Museum (Add. 18.113) bears the signature of "Mīr-'Alī ibn-Ilyās al-Tabrizī."

³¹⁴ Huart, p. 208: 'Abdullāh Shakarīn-qalam ("Sweet Pen"). [*H* calls him 'Abdullāh and adds that according to some less reliable sources he did not achieve great success.]

³¹⁵ Huart, p. 210, thinks it possible to identify this Ja'far with Ja'far Haravī, head of the library of the Timurid Bāysunqur.

³¹⁶ Huart calls the master Aẓhar in one place (p. 208) pupil of 'Abdullāh ibn-Mīr-'Alī Tabrizī, and at another (p. 10) pupil of Ja'far Tabrizī.

³¹⁷ Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, p. 35, n. 1: in the Evqaf Museum (Stamboul) there is a manuscript (No. 1562) dated 1456 and signed by the calligrapher 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khwārazmī. The manuscript was written for one of the sultans of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty in Shiraz.

³¹⁸ Huart, pp. 257-258.

name and became known under it. Here are some of his verses:

Friends, do not devote yourselves to the art of writing; ³¹⁹
For with Anīsī it has found its consummation.

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

The eyelash does not hold back the tears of this sorrowful one: ³²⁰
One cannot stem the course of the Jayhūn with brushwood.

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

The second son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, MAULĀNĀ 'ABD AL-KARĪM, is known under the nickname *Pādshāh*. He wrote in the manner of his brother, Anīsī, and in such a way that it was impossible to distinguish between their writings. The reason why he took *Pādshāh* for his pen name is that his mind was confused and he wrote and made strange orders to people, ³²¹ though he was a poor and harmless man. He signed his *qiṭ'as* now "written by a giraffe" ³²² and now "written by 56. *Pādshāh*." Despite his state, he sometimes thought out his verses carefully, of which the following is an example:

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

And another:

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

But the one who carried off the ball of superiority is the cynosure (*qibla*) of calligraphers, MAULĀNĀ SULTĀN-ALĪ

³¹⁹ Meter: *hazaj*.

³²⁰ Meter: *ramal*. The Jayhūn is the Amū-daryā. The same opening verse is quoted in the biography of the master in the *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 81.

³²¹ The text of our Treatise reproduces literally 'Abd al-Karīm's biography in *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 81–82.

³²² In *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 82: "written by God." [H: "by God."]

³²³ Meter: *hazaj*. *Mardum* means both "men, people" and "the pupil of the eye."

³²⁴ Meter: *hazaj*.

MASHHADĪ, whose writing is among other writings as the sun among the other planets. His writing conquered the world and attained such a degree (of perfection) that it seems incredible that anyone could emulate him. The Maulānā wrote a treatise in which he described his life (*ḥālāt*) and the days of his apprenticeship, his beginnings and progress, his fasting and dreams, and how he received favors from His Holiness the Shah of men, amir of all amirs (i.e., 'Alī) and became master calligrapher (adding to it his reflections) on the methods of writing and teaching, and on the (general) rules and paraphernalia of calligraphy. In this versified treatise, a copy of which has been included in the present book, he has set out certain truths and, from it, it becomes clear how he achieved success and how his fame reached the limits of the world and spread (afar). The late Sulṭān-Husayn-mīrzā Bāyqara summoned him (to his court) and he spent some time in Herat in the library of this sovereign. In those days he completed much work. The inscriptions on the building in the Jihān-ārā garden,³²⁵ known as the "Murād garden," are entirely in his writing. His noble hand has drawn the folios of the *Majālis al-nafā'is*, which is one of the Turkish compositions of Mīr 'Alī-Shīr.³²⁶ The manuscript happened to fall into a water tank

57. but people still preserved every sheet and every page of it like an amulet (*ḥīrz-mithāl*).³²⁷ After the death of the Mīrzā and the ruin of his family, the Maulānā came to Holy Mashhad³²⁸

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

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

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

³²⁸ According to *Tuḥḥa-yi Sāmī*, p. 203, Sulṭān-'Alī, after the death of his Herat patron, was for some time in the service of Shaybānī-khān Uzbek. [This report may be connected with an anecdote added in *H*: when Sulṭān-'Alī

and secluded himself until he gave up his life into the hands of the snatcher of souls, the angel 'Azrā'il. The date of his death is the 10th Rabī' I 926/2 March 1520.³²⁹ The phrase *gham bi ḥisāb* ("unfathomable sorrow") has become a chronogram (of the event) by way of an enigma (*ta'miya*).³³⁰ 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 'Alī-Shīr,³³¹ close to the steel door.

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

He, who in this world, with his black-as-musk writing,³³²
Utterly eclipsed the writing of all the masters,
Had pupils who most certainly have become
The "illustrious among the writers"³³³ on the path of Divinity.

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

He, whose pen traced writing that ravished the soul,³³⁴
Across his letters the Scribe of Time has drawn a line.
A *qalam* acquired life when it touched his hand,

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

³²⁹ In his biography by Khwāndamīr, the date of his death is given as 919/1513-14; see *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, pp. 344-345; in Mīrkhond, 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 Sulṭān-'Alī himself (*M* 81).

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

³³¹ On the tomb of Sulṭān-'Alī in Mashhad, see also *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, p. 345; the locating of the tomb by means of Mīr 'Alī-Shīr's "dome" is not clear. Mīr 'Alī-Shīr 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 'Alī-Shīr's buildings in Mashhad. [*H* adds: "close to the dome of 'Alī-Shīr and the madrasa of Shāhrukh. . . . The duration of his life was 85 years."]

³³² Meter: *ramal*.

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

³³⁴ Meter: *muḍārī'*.

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., 'Alī),

The Imām Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Mūsā al-Riḍā admitted him into
his proximity.

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

The following is the fruit of Maulānā Sulṭān-'Alī's own talent, and Maulānā Muḥammad Abrīshumī wrote it (also) on the maulānā's tombstone and signed: "This *rubā'i* is by the late master; *scripsit* Muḥammad Abrīshumī."

The lower world is the essence of nonexistence and suffering,

Beware, do not seek in it peace and quiet.

And finally, as the major part of this world is suffering,

We have left this suffering with a bleeding heart.

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

The rose of spring is the reflection of those rose-hued cheeks,³³⁵

As my tear is the reflection of my blood-filled heart.

The following verses are autobiographical:

My age is over sixty-three, more or less,³³⁶

But my black-as-musk *qalam* is still young.

By God's grace I am still such,

As, in truth, not to spoil a sheet of paper.

Both in small and large (characters) I can still

Write "(God's) slave Sulṭān-'Alī."

A monument to the mastery of the maulānā, which will remain till the Day of Judgment, are the expressions and separate sentences which he traced on the marble slabs forming the sides of the mausoleum³³⁷ (*takht-i maqbara*) of Mīrzā

³³⁵ Meter: *muḍārī'*. The same verses are quoted also in the biographies of Sulṭān-'Alī in *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 69, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, p. 345, and *Mīrkhond*, vol. 7, p. 93.

³³⁶ Meter: *mutaqārib*. Also quoted in *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 69.

³³⁷ According to the chronicle of Mu'īn al-dīn Isfīzārī, the mountains of Herat were famous for their quarries of white stone, similar to marble; this

60. Mansūr [b. Mīrzā Bāyqara b. Mīrzā ‘Omar-shaykh b. Amir Timur], father of the late sovereign Mīrzā Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, which stands beside the *mazār* of the *pīr* of Herat Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī³³⁸—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 (*ṣuffa*) 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 pleasancess, and from whose site shine the lights of divine mercy and the traces of boundless benefaction, was erected over the tomb of the late Sulṭān Giyāth al-salṭana wal-dīn Maṣṣūr and his virtuous children in the year 882 (1477–78). The supreme grace (of the mausoleum) expresses it, while the zephyrs of the exalted Paradise are wafted from its amberlike fragrance.”

Chronogram

When Paradise showed its face from the tomb of Maṣṣūr-Sulṭān³³⁹
This very satisfactorily became the chronogram of the building.
Scrispit God’s slave: Sulṭān-‘Alī al-Mashhadī.

The tombstones of most of the Timurid princes and sons of Chaghatay amirs who are buried in that *mazār* and around that excellent town³⁴⁰ bear inscriptions by the maulānā.

stone was used for making columns, tombstones, etc.; see J.As., vol. 15 (1860), p. 486.

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

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

³⁴⁰ Apart from the above-mentioned Gāzargāh, the second burial place of the Herat nobility was Muṣallā, where N. Khanikoff found nine tombstones; *ibid.*, pp. 542–543.

Of the maulānā's pupils there are five who became celebrated: ³⁴¹ MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD ABRĪSHUMĪ, MAULĀNĀ SULṬĀN-MUḤAMMAD NŪR, MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD KHAN-DĀN, ³⁴² MAULĀNĀ ZAYN AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD and MAULĀNĀ MĪR 'ALĪ JĀMĪ. These five men developed into masters of writing (while they were) in attendance on Maulānā Sulṭān-'Alī; they were outstanding in their time and masters through the ages.

The "Epistle" (*risāla*) composed by Maulānā Sulṭān-'Alī on writing and the rules of teaching is as follows:

61. EPISTLE OF MAULĀNĀ SULṬĀN-'ALĪ

O *qalam*! Sharpen the tongue of explanation ³⁴³
 For the glorification of the Lord of the two worlds,
 The Lord who created the *qalam*
 And traced the decree of creation with that *qalam*.
 All that has been, is and will be
 He digned to record in the book of generosity.
 Even those who are perfect are annihilated in His being,
 Describers are powerless in the description of His qualities.
 He is himself the glorifier and himself God.
 Go and cry out: "Glory to Thee!"

*In praise of the Most Holy of Prophets and the Shah of Sanctity
 the Lion of God, the Conqueror, 'Alī son of Abī-Ṭālib* ³⁴⁴

As Muṣṭafā ³⁴⁵ 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,"

³⁴¹ [H adds: "Besides Maulānā Mīr-'Alī, who reached equality (*barabārī*) with his master," but then mentions the same five pupils. V. M.]

³⁴² Huart, p. 224, calls him the son of Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhadī. The Public Library of Leningrad possesses albums with samples of his work (Oriental, No. 147). [On the autograph of the "Epistle" see p. 19, n. 58.]

³⁴³ The "Epistle" is in the *khafīf* meter throughout.

³⁴⁴ [The subtitles and the division of the chapters are different in the three MSS.]

³⁴⁵ One of the names of the prophet Muhammad.

“The span of two bow-lengths” is his place and abode.³⁴⁶

Look at the tiers of the sky,

They are filled from end to end with pearls and jewels,

If they remain permanent, this is (the symbol) of God’s scattering (of
graces).³⁴⁷

Read and understand (from them) the explanation of the Prophet’s
ascent to heaven,

So as to know about the perfection of the Prophet,

The Prophet, the Hāshimite, 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.³⁴⁸

And when, turning his attention (*sar*) to writing, (God) dictated (?)
a book,

The writing was in Hebrew and *ma’qilī*.³⁴⁹

Murtaḍā (‘Alī) laid the foundations of the Kūfi script

And developed it.

And those other styles of writing, which masters

Invented, know they are also derived from the Kūfi.

The inventors, whose names are found in this chapter,

Are Ibn-Muqla and Ibn-Bawwāb.

The foundation (*masnad*) of the name of writing³⁵⁰ consists in the
practice of virtue,³⁵¹

In which case Murtaḍā-‘Alī is (present) from the beginning,

As he is present in all sciences.

He is the *imām* of sciences for those learned in science.

³⁴⁶ *Qor’ān*, LIII, 9: the Prophet at the moment of revelation was within this distance from God.

³⁴⁷ [*Nithār* is the term for throwing money to the crowd on solemn occasions. V. M.]

³⁴⁸ [I.e., *qul*: *huwa ’llāhu aḥad*, “say: He is One God,” *Qor’ān*, CXII, 1. I owe this explanation to my friend, Prof. A. Eghbal. The expected meaning would be that, before Muhammad, men received their guidance directly from God’s Oneness. V. M.]

³⁴⁹ See above, p. 53.

³⁵⁰ [*II*: “of the art of writing.”]

³⁵¹ Cf. above, p. 54.

Meekly did the amir acquire all this knowledge
 From the City of Knowledge.
 And he who comes to know the gates of the City of Knowledge,
 The treasury of knowledge becomes his asset in his temporary existence.
 The aim of Murtaḍā-'Alī in writing ³⁵²
 Was not merely characters and dots,
 But fundamentals, purity, virtue;
 And he pointed to this by the beauty of his writing.
 He who said: "Writing is one-half of knowledge"
 Is the leader of prophets in knowledge and mildness.
 It was with reference to the writing of Murtaḍā-'Alī
 That the Prophet said "one-half of knowledge."
 Such writing (in comparison) with the limitations of mankind!
 That was another pen and another hand!

63. The pure *qalam* of the Exalted Majesty
 Drank water from the spring of Paradise.
 His hand, scattering pearls, is the treasury of sustenance,
 His reed is the key to that house of sustenance,
 What shall I say about his ink and ink horn?
 It was the water of life concealed in Darkness.
 The dust of his feet is *kohl* for the eyes ³⁵³
 And must be kissed by angels and men.
 Harken as it behooves thee, to this couple of distichs,
 Which are from the *Ḥadīqa* in honor of the Lion of God:
 "For every enemy whom he threw off his feet,
 "Glory is upon his arm, and the striker is God." ³⁵⁴
 "Do not be ignorant concerning the sons of Hāshim,
 "And concerning (the verse) 'God's hand is over their hands!'" ³⁵⁵
 (That is how) the perfect ones praised the King,
 While they pierced all the pearls of meaning.
 But I, who have only sorrow in store,
 How shall I go to the Ka'ba, when I have no means.
 What pen that was, O God, and what a hand!
 When the *qalam* reached this place its tip broke off.

³⁵² Cf. above, p. 54.

³⁵³ [Omitted in *E. H* gives instead: "The sheet of paper covered with the writing of the Shah (of Sanctity)."]

³⁵⁴ *Ḥadīqa of Sanā'ī*, Bombay, 1275/1859, p. 131. [Misunderstood in *H*: "hear from me . . . for they are a *ḥadīqa* (garden) in praise of 'God' and 'the Lion.'"]

³⁵⁵ *Qor'ān*, XLVIII, 10.

*On the reasons for the composition of the book*³⁵⁶

Since my youth I was drawn to writing,
Streams (of tears) from between my eyelashes flowed because of my
love for writing.

I seldom loitered in the street,
And as much as I could, I wrote.

"At times out of his fingers he made a *qalam*.

"In dreams about penmanship he kept tracing."³⁵⁷

64. It happened one day that a penniless sayyid (Kostigova, Amīr)
Came to me in a pitiful state.

He found my *qalam*, paper and ink,
And for the first day wrote twenty-nine characters
And gave me a (new) soul.

From his favors I became joyful,
Because he was an *abdāl*³⁵⁸ and a possessor of *ḥāl*,³⁵⁹

And it was his *ḥāl* which altered the (whole) situation (*aḥwāl*).

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 'Alī,
I covered with embellishments (*ḥalī*) the *qalam* with which I wrote,³⁶⁰

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 (*khatṭ*) 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.³⁶¹

I dare not say more about it
For I am incapable of conversation.

Until a man has torn the curtain (of his isolation),

³⁵⁶ [H: "On the author's dispositions and the beginning of his studies."]

³⁵⁷ [The verb is in the 2d or 3d person singular and seems to be a quotation.
H omits this verse.]

³⁵⁸ The *abdāl* are the 70 righteous men for whose sake, according to Muslim tradition, God does not put an end to the universe.

³⁵⁹ *Ḥāl* (plur. *aḥwāl*) in common parlance is "circumstances," "conditions," but, as a ṣūfī term, it refers to "the state of mystic ecstasy."

³⁶⁰ [Possibly as a part of his vow (?). V. M.]

³⁶¹ [H omits this verse. V. M.]

Let him not have an evil opinion of me.
 I, Sulṭān-‘Alī, am ‘Alī’s slave.
 The renown of my writing is due to the name of ‘Alī.
 Let me speak day and night of ‘Alī and Valī (God’s beloved),
 Thus commemorating him both in private and in public.³⁶²

On himself

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

66. *On his progress*

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

³⁶² *Khaḥī va jalī* are also terms of calligraphy: “small and large script.”

From among the Turks, and from among the Tāzīks.
 They were all my friends and brothers,
 And all day long were with me.
 I shut the eyes of the head and opened the secret ones,
 For looking with the secret eyes is not wrong.
 The eyes of the head look for faults and are defective,
 But what the secret eyes have seen becomes cherished.

On how he became a calligrapher

After I had left the madrasa
 None saw me return there.
 I ensconced myself in a corner of my home.
 And from the burning of my breast spoke thus to my wounded heart:
 "O my heart! it is better either to say 'farewell' to writing,
 "And to wash the traces of script off the tablets of the heart,
 "Or to write in a way that people should talk of it
 "And entreat me for every letter."
 Then I settled down in complete earnest and zeal,
 In short, all day till nightfall,
 Like a *qalam*, I girt my loins for practice,
 Sitting on my heels.
 I withdrew from friends, relations and companions.
 And finally received encouragement.
 67. Said the Prophet, that king and leader—
 And do not turn away from the traditions of the Prophet!—
 "For him who knocks at a door in supplication,
 "That door will open."

Calligraphy

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

On the qalam

I shall first give an explanation about the *qalam*.
 Harken to the words as if coming from itself:
 The reed must be ruddy colored,

It must not be hard like stone,
 Nor black, nor too short, nor too long either.
 Remember, O youth! Necessarily
 It should be medium, neither thick nor thin,
 Its heart white, not dark,
 No bend in it, no knot.
 In the realm of writing it is a good tool.
 Should the reed be (too) hard or too soft,
 One should refuse the one and the other.³⁶³

How to make ink

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

³⁶³ According to Faḥḥullāh, 9a, several kinds of reed for making *qalams* were imported in the sixteenth century from Wāsiṭ, Āmol, Egypt, and Māzandarān. Those from Wāsiṭ were considered the best, those from Āmol following them in quality. Adam Olearius seems to refer to Wāsiṭ when he says (English transl. [1662], p. 332): "Their pens are brought partly from Shiraz, and partly from the Arabian Gulf, where they grow in quantity."

³⁶⁴ [H adds: "Add to it some soft rock alum. I have told you clearly what you should do."]

³⁶⁵ This recipe is found in Huart, pp. 222–223. Besides the recipe of Sulṭān-

On paper

There is no paper better than Chinese (*khiṭā'i*),³⁶⁶

However much you may try.³⁶⁷

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.³⁶⁸

The color of paper best for writing

There is no better color than that of Chinese (*khiṭā'i*) paper.³⁶⁹

There is no need for you to test:

Writing on it is good, it is also good for gold,

It is excellent and it embellishes good writing.

For writing slightly tinted (*nīm-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.³⁷⁰

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

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

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

³⁶⁸ [*H* adds: "Whether of the *rasmī* kind, or *sultānī*, try to buy the best."]

³⁶⁹ [Perhaps *hanā'i*, "color of henna." V. M.]

³⁷⁰ [*H* adds: "Write on red paper in white, and write carefully that your writing shows. If the paper is blue, it looks pleasant if the writing is in white." V. M.]

*On āhār-paste*³⁷¹

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 (*li'āb-i sirish*).
 Strain [so that it is] neither too thin nor too thick,
 Spread it on paper and see
 That the paper should not move from its place;
 When you are applying *āhār* to your paper
 Moisten the paper slightly with water, carefully.

70.

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 (*khāṭir-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."

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 ³⁷⁷

Whether of the fine, or of the large *naskh-i ta'liq*,
 The original inventor was Khwāja Mir-'Alī,
 His relation to 'Alī was pre-eternal (*azalī*?),
 And his pedigree goes up to 'Alī (son of Abī-Ṭālib).
 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. ³⁷⁸
 Do not reject him out of ignorance!
 Know that he was not without blessedness (or "without a birthplace") ³⁷⁹
 Scribes, old or new,
 Are gleaners in his field.
 (It is true that) Maulavī Ja'far and also Aẓhar
 Were masters of writing, the purest of the pure.
 But he (Mir-'Alī) was wonderful in all styles of writing,
 I have heard masters say so.
 His clear writing like his verse displayed full equilibrium.
 Praise to him—beyond all limits!

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

³⁷⁷ The expression *naskh-i ta'liq* can mean: "abrogation, abolishing of the *ta'liq*," and at the same time: "ta'liqised naskh (style)." A widespread tradition accepts the first explanation.

³⁷⁸ [A rather poor pun on the similar ending of *shakar-rīz* and *Tabriz*, the latter of which might be explained as "deliverer from fever." V. M.]

³⁷⁹ [*Filāyat* means both "sanctity" and "a province." V. M.]

³⁸⁰ Meaning the poet Kamāl Khujandī, who died in Tabriz in 803/1400.

On the form and the rules of writing

The outward aspect of writing consists of the fundamentals (*uṣūl*) and the shape (*tarkīb?*),

Whereas the arrangement (*tartīb*) consists of "setting" (*kursī*)³⁸¹ and proportions (*nisbat*).

After these there exist "the ascent" and "the descent,"

The *shamra*³⁸² also plays its part and is accepted,

But do not seek the *irsāl*³⁸³ in the *naskh-i ta'liq*;

About this subject there is no discussion.

In other styles of writing the *irsāl* 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 *qalamī*, and the other *naẓarī*.³⁸⁴

These words cannot be contested.³⁸⁵

Qalamī is the exercise in reproduction,

Exercising small (writing) during the day and large (writing) in the evening.

Naẓarī is to gaze at a writing

And to become aware of words, letters, and dots.

³⁸¹ *Kursi*, "a seat," is the disposition of letters in a scheme similar to a musical stave, see above, p. 58.

³⁸² Alias *tashnīr*, "flourish."

³⁸³ "Letting off," perhaps "final flourish."

³⁸⁴ The terms are clear: *qalamī* (from *qalam*, "the pen") is the actual practice in calligraphy; *naẓarī* (from *naẓar*, "to look") is the study of some style by means of observation.

³⁸⁵ *Nabuvad in sukhan nahī va marī* (?): "cannot be denied" (*nahy*), or "contested" (*marī*).

Actual writing

- Whatever writing you wish to reproduce (*naql*),
 Try not to hammer the iron when it is cold.
 Be patient over each letter,
 And not just give a glance and proceed carelessly.
74. Look at the "strength and weakness" of the letters,
 And have before your eyes their shape (*tarkīb*).
 Watch their "ascent" and "descent"
 Taking pleasure in both.
 Take account of the *shamr* ("flourish"?) of the writing,
 So that it be clear, clean, and satisfactory.
 When your writing has made progress,
 Seat yourself in a corner and do not idle about.
 Find some small manuscript
 Of good style and hold it before your eyes.
 In the same format, ruling, and kind of writing
 Prepare yourself to copy it.
 After that trace several letters
 And do not indulge in any complacency
 With regard to your copy, be careful
 Not to overlook any *à peu près*.
75. One must give full attention to the copy
 Completing one line (of it) after another.
 Not that beginning a line
 You should write a couple of faulty letters,
 And, leaving them stand, begin another letter.
 Refrain from such mistakes!
 For through mistakes no one will become someone.
 The reed mat will never become satin.

How to teach calligraphy and its canons

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

On the rules of writing

Several letters, the shape of which
 Is essentially similar, consider as the same.³⁸⁶
 I shall make clear before you without deficiency (*shayn*)
 The length of the lengthened *sīn* and the head of the *'ayn*.
 This is a versified discourse on letters
 From the *alif* to the *hamza* 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 (ḥurūf)

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

³⁸⁶ Following Ibn-Muqla, Fathullāh, 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. [*H*: "right or wrong, here they are." Kostigova gives more verses.]

³⁸⁸ Fathullāh, 19a-19b, says: "There should be some movement (*ḥarakat*) in the *alif*; in *muḥaqqaq* it is imperceptible, in *thulth* evident, in *tauqī'* and *riqā'* very evident, in *naskh* and *rayḥān* extremely imperceptible." The two degrees of imperceptibility, or evidence, of the element called *ḥarakat* ("movement") seems to refer to the thinness or thickness of the line, but not to its twisting or inclination. This latter characteristic is separately mentioned in another sentence where the *alif* of the "six styles" of writing is compared to a man

The *bey* and *tey*, if you are tracing them long,
 Raise their beginning above their tails; ³⁸⁹
 Should you write them short,
 You must draw them straight; be careful.
 Make the beginning of the *jīm* ³⁹⁰ the size of two-and-a-half dots,
 But how can I teach you how to draw its circle?
 When it does not turn out in writing,
 If I talk it over with you, it will be all right.

77. The *alifs* of the *kāf* are best long ³⁹¹
 And their ends are similar to the *bey* and *tey*;
 The length of the *sīn* 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 *ṣād* and a horseshoe
 And has no other shape, for it is the "eye" of 'Ali's name.
 (On the other hand) the head of the '*ayn* written with an "ascent,"
 Or the one which is joined to another letter, ³⁹³
 Consists of two horseshoes, even though (?) they are like a *ṣād*.
 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'liq*, as represented in sixteenth-century manuscript, is vertical and has the following characteristics: (1) in comparison with the *sitta* writing, its height is only 1:2 or 1:3; (2) its top is slanted and its bottom is brought down to the *shamra*; (3) it narrows imperceptibly down the whole body of the letter. Thus it seems to me that under the three "movements" of Sulṭān-'Alī's treatise can be understood: (1) the slanting of the top, (2) the narrowing of the body, and (3) the *shamra* of the bottom. The tenuousness of all these "movements" may account for the additional clause: "though this does not come from the *qalam*." [*H*: "although it *comes* from the *qalam*." V. M.]

³⁸⁹ In Faṭḥullāh's treatise, 19b-20a, the graphic representation of the letter *bā* and others similar to it is divided into two elements: the "shoulder" and the "straight," apparently corresponding to the "beginning" and "end" of Sulṭān-'Alī's treatise.

³⁹⁰ The letter *jīm* in Faṭḥullāh 20b is composed of two elements: the shoulder and the circle. The beginning—the shoulder in the "six" writings—was equal to six dots.

³⁹¹ The "*alif* of the *kāf*" is its vertical part.

³⁹² The author refers to the so-called "*sīn*, like a bow," i.e., the one written in a line and not with three teeth.

³⁹³ [This verse is found only in *H*, but even with it the description of the '*ayn* is obscure, V. M.]

To make the matter easy, one can describe them:
 The one as a "lion's jaws," and the other as a "dragon."³⁹⁴
 The *hey* has (the shape) of a *dāl* plus a *fey* and two *šāds*
 And these both give beauty and charm to the writing.³⁹⁵
 It is also possible for the *hey* to be made of two *šāds*,
 So that its "ascent" takes the form of two '*ayns*.
 There are also two or three other kinds of *hey*,³⁹⁶
 As is clear to men of discernment.³⁹⁷

*Correcting of writing disapproved*³⁹⁸

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

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

How to become a calligrapher

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

³⁹⁴ Fathullāh, 28b–30b, distinguishes six kinds of the letter '*ayn*. Sultān-'Alī refers to the '*ayn* with the head shaped as a horseshoe and the '*ayn* with the head shaped as the letter *šād*. As for the kinds, "lion's jaws" and "dragon's jaws," they are used, the first when the '*ayn* is joined with the preceding and the following letter, and the second when it is joined only with the preceding one.

³⁹⁵ [H adds: "It is nice if the *hey* is followed by a stretch (*madd*), for it produces a good and agreeable shape." V. M.]

³⁹⁶ Fathullah, 38a–38b and 42b–43b, distinguishes nine forms of the letter *hey*. Two of these are mentioned by Sultān-'Alī: the so-called "*hey* similar to the "*dāl*" is written either in the beginning or in the middle of a word (mainly when preceded either by a *lām* or a "tooth"); the second kind called "*hey*—two *šāds*"—is written after a *lām*, the design of this *hey* consisting of two superimposed *šāds*.

³⁹⁷ In Fathullāh's treatise the chapter on single characters is followed by the chapter on connected letters.

³⁹⁸ Cf. below, p. 201.

Even from your tender years.

Like unto a *qalam* you will rub your head against the paper.

Not resting a day or a night from labor,

Discard your desires,

Turn away from the road of covetousness and greed,

Wrestle with the cravings of the concupiscent soul,

Then you will know what a minor religious war is,³⁹⁹

And what the turning toward a major war.

What you do not admit for yourself

You will not disturb others with.

Beware, I have said to you, do not hurt a soul,

Because God's displeasure is incurred by the one who hurts a soul.

Let contentment and submission be your constant recitation (*vird*).

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

Murtaḍā ('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 Qor'ān,

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*.

³⁹⁹ Meaning the conquest of one's passions.

Had it not happened in the time of the Lord of the two Palaces (i.e., worlds),

When would you be free from worry and sorrow?

The aim of this humble one in writing this

Was (to say) with the utmost care:⁴⁰⁰

Retirement is necessary for writing and for knowledge.

Conceal yourself in a corner, to ascertain (this truth).

On forgiveness

80. A youth used to speak too much,
 Any moment he would tell some old story.
 By chance an old man happened to stop (there)
 To perform his *takbīr*.⁴⁰¹
 The youth said to him: "You, too,
 "Say something new, or old."
 The old man said: "If you are not confounded in your senses
 "What speech could be better than silence?"
 O scribe of Mashhad! You, too, hearken
 To the words of the old beggar and become silent;
 Because of the lesson (given to you) abandon your teaching,
 Profit by the old man's advice.
 In this world you did full justice to teaching,
 How is it that you have not seen the fruit (*ḥuqūq*) of your teaching?
 Now abandon⁴⁰² paper, the ink horn and the *qalam*,
 Those through which you have become an ensign in the world.
 During a long life you blackened white paper,
 But fortune did not take notice of this.
 And now, when your black (hair) has become white
 And you have given up hopes of life,
 Try from the fullness of your knowledge
 To beg forgiveness for your sins.
 Turn the pages of the book,
 Read the book of your life.

Reference to himself

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

⁴⁰⁰ *Az naqīr vaz-qaṭmīr*, "going to the very core of things."

⁴⁰¹ Prayer beginning with the words *allāhu akbar*—"God is great."

⁴⁰² *H*: "do not abandon," but Sulṭān-'Alī seems to hint at his disappointment with his lack of fortune.

^{402a} The autograph copy (Kostigova, 160) gives 84!

81. There was not much of them in my youth either,
 So what is the profit of lame excuses now?
 If I have nevertheless offered them to thee,
 O dear friend! it was (because) I conceal nothing.
 As a consequence of the grievous Frankish scourge
 I was crippled by the hand of the pox.
 For several years without interruption
 I was worn out with the complaint.
 With a broken heart and with no trace of strength (in the body)
 One cannot make better verses,
 Especially in Mashhad, ruined and deserted (*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) Mashhadī?⁴⁰⁴
 I wished to speak of myself and my situation,
 To give expression to my troubles (*malālat*).
 But as the mention of sorrow multiplies sorrow,
 It is meet that I cease writing.
 I come to the indication of the year and the month,
 In order to mark in black (the date of) this composition.

On the date of the composition of this discourse

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

82. When this prattle⁴⁰⁶ came to an end.

⁴⁰³ [Ḥasan Rūmlū, who in his *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, p. 140, wrongly records the death of Sulṭān-‘Alī in 919/1513, mentions a famine in Khorasan in 920/1524, with cases of cannibalism. V. M.]

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

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

⁴⁰⁶ [The usual meaning of *qāl-u maqāl* is “tumult, troubles,” and this may be a reference to the events in Khorasan. V. M.]

Finally, in this Epistle I have presented in writing
 The approximate exposition of the rules of calligraphy;
 Briefly speaking, whether I knew (anything), or did not know,
 I have recorded it to the best of my ability.
 I set out both my talent and my deficiency
 And made manifest what was concealed.
 Blessed are those who cover up the weaknesses (of others),⁴⁰⁷
 Not those who gladden the leader of the host of detractors (Satan).
 May God preserve those who veil weaknesses,
 In the name of the Prophet, and his honorable family!

MAULĀNĀ SĪMĪ NĪSHĀPŪRĪ was an extremely gifted master of the arts. He became a master calligrapher in Holy 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 (*rang-āmiẓī*), preparing ink (*siyāhi?*), gold sprinkling, and ornamenting in gold. He wrote a treatise⁴⁰⁹ on the arts and (another) on the epistolary art (*tarassul*), and is a master (in these subjects). In view of his good auspices, children of the nobles used to come to learn something from him, and everyone under his tuition attained some rank. KHWĀJA 'ABD AL-HAYY, munshī, is his pupil. Contemporaries regarded (him) as an undisputed (master). It is reported that for a bet (*ba-da'vā*) Maulānā Sīmī 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 nature⁴¹⁰
 Sīmī recited and wrote two thousand verses. . . .

This verse is also his:

The heart of this unfortunate one, needy and full of yearning⁴¹¹
 From love for your eyebrows is bouncing up to the ceiling.

⁴⁰⁷ I.e., those who are meek and understanding.

⁴⁰⁸ Fathullāh, 17a; "and of styles of writing there are seven: *muḥaqqaq*, *thulth*, *tauqī'*, *rayhān*, *naskh*, *riqā'*, and *ghubār*." Cf. above, p. 25.

⁴⁰⁹ [II: several treatises.]

⁴¹⁰ *Rubā'ī*.

⁴¹¹ Meter: *hazaj*.

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 Simī likened it to that mouth (i.e., those teeth?).⁴¹⁴

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

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

The Mīr at first studied under Maulānā Zayn al-dīn Maḥ-mūd,⁴¹⁶ after which, in Holy Mashhad, he joined the serv-
84. ice of Maulānā Sulṭān-'Alī; there he exercised himself and achieved his development. He brought the art of the large and small (script), and the writing of samples (*qit'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 Imām Riḍā, equal in degree to the highest

⁴¹² Meter: *ramal*. [*Lab-i bām*, "The rays of the sun have reached the edge of the roof" (i.e., are dying there). This is the usual Persian simile for any one of whose life only the last rays can be seen. V. M.]

⁴¹³ Meter: *hazaj*. [The almond wishes to take its place in the row of the teeth of the beloved? The clue to the enigma could not be discovered. *Maghz* can mean also the brain, the kernel of a grain. V. M.]

⁴¹⁴ The biography of Simī Nishāpūri who, in addition to his colossal poetic output, possessed a similarly inordinate appetite, is recorded in Huart, p. 107 (according to Daulat-shāh and Khwāndamīr). [The reason why *H*, p. 28, has transferred his biography before that of Sulṭān 'Alī (see above, p. 101) may be chronological. *H* adds that Simī was a contemporary of Mīrzā 'Alā al-daula, son of Bāysunqur, son of Shāhrukh. This Prince, who was a rival of Ulugh-beg, was born in 820/1417 (see Barthold, *Ulugh-beg*, p. 119) and died in 865/1460 (see Lane-Poole, p. 227, table). According to Zambaur he died in 863 (?). *H* abridges the poetical quotations. V. M.]

⁴¹⁵ Meter: *muḍāri'*. Compare the names of *Mir-'Alī* and *Sulṭān-'Alī*.

⁴¹⁶ Pupil of Sulṭān-'Alī, see above, p. 106.

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

Peace on the family of the suras *Tā-hā* and *Yāsīn!* ⁴¹⁷

Peace on the family of the best of the prophets!

Peace on the Flower-garden in which he is exalted.

(Peace) on the Imām, protecting the “kingdom” and the “faith.”

The true Imām, the absolute king,

The sanctuary of whose doors is the place of genuflexion for sultans,

The king of the palace of mystic knowledge, the blossom of the garden of generosity,

The moon of the Zodiac of potentiality (*imkān*), the pearl of the casket of greatness.

‘Alī ibn-Mūsā Riḍā, whose title from his God

Became *riḍā*,⁴¹⁸ because benevolence was his practice.

The houris of Paradise seek the fragrance of his countenance,⁴¹⁹

And the dust of his abode for their musk-scented tresses.

If you wish to pluck his gown,⁴²⁰

Go, draw away the skirts of your garments from everything that is not he.

The servant of the family of ‘Alī: ‘*Alī al-Ḥusaynī*.⁴²¹

He added to it (*sar nivishta*) the following last verse of a *ghazal* (by Jāmī?):

When Jāmī ⁴²² has tasted the sweetness of the sword of his love,⁴²³

What grief, if he is smitten by the dagger of the hatred of a foe.

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

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

⁴¹⁷ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

⁴¹⁸ *Riḍā* means “benevolence, mercy.”

⁴¹⁹ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

⁴²⁰ Meter: *ramal*.

⁴²¹ I.e., the poet Mīr-‘Alī.

⁴²² Famous poet (b. in 817/1414, d. in 898/1492) who lived at the court of the Timurids Abū-Sa‘īd and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. [*H* adds that Jāmī was one of the admirers (*‘ushshāq*) of Sulṭān-‘Alī, and refers to his own *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā*. V. M.]

⁴²³ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

⁴²⁴ Meter: *ramal*.

A memory about which men of the pen shall speak.
 For the chronogram of the month and year of the inscription, today,
 The tenth of Dhul-qa'da, the *Pen of Fate* has written its decree.⁴²⁶

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 Imām,⁴²⁶
 Heir of the prophet's knowledge, descendant of the Commander of
 the Faithful.
 That King of Kings, whose threshold of glory
 Has become the *Kā'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 Imām."⁴²⁷

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 Zāhīr al-dīn Muḥammad Bābur-mīrzā⁴²⁸ ibn-'Omar-shaykh ibn-Sulṭān Abū-Sa'īd ibn-Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn-Mīrzā Mīrān-shāh ibn Amīr-Timur Gūrkān, lord of Indian kingdoms:

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

⁴²⁵ The numeric value of the letters composing the words *kilk-i qaḍā*, "Pen of Fate," is $20 + 30 + 20 + 100 + 800 + 1 = 971$. 10 Dhul-qa'da 971 was 21 June 1564, but in the light of the biographical data of Mīr-'Alī quoted on p. 130, this date seems doubtful. If we take for chronogram *dahum-i Dhī-qa'da* the date will be 938/1531. [*E* deciphers the chronogram as 928/1521, which seems to be wrong. V. M.]

⁴²⁶ Meter: *ramal*.

⁴²⁷ The chronogram contained in those words gives: $40 + 4 + 8 + 1 + 40 + 1 + 40 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 40 + 10 + 50 = 939$ /A.D. 1532-33.

⁴²⁸ Founder of the Great Moghul dynasty in India, d. in 937/1530.

⁴²⁹ Meter: *ramal*.

The sovereign of the virtuous, the sea of generosity, the mine of kindness,
The leader of the talents, Shāh Muḥammad Bābur.⁴³⁰

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

You are the leader of the century and the head of all the homeless,
You are the valorous khāqān and the Khiḍr⁴³¹ of the times.
After your writings there is no longer in the universe
Any other compendium of ideas, O Shah of the kingdom of letters.

This *rubā'ī* (in Chaghatay Turkish) the Mīr composed in Bukhārā for 'Ubayd-khān Uzbek⁴³² and wrote it in large characters:

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

This *rubā'ī*⁴³³ was composed by the Mīr 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 *Mahdī* is also by the Mīr:

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

⁴³⁰ In the original *Bābur* rhymes with *Timur*.

⁴³¹ Prophet who found "the water of life" and acquired immortality.

⁴³² 'Ubaydullāh-khān ibn-Maḥmūd, nephew of Shaybānī-khān, ruled in Bukhārā from 1512, was at the head of all the Uzbeks from 1533, and died in 1539; see Barthold, "Istoriya kulturnoy zhizni Turkestana," p. 97. *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 20, mentions him as a poet.

⁴³³ [Before this *rubā'ī*, *H* inserts a *maṭla'* and a *rubā'ī* which must be read jointly in a complicated way and which are apparently dedicated to a minister called Sharaf al-mulk Ḥabibullāh. V. M.]

⁴³⁴ The same *rubā'ī*, slightly altered, is found in the biography of Mīr-'Alī in the *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 47. [The solution of the riddle is that the man who fell

Who has all at once freed himself from the shackles of reason,
Who in the taverns has become bereft of head and feet.

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

87. There are five virtues; if they are not jointly present in one's writing⁴³⁵
One cannot reasonably expect to become a calligrapher:
Opportunity of nature, knowledge of writing, a good hand,
Patience in trials, and a perfect set of equipment.
If of these five one be missing
No good will be achieved, try it even for a hundred years.

The maulānā lived for a long time in the capital, Herat. When in 935/1528–29 'Ubayd-khān Uzbek captured Herat—in the days when the late Ḥusayn-khān Shāmlu was its governor and (the) guardian (*lala*) to the Prince, the angelic Sām-mīrzā—he carried off Maulānā Mīr-'Alī, together with other notables of Herat, to Bukhārā.⁴³⁶ The Mīr spent some time in Bukhārā in the *kitāb-khāna* of 'Abd al-'Azīz-khān,⁴³⁷ son of 'Ubayd-khān. The following poem (*qit'a*) was composed by the Mīr in Bukhārā, at a time of extreme distress and anxiety of mind, and became known the world over:

A long life of exercise bent my body like a harp,⁴³⁸
Until the handwriting of this unfortunate one had become of such
a canon

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

⁴³⁵ Meter: *ramal*.

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

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

⁴³⁸ Meter: *ramal*.

That all the kings of the world sought me out, whereas
 In Bukhārā, for means of existence, my liver is steeped in blood⁴³⁹
 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

Alas! Mastery in calligraphy has become a chain on the feet of
 this demented one.

In Bukhārā the maulānā departed for the world of eternity⁴⁴¹—on him the clemency of the beloved God! Albums (*muraqqa'*), specimens (*qiṭ'a*), and writings of the Mīr are scattered throughout the inhabited quarter of the world.

KHWĀJA MAḤMŪD IBN-KHWĀJA IṢḤAQ AL-SHAHĀBĪ is a native of the village Siyāvushān⁴⁴² of Herat. His father Khwāja-Iṣḥaq, at the time of the governorship of Durmīshkhan Shāmlū,⁴⁴³ was mayor (*kalāntar*) of Herat. When, as already mentioned, 'Ubayd-khān seized Herat, he took away
 88. Khwāja Iṣḥaq with his family (*kūch*) and children to Bukhārā. As Maulānā Mīr-'Alī was traveling in the same company, in consideration of their being of the same town, he took Khwāja Maḥmūd as his pupil. Khwāja Maḥmūd, who received education and made progress (under his tuition) reached such a degree (of perfection) that some prefer his writing to that of the Mīr. The Mīr himself used to say: "I have acquired

⁴³⁹ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 129, connects the couplet with the biography of Aqā-Riḍā, and substitutes Isfahan for Bukhārā.

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

⁴⁴¹ Huart, p. 227, gives 966/1558-59 as the date of Mīr-'Alī's death, adding that, according to one of the manuscripts of *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, the date of his demise might be 951/1544. In the printed edition of *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī* the date of Mīr-'Alī's death is omitted. Cf. below, p. 128, n. 425. [H quotes a chronogram composed by Mīr-'Alī on the foundation of the *madrasa-yi 'ālī-yi Mīr-i 'Arab*, which gives 942/1535. On the other hand, according to H, p. 39, 'Mīr-'Alī died in 940/1533, though it is possible that the last digit (nought) was meant to be rectified. V. M.]

⁴⁴² Village near Herat, celebrated for its fruit; see Isfīzārī in Barbier de Meynard, J.As., vol. 15 (1860), p. 477.

⁴⁴³ See above, p. 130, n. 436.

a pupil better than myself,"⁴⁴⁴ and he wrote about him the following poem:

For some time Khwāja Maḥmūd⁴⁴⁵
 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 (*khatt*) acquired the form of calligraphy
 (*tahrīr*).
 With regard to him no oversight has occurred, shortcomings have
 not taken place,
 Neither does he show any failings.
 Good and bad—whatever he writes.
 He does it all in the name of this humble one.⁴⁴⁶

89. Khwāja Maḥmūd spent some time in Bukhārā, but grew weary of the place, traveled to Balkh and took up residence there. Many people assembled round him and he had no need of making inscriptions and producing specimens; therefore his writing is scarce. The intimates of the local sultans coming to see him importuned him (with requests) for *qit'a*. He played well on the lute and the *shiturgha*⁴⁴⁷ and talked mainly about games and entertainments.⁴⁴⁸

MAULĀNĀ MAḤMŪD CHAPNIVĪS ("left-handed")⁴⁴⁹ 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: *khafif*.

⁴⁴⁶ These verses, *minus* the first and second couplets, are also quoted in the *'Ālam-ārā*, pp. 124–125. In the same incomplete version they are found in Huart, p. 229.

⁴⁴⁷ A Central Asian stringed instrument.

⁴⁴⁸ According to Huart, p. 229, he died in Herat in 991/1583 (?). [According to *H* he often signed his specimens with the following verse: "This is the exercise of Maḥmūd al-Shahābī, whose like you will never find in the world."]

⁴⁴⁹ [*M* and *E* seem to confuse him with his son. *H*, p. 40, devotes only a few words to *Maulānā Kamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd Rafīqī* of Herat, who also wrote poetry. All the remaining part of the paragraph appears under the name of *Maulānā Majnūn Chapnivīs, son of Kamāl al-dīn Rafīqī*.] The word *chap*, the left side, means also the obverse, the inside out. Hence *chapnivīsī* is writing done in reverse, as on seals. According to Huart, p. 107, n. 1, masters who were called *chapnivīs* wrote with the left hand.

tions of letters formed images of men and beasts. Thus he wrote the hemistich: "The price of sugar and candy has come down because of the sugar plantations (?)," ⁴⁵⁰ on two sides, ⁴⁵¹ in the shape of three or four men standing one under the other, and both the figures and the writing were executed with perfect skill and charm. Under his pen name, *Majnūn*, he wrote the poem called *Nāz-o-niyāz*; he dedicated his other poem, *Laylī-va-Majnūn*, to the late Sām-mīrzā; and His Highness the Mīrzā, in his anthology called *Tuḥfat al-Sāmī* (sic) speaks of him at some length. ⁴⁵²

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

The turquoise of the sky is in your signet ring, ⁴⁵³
The face of the earth is entirely under your seal.

Maulānā Maḥmūd ⁴⁵⁴ Majnūn wrote an epistle on writing and expounded the teaching of letters—how they should and might be written. ⁴⁵⁵

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

⁴⁵⁰ *Shakaristān* 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 *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 85: "(Majnūn) composed in my honor an episode in verse in the meter of *Laylī-va-Majnūn*. In it he speaks about writing, ink, the coloring of paper, etc. *This* much has remained in my memory:

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

⁴⁵³ Meter: *muḍārī'*. The couplet is quoted in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 2, p. 137, and in *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 85.

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. Kratchkovsky.

let him write so much as to become blind." SHAYKH 'ABDUL-LĀH KĀTĪB was a recognized calligrapher of Herat. For 45 years he was in attendance on Mir 'Alī-Shir. Despite his high rank he was a simple man. He wrote extremely well and was an expert on the writings of the masters. His verse is quoted:

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

MAULĀNĀ SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD, son of Maulānā Nūrul-lāh, known everywhere as "Sultān Muḥammad Nūr," was a good pupil of Maulānā Sultān-'Alī and a recognized calligrapher of Herat and wrote very well in a minute hand. MAULĀNĀ SULTĀN MUḤAMMAD KHANDĀN was also good in calligraphy, poetry, and riddles, and spent all his life as a scribe in Herat. In writing specimens he was peerless.]

90. MAULĀNĀ 'ABDĪ⁴⁵⁶ was a native of Nishāpūr. He wrote in *nasta'liq* very well, was an incomparable scribe and, having become the intimate of sultans, spent the greater part of his time in the service of the most just of khāqāns, Shah Tahmāsp of undying memory. He was a self-effacing (*fānī*) man, with the habits of a darvīsh and gentle manners. He wrote good poetry. Here is a specimen of his poetry:

As the throne of the sultanate, the dust of that door suffices us,⁴⁵⁷
The lightning of our sighs, which forms a golden crown on our
heads, suffices us.

O heart! Like 'Abdī, keep tightened the reins of patience.

If love of the moonlike is to be sought passionately, this much suffices us.⁴⁵⁸

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-'Alī and Mir-'Alī."⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ 'Abdī is a contraction for 'Abdullāh, cf. Huart, p. 224.

⁴⁵⁷ Meter: *muḍārī'*.

⁴⁵⁸ See the poem quoted in *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 81. The same source (written in 957/1550) says: "He departed in these (one or) two years." This suggests that he died about 1548-50.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. above, p. 62, the story of Aḥmad Rūmī.

- MAULĀNĀ NIZĀM AL-DĪN SHĀH MAḤMŪD ZARĪN-QALAM⁴⁶⁰ 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-'Alī and Mīr-'Alī]. His calligraphic samples, both in a large and a small hand, are numerous. He wrote (Nizāmī's) *Khamsa* in minute script (*ghubār*) for the late Shah Tahmāsp, and all the masters certified that no calligrapher had ever written according to that canon with such clearness. This *Khamsa* was additionally
91. (adorned) with miniatures by Master Behzād, the painter.⁴⁶¹ All through the days of his progress and youth, of his growth and development, in short of his life and existence, the Maulānā was in attendance at the court of the late Shah Tahmāsp. For some time he resided in the capital, Tabriz, in the madrasa *Naṣriya*, in the upper story (*bālā-khāna*), on the north side of that place. In the end, when that monarch, having wearied of the field of calligraphy and painting, occupied himself with important affairs of state, with the well-being of the country and the tranquillity of his subjects,⁴⁶² the maulānā, having obtained leave, came to Holy Mashhad, equal in degree to the highest sphere of heaven, and took up residence there. He lived there on the upper floor of the madrasa known as the *Qadam-gāh-i ḥaḍrat-i imām*, which lies beside the *Chahār-bāgh*, and spent his time in pilgrimages and worship. In the meantime he (continued) his work, writing specimens of calligraphy. Virtuous friends visited him and enjoyed conversation with him. Thus he lived for some 20 years. The maulānā never chose to have a family life (*kadkhudā'i*); he did not marry, but worked and lived in accordance with the sacred *āyat*: "God announceth John to thee, who shall be a witness

⁴⁶⁰ C. C. Edwards, pp. 202–205: text and English translation of the biography of Shāh-Maḥmūd Zarīn-qalam, i.e., "Golden Pen"; Huart, p. 225, mistakenly gives this nickname to 'Abdī, though it belongs to Shah-Maḥmūd, as confirmed in *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 124.

⁴⁶¹ The same in Huart, p. 239, but this author mistakenly calls Shāh-Maḥmūd the pupil of Mīr-'Alī and Sulṭān-'Alī; see *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 81.

⁴⁶² Shah Tahmāsp's loss of interest in art is also mentioned in the *'Ālam-ārā*, pp. 127 and 135. The shah released from his service not only calligraphers and painters, but also musicians.

to the word which comes from God, and a great one, chaste, and a prophet of the number of the just.”⁴⁶³ He remained unmarried, had neither kith nor kin, and was retired and alone. From no source had he any pension or grants of land (*soyūr-ghāl*), and he received no patronage from anyone. He died in Mashhad in the year 972/1564–65,⁴⁶⁴ and was buried beside the tomb of the late Maulānā Sulṭān-‘Alī. Maulānā Shāh-
 92. Maḥmūd composed very good poetry of various kinds, such as *qaṣīda*, *ghazal*, *qiṭ‘a*, and *rubā‘ī*.⁴⁶⁵ The following verses are from a *qaṣīda* of his in praise of His Holiness the Hero-Imām—on him blessings and peace! He wrote it in a large hand and placed it in the passage of the mausoleum (*dār al-siyāda*):

O God, although throughout his life Maḥmūd the scribe⁴⁶⁶
 Has blackened (his book) with disobedience,
 Draw thou a line of pardon through the record of his sins
 For the sake of ‘Alī, son of Mūsā, son of Ja‘far.
 Have mercy! For I have no means
 And have spent all my time in ignorance.
 Every moment, remembering my past sins,
 I moisten (*tar*) my face with tears of repentance!
 In thy clemency, O forgiving king,
 Draw Thou a line right through the record of his sins.

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

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

⁴⁶³ *Qor‘ān*, III, p. 34.

⁴⁶⁴ Huart wrongly separates Maḥmūd of Nīshāpūr (p. 226) from Maulānā Maḥmūd (p. 239) and takes 952/1545 as the date of the former’s *divān* and 970/1562 as the date of the latter’s death.

⁴⁶⁵ [E adds that the number of poems composed by Nīzām al-dīn was 500. V. M.]

⁴⁶⁶ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

⁴⁶⁷ [The following quotations are omitted in *H*, which refers the reader to the author’s *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā*.]

⁴⁶⁸ Meter: *mujtathth*.

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 Maḥmūd has withdrawn himself from the world,
 Has found much happiness in the corner of poverty and contentment.

Also by him :

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

Also by him :

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

Also by him :

To the country where there is not a single beauty,⁴⁷¹
 I shall not go, even if it were all Paradise,
 Because besides that beautiful countenance
 All that exists in the world is hideous in my eyes.

Also by him :

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

⁴⁶⁹ Meter: *hazaj*. This fragment (*qiṭ'a*) has been omitted by Mrs. Edwards, pp. 202-205.

⁴⁷⁰ Meter: *hazaj*.

⁴⁷¹ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

⁴⁷² Meter: *khafif*.

94. In the year 964/1557 when this humble and lowly one was young, he came to Holy Mashhad and for eight years remained by that mausoleum similar to Paradise. The maulānā was engaged in writing inscriptions and samples of calligraphy; for eight more years he was still in the fetters of life, and by times I practiced and studied calligraphy with the maulānā.⁴⁷³

MAULĀNĀ QĀSIM SHĀDĪSHĀH was a recognized calligrapher, looked upon as a rival to Maulānā Sulṭān-Muḥammad Khandān. He prepared elegant samples of calligraphy (*qit'a*).⁴⁷⁴

MAULĀNĀ JAMSHĪD MU'AMMĀ'Ī⁴⁷⁵ was the son of Maulāna Aḥmad Rūmī,⁴⁷⁶ but he grew up in Herat, and there became a master of writing. In the art of riddles he has never had his equal nor his like, and he is one of the renowned.

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

Master⁴⁷⁷ MĪR SAYYID-AḤMAD MASHHADĪ was one of the

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

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

⁴⁷⁵ Nickname meaning "composer of riddles."

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

⁴⁷⁷ [In *E* the author uses the form *ustādī* "my master(?)." V. M.]

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

⁴⁷⁸ *Kāpānāk* is the coarse woolen cloak of a shepherd.

⁴⁷⁹ *‘Ālam-ārā*, p. 124, reports that Mīr-Sayyid Aḥmad’s calligraphic works were widely spread in India and Central Asia.

⁴⁸⁰ Aqā Kamāl al-dīn Zayn al-‘Ibād is mentioned in the list of vazirs of Khorasan; see *‘Ālam-ārā*, p. 121.

96. The Mīr had two distinguished pupils who were his favorites and to whom he clung with his heart; they were both natives of Mashhad and they achieved great success.

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

The other pupil was MAULĀNĀ ‘ALĪ-RIDĀ. Both he and Ḥasan-‘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 Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad was working on behalf of the Private Purse department) Shah Tahmāsp, owing to reports of certain envious persons, withdrew his favor from him and requested him to repay the salaries and assignments of the (previous) years.⁴⁸¹ With the aid of certain merchants, and by disposing of some of his property, the Mīr 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 Mīr Murād-khan of Māzandarān, who during a year’s stay in Mashhad for pious purposes, had established relations with the Mīr, suddenly sent a certain person to invite him with (the promise) of a fixed salary. (The Mīr) went to Māzandarān and spent several years in that province, but⁴⁸² again returned to Mashhad to see his children. At that time the Shah, equal in glory to Jamshīd, Ismā‘il II,⁴⁸³ ascended the throne. He sent someone after the Mīr 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‘ādat-ābād garden. When Shah Ismā‘il departed this world, the Mīr once again returned to

⁴⁸¹ *Taḥvīlāt va soyūrghālāt-i sanavāt-rā ītlāq numūd.*

⁴⁸² [*H*: “By that time Mīr Murād died and the Mīr returned to Mashhad.” According to *H* the Mīr, while in Māzandarān, copied the *Lavā‘ih* of Jāmi.]

⁴⁸³ Ruled 984-986/1576-78.

Māzandarān and died there in the year 986/1578–79. The Mir had two good sons who also were learning calligraphy but did not take the Mir's place. The Mir composed very good poetry and at times performed acts of charity. The following verses belong to him:

In the nights of separation from you, O silver-bodied one, I burn.⁴⁸⁴
You are the candle of the feast of others, while I am burning.

Also by him (*rubā'ī*):

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

Also by him (*rubā'ī*):

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 (*mufriḍāt*), and many specimens of calligraphy (*qiṭ'a*). Owing to the revolutions of Time, the events, the disturbances of perfidious Fate, and the annoyances of evil men, they have all been lost.

98. MAULĀNĀ MĀLIK, though known as a Daylamī, was a native of Fīlvākūsh of Qazvin.⁴⁸⁵ At first he exercised himself under the guidance of his father, Maulānā Shahrā-mīr,⁴⁸⁶ in *thulth* writing. He wrote *naskh* and the "six styles" excellently. No one could distinguish his unsigned writings from those of the masters of the "six." Then he followed the course (*wāḍī*) of the *nasta'liq* and in this hand became famous in his own

⁴⁸⁴ Meter: *ramal*.

⁴⁸⁵ According to *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 124, Maulānā Mālik was a Daylamite of Qazvin.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. p. 75. [The name sounds Daylamite.]

age, and acquired a greater reputation than anybody at any time. He distinguished himself in virtue and spiritual guidance (*maulaviyat*);⁴⁸⁷ most of his time he spent in study and disputation.⁴⁸⁸ At first he was in the royal camp on the staff of the late Qāḍī-yi Jihān Vakīl. In those days the teacher of scholars, Khwāja Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd Shīrāzī (see above, p. 77), who was one of the greatest and most profound scholars, was also on that exalted staff, and Maulānā Mālik studied under him [*H*: explanation of the *Qor'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 Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā. In 964/1556–57 he accompanied the Mīrzā to Mashhad and spent a year and a half in that sacred place (*rauḍa*). In those days this humble one was learning the rudiments of calligraphy under his guidance. When the Lord of Sulṭāns, the spreader of the faith of the Imāms (Shah Tahmāsp), completed the building of the *daulat-khāna*⁴⁸⁹ in the capital of 99. 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 inscriptions in the Sa'ādat-ābād garden are in his writing, while the chronogram in the garden is by the late Qāḍī 'Atā-allāh Varāmīnī. It is excellently said and well turned:

O, how lofty is the beautiful castle of the great shah,⁴⁹⁰
 Whose threshold has reached Saturn.
 When the shah ascends to its top, Reason says:
 Moses has taken up residence on Mt. Sinai.
 I have been thinking of the year of its completion—
 And from one hemistich two dates have resulted.

⁴⁸⁷ Huart, p. 232: Maulānā Mālik belonged to the Naqshbandī order of darvīshes.

⁴⁸⁸ [*H* adds: He studied most of the sciences, such as astronomy, grammar, logic, and rhetoric and was especially skilled in mathematics, namely in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music (the latter considered by Muslims as a part of mathematics). V. M.]

⁴⁸⁹ Government buildings.

⁴⁹⁰ Meter: *mutaqārib*. [Omitted in *H*.]

When the shah inquired about the date, I said:
 "The loftiest Paradise" and "the best of dwellings."⁴⁹¹

The inscription on the portico (*ayvān*) of Chihil-sutūn reproduces the *ghazal* of Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ:

At dawn the constellation of the Gemini presented (its) baldric
 before me,⁴⁹²

Meaning—"I am the shah's slave and I take my oath."

Cupbearer, approach! because with the concurrence of propitious
 fortune,

God has granted the fulfillment of my desire.

O shah! Even though I may raise the throne of virtue up to God's
 dais,

I am still but a slave of this Majesty and a beggar at this door.

If you disbelieve this tale of this slave,

In its support I shall quote the words of 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 Men⁴⁹⁴
 We recognize no other leader than 'Alī;
 We are dust of the feet of Abū-Dhar Ghaffār,⁴⁹⁵
 Slaves of the faith of Salmān.
 Concerning our loyalty and love for Ḥaydar
 Whatever you may say, we are a thousand times more.
 Thirsty for the road of Karbalā and Najaf,
 We are pilgrims of the Khorasanian Ka'ba.
 All that can be said in praise of Murtaḍā,

⁴⁹¹ The numerical value of both chronograms is 969, which corresponds to A.D. 1561-62. According to Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the palace gardens in Qazvin were begun on Shah Tahmāsp's personal plans in 950/1543-44. In *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, p. 196, this detail is missing.

⁴⁹² Meter: *muḍārī'*. [*H* completes the text of the *ghazal* which consists of 26 couplets; see the edition of M. Qazvinī and Dr. Ghānī, No. 329.]

⁴⁹³ [*H*: He wrote it in 966/1558.]

⁴⁹⁴ Meter: *khafīf*.

⁴⁹⁵ One of 'Alī'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-din
 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.⁴⁹⁶

He was a calligrapher, a scholar, a darvīsh following the right path,
 He was the Yāqūt of his age; the day when he left this world,
 Has become the chronogram of his death: "Yāqūt of the century—
 Mālik."⁴⁹⁷

He composed good verse, mostly *qaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. For the Prince Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-mirzā he wrote the poem *Gūy-u-chougān*, 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,⁴⁹⁸
 But when you looted the base ("foot") of my heart, you opened
 the hand of oppression.

By him also:

A stranger is not the lover of my beloved from the depth of the
 heart,⁴⁹⁹
 He only shows himself in love to torture me.

⁴⁹⁶ Meter: *muḍārī'*.

⁴⁹⁷ The numerical value of the chronogram is 968, or A.D. 1560–61. This date differs by one year from Qāḍī Aḥmad's indication. Huart's date is 960/1553, *loc. cit.*, p. 238.

⁴⁹⁸ Meter: *muḍārī'*.

⁴⁹⁹ Meter: *ramal*.

By him also :

My whole body is covered with bruises from the stones thrown
by her fingers,⁵⁰⁰

My body is the palm tree of sorrow, and these are its flowers.

This fragment, too, is by him :

Mālik! It is better for you not to seek a friend,⁵⁰¹

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 Qor'ān in *nasta'liq*, but has not been fortunate enough to complete it; perhaps he has⁵⁰² 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 IBRĀHĪM by name. He excelled in his studies and in poetry, his pen name being *Ṣaghīrī*. After Mirzā Makhdūm Sharifī⁵⁰³ fled to Turkey (*Rūm*), he, too, fled thither and died there.

MĪR ṢADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD is the son of Mirzā Sharaf-i Jahān. He is one of the Sayfī sayyids sprung from Ḥasan and resident in the capital, Qazvin. His virtues and perfections in every kind of art, in addition to poetry, are greater than can be described. His noble name is mentioned in this book because of his mastery in calligraphy. He exercised himself in the *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 (*Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*). Let us hope that he will be successful in completing this work, in the form in which his bountiful thought has planned it.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁰ Meter: *hazaj*.

⁵⁰¹ Meter: *ramal*.

⁵⁰² [Both *M* and *E* give "has," whereas *H* uses "had," and for both the illustrative verses refers to the author's *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*.]

⁵⁰³ Mirzā Makhdūm Sharifī was one of the intimates of Parī-khān khānum and, like this Princess, was in favor of the reunion of the *ṣhi'a* with the *sunna*. During the short reign of Ismā'il II he was one of the two ṣadrs (*'Ālam-ārā*, p. 110). [*H* omits the mention of the son.]

⁵⁰⁴ *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 125, confirms Qāḍī Aḥmad's praise of Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥam-

[*H* carries the events much farther. It explains that this *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* had been planned after the homonymous work of Daulat-shāh. After 40 years' work the copy remained unfinished. For 10 years Şadr al-dīn Muḥammad received subventions for its completion from Shah 'Abbās. Finally he despaired of this task and asked Qāḍī Aḥmad to lend him his own *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* to publish it "in this disguise." He induced the Shah to request the copy from Qāḍī Aḥmad but the latter excused himself by saying that it was not ready. Then Şadr al-dīn had recourse to slander and said that 45 years before, when Qāḍī Aḥmad's father was vazir in Mashhad he took a book from the library and it remained in Qāḍī Aḥmad's possession. In order to complete his *Tadhkira* Şadr al-dīn wanted this book. "No Qazvinī has ever uttered such nonsense."⁵⁰⁵ By this intrigue the mind of the Shah was poisoned and he dismissed Qāḍī Aḥmad, who returned to Qum. When in the month of Şafar His Eminence the Şadr Mir Abul-Vālī Injū came to Qum, Qāḍī Aḥmad swore to him on the Qor'ān that Şadr al-dīn's claim was a sheer lie and invoked the judgment of Imām Riḍā and his sister (buried in Qum). In the same Şafar, Şadr al-dīn left Isfahan for Khorasan but suddenly died in Rabi' al-awwal 1007/October 1598 (Turkish *Tonguz-yıl*). Thus the divine vengeance operated barely a month after Qāḍī Aḥmad took his oath. Verse: "The oppressor thought that he (could) do us harm. The harm missed us and remained on his neck." Amīr Abū-Ṭālib of Kāshān wrote a long poem on his death containing a double chronogram: *maljā'-i dunyā va malādh-i anās* = 1008; *şadr-i jihānī va jihān-i sharaf* = 1008 (A.D. 1599). "To record the whole story would require volumes, but some details will be found in my *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*." As to Şadr 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 Herat⁵⁰⁶ is

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

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

⁵⁰⁶ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 124: DŪst of Herat.

a pupil of Maulānā Qāsim Shādishāh. He made a copy of the Qor'an in *nasta'liq*. 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 Sultānim.⁵⁰⁸

103. MAULĀNĀ RUSTAM-'ALĪ, the nephew (sister's son) of Maulānā Behzād the painter, wrote excellently. He was employed at first in the *kitāb-khāna* of Prince Bahrām-mīrzā, and in his old age in the library of the latter's son, Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā in Holy Mashhad. There he died in the year 970/1562-63 and was buried beside the tomb (*mazār*) of the late Maulānā Sultān-'Alī Mashhadī.

MAULĀNĀ MUḤIBB-'ALĪ, the favorite son of Maulānā Rustam-'Alī, wrote well in both a large and a minute hand and was the librarian and intimate of Prince Sultān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā. He wrote under the pen name of *Ibrāhīmī*. After 20 [*H*: eight] years of service at the court of His Highness, Muḥibb-'Alī was dismissed from the service⁵⁰⁹ and summoned to Qazvin. After a certain time he obtained leave to visit the holy places (of Mesopotamia), equal in dignity to the "farthermost lote-tree of Paradise." Soon after his return he died in Qazvin. His remains were taken to Mashhad and buried beside his father Maulānā Rustam-'Alī. On the date of his death a scholar composed the following *qit'ā* which the late master Mir Sayyid Aḥmad wrote on his tombstone:

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

⁵⁰⁷ [According to the posthumous title (*shāh-i Jam-jāh, Riḍwān bargāh*), the reference must be to Shah Ismā'il II (?). V. M.]

⁵⁰⁸ Sister of Shah Tahnāsp, Mihīn-bānū, nicknamed "Sultānim," died in 969/1561-62; see *Sharaf-nāma*, vol. 2, pp. 217-218. Two calligraphic samples in *nasta'liq* written by her hand are included in the well-known album of Bahrām-mīrzā; see Sakisian, *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-‘Alī."⁵¹⁰

104. ḤĀFIẒ BĀBĀ JĀN, too, wrote excellently and played the lute well.⁵¹¹ Some regarded him as a rival of the "earlier" late Maulānā ‘Abd al-Qādir.⁵¹² He also worked at inlaying with gold.⁵¹³ His brother ḤāfiẒ Qāsim-the-Singer had no peer in the art of singing.⁵¹⁴ Their father, ḤāfiẒ ‘Abd al-‘Alī Turbatī, was in the service of the late sovereign Husayn-mirzā Bāyqara. From the pleasant borough of Turbat they came to (Persian) ‘Irāq and settled there.

[*H* inserts here MĪRZĀ MAḤMŪD, son of MĪRZĀ QABĀḤAT, surgeon of (the Shah’s) Private Department (*khāṣṣa*). He had been a *sufraji* ("table-decker") of the late Shah Ni‘matullāh Tāqī (**Thānī?*).⁵¹⁵ The latter employed everybody on his staff on the preparation of an album. Consequently Mīrẓā Muḥammad (**Maḥmūd?*) also took to writing specimens of calligraphy and his master liked his writing very much. Maulānā Mālik says that one day he paid a visit to Shāh-Ni‘matullāh to show him his own specimens, but Shāh-Ni‘matullāh produced the writings of Mīrẓā Muḥammad and claimed that he wrote better than Sulṭān-‘Alī or Maulānā Mir ‘Alī. Mau-

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

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

⁵¹² Died in 1435; known as artist, musician, poet, and calligrapher. See *J.As.*, vol. 20 (1862), pp. 275-277, n. 1.

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

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

⁵¹⁵ [This Ni‘matullāh II (?), who is given the princely title of *navvāb*, was a descendant in the fifth generation of the famous saint Shah-Ni‘matullāh Valī, who died a centenarian in 1431. See *Jāmi‘-i muḥīdī*, *Brit. Mus. Or.* 210, f.42a, and *Āyatī, Tārīkh-i Yazd*, 1317/1938. Toward 1451 Na‘imullāh Ni‘matullāh II married a daughter of Sultan Jihān-shāh Qara-qoyunlu; see *BSOAS*, vol. 16, pt. 2 (1954), p. 275. According to the *Rijāl-i Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 1324/1945, p. 246, he died in 900/1494. (The date is omitted in the lithographed *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, pt. 4, p. 390.) Later, members of the family had marriage links with the Safavids and even were regarded as possible candidates to the throne. Therefore, Shah Šafi blinded most of them in 1631-32. See *Khuld-i barīn*, in *Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam-ārā*, ed. Khwānsārī, 1317/1938, p. 98. V. M.]

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

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

MĪR ṢAN'Ī NĪSHĀPURĪ, although a poet in his day, wrote *nasta'liq* excellently and with taste.⁵¹⁷ His verses are known and copies of his collection of poetry (*dīvān*) are found everywhere. The following *ghazal* is by him:

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

.⁵¹⁹
 (It?) has acquired the property of nightingales trilling in the night.

Mir Ṣan'ī lived like a darvish and ascetic and was distinguished for his equanimity and subtlety of mind. In conversation and address he had no equals. He finally went from Khorasan to (Persian) 'Irāq and thence traveled to Āzarbāy-jān and settled down in Tabriz. He became enamored⁵²⁰ of the late Mīrzā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, nephew of Mīr Rāstī, 105. *muḥtasib*.⁵²¹ In this love he reached the stage of burning passion (*sūz-u gudāz*). Like a madman he wandered in Tabriz and like a moth he was consumed in the fire of his love for

⁵¹⁶ *Kān* for *kūn*.

⁵¹⁷ *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 48, also praises his calligraphic talents.

⁵¹⁸ Meter: *hazaj*.

⁵¹⁹ The first hemistich is missing both in *M* and *E*. In *H* the author just mentions the name of Ṣayfī (*Ṣan'ī) and for details refers the reader to his *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*.

⁵²⁰ *'Āshiq shuda*.

⁵²¹ On Mīrzā Ja'far, muḥtasib al-mamālik, son of Mīr Rāstī Ṭabāṭabā, see *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 111.

the young man. Within a short time the bird of his soul flew away and flitted to another world. He was buried opposite the doors of the house of the young man, below the building of Jihānshāh.⁵²² Wits of those days composed this chronogram which they had engraved on the stones of the minaret:

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

MĪR-MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN BĀKHARZĪ,⁵²⁵ one of the pupils of Maulānā Qāsim Shādishāh, came from renowned sayyids of Zara in Bākharz. He was a descendant of Mīr Ṣānī'ī,⁵²⁶ who at one time acted as vazir to the late sovereign, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn-mīrzā. His writing is very mature and tasteful, and he wrote more beautifully than the majority of the scribes of Khorasan. For some years, in the days of the late Shah Tahmāsp, he lived in the capital, Qazvin, where day and night he enjoyed the company of the pillars of the victorious state, with whom he had friendly relations, and spent his time very pleasantly. After the death of the Shah, he made up his mind to return to Khorasan and at his home became engaged in agriculture as a landlord (*arbāb*). During the Khorasan in-

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

⁵²³ Meter: *ramal*.

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

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

⁵²⁶ On the enmity between Mīr 'Alī Shīr and Mīr Ṣānī'ī and the latter's disgrace, see Barthold, *Mīr 'Ālī Shīr*, p. 162.

terregnum he was ruined and died in those very days. Mīr Muḥammad was unselfish (*az khud guzashta*), well-born, self-effacing (*fānī*), 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,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),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?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 MĪR KHALĪLULLĀH, nephew of Mīr Muḥammad-Ḥusayn, who was a pupil of Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhadī. 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 (**nadhr?*), Khalilullāh sent him as a present 200 tumans' worth of Indian jewels (*nafā'is*).]

MĪR MAḤMŪD 'ARĪDĪ belonged to the family of the 'Arīdī 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.

⁵²⁷ Meter: four-footed *hazaj*.

⁵²⁸ Meter: *ramal*.

⁵²⁹ *Rubā'ī*.

[*H* inserts here MAULĀNĀ ‘ABDULLĀH SHĪRĀZĪ who wrote for the Shah in Qazvin and died there in 982/1574.]

- HĀFĪZ KAMĀL AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN VĀḤĪD AL-‘AYN (the “One-eyed”) was a native of Herat. He wrote good *nasta‘līq*, combined (*jam‘*) the “six” scripts, and was an expert in diluting lapis lazuli. From Khorasan he came to (Persian) ‘Irāq⁵³⁰ where he lived for some time in Qum. He was a good reader of the *Qor‘ān*. From Qum he went to the royal camp (court).
 107. He was offered the post of reader of the *Qor‘ān* but replied: “Reading does not become me.” He was a humble darvish. Shah Tahmāsp bestowed upon him a tent, a horse, a camel, harness and equipment, but he did not accept them and was not tempted. He dressed in felt and traveled on foot. He possessed great experience in the science of the philosopher’s stone. From ‘Irāq he returned again to Khorasan and died in Mashhad in 964/1556–57.⁵³¹

MAULĀNĀ SALĪM KĀTĪB was the son of a slave-servant (*ghulām*) of the late Ṣadr Amīr Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad Astarābādī.⁵³² His father was an Abyssinian. As he was gifted by nature, he progressed in the art of writing and became a calligrapher, having no rival in the art of colored script (*rang-nivīsi?*). In writing epitaphs on tombstones he was a second Sulṭān-‘Alī. He studied writing under Maulānā Shāh-Maḥmūd Zarin-qalam. He was good at writing samples (*qiṭ‘a*) and was an incomparable scribe. In calligraphy he was considered as an equal to Sulṭān-Muḥammad Nūr. He lived all the time in Holy Mashhad, and died there.⁵³³ He also had a gift for poetry and the following opening verse is by him:

O God, throw out of this world some of those “who do not accept,”⁵³⁴

Send some weird ghouls toward the desert of nonexistence.

⁵³⁰ Albert Gabriel, “Le mesdjid-i djuma d’Isfahan,” *Ars Islamica*, vol. 2 (1935), pp. 28–31, records the existence in the Isfahan mosque of an inscription by Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn of Herat, dated 938/1531–32.

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

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

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

⁵³⁴ Meter: *ramal*.

MAULĀNĀ SHĀH-MAḤMŪD KĀTIB 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 *Vāqifī*.⁵³⁵

The following *ghazal* belongs to him:

108. You seem to like torturing my soul, O moon! ⁵³⁶
 And you have shown constancy (in it), may God bless you.
 The dog-natured rival, in the desert of separation,
 Has been killed miserably, God be praised!
 Desires have formed a knot in my heart
 Because of those long tresses and the shortness of life.
 None has heard from the melancholy hermit
 Anything but inconsistent talk.
 When shall I, like Vāqifī, 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 MUḤAMMAD-AMĪN, a native of Mashhad, was a pupil of Maulānā Shāh-Muḥammad.⁵³⁷ His calligraphic gifts developed very quickly. Before dawn appeared on his cheeks he was very handsome and elegant. After becoming a calligrapher he went to India.

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

- Fate in its tyranny did not admit me to your feast.⁵³⁸
 I tried my best but luck did not come to my rescue.
 As there were many who, like me, sobbed and wept at his door,
 He paid no attention to the sighs and tears of this weary (adorer).
 Despite the humiliation which the heart has suffered from thorns in
 the desert of reproaches,
 And even for this price, he did not honor me with the kingdom of
 the two worlds.

⁵³⁵ Huart, p. 238: "Vasiki."

⁵³⁶ Meter: *hazaj*. *H* quotes a different *rubā'ī*.

⁵³⁷ Mentioned in *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 126.

⁵³⁸ Meter: *ramal*. [*H* gives only the first verse.]

109. I said to him: "Let my heart obtain a meeting with you, and not
(languish) in nightly vigil,"
But he was carried off by the sleep of unconcern and did not waken.
King-Love-for-him (*Sultān-i 'ishq-ash?*) has given us (some) taste
of freedom,
He has given us no delight better than that of captivity.
From the time when you, '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

MAULĀNĀ 'ABD AL-HĀDĪ QAZVĪNĪ⁵⁴⁰ was the brother-in-law and pupil of Maulānā Mālik. He was an eager student, had no rival in mathematics and music, and composed songs (*taṣnīfāt?*). He wrote excellently in a minute and a large hand, cutting his *qalam* at a slant. He was a recognized poet and the following *ghazal* is by him:

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

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

⁵³⁹ According to Huart, p. 220: 'Ayshī, employed by Prince Ibrāhīm, was a native of Tabriz and a pupil of Qāsim Shādīshāh.

⁵⁴⁰ [This biography is partly damaged both in *M* and *E*. We have restored it in accordance with the version given in *H*. V. M.]

⁵⁴¹ Meter: *hazaj*.

⁵⁴² [*Muṣannifān* [*H*: dar Qazvin] in *ghazal-rā dar Nishāpūrak naqsh bastand*. The eminent musicologist Dr. H. Farmer writes to me that the scale of Nishāpūrak is given in al-Lādhiqī's *Fathīya* (sixteenth century). V. M.]

- His Highness the late Prince ABUL-FATĤ SULTĀN-IBRĀHĪM MĪRZĀ was one of the recognized calligraphers of Iran.⁵⁴³ He took instruction from Maulānā Mālik for a few days, but as
111. His Highness, equal in nature to Mercury, possessed intelligence and innate talent, he imitated the writings and specimens of Maulānā Mīr-‘Alī. He made good progress in a short time, became a writer of *qiṭ‘as* and wrote very attractively, excellently, and with taste in a large hand, and his *qiṭ‘as* were taken to all corners of the universe. Sometimes he deigned to write in a fine script, doing it with great elegance and freshness.

His handwriting is heart-ravishing like the down of beauties,⁵⁴⁴
 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 Mīr-‘Alī as the Prince, equal in dignity to Mars; none collected more specimens of Mīr-‘Alī’s script than he. The opinion of this wretched⁵⁴⁵ slave of the late Prince is that without exaggeration half of what Maulānā Mīr-‘Alī 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 (*muraqqa‘*) which Maulānā Mīr-‘Alī 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 Saḥbān⁵⁴⁶ came to life, or Ibn-Muqla were resuscitated

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

⁵⁴⁴ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

⁵⁴⁵ Literally: “slave bought for money.”

⁵⁴⁶ Famous Arab poet.

tated, even they would be unable to cope with the enumeration of a tenth of a tenth part of them. Should someone undertake and have the power and opportunity for such a task, volumes would be needed for such matters. However, as this old servant, who is a bondsman and son of a bondsman of that assembly of virtues, has grown up as bondsman of that casket of pearls of sultanate and talents, he has recorded a little out of the multiplicity of his evidence while using abridgment and epitome, in the fifth⁵⁴⁷ volume of the book *Majma' al-shu'arā va manāqib al-fuḍalā*. 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 Murtaḍā 'Alī, this slave has written of the magnificence and the joyful and pleasant days of the Prince equal in rank to the Pleiades. Since the vault of the sky has opened its eye, never has it seen anyone of such universality, capacity, talent, and humanity as that angelic being. An enumeration of the virtues and talents, of the industry (?) and perfections of the late prince equal in dignity to Jamshīd, is a task from which one would prefer to be excused, for they are numberless and infinite. He embodied all knowledge, metaphysical and traditional; he embraced both the fundamentals and the derivatives. He was assiduous in the reading of the words of the All-knowing. He learned the 10 manners of reading and the art of recitation of the Qor'ān from the late Shaykh Fakhr al-dīn Ṭayyī and the latter's father Shaykh Ḥasan 'Alī. He studied biographies (of pious Muslims) and the art of checking the books of traditions, going back to the Prophet and the Imāms. He was acquainted with history and genealogies. With regard to philosophical points, both natural, theological, and medical, he was the *Canon*⁵⁴⁸ of the time and the cause of *Healing*⁵⁴⁸ for all men. In mathematics—cosmographic, numeric, astronomic, and musical—he

⁵⁴⁷ An obvious clerical error; the words "fifth volume" refer to the *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*. [In the revised version of *H* the author refers to the Conclusion (*khātima*) of his *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* (sic) and to the *sixth* volume of his *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*. This suggests that the plan of these books had been reconsidered. V.M.]

⁵⁴⁸ Titles of Avicenna's medical works.

- was an artist, a master and a composer. Melodies and songs (*naqsh-hā va-ṣaut-hā*) of that sun-visaged Prince are on the tongues of all contemporaries and known throughout the inhabited quarter of the world. In poetry and poetics he was sweet-tongued and clear in presentation. In view of his kingly position (*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 metrics and rhymes and his *dīvān* is extant containing about 5,000⁵⁵⁰ verses of every kind. The following verses were written by way of benison (*tayammun*):

The malice of time has not taken pity on me,⁵⁵¹
 And finally threw me far away from the dust of that threshold.
 That moon which is knowingly (*dānista*) kind to captives
 I know not whether she knows or not about my circumstances.

And this:

I came with a hundred hopes, but know not when again⁵⁵²
 Our reunion will occur, O you whose love is insufficient.

And this:

After a thousand nights, when you have reached her feast,⁵⁵³
 Jāhī! profit by the occasion and take not your eyes off her!

And this:

114. Jāhī! Perhaps with the blessings of the martyr of Tūs⁵⁵⁴
 Your feet will get out of the mud (clay) of Sabzavār.

And this:

Do not groan at the cruelty, Jāhī, impatience is wrong,⁵⁵⁵
 God may return clemency to the heart of our sovereign.

⁵⁴⁹ [*Varsaq* is a special kind of popular Turkish songs and tunes, connected with the tribe of that name. Cf. *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 194. V. M.]

⁵⁵⁰ [*H*, p. 53; Qādī Aḥmad collected some 3,000 of them and wrote a preface to them.]

⁵⁵¹ Meter: *muḍārī'*.

⁵⁵² Meter: *ramal*.

⁵⁵³ Meter: *muḍārī'*.

⁵⁵⁴ Meter: *muḍārī'*. [On Prince Ibrāhīm's governorship in Sabzavār, see below, p. 163.]

⁵⁵⁵ Meter: *ramal*.

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 *lan tarānī*,⁵⁵⁸ as yet.

No sultān 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'ī Mashhadī, "the second Khāqānī"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 Luṭfī Iṣfahānī (or Turbādḥagānī), Maulānā Maylī Haravī, Maulānā Sharaf Ḥakkāk, Maulānā Ḥarfī,⁵⁶⁰ Maulānā Kamāl

115. Shushtarī, Maulānā Shu'ūrī Nishāpūrī, and Khwāja Aḥmad Mīrak Ṣūfī Mashhadī one day addressed a petition to His Highness the Mīrzā, the nonpareil of his age, asking his leave to take with them Maulānā Qāsim Qānūnī for a stroll. In conversation His Highness the Mīrzā used to call Maulānā

⁵⁵⁶ Meter: *ramal*.

⁵⁵⁷ [*H* quotes only this quatrain as a specimen of the Prince's poetry.]

⁵⁵⁸ ["You will not see me," said God to Moses, *Qor'ān*, VII, 139. V. M.]

⁵⁵⁹ Twelfth-century poet. According to *Ālam-ārā*, p. 131, Thanā'ī was a native of Khorasan.

⁵⁶⁰ *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 153, mentions a poet Ḥarfī, but his identity with our poet is uncertain.

Qānūnī “my soul,” and in his reply to the missive he traced with his blessed pen the following resolution: “My soul has been pleased (*luṭfī*) 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 (*ḥarfī*) of excuse and will not call it ‘perfect madness (*kamāl-i bī-shu‘ūrī*)’ or say that ‘this is far from the behavior of a Ṣūfī (*ṣūfīgarī*).’”

In poetical criticism, in solving fine points of versification, in the knowledge of subtle hints, in sufism and the *ars amandī* he was not second to Khāqānī, Maulānā Ma‘navī,⁵⁶¹ and Mir Khusrau Dihlavi. Among the latest poets he greatly appreciated the verses of Maulānā Lisānī Shīrāzī,⁵⁶² calling the maulānā “father” and referring to him as *bābā*. He selected 15,000 verses from the complete collection of Bābā-Lisānī, never parted with that complete *dīvān* 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.

116. In courage and valor he was an heir to Murtaḍā ‘Alī 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 Mānī 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 disported himself on the surface

⁵⁶¹ I.e., Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, the famous thirteenth-century poet.

⁵⁶² According to *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 104, this poet died in 942/1535-36. The prince could not have known him in his lifetime.

⁵⁶³ Meter: *muḍārī‘*.

⁵⁶⁴ Shah Ismā‘īl I and his father Ḥaydar are meant here.

⁵⁶⁵ See Introduction, p. 8, n. 30.

⁵⁶⁶ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

- of the waters like a fish, and in this position would shoot (from a bow) and swing a rope in the hand. Of (musical) instruments he played on the *ṭanbūr* extremely well. He played chess without looking at the board. He had a skillful hand in the culinary art, in making European delicacies (*tanaqqulāt*), in baking "Georgian bread," in preparing condiments (*juvāri-shāt*), various sweetmeats, preserves, and divers dishes. He was a master in other arts, too, such as carving *zihgīrs*,⁵⁶⁷ shaping arrows, engraving, carving spoons, sewing gloves (for hawk hunting), making *ṭanbūrs*, binding books, covering paper with gilding and gold sprinkling, making 'aks,⁵⁶⁸ blending colors (*rang-amīzi*), 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 (*wāḍī'*). 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
117. was constantly in the company of paupers, hermits, and darvīshes, considering such behavior superior to royal pomp and circumstance. And he was better in love affairs (*'ishq-u 'āshiqī*) 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 (Farhād) was hard-hearted,⁵⁶⁹

It is Jāhī 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

⁵⁶⁷ The ring which archers wear on the thumb of the right hand.

⁵⁶⁸ Zakhoder takes it as covering the margins with light outlines of flowers and animals. See below, p. 193.

⁵⁶⁹ Meter: *ramal*.

his great ancestors and noble forebears. In moments of anger, ill temper, and irritation no rude words or insulting speech were heard from the merciful tongue of that luminary of the Zodiac of the caliphate. Whoever had served that essence of the family of Murtaḍā 'Alī, that paragon of the lineage of Muṣṭafā [*H*: Ṣafavī lineage], and observed the circumstances, qualities, morals, and manners of that Prince equal in dignity to Saturn, after his murder and the offence which, owing to the disorder of fickle Fate, befell that essence of innocent (martyrs), no longer looked into the face of gladness.⁵⁷⁰ (At that time) the noble age of that most exalted Prince was 34 years, corresponding to the life span of his royal grand-sire, the glorious monarch of eternal memory, Sulṭān Shah Ismā'il⁵⁷¹—may God enlighten his plea (at the Last Judgment) ! In the flower of his youth and early life, in the fullness
 118. of life and happiness, he departed this perishable world for the palace of eternity, because of the will of heaven and the evil eye of the revolving vault of the skies.⁵⁷²

O Lord! We grieve about his life,⁵⁷³
 And constantly mourn him with pain,
 We express the aching of the heart and our desperate sorrow for
 him,
 And pine for his goodness and youth.

It was during a few unsettled days, after he had reached the age of reason, that he acquired all these perfections, divine favors, and boundless benefactions. At the time of the battling (*qitāl*) of the princes, each of whom was a constellation in the sky of sultanate and caliphate, this *rubā'i*, reflecting the feel-

⁵⁷⁰ [Here *H*, p. 57, line 9, adds that the Prince abstained from drinking wine, "which is the prerogative (*lāzima*) of kingship and sultanate," but sometimes indulged (*mudāvamat*) in *b.rsh* (?), or took *fulūniya* and *īryāk* (opium). *Fulūniya*, after a strong dose of which Shah Ismā'il II was found dead, is said to be a mixture of opium and *bang* (a preparation of *cannabis indica*). V. M.]

⁵⁷¹ According to '*Ālam-ārā*, Shah Ismā'il died at the age of 37, and according to *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, pp. 38-39, at the age of 38.

⁵⁷² See Introduction, pp. 23-24.

⁵⁷³ [Before this *rubā'i* *H*, p. 57, line 10, refers the reader to vol. 4 of the author's *Khulāṣat al-tavārikkh* 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: ⁵⁷⁴

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-shād begum, had the blessed remains of this pearl of the sea of mystical knowledge and truth [*H*: together with the remains of her mother Gauhar-sultān khānum, daughter of Shah Tahmāsp] transported to Holy Mashhad, and the Prince was buried in (under?) the gate of the sanctuary at the place which he himself, during his governorship (*dārā'i*) 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 (*sardāba*) which possessed perfect purity, cleanliness, and transparency and was free from any admixture.

119.

The most eloquent of the recent poets, Maulānā 'Abdī Junābādī ⁵⁷⁵ composed this chronogram of the event:

The rose of the flower garden of Ḥaydar Karrār,⁵⁷⁶
The scion of the house of Aḥmad,⁵⁷⁷ Ibrāhīm,
He whose crown reached the skies, laid down
The head of submission in the abode of Riḍā.
On his departure from this palace of vanity,
With a true heart and a sound nature

⁵⁷⁴ [*Intiqāl*, "transfer, moving to another place." This is possibly a hint at the author's being "moved on." However, *H* has *irihāl*, "demise," apparently with reference to the dead princes.]

⁵⁷⁵ The poet 'Abdī is mentioned in Ch. Rieu's *Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, Supplement No. 307, as an imitator of Sa'dī; he died in 988/1580, the place of his birth not being indicated.

⁵⁷⁶ Meter: *khafif*. *Karrār*, "he who attacks repeatedly," is one of the titles of 'Alī.

⁵⁷⁷ One of the names of the Prophet Muhammad.

He said: "Write down the date of my murder:
Ibrāhīm (was) killed."⁵⁷⁸

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

[In *H* the account of Prince Ibrāhīm's reply to the masters who wished to take MAULĀNĀ QĀSIM QĀNŪNĪ of Herat on an excursion is followed by a biography of this musician, equally famous as a performer on the *sāz* and as a theorist. The author thinks that in the latter respect even the famous philosopher and musician Abū-Naṣr Fārābī (d. in 339/950) might have sat at his feet. Having heard of his talents from visitors from Herat, the prince sent the author's uncle Vajih al-dīn Khalilullāh (who was to him like a trusted brother) to Qazaqkhān Tākkālū to ask him for Qāsim Qānūnī. This was done in secret, for in those days, for fear of the Shah, none dared listen to music or keep a singer.⁵⁸⁰ Khalilullāh brought Qāsim in 967/1559 and the Prince built for him an excellent house in the Panj-bāgh of (?) the Chahār-bāgh. The musician performed for him every morning and evening, and his fame spread far and wide. Qāsim spent some 10 or 12 years in the service of Prince Ibrāhīm and accompanied him on his journey to Herat and during his governorships in Qā'in and Sabzavār. Hard times came when by order of the Shah, Khwāja Muḥammad Muqīm, vazir of Shāh-Valī-sultān (?), hanged Nā'i-yi A'lā (?) because of certain involvements (*mukhālāfat*) with (?) Prince Ḥaydar.⁵⁸¹ He was an excellent player on the *tanbūr*, and his disgrace was followed by the order of the Shah that all players and singers (*sāzanda va gūyanda*), and in particular Qāsim Qānūnī, should be put to death. Prince Ibrāhīm had an underground chamber (*sardāba*) built in his

⁵⁷⁸ The words *kushta Ibrāhīm* have the numerical value of 984, i.e., A.D. 1577.

⁵⁷⁹ For a complement to this biography, see below, ch. 4, p. 183.

⁵⁸⁰ See above, p. 135.

⁵⁸¹ Or **mukhālāfat* "opposition to Prince Ḥaydar."

own house where he hid Qāsim, masking the entrance with carpets. After some time Qāsim came out of his confinement but died in those very days.

This passage, intercalated in the midst of Prince Ibrāhīm's biography, must have been copied from the author's rough notes. It is difficult to isolate the names: Was Shāh-Valī-sultān (a rather important name!) an amir for whom Khwāja Muqīm acted as vazir, or was Shāh-Valī-sultān the person further described as "Nā'i-yi A'lā," who was hanged by Khwāja Muqīm? "Nā'i-yi A'lā" does not figure in the lists of musicians of Shah Tahmāsp's time; see *Ālam-ārā*, p. 135, although this source knows Qāsim Qānūnī and calls Prince Ibrāhīm his pupil, *ibid.*, p. 150. This strange name ("Supreme Flautist"), unsuitable for a *tanbūr*-player, might be Turkish: **Nā'i-oghli*, "flautist's son." The title of the Shah (*sipih-r-i'tilā*) is also ambiguous. In 982/1574-75, during Shah Tahmāsp's grave illness, disturbances broke out between the party supporting the succession of Prince Ḥaydar and that supporting the candidature of the future Shah, Ismā'il II. The latter party was at that time known as *shāhī-sevān*; see *Ālam-ārā*, p. 91. On his recovery Tahmāsp treated his sons with leniency, but he may have punished the meddlers and go-betweens. When two years later the Shah died (984/13 May 1576), the author's patron, Prince Ibrāhīm, was moderately on the side of his cousin, Ḥaydar. After the latter's murder (14 May 1576) and the advent of Ismā'il 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'il II, it could have happened only during the very short time between May 1576 and February 1577, when Prince Ibrāhīm's gesture would have been most risky. It is then more likely that our story refers to the time of Tahmāsp, whose general dislike of musicians is confirmed in the *Ālam-ārā*, p. 135. V. M.]

MAULĀNĀ YĀRĪ KĀTĪB 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 MUḤAMMAD⁵⁸² of the Ḥusaynī sayyids of the town of Faith, Kāshān, was a self-effacing man (*fānī*) who did not trouble about the morrow and gave up most of his time to pigeon fancying. He raised the mastery of writing to the uppermost rung of the ladder. He wrote excellently in large and small hand. Merchants particularly exported his writings to India. He also wrote good poetry. The following verses are by him:

120. That flower has hurt her own hand with a brand-iron,⁵⁸³
Has anyone done so to his own hand?

This *rubā'i* 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 'Ināyatullāh Tabrīzī. Having arrived in Holy Mashhad he became the pupil of my late master Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhadī. Within a short time he made good progress and perfected his writing to the point of equaling the masters.⁵⁸⁴ From thence he went to 'Irāq. During the reign of Shah Ismā'il II, the office (*madār*) for inscriptions on Government buildings and on gates was entrusted to him. He was still young when he departed this perishable world.

MAULĀNĀ BĀBĀ-SHĀH was a native of Isfahan; he was also a recognized master of writing. He was good at inscriptions (*kitābat?*) and worked with great taste. He left for the sacred places (in Mesopotamia), equal in degree to the farthest

⁵⁸² Mentioned in '*Ālam-ārā*, p. 125.

⁵⁸³ Meter: *muḍārī'*. Meaning obscure. [Cf. p. 177: *dāgh*. V. M.]

⁵⁸⁴ In praising his work '*Ālam-ārā*, p. 125, makes a curious reservation: "although the writing of the masters of *nasta'liq*, as practiced in 'Irāq and Āzarbāy-jān, 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 996/1587-88.⁵⁸⁵

MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ CHARKHTĀB⁵⁸⁶ MASHHADĪ is an eminent pupil of my late master, Mir Sayyid Aḥmad. He writes excellently and is a recognized calligrapher of our time. At present he lives in Yazd where he is engaged in writing.

121. 'ĪSĀ-BEG was the son of Muḥammad-the-Runner (*shāṭir*),⁵⁸⁷ who was one of the messengers of the late sovereign, Shah Tahmāsp. 'Īsā-beg, who for some time was in attendance (*rikābdārī*) on the Shah, was extremely well mannered and able, and wrote good *nasta'liq*. He worked mostly in color (*rang-nivīsi*), and himself presented people with his *qiṭ'as*. [*H*: after the death of Shah Tahmāsp he acted as curator (*mutavallī*) at the *imām-zāda* of Kākh in Junābād, and died in Khorasan.]

MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN. Although his family came from the City of Faith, Kirmān, he was born and brought up in the capital, Tabriz, and became a calligrapher there. He writes in the "Tabrizī" hand with great delicacy, maturity, and good taste. His writing is not inferior to that of the masters and he may be even their equal.

MĪR VAJĪH AL-DĪN KHALĪLULLĀH ḤUSAYNĪ, uncle of this humble one. Although in the beginning he wrote in *ta'liq* [*H*: in imitation of Maulānā Darvīsh], after 30 years he went over to *nasta'liq*. During his residence in Holy Mashhad in the service of the late Prince Abul-Faḥḥ Sulṭān-Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, he was one of his particularly close intimates. While he was in attendance on the Prince he began practicing *nasta'liq* under the guidance of my master Mir Sayyid Aḥmad Mashhadī. Although his hand had already acquired definite habits (*khāna*

⁵⁸⁵ *Ālam-ārā*, p. 125, sets great value on his work: "Truly there was in 'Irāq no scribe equal to him, nor was there in Khorasan at that time," and complains about the scarcity of samples of this master's work, most of which had been exported and sold at a high price. Huart, p. 225, says that Quṭb al-dīn Muḥammad Yazdī met him in Isfahan in 995/1586-87, and adds that he died in 1012/1603-4 and was buried in Mashhad.

⁵⁸⁶ "The wheelwright."

⁵⁸⁷ Mentioned in *Ālam-ārā*, p. 126, as the son of the messenger (*shāṭir*, "runner") Muḥammad, and grandson of the messenger 'Alī.

122. *girifta jā namūda*), by means of long exercises, pains and labors he became a calligrapher and wrote neatly (*ṣāf*) in a large hand.⁵⁸⁸ He was eminent in soldierly qualities, valor, and archery.⁵⁸⁹ 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.⁵⁹⁰ He also wrote good poetry, and this verse is by him:

My farness from the feast of reunion is no fault of this exile,⁵⁹¹

Cruel fate has done it, for (such tricks) are not remote (from its designs).

MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF was of the noble Numayrī Arabs. Owing to his natural gifts, he acquired many laudable qualities. He wrote excellently in both a large and a small hand and was fully endowed with other talents, such as engraving seals; in the same *nasta'liq* in which he wrote, he made engravings on cornelian. In soldierly qualities and courage he displayed his hereditary gifts (*ṣāhib mirāth*).

MĪR '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 Mīr-'Alī, and he also writes in a large hand extremely well. In all his writings he imitates the manner of Mīr-'Alī. It is some time since he went to Hijaz.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁸ [*H* adds: "He was one of the faithful brothers" of the Prince.]

⁵⁸⁹ [*H* adds: "Repeatedly, when Abul-Khān (?) Uzbek came to the walls of Mashhad, he sallied forth with the ghāzīs and charged them."]

⁵⁹⁰ [*H* adds that he died in Qum in 1004/1593 at the age of 82.]

⁵⁹¹ Meter: *ramal*.

⁵⁹² Huart, pp. 239-242, gives a detailed biography of this first-class master. Mīr-'Imād at first was a pupil of the artist 'Īsā in Qazvin, after which he passed on to the master Mālik Daylamī. From Qazvin he moved to Tabriz where he studied calligraphy under the guidance of Master Muḥammad Ḥusayn.

MİR KHALĪLULLĀH belongs to the family of the noble sayyids of the Province of Bākharz. In Holy Mashhad he studied and exercised himself under my master, Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad.⁵⁹³ His writing is extremely elegant and tasteful. Together with the khāqān, the conqueror of lands, the shadow of God (Shah 'Abbās?), he came from Khorasan to (Persian) 'Irāq, but after a few days spent in Kāshān he went to India where he now lives in great honor.⁵⁹⁴

MAULĀNĀ BĀQIR-KHURDA is a native of Kāshān, and the brother of the poet Maulānā Maqṣūd-khurda;⁵⁹⁵ he is a good scribe, his work is quite good, both in a large and a small hand.

MAULĀNĀ MĀLIK-AḤMAD is a recognized scribe, writing well both in a large and a small hand. He leads a retired life in the Qūhistān of the town of the Faithful, Qum,⁵⁹⁶ where he is engaged in writing.

MİR ḤUSAYN is a good poet and has adopted the pen name of *Sahvī*. His father was a saddler in Tabriz, but he himself was bent on writing and exercise, and followed that course (*wāḍī*) of life. He writes neatly and clearly. After the trouble caused by the Ottomans of bad augury (*Rūmiya-yi shūmiya*) and the destruction of the capital, Tabriz, he came to Kāshān and settled there. He is now engaged in writing poetry.⁵⁹⁷

Then he went to Turkey, but returned to Khorasan, visited Herat and came back to Qazvin. In 1008/1599-1600 he settled down in Isfahan. [In *M* his biography stops at his departure for Hijaz. *E* mentions his return to Persia, and *H* adds: "After his return he worked in the library of Farhād-khān Qaramānlu in Simnān and, after the latter's death, has been living in Qazvin, refraining from attendance on the governors."]

⁵⁹³ Huart, p. 243, calls him a pupil of Maḥmud ibn-Ishāq.

⁵⁹⁴ Huart, p. 243, gives a detailed biography of this master. Under Shah 'Abbās I he came back to Iran and, in a contest for first place, two arbiters placed him before Mīr 'Imād. After a lengthy stay in Persia he returned to India and died in Hyderabad in 1035/1626. [In *H* his biography is omitted.]

⁵⁹⁵ [*H* calls him simply Maulānā Bāqir.] On his brother, see *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, p. 146.

⁵⁹⁶ Perhaps "in the mountainous part of the Qum province"? [*H* calls him Maulānā Mālik (?) adding that, owing to his retiring habits, he is little known.]

⁵⁹⁷ [*H* says that after 12 years spent in Kāshān he grew weary (of the place) and with his children left for India.]

The following verse is by him:

Things have come to such a pass that, were it not a (sign) of impiety,⁵⁹⁸

I would worship you and say: "This is my God."

Also by him:

Curious is the state in which a lover lives in the nights of separation:⁵⁹⁹

Not to sleep but to see hundreds of vague dreams.

124. ḤAKĪM-RUKNĀ, whose name is Rukn al-dīn 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 *nasta'liq* 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*, *qaṣīda*, *qiṭ'a*, *rubā'ī*, and *mathnavī*. His biography and his juicy verses are recorded in the book *Majma' al-shu'arā va manāqib al-fulāḥ*.⁶⁰⁰ The following verses are by him:

He who has fallen a martyr of your intoxicated eyes⁶⁰¹

Even on the day of resurrection will awake still intoxicated.

And this too:

He who has not died of yearning for a friend is inhuman:⁶⁰²

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

⁵⁹⁸ Meter: *mujtathth*.

⁵⁹⁹ Meter: *ramal*.

⁶⁰⁰ [H, p. 60, calls this book simply *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* and adds that for a time Ruknā acted as doctor to the Divān of Shah 'Abbās. When there appeared some deterioration in the sovereign's health, Ruknā was dismissed and requested to repay his salary. He had to liquidate his property and for a couple of years lived in Kāshān practicing medicine. Then he went on pilgrimage to Mashhad where the shah paid no attention to him, and when the sovereign left for Balkh, Ruknā with his children took the way of India. Under 1002/1593, 'Ālam-ārā quotes a witty poem composed by Ruknā. The shah visited Mashhad in 1007/1598. V. M.]

⁶⁰¹ Meter: *hazaj*.

⁶⁰² Meter: *mujtathth*.

This couplet is from his "Khusrau and Shirin":

The world was so full of sweetness from that sweetly smiling
beauty⁶⁰³

That the foot of the fly would have got tangled in the air.

This *rubā'ī* 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 Bisṭām. 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 125. ('Abbās), enjoys intimacy (with the sovereign) and respect, and has a salary and a *tiyūl* (grant of land).

MAULĀNĀ SULTĀN ḤUSAYN TŪNĪ is a pupil of Mir Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bākharzī. He writes good *nasta'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.⁶⁰⁴

[*H* inserts here a biography of MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD-AMĪN 'AQĪLĪ (or 'Uqaylī?), an eminent pupil of Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tabrīzī. His father, a very pious man from Rustamdār (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 Tahmāsp's assemblies. Maulānā Muḥammad-Amīn grew up among the Shaykhāvands (i.e., the lateral line of the Safavids established in Ardabil). In the days of Prince Sultān-Ḥamza he acted as librarian to Ismī-khān Shāmlū. He was a favorite of the Prince and had the title of

⁶⁰³ Meter: *hazaj*.

⁶⁰⁴ [Instead of *Qazvin*, *E* has "the capital, Isfahan"; cf. p. 185. *H* says that for some time he worked in the library of Farhād-khān; cf. Huart, p. 221.]

“Master of the Sword and the Pen.” After the death of Ḥamza-mīrzā (994/4 December 1586) he abandoned all worldly connections and lived in retirement as a darvīsh, practicing calligraphy and copying (books). He wrote sweet poetry in Turkish (a Turkish *rubāʿī* is quoted). In Muḥarram 1015/1606 we met in Qazvin.]

MAULĀNĀ NIZĀM AL-DĪN ‘ALĪ-RIDĀ TABRĪZĪ. 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 *nastaʿlīq* 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 calligrapher⁶⁰⁵ 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 Mīr-‘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 Yāqūt⁶⁰⁶
 Paid one *mithqāl* of gold for a letter.
 Were Yāqūt 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.⁶⁰⁷
127. For two years he was the companion and fellow traveler of the Khan of the Time (Farhād-khān Qaramānlu) in Khorasan and Māzandarān, and now he is in attendance at the court of the Shah of the World, the shadow of the Almighty (Shah ‘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: *hazaj*. [In *H*, p. 51, this quatrain appears in the biography of Prince Ibrāhīm.]

⁶⁰⁷ Both in *M* and *E* this sentence is written on a miniature.

inscriptions (*kitābat?*) for His Majesty, whose appearance is moonlike, and who is imposing like the planet Mars. Having joined the company of courtiers, the master constantly enjoys honorable intimacy in the paradisiac assemblies and at the royal heavenlike audiences. He is one of the circle of the most intimate among those who are awarded generous favors and is renowned and exalted by boundless attentions, gifts, and kindnesses. There is hope that he will succeed in attaining every success and high post, and will always be the object of kind concern of that scion of the most pure imāms, who has been favored by the attention of the Almighty. Sometimes the master's thoughts run to poetry; the following is a *rubā'ī* representing the fruit of his meditations:

Since the time when from the flame of my love for you my heart
 has roasted like a *kabāb*,
 Ceaselessly salt water streams from my eyes and heart.
 It is a vain occupation to combine peace with passion for you,
 For the patience of an uneasy heart is a design on water.

[*H* adds that 'Alī-Riḍā had equaled Maulānā Mīr-'Alī. He was working on the inscriptions of the cathedral mosque of Qazvin and then passed into the service of Farhād-khān, who favored him and took him on his journeys in Khorasan and Māzandarān. Then Shah 'Abbās took him from the khan "and now for 10 or 12 years he has been in his service accompanying him on all his campaigns and journeys (*yūrish-va-yasāq*) and he is one of His Majesty's intimates." *H* quotes one more quatrain by the master.

From the time when you, pearl of pure orient, have become a stay-at-home,
 My eyes have been flooded with tears from my grief for you.
 Through this grief I have ruined the house of my heart.
 You have become a stay-at-home, while I am homeless now.

Despite these developments, *H* seems to be more reserved in good wishes to the master.]

MAULĀNĀ NI'MATULLĀH is a descendant of the readers of the Qor'ān in Holy Mashhad.⁶⁰⁸ His father was a muezzin in

⁶⁰⁸ Consequently no relation of the *Bawwāb* mentioned above, p. 67.

that sanctuary; he, too, is peerless in this art and is a master of reading. He writes *nasta'liq* well. At first when he was a child he took instruction in Mashhad from my teacher, Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad. Later, in the capital, Qazvin, he worked under 128. the guidance of the Master of the Time, Maulānā 'Alī-Riḍā Tabrīzī, and his writing has taken shape. [*H* adds: After the reconquest of Mashhad he has returned to his home.] He possesses many perfections and composes good poetry. The following verses are by him:

Let the delight of beholding you be forbidden to these eyes,⁶⁰⁹
For it acquaints sleep with dreams of you.

Also by him:

From my tomb (*turbat*) a flame has risen toward Kiyā (Kayvān?),
Yes, a "martyr of love" has become my new name.⁶¹⁰

This *rubā'i* is also by him:

From the (Christian) monastery I go again toward the Ka'ba,
I am of the men of Truth, not of the men of Allegory,
With my soul on the palm of my hand, with my heart on my sleeve,
I go
Toward you with a thousand needs, infirmities and prayers.

⁶⁰⁹ Meter: *mujtathth*.

⁶¹⁰ Meter: *muḍārī'*.

CHAPTER FOUR ⁶¹¹

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: ⁶¹² 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 Mānī 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," ⁶¹³ i.e., 'Alī, 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 'Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib." ⁶¹⁴ A tale on this subject is quoted in the attire of verse:

I have heard that Chinese artists, ⁶¹⁵
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

⁶¹¹ In *M* and *E* this chapter is called "Conclusion."

⁶¹² See above, p. 50.

⁶¹³ [This introduction uses the technical terms of painting: *chihragushā*, "opener of the face," i.e., a portraitist; *shamsa* (in *M* and *E* misspelled as *hama*) is a rich *cul-de-lampe* which had to be translated as "frontispiece," etc. On the "Companions of the Cloak," see above, p. 23. V. M.]

⁶¹⁴ Same story in Dūst-Muḥammad, see BWG, p. 183. See above, p. 23.

⁶¹⁵ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

According to the manner and beauty which they wished.
 The painting was called *khiṭā'i* ("Chinese"),
 Because the Chinese reed had succeeded in producing it.
 When the cycle of prophetic mission reached Muhammad,
 (And) he drew a line across all other faiths,
 The Chinese wrong-doers
 Traced (*savād*) the first images;
 Provocatively they embellished a page
 And asked the king of Prophets to produce something similar.
 It was not a page embellished,
 It looked like a tray filled with tulips and roses.
 From the very infidelity of their hearts,
 They carried the painting as a challenge
 To the Shah of Men, 'Alī.
 When the King of Holiness saw what they had painted,
 By miraculous power he took the *qalam* from them,
 And made an Islamic soul-ravishing tracing⁶¹⁶
 Which struck dumb the Chinese people.
 As the original fell into their hands,
 Their other images grew inferior.

130. Let it be clear that the wonderful phantasy and strange native force (*angīza*) of the artists are known in all countries and witnessed by men possessed of sight. The force of imagination and refinement of nature owned by this race are not found in any other men of art. The image which the portrait-painter reveals on the tablets of the mind cannot be reflected in everybody's mirror of beauty.

Story

It is related that a certain unrivaled artist in Khorasan was friendly with a clever goldsmith. They were friends and eagerly sought each other's company. Ruin befell the artist and he could not imagine any means of remaining in his native country. So he submitted to the goldsmith the plan of a journey to Rūm (Asia Minor) and, together with him, left Khorasan for that land. They stopped at a certain pagan temple (*but-khāna*) and by guile and trickery secured the good will of

⁶¹⁶ Cf. Dūst-Muḥammad, BWG, p. 183.

its hermits. After several years spent there they won so much confidence that the keys of the idol temple came into their hands. One night they broke the idols and took away from that monastery an enormous amount of gold and silver. Having by clever tricks gained freedom, they gradually made their way to their native land. They concealed the gold and silver in a chest and stored (it) in their house; when needed, they opened (the chest) and spent (the money). One day the

131. goldsmith stole half of that gold and silver and buried it at a certain place. When the artist looked inside the chest he guessed what had happened, but no matter how much he questioned the goldsmith, the latter would not confess. Willy-nilly he was obliged to think of some stratagem. He sought out a hunter, and by sending him suitable presents, obtained from him two bear cubs, brought them into the house, hewed out of wood a likeness (*chihra-gushā'i*) of the goldsmith, and, every time he fed the cubs, he put food inside the breast of the coat of that image, so that the bear cubs became accustomed to this. One day he brought home with him the goldsmith with his two sons, and having asked them to stay overnight, kidnapped the sons. In the morning the goldsmith, however much he tried, could not get his children back. (Then), together with the artist, he hastened to the house of the judge. In the presence of the judge the artist said: "A strange thing has happened: I kept his sons for the night in a room, and in the morning found them turned into bear cubs. In my confusion I did not tell him of this mystery." At that moment those present said: "There are no transformations in the community of His Holiness, the refuge of prophecy—God's blessing be on him and his family, and peace! Perhaps he has done something which is not in keeping with the faith of His prophetic Holiness, and therefore his sons have taken on such a likeness." So the bear cubs were brought into the assembly. Two feeding times had been missed and the bear cubs were hungry, so when their eyes fell on the goldsmith, they took him for that image of his and began to push their heads inside his coat trying to mollify him. Everybody accepted this as indis-

- putable evidence and the two litigants left the assembly. The goldsmith bethought himself of his treachery, stretched his hand toward repentance, went to the artist's house, fell at his feet and, bringing out the stolen gold and silver, gave it back to the artist. The latter, taking the bear cubs from him, led them inside and gave his two sons back to him. Then taking the veil off the face of the mystery, he embraced his friend and asked him for forgiveness. (See *pl.* 5.)

Tale in verse

- It is told that there was a certain King,⁶¹⁷
 With a countenance like the moon and glorious like the sun;
 He had a budding narcissus in his garden,
 With the appearance of a spotless (*bī-dāgh*) tulip,⁶¹⁸
 (Namely), he was intimate with a felicitous companion,
 Under whose sleeve genuine talent was hidden.
 A man who could draw like Mānī, and when he drew something
 The seal of fate rendered it permanent:
 When he pictured water on a stone,
 Anyone who saw it broke his pitcher on it.
 If he stretched his *qalam* around the moon,
 The moon did not see the darkness of the last day of the month.
 From the fountain of freshness which was in his *qalam*
 Vestiges of life appeared in his tracing.
 His tracings resembled the Chinese silk, *ṭirāz*,
 And his artistry (in its temptation) was a calamity for the faith.
 From the world of Life he had a hundred praises,
 And his *qalam* kept Life itself (*khud*) at its disposal.
 134. But the sun-visaged Shah, similar in his wrath to the sky
 Looked at his Mānī (only) with one eye.⁶¹⁹
 He had another close companion, with a brush similar to Mānī's,
 (Who) in his heart was harboring hatred against (the first painter).
 He wished to contrive a plot
 And to play a wicked trick on him.
 So he planned that the Shah, commander of the world,

⁶¹⁷ Meter: *hazaj*. In *M* the text is mutilated.

⁶¹⁸ [This seems better than to refer the description to the Shah: "On (the Shah's) cheeks (*ba-rukhi*?) there were tulips," etc. V. M.]

⁶¹⁹ [This seems to mean that the King was skew-eyed, but with a hint at his attention divided between the two rivals.]

Should demand from (the first painter) a likeness of himself.
 That artist (*naqsh-tirāz*) with the hand of Mānī
 Fancied in his mind the image of the Shah.
 He took a page ravishing the heart
 And, in a triumphant mood, covered it with painting.
 The Shah (was standing) with an arrow in his hand, and in the
 corner of his eye
 There was an angry glittering (as) of a lance (*sinān*),
 (For) in order to take the twist out (of the flight) of an arrow ⁶²⁰
 One should screw up one eye.

136.

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: *islīmī*, *khiṭā'ī*, *frangī*,
fiṣālī, *abr*, *akrah*, *salāmī*.⁶²¹

Well done, the magic-working masters of the brush ⁶²²
 Whose bewitching tool bestows a new life.
 They come to grips with every creature
 And conjure up to life the likeness of everyone;
 In creating they are followers of the pure godhead,
 From the encompassing circle of the sky to the surface of the earth.
 They cast their glances about creation

⁶²⁰ *Az tīr-gah (?) kajī sitādan.* The verse is defective and not quite clear.

⁶²¹ [*Khiṭā'ī* is "Chinese," *frangī* "Frankish," *islīmī* "in spiral curves" (see A. C. Edwards, *The Persian carpet*, 1953, p. 164). Zakhoder quotes a pun on the terms *khiṭā'ī* and *islīmī* in a verse concerning the battle of Chaldiran (see *Ālam-ārā* p. 33), and suggests that *akrah* may refer to *Agra* in India. The characteristics of *fiṣālī* (or rather *fassālī*, see below, p. 198) and *salāmī* are unknown (*fiṣāl* contains an idea of "severance, interruption"). *Abr* (*abrī*) is mentioned also in *M*, p. 146 (*H*, p. 70, line 11), and *M*, p. 150. According to Dr. M. Bayānī it refers to the technique of covering the paper with designs shaped like clouds (*abr*, "a cloud"). Perhaps it refers also to the wisps of clouds (Chinese *ch'ī*) figuring on Persian miniatures. V. M.]

⁶²² Meter: *mutaqārib*.

And make copies of every original.

137. 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,"⁶²³ therefore (this humble one) has limited himself to mentioning some of the latest ones. As for former masters of Khorasan, such as: KHWĀJA MĪRAK, MAULĀNĀ ḤĀJJĪ MUḤAMMAD,⁶²⁴ USTĀD QĀSIM-'ALĪ CHIHRA-GUSHĀY,⁶²⁵ and after them USTĀD DARVĪSH and KHALĪFA OF KHĪVA, they had no peers and none like them. [*H* adds here a few stray notes: Khwāja Mirak, Ḥājji Muḥammad, and Qāsim-'Alī flourished at the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn (Bāyqara). Qāsim-'Alī worked in the library of the Great Amir 'Alī-Shīr Navā'i and under his guidance became outstanding. Khwāja Mīrak and Ḥājji Muḥammad were his contemporaries. Ḥājji Mīrak was not only an artist and ornamentalist (*mudhahhib*) but also peerless in the art of making inscriptions, in which he surpassed all his predecessors.]

After them comes the rarity of the epoch, the marvel of all the centuries, MASTER BEHZĀD OF HERAT.

Behzād is the master of the times,⁶²⁶

He has given a full measure of mastery.

The Mother of Time has given birth to few of the rank of Mānī

But, by God, Behzād is the best born (*beh-zād*) of her.

⁶²³ *Qor'ān*, XL, 44.

⁶²⁴ Mentioned in *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, p. 342; Barthold, *Mīr 'Alī Shīr i politicheskaya zhizn*, p. 160.

⁶²⁵ See *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, translated by Sir Thomas Arnold (pp. 139–140). *Khulāsat al-alkhbār* gives a detailed biography of this master. *Chihragushāy*, literally "portraitist," see BWG, pp. 189–190, but also painter in general.

⁶²⁶ *Rubā'i*. In content, the first and third verses are very close to Dūst Muḥammad's chronogram quoted in BWG, p. 186.

138. The master had lost his father and mother in his childhood and was brought up by USTĀD MĪRAK NAQQĀSH,⁶²⁷ who was librarian to the late sovereign, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn-mīrzā. He achieved success in a short time and so well that no one had seen an artist equal to him since the art of images came into being.

His drawing in charcoal by its fluency⁶²⁸
 Is superior to work by the brush of Mānī.
 Had Mānī only known about him,
 He would have imitated his sense (?) of proportion.
 His images of birds are heart ravishing,
 Like the birds of Christ⁶²⁹ they acquire a soul.

The master remained in the arena of activity from the happy time of Mīrzā Sulṭān-Ḥusayn until some time after the opening days of the reign of the late Shah Tahmāsp. Wonderful specimens of his painting are numerous. His death occurred in Herat and he was buried in the neighborhood of *Kūh-i Mukhtār*,⁶³⁰ within an enclosure full of paintings and ornaments.⁶³¹

DŪST-I DĪVĀNA, one of the incomparable pupils of Maulānā Behzād, was perfect in skill and ability. He spent some time in the service of the monarch, equal in dignity to Jamshīd (Tahmāsp?), after which he went to India and made much progress there.

USTĀD SULṬĀN-MUḤAMMAD (*H*: Maḥmūd?) was a native of Tabriz. At the time when Maulānā Behzād arrived in

⁶²⁷ For the complete survey of Behzād's biographical material see R. Ettinghausen, "Behzād," *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Supplement, pp. 38-40.

⁶²⁸ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

⁶²⁹ The reference is to the clay birds that flew away when the child Jesus threw them into the air.

⁶³⁰ Semenov, *A manuscript of Sa'dī's Būstān*: "The hill of Murād." This indication of the site of Behzād's tomb is unusual. In addition to Ettinghausen's article, see B. P. Denike, *Persian painting* (in Russian), Moscow, 1938, p. 85; S. Khwānsārī in *Armaghān* (1937), No. 4. [And M. Qazvīnī "Two historical documents referring to Behzād," in Qazvīnī, *Bīst maqāla*, vol. 2 (1313/1934), pp. 205-209. V. M.]

⁶³¹ [I dare not translate *naqsh-u nigār* as "painted images" since even for Behzād such embellishment of a resting place would be extravagant. V. M.]

139. (Persian) 'Irāq from Herat, Ustād Sulṭān-Muḥammad was in the library of the late Shah Tahmāsp and was engaged in teaching that Khusrau of the Four Climes who took exercise under his guidance in the pictorial art. Better than the others, Ustād Sulṭān-Muḥammad pictured the deportment (*ravish*) of the Qizil-bash.⁶³² His death occurred in Tabriz.⁶³³

The sovereign whose abode is in Paradise, SHAH TAHMĀSP AL-HUSAYNĪ AL-MŪSAVĪ AL-ŞAFĀVĪ of lasting memory—may God shed light on his tomb! Although this is an abandoning of etiquette and a liberty,⁶³⁴ yet as this exalted Majesty was greatly inclined toward this wonder-working art in which he was a master, (this humble one) has mentioned his blessed name for the felicity and honor of this noble manuscript and for the adornment and bliss of this exalted treatise. At first Shah Tahmāsp was greatly drawn to learning the *nasta'liq* script and painting, and spent his blessed time on these. He became an incomparable master rising above all artists in drawing and painting. The felicity of his clipping the *qalam*⁶³⁵ and the movement of his outlines (*arqām?*) deserved a hundred thousand praises and approvals.

Almighty God, what a soul-ravishing reed,⁶³⁶
 Through which the throne of the heavens has acquired adornment!
 How can the writing of his reed not find life,
 When life is dripping from its beak?
 He has humiliated all creation,
 Which kissed his hand in compliance with the (supreme) order
 (*bar raqam*).
 When he needs a *qalam* for tracing
 He makes a *qalam* from the feathers of angels.
 In passion for him the shell has raised its head out of the water

⁶³² Supporters of the Safavid dynasty, warlike Turkmans.

⁶³³ For an account of Sulṭān-Muḥammad see Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–115. On his son Mīrzā 'Alī, see below, p. 186.

⁶³⁴ The same apologetic phrase for daring to mention the Shah's name among the painters is found in '*Ālam-ārā*, p. 127. [In *H* the author makes his excuse that "the pedigree of this art . . . goes up to 'Alī.'"]

⁶³⁵ [*Rīza-yi aqlām*, literally "the clippings."]

⁶³⁶ Meter: *mutaqārib*.

140. To be made happy by the rain of his generosity (*dast*).⁶³⁷
 The affairs of the *qalam* have been in ascendance,
 Because he placed it between two fingers;
 Even when (his) *qalam* by making (too many) flourishes⁶³⁸ grows
 old,
 It (still) makes the hair on the lion's body stand up.

The paintings of that incomparable and highborn painter are many. One or two scenes (*majlis*)⁶³⁹ by him are found in the pavilion (*ayvān*) of Forty Columns⁶⁴⁰ 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 achieved⁶⁴¹
 By scribes, artists, natives of Qazvin, and asses.

[In *H* the end of this paragraph is more explicit. Among the several scenes painted by the Shah in the Chihil-Sutūn, the author mentions one representing Yūsuf and Zulaykhā and the Egyptian ladies eating fruit. This scene was pasted on the lower part of the western pavilion with an appropriate verse:

The Egyptian (ladies) were throwing stones of vituperation at
 Zulaykhā,
 But Yūsuf became the sword which cut their hands.⁶⁴²

At the time when the Shah favored the artists,⁶⁴³ they occasionally went for rides on Egyptian asses in the palace garden of Tabriz. This was the time when Qāḍī-Jahān Vakīl was in ascendance. He was a Qazvinī and used to join the parties,

⁶³⁷ Rain drops swallowed by the shell become pearls. See Sa'dī, *Būstān*, book IV, No. 1.

⁶³⁸ [*Tash'ir* technically means "a flourish," but here the author of these abstruse verses may be hinting additionally at its literal meaning: "to make hairy (shabby?)." V. M.]

⁶³⁹ BWG, p. 189: "group pictures, genre pictures."

⁶⁴⁰ *Ayvān-i chihil-sutūn*.

⁶⁴¹ Meter: *ramal*.

⁶⁴² When Yūsuf entered the hall, the ladies, who were cutting fruit, were so struck by his beauty that they let slip their knives and cut their fingers.

⁶⁴³ On his changed attitude, see above, p. 135.

and the poet Maulānā Ṣunūf (*sic?*) Dāmghānī composed the verse already quoted.]⁶⁴⁴

His Highness BAHRĀM-MĪRZĀ was also fully inclined toward the pictorial arts and in his library there were always outstanding calligraphers and artists who attained the highest degree (of perfection).

The head of the talents of the world, the late ABUL-FATH SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM-MĪRZĀ⁶⁴⁵ was a master in that art and had golden hands in painting and decorating; he achieved great success because of his refinement of thought and deep meditation.

Thanks to the mastery, the hair of his *qalam*⁶⁴⁶

Gave life even to images of (inanimate) minerals.

141. In Holy Mashhad he put together an album (*muraqqa'*) of the writings of masters and paintings of Maulānā Behzād and others. It was completed⁶⁴⁷ with the help of rare masters, skillful craftsmen, incomparable experts in writing, and peerless calligraphers. Indeed, such an arrangement was made and such an album showed its face (*chihra-gushūd*), that every page of it was worthy of a hundred praises, nay every specimen of it merited one hundred thousand lauds. Should the pages of History be devoted to its arrangement (*ta'liq?*) (and) the virtues of its beautiful writings, not even one-third (*thulthī*) of them would be explained by the pen describing the epoch; should the pages of the revolving sky be filled with lauds of its images and shapes of marvelous flowers, not even one-tenth of its beauties would appear on the mirror of manifestation. Its beautiful pictures were of such a degree that:

From the point of view of cleanness and distinction

Nothing but the soul would find a place in it.

⁶⁴⁴ [According to *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. Seddon, p. 488, this verse was composed by a poet called *Būq al-'ishq*, "Love's trumpet," and this attribution is confirmed in the *'Ālam-ārā*. V. M.]

⁶⁴⁵ [*H* omits *Bahrām-mīrzā* and (p. 67) transfers his praise to his son *Ibrāhīm-mīrzā*. Then again *H*, p. 67, speaks of *Ibrāhīm-mīrzā* in more detail; see above, p. 163.]

⁶⁴⁶ Meter: *hazaj*.

⁶⁴⁷ [From here to the middle of the biography of *Mīr Muṣavvir* there is a

Because of the images of flowers and shapes of birds
 It was a Paradise unspoiled by the autumn wind.
 Thousands of its roses and tulips, stems and petals,
 Were immune from the harm of storms and hail.
 Youths represented with sunlike faces, in shame,
 Had closed their lips in their conversation.
 All of them united in war and peace,
 Not like the dwellers of the world full of hypocrisy and dishonor!
 Day and night companions of the same quarters (*ham-visāq*),
 Men devoid of discord in their communion!

This album, with other treasures, fell to the lot of the late Princess Gauhar-Sulṭān khānum, one of the daughters of the late Shah Tahmāsp, at the moment of the wedding of that shining luminary with Ibrāhīm-mīrzā. When the latter was killed, she washed out the album with water,⁶⁴⁸ although no one had seen a similar one and its price was tantamount to the *kharāj* of a whole clime.

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

MAULĀNĀ NAZĪRĪ OF QUM⁶⁴⁹ was an incomparable painter and worked in the library of the late Shah Tahmāsp in the days when painters and calligraphers enjoyed favor and esteem.⁶⁵⁰ 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.

lacuna of one folio in *M*. In *E*, fol. 9a-9b, the text is practically complete; cf. *H*, p. 69.]

⁶⁴⁸ [*H*, p. 69, adds: "that it should not fall under the eyes of Shah Ismā'il." This fact, with the same explanation, is quoted in the *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 150, which describes the despair and death of the Princess.]

⁶⁴⁹ [*H* adds that in the beginning the artist was "in the service" of the royal calligraphers and painters. V. M.]

⁶⁵⁰ See above, p. 181.

AQĀ MĪRAK was of the sayyids of Isfahan⁶⁵¹ and had no peer in artistic design (*ṭarrāḥī*). He finally became the *gārāk-yaraq*⁶⁵² of His Majesty (Shah Tahmāsp) and stayed mostly in Tabriz. He was an incomparable painter, very clever, enamored of his art, a *bon vivant*, an intimate (of the Shah), and a sage.

142. MĪR MUṢAVVIR was a native of Badakhshān.⁶⁵³ He was a portraitist, working neatly, and made very pleasant and pretty images. When Humāyūn-pādshāh came to 'Irāq, he said (to Shah Tahmāsp):⁶⁵⁴ "If that sultan of the universe (*vajh-i arḍ*) gives me Mīr Muṣavvir, I shall send him from Hindustan one thousand tumans as a present." In view of this circumstance, his son, MĪR SAYYID 'ALĪ, who in art was more clever than his father, was the first to hasten to India. Father and son both "went into the black earth" (?)⁶⁵⁵ and died there; as Ghazālī says:

I am going to India, for there⁶⁵⁶
 The affairs of the clever people march nicely,
 Whereas liberality and generosity ran away from the men of (this)
 time
 Into black earth.

MAULĀNĀ QADĪMĪ⁶⁵⁷ was a man with the character of a darvīsh (*abdāl*). The late Shah kept him in the *kitāb-khāna*

⁶⁵¹ *H*, characteristically: "of the capital, Isfahan."

⁶⁵² [The duty of this official was to purvey the materials required for an office; see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, transl. V. Minorsky, p. 178. This Aqā Mirak must be distinguished from *Khawāja Mirak*; see above, p. 92. V. M.]

⁶⁵³ *H* adds that his real name was Maṣṣūr; cf. Sakisian.

⁶⁵⁴ Here the lacuna in *M* ends.

⁶⁵⁵ [*Ba-zamīn-i siyāh furū raftand va ānjā riḥlat numūdand*. Zakhoder interprets this obscure expression as "found themselves in bad circumstances," though according to Sakisian, pp. 116-117, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī was one of the founders of the Indo-Persian school of miniatures in India.—Perhaps simply "buried (themselves) there."]

⁶⁵⁶ Meter: *khaḥfif*. [There were several poets called Ghazālī, see W. Ivanow, *Four Persian poetical tadhkiras*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 38. This particular Ghazālī may have been Ghazālī Mashhadī who died in India in 980/1572. V. M.]

⁶⁵⁷ BWG, p. 186: Muḥammad Qadīmī. Sakisian mentions a miniature bearing his signature.

as a portraitist. He composed good poetry. The following opening verse belongs to him:

The rival wanted to come uninvited to your entertainment,⁶⁵⁸
Your gatekeeper did not let him in. May I be the dog of your
gatekeeper!

KHWĀJA 'ABD AL-VAHHĀB and his son 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ are natives of Kāshān: they are both unequaled in the art of painting. The late Shah used to call 'Abd al-'Azīz his pupil⁶⁵⁹ and he took instruction in the art of painting from that peerless monarch. Khwāja 'Abd al-'Azīz became one of his close intimates. Finally, having conspired with a certain company of foolish and vicious men, he forged the seal of the late Shah and for this reason lost his ears and nose.⁶⁶⁰

MĪRZĀ GHAFĀR was the son of a Qizilbash; he achieved such success that he was recognized by all and was unequaled.

143. MAULĀNĀ MĪRZĀ-'ALĪ was the son of Maulānā Sultān-Muḥammad. In the art of painting he had no equals.⁶⁶¹ During his father's lifetime he grew up in the *kitāb-khāna* of the late khāqān.

MAULĀNĀ MUZAFFAR 'ALĪ⁶⁶² was the nephew (sister's son) of Maulānā Rustam-'Alī, already mentioned among the masters of *nasta'liq* (see above, p. 147). His father was a good pupil of Maulānā Behzād. He finally achieved such success that people considered him equal to Behzād; besides painting, he had a most wonderful hand in calligraphic copying (*muth-annā*), wrote *nasta'liq* well, excelled in gold sprinkling and gilding, and was outstanding in his time in coloring and lacquer work (*raughan-kāri*). Few have been so versatile as he. He also arranged one *muraqqā'*.

AGHĀ ḤASAN NAQQĀSH was a native of Herat. He was

⁶⁵⁸ Meter: *hazaj*.

⁶⁵⁹ 'Alī names Isfahan as the birthplace of 'Abd al-'Azīz and calls Shah Tahmāsp his pupil; see Sakisian, p. 112, n. 3.

⁶⁶⁰ According to 'Alī, 'Abd al-'Azīz lost his nose for an attempt to flee to India. Cf. Sakisian, pp. 120-121, and Denike, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁶⁶¹ See Sakisian, pp. 115-116.

⁶⁶² Mentioned in *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 127, among the famous artists of Tahmāsp's reign.

unequaled in the art of painting. On the order of the late Muḥammad-khān Sharaf al-dīn-oghli Tākkālū⁶⁶³ he ornamented with painting the inside of the holy tomb of Imām 'Alī-Riḍā. There he inscribed the following verse (*H*: of Mir Ḥasan Dihlavi), corresponding to his attitude:

Hasan circumambulated your door in the manner of the *ṭawāf*,⁶⁶⁴
And like the Ka'ba you have settled all his needs.

He died in the capital of Herat and was buried next to the *mazār* of the Pir of Herat (Anṣārī), in Gāzargāh, in a chamber (*khāna*) full of paintings and embellishments.

144. MĪR ZAYN AL-'ĀBIDĪN TABRĪZĪ⁶⁶⁵ was the pupil and grandson (daughter's son) of Maulānā Sulṭān-Muḥammad. He is not inferior to others with regard to portraiture, gilding, and painting. All his life he practiced art in the Shah's establishments⁶⁶⁶ and received a salary and presents.

MAULĀNĀ SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD⁶⁶⁷ of the town of the faithful, Sabzavār, was the son of Maulānā Shaykh Kamāl, mentioned earlier as a master of the *thulth* style.⁶⁶⁸ This incomparable artist was a pupil of Maulānā Dūst-i Dīvāna. He wrote well and worked excellently in *nasta'liq*. In painting he closely followed (*qalam bar qalam*) the Chinese. Even though in portraits (*ṣūrat*) he made some mistakes,⁶⁶⁹ people said: "Well done (*bah*)!" In copying⁶⁷⁰ he reproduced the script of masters, making corrections with the brush of hair in such a way that it was impossible to understand (which was the copy). He was an excellent artist, gilder (ornamentalist?),

⁶⁶³ Zayn al-Ābidīn, 274a: Muḥammad-khān Sharaf al-dīn died in 964/1556-67.

⁶⁶⁴ Meter: *mujtathth*. *Ṭawāf* is the circumambulation of the Ka'ba.

⁶⁶⁵ 'Ālam-ārā, p. 127; English transl., Arnold, p. 141.

⁶⁶⁶ *Kār-khāna*, "workshops" attached to the court. [H adds: "He made the painted crown and other accessories of the royal assembly."]

⁶⁶⁷ 'Ālam-ārā, p. 128. English transl., Arnold, p. 143: *Shīrāzī*.

⁶⁶⁸ See above, p. 75.

⁶⁶⁹ *Khatā'i*. Zakhoder, reading *khiṭā'i*, translates: "and no matter how much Chinese (*khiṭā'i*) he put into his paintings."

⁶⁷⁰ [*Muthannā*, "replica." The fact that the corrections were made by the brush suggests that the author refers to calligraphy and not to the *découpé* technique. V. M.]

and scribe, and worked in Holy Mashhad in the *kitāb-khāna* of the late Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-mīrzā, exalted in Paradise. He was his courtier and had a salary.

MAULĀNĀ KAMĀL was a native of Kāshān and a pupil of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the painter; together with his master he lost his ears.⁶⁷¹

MAULĀNĀ ‘ALĪ ASGHAR MUṢAVVIR,⁶⁷² the teacher of this humble one, was a native of Kāshān. He was also among the artists of the library of Prince Ibrāhīm (*navvāb-i mīrzā’ī*), was a courtier and a recipient of salary.

MAULĀNĀ YĀRĪ MUDHAHHIB⁶⁷³ was a native of Herat, a contemporary of Maulānā Behzād; he possessed many accomplishments and composed excellent verse. The following *ghazal* is by him:

145. That Peri-faced one, who intended to leave the fatherland,⁶⁷⁴
 Has not gone yet, but I am (already) hoping for his return.
 Though he has left the garden of the heart and the eyes, there has
 remained
 The vision of his cypress stature and jasminelike face.
 I have no strength to go, no patience to remain.
 O friend! tell him something about my condition.
 My eyes are bleached with expectation—where is he?
 Is the zephyr to bring the fragrance of his shirt?
 My ability in speech is no secret,
 Yet how shall I explain my state in his company?
 Let the beloved take pity on me. O friend!
 Tell him the story of Majnūn and the condition of the Mountain-
 digger (Farhād).
 Perhaps, through reunion with you Yārī will recover life,
 If not, without you, life and death are all one to him.

⁶⁷¹ See above, p. 186. *H* calls him “Maulānā ‘Alī, known as *Kula-gūsh*,” i.e., “with clipped ears.” Cf. Sakisian, p. 121.

⁶⁷² *‘Ālam-ārā*, pp. 128–129, mentions him among the artists of Shah Tahmāsp’s studio; English transl., Arnold, p. 143.

⁶⁷³ Mentioned by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlat, see BWG, p. 191; also in *‘Ālam-ārā*, p. 129, in the biography of Master Ḥasan Baghdādī. Arnold, in the English translation, p. 144, calls him “Bārī” (?).

⁶⁷⁴ Meter: *mujtathth*.

MAULĀNĀ GHİYĀTH AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD MUDHAHHIB of Mashhad, the inventor of gold sprinkling,⁶⁷⁵ was unrivaled in painting and (ornamental) gilding. He was the contemporary of the late Maulānā Sulṭān-‘Alī Mashhadī. He died on the last day of Jamādī I 942/26 November 1535, in Holy Mashhad and was buried beside Maulānā Sulṭān-‘Alī.

MAULĀNĀ ḤASAN MUDHAHHIB was a native of Baghdad⁶⁷⁶ but was educated in Tabriz. In his time he was inimitable in the art of (ornamental) gilding. He decorated the holy mausoleum (*āstāna*) of Imām Abū-‘Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn,⁶⁷⁷ 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-ṢAMAD MASHHADĪ⁶⁷⁸ 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 AMĪN, *jadval-kash* and *mudhahhib*,⁶⁷⁹ 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*.⁶⁸⁰ He was the teacher of this humble one. In his art he had no peer and he possessed many accomplishments and talents. [*H*: He was a perfect darvīsh, noble-minded, humane, and kindly. He found his rest in Holy Mashhad.]

MAULĀNĀ ‘ABDULLĀH MUDHAHHIB,⁶⁸¹ who was a native of

⁶⁷⁵ See below, p. 193, n. 691.

⁶⁷⁶ *‘Ālam-ārā*, p. 129; English transl., Arnold, p. 144.

⁶⁷⁷ [*H* says the "fifth member of the family of the Cloak"; see above, p. 23.]

⁶⁷⁸ Sakisian, pp. 116–117, quotes him as one of the founders of the Indo-Perisian school of miniature painting.

⁶⁷⁹ I.e., specialist in ruling the frames encompassing the text, and ornamentalist in gold.

⁶⁸⁰ See above, p. 178, and below, p. 194.

⁶⁸¹ *‘Ālam-ārā*, p. 129; English transl., Arnold, p. 144.

Shiraz, was highly skilled in ornamental gilding and in drawing frontispieces (*sar-lauḥa*) and *culs-de-lampes* (*shamsa*). None worked better than he in preparing oil colors.⁶⁸² For 20 years he was employed in the *kitāb-khāna* of Prince Abul-Faṭḥ Sulṭān-Ibrāhīm-mīrzā; he was a courtier and drew a salary. After the demise of that exalted Highness, he left the court service and having settled down in Holy Mashhad, took up the duties of a carpet spreader (*farrāsh*) at the sanctuary and attendant at the grave of the above-mentioned Prince.

MĪR YAḤYĀ is of the genuine sayyids, of the capital, Tabriz. Originally he is from Ḥilla. He has no rival in ornamental gilding, and is a master of the time: In the highest degree, he possesses the nature of a darvīsh, is modest, selfless (*nā-murād?*), and always busy at work. Since the troubles caused by the evil Ottomans (*Rūmī*) and the destruction of the capital, Tabriz, he has been living in the town of the Unitarians, Qazvin. [*H*, p. 72: Now that Isfahan has become the capital (i.e., in 1007–1599), he lives in that pleasant city.]

147. ABUL-MA'ṢŪM-MĪRZĀ is a descendant of the great amīrs of the Mausillū⁶⁸³ Turkmans. On his mother's side he is a cousin of the Shah, equal in dignity to Alexander, Abul-Ghālib Sulṭān-Muḥammad (Khudā-banda). He has good taste in portraiture and in artistic design (*tarrāḥī*). 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,⁶⁸⁴ gold sprinkling, bookbinding, making cardboard, engraving seals, carving tables and spoons, dissolving lapis lazuli, and other small artistry. He spent a long time with beardless youths until his hair turned gray. All his noble time he has spent on art and now is engaged in that same occupation. [*H*

⁶⁸² *Rang-i raughan*, see *H*, p. 70, i.e., colors used, for example, on the lids of pen cases (*qalam-dān*).

⁶⁸³ [*H*, p. 71, says that his father was Mūsā-sulṭān Mausillū and reduces the titles of the disestablished father of Shah 'Abbās to "navvāb Sulṭān-Muḥammad pādshāh."]

⁶⁸⁴ [*H*: *vaṣṣālī va faṣṣālī*, "repairing books and unbinding them." According to Dr. M. Bayānī, by the latter operation not only folios wrongly bound were put in order, but sometimes the two pages of one single folio were transferred to different folios (*du pūst kardan*).]

adds that Abul-Ma'šūm-mīrzā died in 1005/1596 and was buried at the sanctuary of Qum. "He was not devoid of high aspirations and (the feeling) of the transience of this world. In his company there were always some clever and gifted men as well as poor and hapless people who profited by the open table of his liberality."]

SIYĀVUSH-BEG was a slave (*mamlūk*) of Shah Tahmāsp. [*H*, p. 70: "He came from Georgia and, while he was still a child, the Shah assigned him to the *naqqāsh-khāna*."] He studied under Maulānā Muẓaffar 'Alī and excelled in portraiture. In this work he is a rare phenomenon, in view of the expressive force of his *qalam* and his power of design. Now he has abandoned that occupation and does not work any more. [*H*, p. 71: "as one of the royal ghulāms, together with his (Georgian) countrymen, he is now in Shiraz and is employed on (various) commissions (*yasāq*), but he is a good artist."]

MAULĀNĀ ḤABIBULLĀH OF SĀVA lived in Qum. For the skill of his hands he was one at whom men point their fingers and with regard to art he became a ravisher of the souls of his contemporaries. Every day he makes further progress. [*H*, p. 71: "Navvāb Ḥusayn-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."]

148. ṢĀDIQĪ-BEG⁶⁸⁵ belongs to the Afshār tribe (*oymaq*). In painting and portraiture he is unequalled and unrivaled. At present he is acting as *kitābdār* to the Shah ('Abbās I). He composes very good poetry; there exist many *qaṣīdas*, *qiṭ'as*, *ghazals*, and *rubā'īs* by him. In painting he brought the harmony of colors (*rang-āmīzī*), portraiture, and details (*taksīr?*) to such perfection that men of clear vision are amazed in contemplating his work. Nor in gallantry and bravery does he regard himself inferior to the champions of this time.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ālam-ārā*, 128, English transl., Arnold, p. 142, gives a record of Ṣādiqī-beg Afshār, artist, poet, and soldier of valor, very similar to that of Qādī Aḥmad. [*H*: Ṣādiq-beg.]

The painter of beauty⁶⁸⁶ AQĀ RIḌĀ is the son of Maulānā 'Alī Aṣghar [*H*, p. 71: Kāshānī]; it is fitting that the present age should be proud of his existence, for in the flower of his youth he brought the elegance of his brushwork, portraiture, and likeness to such a degree that, if Mānī and Behzād were living today, they would praise his hand and brush a hundred times a day. In this age he has no rival; master painters, skillful artists who live in our times regard him as perfect (*musallam*). He has snatched the ball of precedence from his forerunners and has yet days for perfecting himself; one must hope that he will prosper. He has been appointed to the court of Shah 'Abbās, the powerful monarch of the family of most pure Imāms. On one occasion he made such a portrait that this glorious monarch involuntarily expressed a thousand approvals and praises.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 Mīrzā⁶⁸⁸ Abul-Faṭḥ Ibrāhīm-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 (*pīchak*) under him, and because of the proximity of Qum and Kāshān (our parents?) lived in unity (*yagānagi*).

[*H* omits the whole development about the family links and reflects the change which intervened in the interval between the first and second redactions of the book: "(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 *Muṣavvir-i zībā*. 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 *Navvāb-i mīrzā'iyam*, "my lord the Mīrzā."

Aqā Riḍā's nature. The company of hapless people (*nā-murād*, read **nā-mard*?) and libertines (*lavand*) is spoiling his disposition. He is addicted to watching wrestling and to acquiring competence (*vuqūf*) and instruction (*ta'limāt*) in this profession."]

MAULĀNĀ NADHR [*H*: Naẓar]-'ALĪ QĀṬĪ' came to Holy Mashhad from Badakhshān. He walked about dressed in felt, in darvīsh attire, and was an extremely spiritual and pure man. Looking at samples of Mir-'Alī'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 (out of the sheet of paper)⁶⁸⁹ 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 Shāhrukhī madrasa. He was good at 'aks, and in mastering that art made (new) discoveries. He created curious images, wonderful designs, rare colorings. His 'aks made people free from (their former use of) gold sprinkling.⁶⁹¹

MAULĀNĀ QĀSIM-BEG TABRĪZĪ was an incomparable book-binder, a peerless master of leather binding. He was so unique and skillful that he would have sewed the pages of Fate in the back of the binding, and with the binding knife would have

⁶⁸⁹ MS. *E* ends here.

⁶⁹⁰ [*Qiṭ'a* has a double meaning: "a specimen of calligraphy" and "the technique of the *découpé* work." In this work the artist (*qāṭī'*), armed with scissors, cuts out letters from the script and pastes them up on a sheet of colored paper. The end of the passage seems to indicate that when the artist had cut out the letters, what remained of the paper represented an *à jour* replica of the cuttings. V. M.]

⁶⁹¹ *Kepek* is a Turkish name. The term *afshān* translated as "gold sprinkling" designates the covering of the background and the margins with gold dust; see Semenov, *A MS. of Sa'dī's Būstān*, 1925. In modern usage the term 'aks "reflection (of light)" is used for photography, but in our text it possibly refers to the covering of the background with faint contours (of plants, flowers, animals, etc.), which in fact was a technique superior to the mere "gold sprinkling." [Dr. Bayānī says more definitely that 'aks refers to the use of stencils, which became common in the ninth/fifteenth century.]

- leveled the days of Destiny; ⁶⁹² his work in the corner pieces (*kunj*) was similar to stars, and that in medallions (*turunj*) like the sun. He had (the nature) of a darvīsh and was self-effacing (*fānī*). Owing to the disorders caused by the evil
150. Ottomans and the ruin of Tabriz he came to (Persian) 'Irāq and settled in Qazvin where he worked as a bookbinder. Finally, he adopted Ardabil as his residence, but Fate did not favor him, in confirmation of the saying: "What dost thou know where thou shalt die?" and he died during the epidemic of plague in the year 1000/1591-92 in Qazvin—on him be the clemency of God!

MAULĀNĀ YAḤYA is a native of Qazvin. In the restoration of books, tinting of paper, and in *abrī* he is very with regard to the *abrī* paper (?) he has good achievements and *abrī* 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

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 Qāḍī Aḥmad's book. *H* omits the paragraph on Maulānā Yaḥyā (different from Mīr Yaḥyā), and its own Conclusion (*khātima*) must be a later addition. V.M.]

APPENDIX

(*H*, 72, line 14) CONCLUSION ⁶⁹⁴

On ruling, gilding, diluting lapis lazuli, preparing various colors, ink and other accessories of a kitāb-khāna.

HOW TO RULE ORNATE (*Muraṣṣa'*) FRAMEWORK.

Verse. Draw three lines close to one another,
The line in gold being preferably the last.
Mark the four corners boldly (*durusht*)
So as to draw (the lines) face to face, and back to back.
The space which can be left between the two lines
Should be less than the back of a knife.
It is better that there should be (only) two lines in the middle,
So that blanks should not appear everywhere.
After that do not fail to use the polisher (*muhra*) (73)
To be able to draw a contour.⁶⁹⁵
Draw two contours round the first two lines,
Then three contours round the other line.
When in the inner space (*miyān*) you draw a second marginal
line (*muthannā*)
It will need also four contours (i.e., two on each side).
Do not let (the lines of) the corners go beyond each other,
Let them lie head to head.
In the middle draw first two lines
In lapis lazuli devoid of *marghash*.⁶⁹⁶
Those two lines are joined on the inner side
And in the middle (between them) introduce lapis lazuli.

⁶⁹⁴ The Conclusion is written in a very poor Persian style with no pretense to literary merit. It surely belongs to some technician and not to Qāḍī Aḥmad himself. Quite a few passages of the Conclusion are not discernible on the photographs (*H*, pp. 72-76) and even the Persian scholar who used the original MS. *H* to prepare his transcript seems to have been embarrassed at places. Some technicalities in the text remain obscure, but I am greatly obliged to Dr. M. Bayāni for solving many of my difficulties. V. M.

⁶⁹⁵ *Tahrir*: "Very thin lines drawn round the letters, written in colors other than black" (Dr. M. Bayāni).

⁶⁹⁶ "Sparks (*tala'lu'*) such as are seen in amber" (Dr. M. Bayāni).

Still lower ⁶⁹⁷ than those two lines

Draw a light green (*sīlū*) line,⁶⁹⁸ and do not omit it!

First marginal line (jadval).—Draw first a thin line and after that a thicker gold line so that between the two lines there should remain the space of a knife's back. Then use the polisher and draw a contour round the thin line, and four contours round the other line—two before and two behind. Then put lapis lazuli upon it (?). *Second* (muthannā) *marginal line*.—First draw two gold lines opposite one another, then use the polisher for the gold and draw two contours to each line. Then round (them?) draw lapis lazuli. *Marginal line with three contours*.—First draw a gold line and use the polisher. Then draw two contours, one in front and one behind, and finally draw lapis lazuli.⁶⁹⁹

How to grind (*mālīdan*) *lapis lazuli*.—Cast the lapis lazuli into a vessel with one or two drops of gum upon it and prepare a paste (*khamīr*, "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 *Mārchashm* (?), and after these *Dīvlāghī* (?).⁷⁰⁰ The best stones are those which have the best color and are lustrous. The pounding (*ṣalāya*)⁷⁰¹ (of the lapis lazuli) consists of

⁶⁹⁷ "Lower," i.e., more to the inner side (Dr. Bayānī).

⁶⁹⁸ As explained by Dr. M. Bayānī.

⁶⁹⁹ Some idea of the complicated technique can be obtained from the marginal framework of a *sar-lauḥ* in my possession. It consists of the following lines (from outside inward): 1, Blue (thick); 2, pink; 3, gold, with two very thin lines on the outside and one on the inside; 4, narrow green separated by a thin line from 5, gold, with a thin line on the inner side. Blank spaces are seen only between 1, 2, and 3. The thin lines are presumably the *tahrīr* ("contour," i.e., "the line separating the different colored parts of the design," see *The Oxford English Dictionary*).

⁷⁰⁰ These kinds of lapis lazuli are not mentioned in Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-jawāhīr*, ed. F. Krenkow, 1355/1936, pp. 195–196.

⁷⁰¹ Here *ṣalāya* seems to refer more to the sorting of particles.

breaking the stone into fine pieces, while those of good color are separated from those of poor color. Each kind is ground in a separate mortar and sifted in a flour sieve (*ārd-bīz?*) and then washed with 'Irāqī soap.

How to wash with soap.—One pours some pure water into a vessel and beats up the said soap into foam, so that the lye (*tīzāb*) becomes sharp. The sifted stone is cast into the water, stirred up and left for an hour until the agitated water becomes calm. Then that water is poured into a different bowl (*qadaḥ*) and the hard residue is collected, pounded (*ṣalāya*) again, washed with lye and put into another vessel. Again the residue (*tah-nishīn*) 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 (*mustakhlāṣ*). Then it is dried and wrapped in paper.

How to dilute gold.—For each gold leaf do not use more than four drops of gum. Crush it at the bottom of a vessel and not on its sides. Do not grind (*zūr?*) on the sides. Rub it between three or four fingers leaving no particles (*khurda*) in it. If your hand grows dry (74) moisten it with a little water. The crushing up of gold should not last more than two or three hours because it may become loosened (*pūch*). When it has softened and there have remained no filaments (*rishta*) in it, fill the cup with water up to four-sixths and wash the gold off the hands and the sides of the vessel (*kāsa*) until it all comes down to the bottom. Then cover the vessel with paper and in no case leave it uncovered. After an hour or two, pour the water off the gold and put the vessel on the fire to dry, but take it off soon for it should not remain on the fire too long. Then pour a little black glue (*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 (*muhra-yi jaz'*). Should the *bastīmān* (setting?) of the gold be insufficient, let it solidify (*bastīmān*) another time. Should the color of this gold be blackish, add some water.

Various colors and how to mix them.—Know that before using colors one should add liquid gum arabic to them. Should it for some reason (*az jihat*) be oily (*mad-hūn*), i.e., (too?) fat (*charb*) for the tool (brush?), mix it with yolk. For *verdigris* (*zangārī*) add vinegar. When grinding *antimony*, mix with it some gum arabic and add water to the amount necessary for the color. *Cinnabar* is ground like antimony and washed thus: Put it in a glazed (*rangīn*) vessel, add water, shake it and leave it for an hour until the water grows clear. Then the water is poured (off?) and the color pounded (*ṣalāya*). 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 (*sitabr*). For use on a brush it should be thin enough (*tunuk*) to allow the brush to dip (?) into it. *Lapis lazuli*: Grind it with a stone (*sang*) mixing with it vinegar and gum arabic until it becomes greenish (*sabz?*). It is washed like cinnabar. All the colors improve with washing. The *orpiment* (*zarnīkhī*) color: If you want the orpiment yellow, pound it (*ṣalāya*) with water and then knead it (*sirīshad*) with gum arabic until it becomes soft (*ravān?*). *Red color* (*surkh*): If you wish the orpiment red (*surkh*), grind it first carefully; the more one grinds it dry the redder it grows. *White color*: Add water to ceruse and rub it with a flimsy rag (*rugū?*) until it becomes neat and clean, then add liquid gum arabic to it and use it. *Sky blue* (*āsmāni*) 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 ⁷⁰²

Take equal weights of soot and alum, a double weight of gallnuts (*māzū*)

A threefold weight of gum and then (use) the strength of your arm.⁷⁰³

One must collect the soot on the bottom of an earthen pot (*sufālīna*) and it is better to obtain the soot from (a lamp filled with) hemp oil (*raughan-i bazrak*).⁷⁰⁴ Put it onto paper, cover the paper with paste (*dar khamīr*), and place it in a hot oven on a burnt brick (*khisht-i pukhta*)⁷⁰⁵ 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 (*zārf*) and pour water on it as much as you think necessary (*īn miqdār ki dānad*) (to give it) the consistency of honey. Then put the soot in a mortar and pour on it some of that moistened (*khīs khurda*) gum arabic which has been brought to the consistency of honey, until the mixture becomes like dough. Knead (*kūbīd*) it very long. Then put minced gallnuts (*māzūj*) in a vessel and fill it with a tenfold quantity of water. Add to the gallnuts 1 dram of leaves of henna and 1 dram of *mū* leaves,⁷⁰⁶ half a dram of indigo (*vasma*), and half a dram of *afīmūn*.⁷⁰⁷ Let it stand 24 hours and then boil it until the gallnut water does not spread (*nashr*) on paper; then strain it through a fresh piece of linen (*karbās-i *nau*, spelled *navā?*). Having distilled the gallnut water, keep it. Then dissolve some Cyprus alum (*zāj-i qubrusī*) and, having distilled it, add it to the gallnut water. After a day, distill the gallnut water and alum again so that no sediment (*durd*) remains in it. (Pour) some of it into a mortar and upon it pour soot and gum arabic and pound

⁷⁰² See above, Sulṭān-‘Alī’s recipe, p. 112.

⁷⁰³ Dr. Bayānī says that in the days of old, ink was packed upon the saddle of a quick camel to be properly mixed.

⁷⁰⁴ I.e., by covering the lamp with a pot that will collect the soot.

⁷⁰⁵ Cooking on hot bricks is a well-known Persian practice.

⁷⁰⁶ *Mū*, *Meum Athamanticum*, Bärwurz, see Abū-Mansūr Muwaffak Haravī, transl. A. Achundov, Halle, 1893, No. 529.

⁷⁰⁷ *Cuscuta Epithymum*, Flachseide, *loc. cit.*, No. 14.

(*saḥq*) as much as it can be pounded. Then cast into the mortar some moistened (*sīrāb*) indigo and some aloe (*ṣabr*), and having pounded (the mixture), leave it for 100 hours, i.e., five days and nights, more or less. After that period (the mixture) is ready, but in less than that (time) the pounded (mixture) would not be ready. Then cast into the mortar some Indian salt and some Egyptian sugar (*nabāt*). Then little by little pour into the mortar all of the (prepared) mixture of alum and gallnuts, while triturating it and testing it until it acquires the degree of excellence (*ḥadd-i muṭawwas*). Then take it out of the mortar and strain it through silk. Take half a dram of Tibetan musk and one *mithqāl* of saffron and dissolve them in 10 drams of rose water, which (must be) extremely pure, and pour it into the ink. Then write and it will be extremely good, fluent and excellent. *Another recipe:* Put some wheat starch into a copper pot and bake it on a slow fire until it becomes black, but see that it does not burn. Then triturate it. Put some gallnuts into water until they soften. Distill them, pour into the starch and gradually mix them (*ba-rūy afkanad?*), and put (the mixture) on the fire to boil. (76) Then strain it, adding to it some alum, and use it. This sort of ink is called *nishāstajī* ("starchy"), whereas the sort described in the first place is called *ṣamghī* ("prepared with gum"). The following *other sort* is also *ṣamghī*. Put some lampblack into a mortar and pound it until it becomes very shiny. Then distill (*ṣāf*) some gum arabic, which should be neither thick nor thin, and pour it little by little into the mortar, rubbing it carefully until it grows strong. Then mix a little sugar or candy (*nabāt ya ṭabarzad*) and salt with rose water and mix it (with the contents of the mortar). On the next morning rub the whole and close carefully in a bottle. Then use it when necessary. If you wish that flies (read: **magas*, instead of 'aks) should not sit on it, put some cow gall in the ink holder. *Another sort:* Take (some) tin and quicksilver in equal quantities and pour the quicksilver on the tin. Then pound (*ṣalāya*) it until it softens. Add some gum arabic and use it, rubbing the back (of the paper) with the polisher.

How to remove writing from paper.—Take some liquid ceruse (*safīd-āb-i arzīz*), triturate it with liquid gum arabic and apply to the writing. When it is dry, use the polisher and the writing will disappear.⁷⁰⁸

* * *

It is hoped that the readers of this lofty composition (*nuskha-yi munīfa*) will act upon (*ba-mu'addā?*) the saying: "Who hits the target⁷⁰⁹ becomes the target of the eyes," (namely) that everyone who casts a glance on these folios should inscribe (*dākhil*) what, according to his enlightened views, has been omitted (*tark*), and with the pen of improvement cross out whatever (seems to be) superfluous or incompatible with his high appreciation.

Verse. Much work (lies) before the Pen,
 But the power of writing has decreased.
 Let God's favors be my guide
 And the pen of writing my helper,
 That I should conclude this story
 And, as intended, turn my attention toward another one.

Finished the book by the grace of the Lord of Generosity.

⁷⁰⁸ Here ends the note on "the accessories of a *kitāb-khāna*," and the conclusion seems to be by Qāḍī Aḥmad himself.

⁷⁰⁹ Reading: *man hadafa* (perhaps: *man *ṣannafa?*) *fa-qad istahdafa*.

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در کمان زیر که وفطانت بوده مدتی در خدمت پادشاه حجه
 رضوان بارگاه سپهر دو و بعد از آن به بند رفت و در آنجا ترقی کرد
 استاد **سلطان محمد** از دارالسلطنه تزیست در وقتیکه استاد بهر او
 از مرآت بعراق آمد استاد و سلطان محمد در کتابخانه شاه رضوان بارگاه فرود
 جاگامی بود و بتعلیم آن خسرو چهار قلم اشغال داشت و آن محضر
 فرود پس منزلت شش می شش شغاشی میکردند و تعلیم از وی میگردید
 استاد و سلطان محمد روش قرباش تبریز و دیگران ساخته و قاسم را سلطه
 سررود

شاهزاده بزرگامان سلطان شاه امام حسین الموسوی الصفوی

اگرچه ترک ادب و کتابخانه است اما چون اعلیحضرت حکام مرتب امیل کام
 بدن کام محبت آثار خود و درین فن استاد بودند تمیماً و شرفاً نامده
 اینسخه الشیرفه و تزییناً و تبرکاً لذالرساله المنیفة اسم مبارک آن جنت مکان
 ذکر نمود در بدو حال مشغول است و متعلق و مشغول بر غیبت تمام داشتند



MS. M, p. 19: Yāqūt Musta'shimī on a Minaret engaged in Writing.



MS. E, folio 19, recto: Yāqūt Musta‘simī on a Minaret engaged in Writing.



MS. M, p. 59: Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhādī with Three Pupils,
and a Man Outside the Door.



MS. M, p. 132: Illustration to the Story of the Bear Cubs.



MS. M, p. 135: Illustration to the Story of the Squinting Prince.



MS. E, folio 8, verso: Abul-Fath Ibrāhīm-mīrzā with Three Shaykhs and Three Youths.

که چون ماومی وفاداری ناری مصنفان این غزل در شایان بود
 نقش بسته اند مولانا در علم موسیقی مهارت تمام داشت و مصنف
 خوب بود دیوان غزلیاتش قریب به هشتاد و هفت در میان است
 و شهرت است بسویین سماع در قرین رحلت نمود و نواب غزالیان میرزا علی
 ابوالفتح سلطان ابریم میرزا اوقده از جمله خوشنویسان متحرران است



جد

MS. E, folio 66, verso: Shah 'Abbās with Nizām al-din 'Ali Tabrizi.

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