MUSTAFA ʿÂLĪ’S EPIC DEEDS OF ARTISTS:
A STUDY ON THE EARLIEST OTTOMAN TEXT ABOUT THE
CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

In contrast to scholars of Western art who can make use of numerous handbooks on aesthetics and technical manuals such as those of Vitruvius, Alberti or Palladio, scholars of Islamic art have available to them only a limited number of pre-nineteenth century vernacular sources in translation. Of these, perhaps the three most important are *The Rose-garden of Art* (c. 1606), a treatise on calligraphers and painters by the Safavid scholar Qadi Ahmed, the preface (1544) by the court painter Dost Muhammad to an album of calligraphy and painting prepared for the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza, and an Ottoman text, *Epic Deeds of Artists* (1587), a historical and biographical study of calligraphers and painters by the Ottoman scholar-bureaucrat ʿAlī.

For historians of Islamic art, these three texts are key sources for an understanding of not only the artistic techniques and principles used by the artists of the age, but also the art-historical, social and cultural contexts that produced the great artists of the Ottoman, Turkmen, Timurid and Safavid periods. Based on the content and structure of the text, I am arguing in my dissertation that inasmuch as it was a guide to artists, ʿAlī’s treatise was also an intellectual’s response to the changing conditions in the art market. In fact, it was an attempt to bring to the ruling Sultan’s attention the perceived corruption and decadence that was prevailing in his Empire.
Whereas Dost Muhammad’s and Qadi Ahmed’s works have both received scholarly attention in the form of published translations with critical apparatus (by Harvard University and by the Smithsonian Institution respectively), studies on ʿĀli’s work are limited to a single 1982 abridged transcription in modern Turkish. In an attempt to make accessible this critically important text, therefore, the purpose of my dissertation is twofold: to explore the text’s socio-historical context and to provide an annotated English translation.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .................................................................................................................. i
Acknowledgements ............................................................................................... iii
Vita .......................................................................................................................... v
Note to Translation ............................................................................................... vii
List of Abbreviations ............................................................................................ ix
A Note on Three Words .......................................................................................... x

INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................. 1

CHAPTER 1

PART 1

1.1 Life and Work of Mustafa ٍAli of Gallipoli ................................. 14
1.2 Previous Scholarship on *Epic Deeds of Artists* ......................... 25
1.3 Structure and Content of the Text .................................................. 31
1.4 Manuscript and Printed Versions of the Text ................................. 39
1.5 Date of Composition and Authorship ............................................ 65
1.6 The Text’s Written and Oral Sources ............................................ 67

PART 2

2.1 The Text’s Historical Models ......................................................... 72
2.2 Motivations Underlying ٍAli’s Authorship .................................... 78
2.3 The Text’s Language and Literary Style in Relation to
ٍAli’s Authorship ......................................................................................... 97
2.4 Guidelines to the Components of ٍAli’s Art-Historical
Writing ......................................................................................................... 104
2.5 Conclusion: The Text’s Limitations and Its Contributions
to the Field ............................................................................................... 121

CHAPTER 2: TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT ............................................ 149

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................................................................. 284
APPENDIX: Artistic Lineage ............................................................................ 300
GLOSSARY ......................................................................................................... 308
NOTE TO TRANSLATION

Since the text includes a vast number of proper names in Ottoman, Persian, and Arabic, for the sake of consistency in translation, all proper names are transcribed according to Arabic phonology. The Ottoman Osman is, therefore, transcribed as Uthman, Mehmed as Muhammad, and Nureddin as Nur al-Din. Similarly, the Persian Khvandamir is transcribed as Khwandamir, and so forth. Modern place names, such as Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi or Maraş, on the other hand, are rendered in modern Turkish.

Muslim dates of the *hijra* are followed by the corresponding Christian dates converted according to Jere L. Bacharach’s *A Middle East Studies Handbook*.

Sentences or phrases that are missing from the copy text but are found in other versions are inserted to the text in parentheses. Marginal notes are enclosed in { }. Parts of the text with no art-historical significance are excluded from the translation. These omissions are marked in the footnotes.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


The Deeds  Mustafa ʿĀli, Epic Deeds of Artists.


The Essence  Mustafa ʿĀli, The Essence of History.


The Gatherer  Mustafa ʿĀli, Gathering of the Seas (or Meters) on the Scenes of the Celebration.


A NOTE ON THREE WORDS

The geographical term *Rum* and its adjective *Rumi* refer to the Ottoman domains in Rumelia and Anatolia.

The Arabic term *qalam* (or *qalem*, in Ottoman) has several different meanings. As a calligraphic term, it can refer to the reed pen used in writing. It can also mean a script, a calligraphic hand, or a style.

The Arabic term *qit'a* is used either with reference to a fragmentary piece of poetry of two or more distichs, or a single-sheet specimens of calligraphy or drawing.
INTRODUCTION

In Orhan Pamuk’s fascinating novel *My Name is Red*, which takes place in the Istanbul of 1591, chief imperial painter Master ‘Uthman tells the young Qara a story about calligraphers and painters. It was, says the master, a story that the unfortunate and resentful painters of Sulayman the Magnificent (r. 1520-66) recounted to illustrate to the Sultan, who they believed favored calligraphers over painters, the precedence of the art of painting over calligraphy. “As anyone who pays close attention will note, however,” he adds, “the real moral of the story is about blindness and memory.”

As the painters recounted the story, after he captured Herat, ‘Abdullatif, son of Timur’s grandson Ulugh Beg, as was common practice among rulers of the time, mobilized a group of artists to arrange an album of paintings in honor of his father. Alas, rushed by the new ruler, before they could even assemble a new album, the artists mixed up the paintings and their captions that they had selected from unbound collections. Witnessing the chaos, ‘Abdullatif gathered all the miniaturists in Herat and ordered them to identify and sort out the illustrations. After heated discussions, when they saw that they were not able to reach a consensus on the identities of most of the works, the artists finally decided to seek the help of the long-forgotten chief royal painter.
When they found the old master, however, people were alarmed to see that he was now blind, and some even laughed at the situation. Regardless, the old man asked that a seven-year-old boy be brought forward. He then instructed the child to look at the illustrations and describe what he saw. As the boy did what he was told, the old man identified all of the paintings one by one. When the task was complete and the new album was bound successfully, “Abdullatif asked the old master by what secret he, a blind man, could identify those paintings that other master illustrators could not distinguish even when they could see them. “God created this worldly realm so that, above all, it might be contemplated,” the old man replied. “Afterwards he provided us with words so we might share and discuss with one another what we’ve seen. But we created stories with these words and assumed that illustrations were painted so as to depict these stories. In truth, painting is the act of seeking out God’s memories without an aide, and seeing the world as He sees it.”¹

More than four centuries later, in the same city where Sultan Sulayman’s resentful painters had told that story, collectors, critics, artists, and government officials were waiting for the opening of the most anticipated exhibition of the year. Following a PR campaign that lasted for months and into which the organizers were said to have put more money than they put into the million-dollar exhibition itself, “Picasso in Istanbul” opened in November 2005. Sponsored by Sabancı Holding, a group of companies owned by one of the most affluent families in Turkey, the exhibition was the first major retrospective of a prominent European artist. Shortly before his death, Sakıp Sabancı, founder of the company, and Turkey’s popular businessman and patron of arts, told his daughter to build

¹ Orhan Pamuk, Benim Adam Kirmizi (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), 93-95.
him “a museum so beautiful,” he could “display Picasso in it.” So, the new addition to his existing museum was built across from the wing that houses Sabancı’s internationally renowned collection of Islamic calligraphy.

Meanwhile, the issue with which most critics were concerned was, not surprisingly, more political than artistic. Headlines read, “Will Picasso help Turkey enter the European Union?” “Yes,” said Güler Sabancı, the CEO of the Sabancı Holding, “Our exhibition is evidence of Turkey’s interest in Europe and in joining the European Union…We want to show the world that our artistic culture and our appreciation of art share the same grounds with the West.” Down the hill where the Sabancı estate is located, as police stopped his visitors from parking on the street to open passage for the museumgoers before the preview banquet, a frustrated waiter asked a reporter, “What is Picasso?”

It was this city of complexities, which was once the capital of the Empire, that shaped the personal and professional sensibilities and belief systems of the great Ottoman intellectual and bureaucrat Mustafa ʿĀli son of Ahmad (948-1008/1541-1600), the author of Menāqib-i hünervârân (Epic Deeds of Artists, hereafter, the Deeds). Since the day he deemed himself professionally competent—at the age of fifteen, that is—until the very last years of his life, the ambitious ʿĀli strove fervently to attain the good life in Istanbul. In 1585, driven away from the Capital, as a victim of the period’s corrupt administrative system as he put it, ʿĀli was appointed finance minister to a far land of the empire, Baghdad. The day he arrived at the provincial capital to assume his post, he learned that

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it was already given to someone else who had contracted for it.³ Serving as interim finance director and unsure of his future, ⁴ Āli, like the painters of Sultan Sulayman in the story above, felt unfortunate, to say the least, and the word “resentful” would be an understatement to describe his attitude toward the central administration. At the same time, the world of affluent patrons and their agendas, which seems to have changed little since then, was not alien to ⁴ Āli, for, during his entire professional life he had taken it upon himself to challenge that world, especially when it refused to meet his high expectations.

While waiting for his next assignment from Istanbul, ⁴ Āli, with his inquisitive mind, turned his stay in Baghdad into a valuable opportunity for research, the product of which was the Deeds.⁴ He dedicated this work, which remains the earliest known treatise on art penned by a Rumi, to Khwaja Saʿd al-Din (d. 943-1008/1536-37-1599),⁵ the mentor of the reigning Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95), a distinguished scholar, and a patron of literature and art with great influence in the contemporary political scene. In the Deeds, Āli wrote about the lives and works of a select group of artists with whose outstanding intellect and talent he, less than bashfully, identified himself. The result was a work of great interest and a valuable collection of reminiscences. The Deeds includes the accounts of about two hundred seventy artists from the contemporary Ottoman Master

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³ For the practice of appointment by contract (ıltizâm) and bidding for posts (pişkeş) in the late sixteenth century, see Cornell Fleisher, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Āli* (1541-1600), (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 118-23.
⁴ For the Gathering of the Seas (or Meters) on the Scenes of the Celebration, a second work that Āli composed during his stay in Baghdad, see p. 19 below.
⁵ A şeyhülislâm and historan by vocation, Saʿd al-Din was born Istanbul. He is best known for this famous history of the Ottoman house, the Tâcâʾ-′tevârîh (The Crown of Histories) and he was one of Āli’s most influential allies at the Palace. For more on his life and work, see Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Osmanlı Alimleri ve Sanatkârları* (Istanbul: Timâş Yayımları, 1997), 69-89; Osman Turan “Saʿd al-Din Ḥāca,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (1964), 27-35.
Uthman of our story to the ancient Chinese painter Mani. In terms of the geography, it remains the most inclusive work of its kind from the sixteenth-century Islamic lands. Writing from the vantage point of a Sunni Ottoman, it is nonetheless significant that Ėli also included in his treatise those Safavid and Turkmen artists whose names and accomplishments did not make their way into contemporary histories because of their sectarian, political, or ethnic allegiances. In its comprehensiveness, the Deeds thus surpassed national and sectarian boundaries.

It would do injustice to Ėli’s wit, however, if we applauded his work only for its comprehensiveness. In its structure and content, the Deeds does not strike one as readily distinct from similar treatises that predate it: its chapters are organized according to artistic modes and styles; it narrates history through a pedagogical line of masters and their pupils; it is interspersed with poems and quotations from the Qur’an; and the artists’ accounts are enlivened with short stories, most of which, although they are interesting to us, were quite familiar to the literate of the time as can be deduced from their repetitive occurrence in written sources.

On closer examination, however, one realizes that what makes this anthology so valuable is its simultaneous rootedness in the past as well as its anticipation of the future. In addition to the art-historical information and insight it provides, it is this aspect of the

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6 Founder of the Manichaean religion, Mani was the composer and illustrator of the Manichaean scripture known as the Ardahang. He was born in Babylon in the second half of the third century. Islamic writers, however, frequently describe him as a Chinese painter. According to the legend, Mani claimed prophethood and tried to make his claim acceptable through the miracle of painting. He was later accused of being an idolater and put to death in A.D. 273. In Persian literature, like Bihzad, Mani appears as a symbol of the ideal artist.

7 See part 2.1. The Text’s Historical Models.
Deeds that places it among the most significant works not only in ʿĀli’s oeuvre, but in the entire genre of art-historical treatises from the Middle East as well.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Deeds is its unexpectedly modern sensibility, despite its archaic language and mind-bogglingly ornate literary style. In fact, when ʿĀli protests corrupt administrations and denounces the depraved authorities who control and exploit the government, when he laments art’s falling into the hands of the ignorant who cannot tell an original from a cheap reproduction, when he addresses patrons of literature and art with the hope that his proven merits will win him a well-paying job and high status, the only thing that appears unfamiliar is his uncensored and fearless outspokenness.

That said, ʿĀli’s sensibilities and belief systems were closely attuned to the changing political, economic, administrative, social, and cultural realities of the sixteenth-century Ottoman world, and in this fast-changing world, which he obstinately renounced throughout his career, he was not just a protester, but a participant as well. Just like the affluent patrons of the twenty-first century, ʿĀli, too, hoped that, through the Deeds, art would serve him as a tool for the attainment of his goals. Just as modern-day patrons of art turn toward Europe for recognition and reward, ʿĀli turned toward Istanbul for exactly the same reasons: he wanted the influential people in the Capital to acknowledge his talent, learning, and love of country, and the reward he coveted was inclusion in the city’s high-culture circles. Like the modern-day benefactors, ʿĀli, too, endorsed certain branches of art over others when it was the right time. Thus, out of five chapters that make up the Deeds, four are devoted to calligraphy and only one section in a chapter on the arts of the book is dedicated to painting. With this arrangement, one
wonders whether Ălī was simply continuing the tradition of Persian and Arabic art-
historical texts before him and echoing the old, blind master who said that words would
fall short in comprehending images, or whether he was deliberately trying to perpetuate a
long-lived Islamic tradition that held calligraphy, due to the religious functions of the
written word, in higher esteem than depiction—a tradition that troubled even the painters
of Sultan Sulayman? When he paid to have a few of his works illustrated before
presenting them to Sultan Murad, did Ălī believe that illustrations would aid the
narrative, or was he simply keeping current with fashion, like modern-day benefactors of
art want to do?

Ălī was a man of letters who was fascinated with the society in which he lived,
and what he perceived as social, cultural, and moral decline of the Ottomans was of great
concern to him. Why, then, did society at large not embrace him? It is hardly surprising
to find that in an empire where literacy was enjoyed only by a privileged group that made
up at most ten percent of the population, an intellectual’s occasional endeavors to connect
with the common people were doomed to founder. Nevertheless, Ălī’s case does offer
an insight into the roots of the prevailing disconnect between “high” and “low” culture in
modern Turkey.

It is the totality and co-existence in his intellect of all these diverse qualities and
the responses he received from his patrons and society that make Ălī such an unusual
figure and his work so gripping. In fact, the political, economic, cultural, artistic, and
psychological complexities that deeply affected Ălī continue at changing but ever visible
levels to inform contemporary Turkish intellectual life in one form or another today. It is
through this shared ground that a text written more than four hundred years ago transcends time and exists simultaneously in the past and in the present.

That the Deeds received ample attention from its target audience soon after it was composed—and, indeed, well into the early twentieth century—is clear from the large number of extant manuscript copies of the text as well as the identity of their owners. From these manuscript versions, we are able to infer that the text was copied and reworked at least three times before 3Âli’s death in 1600. Twenty other versions dating to the period after the beginning of the seventeenth century are known as well. As is evident from the inscriptions and seals that the later day versions bear, one of these manuscript copies (R 1504) was owned by Sultan 3Uthman III (r. 1754-57), a second (Vn) by Rafi3â Efendi, the Keeper of the Seals (mühürdar) of Vizier 3Abdulbâqî Pasha (r. 1695-1700), and a third by Haji Salim Agha (d. 1789), the trustee of the imperial naval arsenals and a famous scholar known for the private school and library he built in Üsküdar, Istanbul. Two versions, version EH 1291 and Bibliothèque nationale 756, are especially valuable in that they were copied out by Hafiz 3Uthman, the great Turkish calligrapher of the seventeenth century.8 From a notation on the manuscript, we know that version T 9757, the oldest extant copy, was at one time owned by the calligrapher Muhammad Amin of Crete, a pupil of Hafiz 3Uthman.9 In one instance (EH 1232), the text is bound into a codex with two similar art-historical treatises from the eighteenth century that were composed on the model of the Deeds, Nafaszâda İbrâhim Efendi’s

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8 3Uthman Efendi (1052-1110/1642-1698) was born in Istanbul. He studied calligraphy under Dervish 3Ali and later under Suyoljizada Ayyubi Mustafa Efendi (the grandfather of Suyoljizada Muhammad Najip). By altering the style of Shaykh Handullah, he came to be known as “Şeyh-i şâfi,” (the Second Shaykh).
9 For more on Muhammad Giridî, see Mustâkîmzâde Sulayman Sa’d al-Din Efendi, Tuhfe-3i 3âttâfîn (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928), 488.
Gülzär-i savāb (Rose-garden of Good Deeds, the second text after the Deeds on the subject), and Suyoljizâde Muḥammad Najîb Efendi’s Devhâti’l-küttâb (The Great Tree of Penmen). Finally, version Ark 1305 is in a codex that contains two important art-historical treatises; Tuhfe-i haṭṭāṭîn (Choice Gift of Calligraphers, 1787) and Silsile-i haṭṭāṭîn (The Pedigree of Calligraphers) by Mustaqimzada Sulayman Sa‘d al-Din. Thus it is clear that the text was preserved in the libraries of grandees and intellectuals who, as aficionados or consumers of art had found it useful and appreciated its value. Furthermore, at least by the eighteenth century, both practitioners and connoisseurs of art recognized the text’s significance as the Ottoman model for this genre.

Given the existence of these copies, today in the collections of libraries in Istanbul, Ankara, Cairo, and Paris, just why the Deeds did not enjoy the scholarly attention it deserved is a question that one might relate to the problem of language and style.

As a written medium language, Ottoman Turkish began to flourish in the late fifteenth century and a group of poets, writers, and scholars—among them was Khwaja Sa‘d al-Din to whom the Deeds was dedicated—led a movement to make it, like Persian, a prestigious literary language. For many, this meant writing in a stylish and ornate language, and Âli was outstanding in this group for carrying this tendency to the utmost

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10 Nefes Zade Ibrahim, Gülzär Șavāb (Istanbul: Güzêl Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatından, 1938). Himself a calligrapher, the author died in 1650.
11 Suyolçuzade Muḥammad Najib, Devha-ṭül-Küttâb (Istanbul: Güzêl Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatından 16, 1942). A calligrapher and poet, Najip Efendi (d. 1171/1757-58) was born in Istanbul, Eyüp. He served as qādī (judge) and secretary to the inspector of the Harem. In Rado’s Türk Hattatları (Istanbul: Yayın Matbaacılık Ticaret Limited Şti, n.d., 36-37), Ali Canip Yöntem notes that Suyoljizada was also a poet. For more on Suyoljizada, see Mehmed Süreyya, Sicill-i Osmani, 4:1244.
12 Mütükimzade Süleyman Sa‘eddin Efendi (1717-87), born in Istanbul, the famous historian and bibliographer of the eighteenth century is the author of nearly one hundred fifty works. For a detailed study of his biography, see İnal’s introduction to Tuhfe-i haṭṭāṭîn.
extreme. As undesirable and even irritating as it may seem to us, in the sixteenth-century Ottoman world, ability in composing texts in rhymed prose with sentences up to fourteen or fifteen lines embellished with double- or triple chain constructs in Persian and Arabic was a highly admired quality that men of letters strove to attain and in which ð‘Åli clearly took great pride. The specifics of ð‘Åli’s language and style, and the challenges they presented in the preparation of previous studies on the *Deeds* as well as in this dissertation will be discussed below. For the moment, it will suffice to note that the challenges ð‘Åli imposed on scholars are not limited to the *Deeds* alone; the fact that we still do not have full access to his *Kühnû‘l-ahbâr* (Essence of History, a massive universal history and the most comprehensive source for the sixteenth-century Ottoman world) in a language other than Turkish reveals the gravity of the situation.\(^\text{13}\)

At the same time, the admirable attention that numerous Persian art-historical texts of equally, if not exceedingingly, florid language and style have received in the past decade makes the envious art-historian of the Ottoman world consider the problem of language as part of a larger issue that concerns Ottoman studies in general. In recent years, scholars focused more on the urgent need for an intensive and widespread study of the Ottoman world as part of the larger field of Middle Eastern studies. An increased number of publications, language programs, fellowships, and exhibitions have been the result of a series of well-organized and happily well-funded efforts. One theme that these efforts brought to the fore was the limited study and use of Ottoman textual sources. In this connection, scholars addressed the problem of having relatively few primary sources

\(^{13}\) An annotated translation of the text’s preface by Jan Schmidt was published by the Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul in 1987.
in translation so that all too often non-readers of Ottoman had to rely in their research on Persian and Arabic sources, leaving the crucial Ottoman perspective out.

The purpose of this dissertation is, therefore, to contribute to the betterment of this situation by following in the footsteps of distinguished scholars like Andreas Tietze, Günay Kut, and Howard Crane who have exerted great efforts in making Ottoman textual sources available to a larger audience. *Mustafa ʿAlī’s Description of Cairo of 1599*14 and *Mustafa ʿAlī’s Counsel for Sultans of 1581*15 by Andreas Tietze, Sehi’s *Heşt Bihışt* by Günay Kut,16 and *Risāle-i Miʿmāriyye,*17 *The Garden of the Mosques,*18 and *Sinan’s Autobiographies*19 by Howard Crane have inspired and served as models for this study. Two Safavid texts, Dost Muhammad’s preface to the Bahram Mirza album20 (1544) and Qadi Ahmad’s *Gulistān-i hunar* (Rose-garden of Art, 1596-97)21 are commonly acknowledged as two of the three most significant art-historical sources of Islamic art currently known to us, the third being the *Deeds.*22 The two former texts were made available with annotated translations by Wheeler M. Thackston and V. Minorsky

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19 Howard Crane and Esra Akin, eds. and trs., *Sinan’s Autobiographies:* Five Sixteenth-Century Texts (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
respectively. At moments of despair, the exhilarating idea of completing the trio motivated me to carry this project through.

Following these invaluable models, my dissertation consists of two chapter. Part one of chapter one starts with a brief account of ʿAbī’s life and work and a review of the previous scholarship on the Deeds. A summary of the text’s contents and structure is followed by a description of its extant copies and the date of the text’s authorship. A discussion of the text’s written and oral sources concludes this chapter.

The second part of chapter one begins with a study of the models on which ʿAbī built the Deeds. It aims at placing the work in its sociohistorical context by briefly touching on some of the issues mentioned above, including ʿAbī’s motivations underlying his authorship, his target audience, and his social criticism. Part two ends with notes on issues about the text’s implications from an art-historical point of view. The text’s contributions to the field and its scope and limitations are discussed in relation to the issue of calligraphy’s precedence over painting in the written and visual traditions of the Islamic world. Each of these issues merits an independent study of its own and I hope that introductory notes provided in this chapter will be the starting point for future studies.

Chapter two is an annotated translation of the text. Additional information found in other primary art-historical texts having to do with artists’ lives and work is noted in the footnotes. Two of these texts, Dost Muhammad’s Preface and Qadi Ahmad’s Rose-garden of Art, were mentioned above. Others include Tuhfe-ʿi Sāmī (Choice Gift of
Sami), Tuhfe-i ḡaṭṭāfīn (Choice Gift of Calligraphers) of Sulayman Mustaqimzada, Malik of Daylam’s preface to the Amir Husayn Beg album, Mir Sayyid Ahmad’s preface to the Amir Ghayb Beg album, and Hasan Rumlu’s Aḥsanu’t-tawārikh. These footnotes, with the complementary or conflicting information they bring to light, illustrate the hard work yet to be done in sorting out and reconstructing the biographies of the great artists of the past.

An appendix follows chapter two. It is a silsile, a lineage showing the pedagogical descent of artists mentioned in the text. The lineage is constructed based on information found in the Deeds alone. Therefore, it is neither entirely accurate nor definitive. The purpose of this silsile is to provide a map to the lengthy passages of the text in order to make it more accessible and easier to navigate. Additional information regarding artistic lineage culled from other primary sources is noted in the endnotes to assist further research.

24 See n. 12 above.
27 C. N. Seddon, tr., A Chronicle of the Early Safavis Being the Aḥsanu’t-tawārikh of Hasan-i Rūmlū (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1934).
CHAPTER 1

Part 1

1.1 Life and Work of Mustafa ֳ‘Ali of Gallipoli

Accounts of the life and work of Mustafa ֳ‘Ali of Gallipoli (also known as Müverrih—Historian—ֳ‘Ali) are found in two of his works; Sadef-i sad güher (The Luster of a Hundred Jewels), a versified text including autobiographic notes dated 1593, and Nuşhatii’s-selâṭîn (or Naşihatii’s-selâṭîn, Counsel for Sultans) dated 1581, a treatise on reform devoted to the causes and suggested remedies of the alleged Ottoman decline. As early as 1563, when he was only twenty-two years old, ֳ‘Ali’s name was listed among the prominent poets of his time in ֳ‘Ahdi Aḥmed Çelebî’s bibliographic dictionary entitled the Gûlşen-i șu’arâ (Rose-garden of the Poets). An autobiography sent by ֳ‘Ali to his contemporary Qınalızade ֳ‘Hasan Çelebî that the latter included in his Tezkiretii’ş-

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28 This discussion shall consider ֳ‘Ali’s life and work only as it relates to the Deeds. For a full account of ֳ‘Ali’s life and career, see Fleischer; and Mustafa Isen, Gelîbululu Mustafa ֳ‘Ali (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları Türk Büyükleri Dizisi 90, 1988.)
30 For manuscript copies and an annotated translation, see n. 15 above.
31 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Halet Efendi Eki 107, completed in 971/1563-64. In his tezkere ֳ‘Ahdi (d. 1002/1593) praised ֳ‘Ali, who was at the time about twenty-two years old, for his command of Arabic and Persian.
ṣuʿarā (Compendium of Poets) dated 1586 is another primary source on ʿAlī’s life and work. Among the secondary sources on ʿAlī are İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal’s introduction to his 1926 edition of the Deeds, Nihal Atsız’s ʿAlī Bibliyografyası (Bibliography of ʿAlī) dated 1968, and Cornell Fleischer’s Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire, The Historian Mustafa ʿAlī dated 1986.

From these sources it appears that Mustafa son of Ahmad was born in 948 (on 28 April 1541) in Gallipoli, a provincial capital on Dardanelles, which, since the fifteenth century, produced a small but significant number of scholars, mystics, and poets. Mustafa grew up in a household where poetry and other literary activities were valued. His father, Ahmad son of ʿAbdullah, was a prosperous merchant who enjoyed the company of the learned of the time and was also a patron of local scholars and poets. ʿAlī’s mother, whose name is unknown, was the maternal daughter of Shaykh Muslihüddin Mustafa, a disciple and spiritual successor of the Nakşbendi shaykh Seyyid Ahmad Buhari (d. 922/1516-17). ʿAlī’s maternal great-uncle, Derviş Çelebi, was an influential religious figure who was appointed as imam to Sultan Sulayman in 985/1577-78. Evidence internal to ʿAlī’s work, as well as the name ʿAbdullah that his father bore

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33 Mustafa ʿAlī, Menâqıb-i Hünververān (İstanbul: Matba’a-i ʿĀmire, 1926).
36 For previous confusion on ʿAlī’s date of birth, see Fleischer, 13.
(a name that was used by Muslims of Christian origin), suggests that the family was of Bosnian origin.\textsuperscript{37}

Mustafa’s formal education began when he was six years old. By the time he was fifteen, he was well-grounded in theology and logic, and while he spoke Turkish at home, he also became proficient in Arabic, Persian, and the new Ottoman Turkish. Already at fifteen, the ambitious Mustafa deemed himself ready to enter literary society, adopted the pen name Çeşmi, “The Hopeful,” and began to compose his own poetry. He soon changed his pen name to Ğâli, “The Exalted,” and was known by this name for the rest of his life. Ğâli continued his higher education in Istanbul and studied with Mawlana Shams al-Din Ahmad, son of the supreme authority on the Holy Law, Shaykh al-Islam Ebussuud Efendi. As an advanced student, he studied grammar, belles-letters, and in the literary gatherings he attended, he was exposed to the Persianate cultural orientation of the Ottoman court.\textsuperscript{38} In 1560, at the age of nineteen, Ğâli graduated from sahn-i seman (The Eight Madrasas), the pinnacle of the Ottoman education system.

Ğâli’s first move after graduation was to visit the court of Prince Salim (later Salim II, r. 1566-74) in Konya to present the prince, who was reputed as a connoisseur of poetry, with his first major literary work, Mihr u Mah (The Sun and The Moon). Impressed with the work, the prince suggested that the young poet abandon his ilmiyya\textsuperscript{39} career and instead take service as a chancery secretary, which offer the young poet

\textsuperscript{37} For a poem where Ğâli mentions his father to be a “slave,” that is, a devşirme, see Fleishcer, 14. Fleischer (164, note 74) also gives examples of how in his discussions of the major ethnic groups within the Empire, Ğâli invariably singles out Bosnians and Croatians for exceptional praise.

\textsuperscript{38} For more on the Persianate influence on Ottoman culture, see Fleischer, 71 and 236.

\textsuperscript{39} The Ottoman ruling elite was divided into three professional careers; the Men of the Sword (seyfiye), which included military specialists and administrators, the Men of Learning (ilmiyya), which included legal experts, judges, teachers, and religious authorities of the Islamic state; and, the Men of the Pen (qalamiyya), which included bureaucrats and administrators.
accepted. At the age of twenty-one, soon after he entered the court of Salim, ʻAlī traveled to Istanbul and submitted a written request for employment at Sultan Sulayman’s court, to no avail. Upon his return to Konya, Lala Mustafa Pasha (d. 988/1580), a former mentor to Prince Salim, offered ʻAlī a new post as his confidential secretary. ʻAlī took up the position. While the education he received had entitled him to enter the ilmiyya in the fields of education or law, ʻAlī’s preference to work under the protection of a powerful patron marked for him the beginnings of a long and wearisome career as a bureaucrat in the qalamiyya. As Cornell Fleischer aptly put it, at such an early stage in his professional life, ʻAlī “preferred patronage over profession.”

For the next two decades or so, the highs and lows of ʻAlī’s career by and large paralleled that of his patron. ʻAlī followed Lala Mustafa Pasha first to Aleppo where the Pasha was appointed governor general. After spending a brief period in Egypt, the two returned to Damascus together. In 1568, Lala Mustafa Pasha got involved in a serious conflict with Sinan Pasha (d. 1004/1595), the deputy military commander in Egypt, and the latter’s patron, grand vizier Sokollu Muhammad Pasha. The incident was remedied in 1569 when Prince Salim succeeded his father Sultan Sulayman to the throne, pardoned his former mentor, and appointed him sixth vizier in the Imperial Council. While Lala Mustafa Pasha and Sinan Pasha repaired the issues between them for the time being, the turn of events, details of which are unclear from historical documents, resulted in an estrangement between ʻAlī and his patron, which lasted for eight years.

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40 Fleischer, 40.
41 Fleischer, 55-56.
â€”Ali spent the early months of this dreary period in Istanbul, where he reunited with literary society, joined discussions on the insha (rhymed prose) style, and came into close contact with Halwati mysticism. In Istanbul, the politically influential Halwati shaykh Nur al-Din Muslih al-Din became â€”Ali’s new protector, and in an attempt to help â€”Ali attain a post at the court, the shaykh presented â€”Ali’s new insha creation, Haft Majlis (The Seven Scenes), to vizier Sokollu Muhammad Pasha. In the Counsel for Sultans, â€”Ali mentions Sokollu’s response to his work with disappointment and writes that the timar⁴² appointment the vizier granted him in Bosnia, a land far away from Istanbul, was nothing but an exile.⁴³

With his new military duties, â€”Ali, now a man of sword, entered the askariyya class.⁴⁴ During the seven-year period he served in Bosnia, â€”Ali’s interest in literature did not fade: he stayed in touch with prominent literary figures in the region, such as Â§uk Çelebi, translated one of Ghazali’s treatises on Sufism,⁴⁵ and presented it to his former patron Lala Mustafa Pasha. â€”Ali stayed in Bosnia until 1577, making remarkable progress in both his literary and military pursuits. Nevertheless, feeling that his abilities as a man of letters and man of pen were wasted in these remote lands, he was not content, and continued to appeal to the Court in Istanbul for a better assignment.

Finally in 1577, â€”Ali decided to leave Bosnia and went to Istanbul to forge new political connections. He found two protectors in the government of the new sultan Murad III; Khwaja Saâ€”d al-Din to whom the Deeds is dedicated, and Gazanfer Agha, the agha of the Porte to whom â€”Ali later dedicated his Description of Cairo (1599). In 1578,

⁴² A grant of tax revenues to support a military retainer of the Sultan.
⁴³ Counsel II: 73-74.
⁴⁴ Counsel II: 73.
⁴⁵ For Ayyuhâ al-walad, see Fleischer, 61.
Âli attained, for a second time, the post of secretary to Lala Mustafa Pasha, who was by now third vizier and field marshal. Soon after this appointment he followed the Pasha to Shirvan during the 1578-79 Ottoman campaign against the Safavids.

After Mustafa Pasha’s death in 1580, with occasional help from his connections at the Court, such as Khwaja Saʿd al-Din, Âli spent his life as a middle-rank official in the provincial administration. In 1581-83, following a three-year period of military campaigning, he was sent to Aleppo as administrator of the provincial fiefs. In 1584-85, he served as financial director of the province of Erzurum, his most significant post ever in terms of the income he received. In 1585 Âli was appointed finance director of Baghdad but was dismissed from the post even before he could assume it. Finally, in 1588, following a period of unemployment that he spent in Istanbul, Âli briefly served as financial director of Sivas. Satisfied neither with the nature of the assignments he was given (he never liked being a financial officer and pleaded for a chancellery post) nor with his income, and frustrated with nepotistic appointment practices and the instability of official assignments, Âli continued his appeals to Istanbul with what seems to be an endless number of petitions and letters of complaints. At the same time, his observations, frustrations, and political ambitions as an intellectual and bureaucrat culminated in a concentrated period of literary activity. It was also during this time that Âli became interested in book production and illumination.

Among Âli’s work from this period, four stand out. They are, the Nusretnâme (Book of Victory) dated 988/1580, an illustrated history of the Shirvan campaign, which Âli later presented to Gazanfer Agha, then chief white eunuch of the Harem;

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46 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Hazine 1365; British Museum Add. 22011.
Nuşhatü’s-selâţîn (Counsel for Sultans) dated 989/1581, a book on political reform addressed directly to Sultan Murad III, also illustrated; the Câmi‘ü’l-buhûr der mecâlis-i sâr (Gathering of the Seas [or Meters] on the Scenes of the Celebration, hereafter “the Gatherer”) dated 981/1583, a book of circumcision festivities (surname) composed in honor of Prince Muhammad; and, Epic Deeds of Artists, which he composed during his residence in Baghdad in 994/1585-86 and completed in Istanbul in 995/1587. All four works were composed while ĒÂli lacked the protection of a patron, and they were part of his endeavors to bring himself to the attention of the Sultan.

The Book of Victory was a compilation of the letters ĒÂli had composed during his tenure as campaign secretary to commemorate Lala Mustafa Pasha’s conquests in Shirvan. The latter’s death in 1580, however, not only changed the ending of the text, but also the path ĒÂli had to pursue for an appointment to a higher office. With the loss of his patron, ĒÂli found himself in a position where he had to forge relations with the Court directly himself. He ordered five illustrations for the text at his own expense (a later royal edition included miniatures more lavish in both quantity and quality) and presented the work to Sultan Murad, probably in 1583.

In 1581, while he was in Van, ĒÂli started working on the Counsel for Sultans and continued revising and expanding the text until 1585-86. In addition to exposing his personal frustrations with the government, this work attests to ĒÂli’s knowledge of the dynastic law and expressed his greater concerns with current administrative practices and with what he perceived to be a decline in the standards of justice and morality in the

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47 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Husrev Paşa 311; Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 406. Also See n. 15 above.
48 Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Bağdad Köşkü 203.
Ottoman Empire. In this work, touching on a great variety of issues from bribery to ignorance, َّAli tried to depict for Sultan Murad the purportedly neglected status of the Empire, and addressing the Sultan directly, he reminded him of his supervisory duties. In its purpose, content, and tone, the Counsel was the first example of what was to become in the seventeenth century a peculiarly Ottoman genre, the nasihatname. Like he did with the Book of Victory, َّAli prepared an illustrated copy of the Counsel as well.49

The third text from this period, the abovementioned Gatherer belongs to a new genre whose creation can be attributed to َّAli. In the spring of 990/1582, while he was in Aleppo, َّAli was asked by the Court in Istanbul to compose a letter of congratulations on the occasion of the circumcision festivities (sur) celebrating Prince Muhammad’s (later Muhammad III, r. 1595-1603) coming of age. These festivities, which lasted for several weeks, were state-sponsored, carefully staged and controlled public displays of royal power for local and foreign spectators. They also gave authors and artists who were present at the events a unique opportunity to demonstrate their talents to the Sultan.50 Even though َّAli did not attend the sur, with the insider information he gathered, he wrote a very detailed account of it.51 In 994/1585-86, three years after the completion of the original, while he was in Baghdad, َّAli prepared a presentation copy of the text. As is clear from the nine blank pages inside the text, his intention was to have this work illustrated. For reasons unknown, however, these nine illuminations were never

49 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 406. Fleischer (106, note 90) suggests that this illustrated manuscript may have been prepared while َّAli was in Baghdad.
50 For more on the surname genre, see Esin Atul, Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival (Istanbul: Koçbank, 1999).
51 Fleischer, 106-107.
executed. Regardless, they are significant in that they point to the beginning of a new habit that was to become an inseparable part of the future surnames.

In addition to their historical value, in keeping with ی علی’s relentless attempts to attract the Sultan’s attention, these three books were also a timely and clever response to the new trend at Sultan Murad’s Court—that of the illustration of historical works. Indeed, pleased with the original, the Sultan ordered a royal edition of the Book of Victory, and charged ی علی with supervision of the production of its forty-one lavish miniatures. Thanks to this exposure to the arts of the book in the royal atelier—the Book of Victory project lasted for nearly a year—as well as his earlier training in calligraphy, by the time he arrived in Baghdad in 1585, ی علی was equipped with substantial knowledge in both subjects.

In Baghdad, at the age of forty-four, having lost his job and still without a permanent assignment, ی علی seemed to have given up his hopes for promotion. He wrote a letter to the Court in Istanbul requesting permission to retire, or, failing that, to be assigned to a post that would enable him to make the pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. Failing these, he said, he would quit government service altogether and become a hermit. In the meantime, ی علی spent his time in pious contemplation, made pilgrimages to the holy places in Iraq, and even endowed a fountain (sebil) at Kerbela, the site of

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52 For the location of the royal Ottoman painting ateliers, see Alan W. Fisher and Carol Garett Fisher, “A Note on the Location of the Royal Ottoman Painting Ateliers,” in Muqarnas 3 (1985), 118-20.
53 Fleischer, 124.
Imam Husayn’s martyrdom. From an art-historical point of view, the most significant product of ĖÂli’s stay in Baghdad was, of course, the Deeds.

ĖÂli left Baghdad for Istanbul in the summer of 1586. Despite his earlier request to retire, soon after he arrived in the Capital, he once again began to plead for an assignment. This time, he was more ambitious than ever, and requested the post of finance directorship at the Porte, but again to no avail. ĖÂli’s difficult temperament and trenchant pen, which, despite his literary skills, made him many enemies both in Istanbul and in the provinces, were the major reasons why he had so much difficulty in attaining the positions he sought. As usual, ĖÂli spent the period of his forced unemployed in Istanbul with intense literary activity. When a new prince was born in 1587, he composed and presented to Sultan Murad a short work on the auspicious astrological signs of the event (the Ferâ’idü’l-vilâde, Unique Pearls on Birth). Soon thereafter, at the request of Doganji Muhammad Pasha, he completed another work to appeal to Murad’s interest in popular esotericism (the Mir’atü’l-avâlim, Mirror of the Worlds). Finally, in early April 1587, he completed the Deeds. By that time, ĖÂli’s literary endeavors had earned him a high standing within the ulema, the class of religious scholars. Nevertheless, he still had to wait until 1588 to receive a new post as finance director of Sivas.

At the turn of the millennium (1000/1591-92), two years after a violent insurrection of the Janissary corps and a series of devastating fires and plague that

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54 ĖÂli’s special attachment to the Holy Imams is clear from the eulogies in many of his divans. For excerpts, see Hakki I. Aksoyak, “Gelibolu Mustafa Ėli ve Divanlarının Tenkitli Metni,” Ph.D. diss., (Gazi University, 1999).
55 Fleischer, 126.
56 The elite regiments of the Ottoman Empire.
ruined Istanbul, ṣÂli began composing his monumental *Künhû’l-ahbâr (Essence of History)*, to which he dedicated the next eight years of his life. In many respects, the *Essence* was the pinnacle of ṣÂli’s scholarly studies, and because of it he is remembered as one of the most prominent historians of the Ottoman world.

In 1592, after another period of erratic employment, ṣÂli secured, if only for a few months, the prestigious post of registrar of the Imperial Council (*defter emini*) at the Porte. Then, following the ascension of Muhammad III (r. 1595-1603) to the throne, ṣÂli was first appointed as *sancak beyi*, first of Amasya in 1595, and then of Kayseri in 1596, which post he soon lost however due to the turmoil in the appointment system. Unemployed for the next three years, ṣÂli remained in Istanbul working fervently on the *Essence*. In 1599 he was appointed governor-general of Syria, but was again dismissed before he could assume the post. As compensation, he soon received the assignment of district-governor and trustee of Jeddah, the port of Mecca.

In July 1599, ṣÂli left Istanbul for the last time. Before he assumed his new appointment in Jeddah, he traveled to Egypt where he spent five months in Cairo observing its people and customs and composing his famous *Hâlâtü’l-Qâhîre mine’l-‘âdâtî’z-zâhîre* (The Conditions of Cairo Concerning Her Actual Customs). In the winter of 1599, after an unsuccessful attempt to attain the post of governor-general of Egypt, ṣÂli left for the Hijaz, and began expanding his earlier book of etiquette, *Mevâidi’i n-nefâ’is fi qavâ’idi’l-mecâlîs* (Table of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of

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57 Fleischer, 140.
58 Governor or military administrator of a district or provincial unit.
59 Fatih Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), no. 5427; Hacı Salim Ağa Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), no. 757; Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi, no. 2407; and a lost copy in Cairo. For Tietze’s annotated translation, see n. 14, above.
Social Gatherings, hereafter *Delicacies.*⁶⁰ A forthright and witty social commentary on the Ottoman society and a manual of etiquette, the *Delicacies* was ʻĀli’s final work. Shortly after completing the manuscript in Mecca, ʻĀli returned to his post. Becoming ill, in early 1600, at the age of fifty-eight, he died in Jeddah,⁶¹ away from the land that he had treasured so much, but which, he felt, had neglected and mistreated him.⁶²

1.2 Previous scholarship on Epic Deeds of Artists

At the end of a long and productive life during which he served four Ottoman sultans, ʻĀli left behind nearly fifty works of about five thousand manuscript folios. The scope of his oeuvre was so broad, and his abilities as an intellectual, historian, and poet were so versatile that, for a long time, his biographers used much of their energy simply attempting to collect and classify his work.⁶³ Today, there is still no bibliography of ʻĀli’s work that is complete or entirely reliable, and descriptive information on their numerous manuscript copies such as location and date, is being collected and verified only as each text becomes the subject of an individual, focused study.

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⁶¹ Inal, 45.

⁶² Documentary evidence suggests that a commemorative tomb existed in his native town of Gallipoli. For more, see Inal, 45.

⁶³ Inal, the editor of the 1926 printed edition of the *Deeds*, categorized ʻĀli’s work based on style and subject (historic, prose, and verse). Following him, Nihal Atsiz suggested a classification according to subject only (historical works, literary works, and works in other subjects). Finally, Mehmet Şeker expanding Atsiz’s classification, added to her list new subheadings such as “social commentary,” “mysticism,” and “art.”
The earliest printed edition of the *Deeds* dates to 1926. Published as volume nine of the Türk Tarih Kurumu Encümeni Külliyatı series at Matba‘a-i Āmire in Istanbul, this Ottoman edition is preceded by a one hundred thirty-three-page-introduction on Āli’s life and work by the eminent bibliographer and literary historian İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal Īnal (1870-1957). In 1982, a second edition of the text by Müşgan Cunbur, then director of the Milli Kütüphane, was published in Ankara as volume four hundred ninety-nine of the Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları series of key works of Turkish literature. Finally, in 1991, Tawfīq H. Subḥānī translated the text into Persian.

Until Cornell Fleischer’s meticulous study on Āli’s life and work was published in 1986, Īnal’s introduction to the *Deeds* remained the most in-depth study on Āli and served as the primary source for his bibliographers. In his introduction, based on an analysis of Āli’s works as well as works of other historians and poets of the time, Īnal laid out the details of Āli’s childhood and education, provided frequent quotations from his texts, and tried to maintain an impartial view of Āli’s professional life.

Īnal classified Āli’s oeuvre into four groups: “historical works” (under which category he listed the *Deeds*); “prose;” “verse;” and “works that are attributed to Āli.” In addition to a brief description of each of Āli’s works, Īnal also listed the extant manuscript copies that were known to him. Another topic of interest to the editor was Āli’s extraordinary personality, which subject he discussed under the subheading “His ethics” (*ahlāqi*). By comparing what others had written about Āli with Āli’s own

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64 The author of *Son Hattatlar* (The Last Calligraphers), Īnal was one of the most distinguished scholars of his time. See, Türk Anısıkoledisi 20 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı), 118-19.
portrayal of himself, İnal concluded that despite his many contradictions, ğâli was a great historian, intellectual, poet, münși,\textsuperscript{67} author, and calligrapher.\textsuperscript{68} At the end of his introduction, İnal gave a description of the manuscript copies of the Deeds that he used in his annotated edition.\textsuperscript{69}

A second study of the Deeds is that published by Cunbur in 1982. While the edition was a product of Cunbur’s genuine interest in ğâli and grew out of her desire to make the challenging text of the Deeds available in modern Turkish to non-readers of Ottoman, it contains many deficiencies that limit its utility. One shortcoming of the work has to do with the liberties Cunbur took in conflating different versions of the text without indicating her apparatus. In a six-page preface, while she mentioned that her study was based on İnal’s edition, unlike the latter, Cunbur did not indicate the passages that were inserted to İnal’s copy text from other manuscript versions. The reader does not realize, therefore, that the İnal version (hence Cunbur’s own) is in fact a perfected text. Furthermore, even though she mentioned in the preface that in preparing this edition she consulted nine other manuscript versions, Cunbur noted none of the variants she might have incorporated from these versions, leaving the reader clueless again as to what ğâli’s authorial intent might have been.

Because Cunbur’s focus was on the contents of the Deeds rather than its structure or history, these drawbacks can be seen as inconsequential. What cannot be overlooked, however, is the problem of Cunbur’s language and style. Given ğâli’s fascination with Ottoman and Persian, and his capacity to exhaust the literary tropes of these languages,

\textsuperscript{67} munshi or münși, a chancellor secretary.
\textsuperscript{68} İnal, 130.
\textsuperscript{69} These and other notes about the annotated text are discussed below, under the Manuscript and Printed Versions of the Text.
any claim by the translator to reproduce his style would be nothing more than an affectation. Nevertheless, the ways in which Cunbur handled the challenges that the text presented strikes one as particularly incongruous. Her slavish reliance on the dictionary meaning of the words without paying attention to context, her erratic fusion of the text’s high literary language with a peculiar vernacular, and her renderings of Ĕålî’s witty puns and allusions with dull terminology transformed the Deeds into an often unintelligible text full of incomprehensible and contextually discordant paraphrases. Despite her good intentions, Cunbur could not, therefore, avoid defiling Ėålî’s work, and her attempt at modernizing Ėålî’s language while preserving its originality proved unavailing.

A final published version of the text appeared in 1991 in the form of a Persian translation by Tawfiq H. Subḥānī. Even a superficial perusal of the work makes it apparent that the editor’s intent was limited strictly to making the text available to readers of Persian. In his seven-page preface to the edition, Subḥānī first mentions Ėålî’s background as an intellectual and historian and, drawing on İnal, categorizes his works into four groups (historical works, prose, verse, and works that are attributed to Ėålî). Subḥānī then touches upon Ėålî’s personality and ethics, reproduces Ėålî’s handwriting

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70 On folio 34a, for example, in his account of Diwane Memi, Ėålî writes that, “And [there is] Diwane Memi of Manisa, the acknowledged [master] of the Six Styles of his age. He is not, however, noted for being clean, and his white page is not free from stain and blemish.” Cunbur’s rendering of the same (page 56) translates: “And [there is] Diwane Memi of Manisa, the acknowledged [master] of the Six Styles of his age. He is not, however, registered as being clean, because of dirt and filth, [people] could not make out the whiteness of his face.” Or, on 56α, in his discussion of the decadence among the government officials, Ėålî refers them as “indolent officials.” Cunbur’s reading of this on page 85 is, “officials who have no desire in corrupt deeds.” In several instances, Cunbur’s sentences are not only void of meaning but they are incomplete as well. Her reading on page 92, for instance, translates, “In particular, saying that ‘in friendlessness, he is low rank, and in practicing the art of calligraphy with beautiful writing,’ becoming supportive (hand and arm?), one thinks that his fine penmanship is innate and his beautiful writing is purely God given.” (Özellikle, ‘ Kımsesizlikte rütbesi aşağı ve yazı güzelliğiyle yazıcılık sanatı yapmada’ diyerek, el, kol, olup hatta şöyle gelir ki güzel yazıcılığı anadan doğma ve yazı güzelliği katsız Tanrı vergisi ola...”).
as found in İnal edition, and gives a summary of the contents of the Deeds. The text is not annotated, and neither the preface nor the translation, which is based on İnal’s copy text, includes any footnotes. Two attractive features of this edition are the inclusion of sample specimens of calligraphy by some of the eminent calligraphers mentioned in the text and an appendix that provides an alphabetical list of artists with brief bibliographic information.

While these three works remain the only complete published editions of the Deeds, excerpts from the text are included in several noteworthy art-historical studies. Among these are anthologies that were built on the model of the Deeds, such as the abovementioned famous Choice Gift of Calligraphers by Mustaqimzada Sulayman Sa’id al-Din dated 1787. Uğur Derman’s Medeniyet Âleminde Yazı ve İslâm Medeniyetinde Kalem Güzel (Writing throughout Civilization and the Choice Pen in the Islamic World) published in 1981 and Mükahat Kütükoğlu’s Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (The Language of Ottoman Documents), are two technical manuals that incorporate the information found in the Deeds having to do with writing implements. Huart Clément and Şevket Rado are two authors who made use of the Deeds in their anthologies of artists. Another is the valuable study of the Houghton Shahname published in 1981 by S. C. Welch and Martin Dickson, who made extensive use of c Âli’s text in their attempt to

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72 Mükahat Kütükoğlu, Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik) (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademi Kültür ve San’at Vakfı, 1994).
74 Şevket Rado, Türk Hattatları: XV. yüzyıldan günümüze kadar gelmiş ünlü hattatların hayatları ve yazılardan örnekler (İstanbul: Yayın Matbaacılık, n.d.).
identify the various hands involved in the illustration of this great manuscript of the Persian national epic.

In assessing the studies undertaken after 1926, it is important to note that they all relied on İnal’s printed edition. Consequently, without realizing it, authors of these works reproduced the printer’s errors incorporated into that early version. For instance, the word faṭṭārī (clay writing) was repeatedly read as Qutayrī and thought to be a lost, foreign script. Moreover, in the absence of a critical apparatus on artists’ biographies in İnal’s edition, and perhaps as a result of a partial reading of the text, a number of incorrect assessments were made. In the Houghton Shahname, for example, Welch and Dickson wrote that while ʿAlī mentions in his text his conversations with Qutb al-Din of Yazd during his stay in Baghdad, he does not acknowledge the latter’s treatise as being one of his written sources for the Deeds. When one reads the text in its entirety, however, it becomes evident that this is untrue, for in fact there are four different occasions in the Deeds where ʿAlī refers to Qutb al-Din’s work and its title. Another misinterpretation appears when the same authors conflate the identity of two separate artists; the calligrapher Dost Muhammad of Gushwan, mentioned among calligraphers, and the painter Dost Qatʿī, mentioned among painters.

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76 See, for example, Yazır, 33, note 1; and Cunbur 27.
77 Dickson and Welch, 243A.
78 For an abridged version of Qutb al-Din’s treatise on calligraphy, Risāle-i der tārīkh-i khaṭṭ ve naqqāshī, see Husayn Khadīv-Jam, ed., Sukhan (Tehran, vol. 17, nos. 6-7, 1346/1967), 666-676.
79 The Deeds 13a, 31a, 48b, 51b.
80 The separate identities of the two artists were established by Chahryar Adle in “Les Artistes nommés Dust-Mohammad au XVe siècle,” Studia Iranica 22, 2 (1993), 219-56.
Their shortcomings notwithstanding, these studies were all valuable contributions to the field in that by keeping the text alive, in one way or another, they helped maintain an awareness of it as a key textual source for the study of the arts of the period.

1.3 Structure and Content of the Text

The *Deeds* is a prose narrative with interspersed verse having to do with the lives and works of the great calligraphers, decoupage artists, book illuminators, painters, limners, book repairers, and binders. Like Dost Muhammad’s preface to the Bahram Mirza album and Qadi Ahmad’s *Rose-garden of Art*, the text, more than anything else (a theoretical investigation, or a technical manual), is a guide to connoisseurs and patrons of art. The earliest extant copy of the manuscript is T 9757, dated 996/1587-88, a year after ʿAli’s holograph, and it has been used as the authoritative text in this study.

The remarkably broad geographical region covered by the *Deeds* includes the lands of the Safavids, Turkmens, and Rumis. The historical periods explored are equally extensive; the narrative begins with the creation of the world while the history of the development of calligraphy and painting is traced down to the author’s time. As in ʿAli’s other historical works, such as the *Essence*, the account of the early periods is sketchy and the main focus is on the near past and contemporary times. Chronology is expressed mainly through genealogy. Where they were known to the author, exact dates of events are also noted.

The text consists of a preface (7a-14b), an introduction (14b-20a), five chapters (20a-84b), and a conclusion (84b-86b). As was typical of such treatises, the preface
begins with an encomium to God. God is praised as the supreme Scribe and as it is established in several Qur’anic verses, the Pen is acknowledged and glorified as His first creation. In this connection, ʿĀli demonstrates the necessity of the Pen by pointing to the sacred role it played in the recording of the Qur’an. A versified account of the creation is followed by eulogies of the Prophet Muhammad, his wives, children, companions, and family.

The preface continues with a lively discussion on the excellence and necessity of writing. Quoting from the Qur’an, ʿĀli first tries to illustrate the holiness of the Tablet\textsuperscript{81} and the Pen, and concludes that among human beings, penmen are the most virtuous. He mentions practical uses of the pen and its necessity for administrative activities, for the keeping of historical records, for lovers in need of communicating through letters, for philosophy, for dervishes, and for calligraphers and military scribes “who are the spokesmen for common people’s needs and desires.” ʿĀli then explicates his earlier remarks about the virtues of penmen. He argues that there are two groups of penholders. The first group includes those who, although they cannot write beautifully, create compositions, the essences of which are so virtuous that their lack of mastery of beautiful writing is not to be ashamed of. The second group consists of “stellar writers,” who are both erudite and gifted in calligraphy. The leader of the second group is ʿAli son of Abi Talib, the “sultan of the land of spiritual knowledge,” the son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad, and the fourth caliph, who is recognized by the Shiʿites as the first Imam.

\textsuperscript{81}\textit{lawḥ-i mahfūẓ}, in Islamic tradition, the slate on which God recorded with pen and ink the events of the Creation.
Following flattering remarks on Sultan Murad III, with whose protection, ʿÂli argues, all men of learning and talent thrived, the author discusses his reasons for the composition of the *Deeds*. In Murad’s time of benevolence, he notes, arts and, in particular, calligraphy flourished and individual specimens and albums became popular collectors’ items for which thousands of gold pieces were paid. In order for these works of art not to become mere objects of desire, however, ʿÂli believed that it was necessary to know by whom they were produced. Knowledge of the identities of calligraphers and artists, of their origins, masters, and patrons is, he says, a prerequisite for true appreciation of art. ʿÂli also mentions the role that the encouragement of his friends, and especially of Khwaja Saʿd al-Din, played in his decision to write a book on the subject. Finally, as he concludes the preface, ʿÂli names the oral and written sources that he benefited from in drawing up his text, and provides a brief summary of the book’s chapters.

The introduction begins with a further discussion of the necessity of writing, the nobility of calligraphy, the elevated status of the Tablet and the Pen, and the nobility of penmen. ʿÂli traces the history of writing to Prophet Idris (Enoch) and supports his argument with Qur’anic verses and with quotations from prominent Islamic and pre-Islamic figures such as Imam ʿAli, Jaʿfar son of Muhammad al-Sadiq, Plato, Galinus, and Euclid. He then introduces the eighteen old and contemporary scripts used in the lands of the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Daylamis. These are Arabic, Kufic, tabiʿi, the script of Hermes the philosopher, the script of master architects (*qalem-i qalafaṭī*), the script of philosophers, the enigmatic script, the hidden script, the sign script, Syriac, clay writing, the script of Joseph the soothsayer, Persian, *rayhani*, Greek, Coptic, cuneiform, and
Slavic. The scripts that make up the Six Styles of Arabic are thuluth, naskh, ta’liq, rayhani, muhaqqaq, and riqā’. The four additional Arabic scripts, nasta’liq, chap, diwani qirmasi, and dasti, make the total ten.\textsuperscript{82}

The section called the “Preliminary examination” is a technical discussion of the two sides of the point of the pen, insi, the inside, and wahtshi, the outside. Notes on trimming a pen according to the writing style follow. Further technical remarks on writing implements are included under the subheading “A Detailed Investigation.” Here,  \textsuperscript{9}Âli lists the types of pen, ink, and paper that were known to him and stresses the importance of good quality material for beautiful and durable writing. To achieve good writing,  \textsuperscript{9}Âli recommends that calligraphers use the Wasiti type pen. For durability, he notes that lamp-black ink should be avoided and black and vivid ink should be used instead.  \textsuperscript{9}Âli’s list of paper types is quite inclusive. From the lowest quality to the best they are, the Damascus type, Dawlat-abadi, Chinese,  \textsuperscript{9}Adilshahi, silk paper from Samarqand, sultan type paper from Samarqand, Indian, Nizam-shahi, Qasim Begi, silk paper from India, colored paper from Tabriz, and moiré. The next section entitled “Essential regulations” is a short paragraph wherein \textsuperscript{9}Âli provides consumers of art with the standard rates for copying. These rates are established according to the quality of the writing and the reputation of the calligrapher.

The introduction closes with an addendum that clarifies and reinforces \textsuperscript{9}Âli’s earlier remarks on the excellence of writing. He mentions that in addition to knowledge of astronomy-astrology, arithmetic, and rhetoric, God also gave the Prophet Idris knowledge of writing. In the case of Danyal, who was gifted in geomancy, writing was

\textsuperscript{82} For descriptions, see Glossary.
again a crucial tool since it had eliminated the need for the art of sand writing. In truth, ʿÂli summarizes, as several pre-Islamic sages such as Plato and Galinus had said, writing meant knowledge.

This brings ʿÂli to the issue of Prophet Muhammad’s alleged illiteracy. Following an Islamic tradition that mentions Muhammad as illiterate, in an earlier passage ʿÂli had referred the Prophet as “the unlettered Prophet.” Before he closes the Addendum, ʿÂli wants to clarify this issue by explaining how, in the case of Muhammad, illiteracy was in fact “an indication of the supremacy of his virtues, and the supremacy of his virtues was meant to be a path toward perfection of his prophecy and messengership.” By this, ʿÂli means that Muhammad transcended beyond the ordinary human passion “for the black ink of reading and writing,” and attained Knowledge through his inner eye. Finally, the literacy of the Sincere Companions of Muhammad, Abu Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthman, and ʿAli is pointed out as yet another testament to the nobility and necessity of writing.

The next four chapters trace the history of the development of writing through the lives and work of its practitioners. Chapters are arranged first, according to the chronologic development of writing styles, second, according to the pedagogical lineage of masters and pupils, and third, although not strictly, according to artists’ origin, specifically Persian as opposed to Rumi. Within this framework, ʿÂli exerts great effort to construct a pedagogical line, and the result is an impressively well-organized lineage that extends in a novel fashion, at once linearly and horizontally. In fact, except for a
few instances where repetitions and confusion of names occur, the artistic lineage is laid out in so orderly a fashion that a schematic representation of it can be constructed without much effort (see, appendix).

Chapter one is on the copyists of the Qurʾan who wrote in the Kufic script. The narrative begins with a list of twenty-eight historical figures whose names ē ʿAlī borrows from the Ishrāq al-tawārīḥ (Illuminations of Histories).84 On account of his virtues, his attainment in mysticism, and his talent in Kufic, Imam ē ʿAlī is again revered as the most prominent of the writers of Kufic. There follows a versified eulogy of ē ʿAlī and a discussion on the question of precedence of Men of Pen (ehl-i qalem) over Men of Sword (ehl-i seyf). ē ʿAlī concludes that the pen has priority over the sword and that Imam ē ʿAlī’s talent inhered in his bringing the pen and the sword together. All in all, however, ē ʿAlī concludes that the sword has precedence only when it serves the pen.

Chapter two is on the development of the “Six Styles” and the group of calligraphers whom ē ʿAlī calls the “Seven Masters” (generally known as the “Six Masters”). ē ʿAlī mentions Ibn Muqla as the master who adapted the Kufic script and Ibn Bawwab as the one who, about a hundred years later, perfected it. Following a brief outline of the events of the century, such as the Mongolian attacks and the end of the Abbasid House in the sixth/thirteenth century, ē ʿAlī notes that Jamal al-Din Yaqut appeared in the scene as the originator of the Six Styles. A list of Yaqut’s pupils, who,

master 3. The pedigree continues with pupils of these pupils in the same manner. In the Essence, ē ʿAlī improves on this system and appends the biographies of each of the major classes of notables to the end of the reign of each sultan under whom these flourished or died. ē ʿAlī claimed that this type of organizational arrangement was his own innovation.

84 Fleischer notes that ē ʿAlī translated this Arabic work by Qāḍī ʿAḍud al-Dīn (d. 756/1355) into Ottoman in 983/1575 when he was in Bosnia. His Zübdetü’t-tevārîḥ (The Choice Gift of Histories), a text on pre-Islamic and Islamic prophets and eminent religious figures, is an expanded and rearranged version based on this translation.
with the inclusion of the master, are called the “Seven Masters,” follows. These pupils
are, Ṣ Abdallah Arghun Kamil, Nasr al-Din Mutatabbib, Mawlaya Mubarakshah, Yusuf of
Khorasan, Mir Haydar Kunda-nuweis, and Shaykh Ahmad Suhrawardi. Ṣ̣ Âli compares his
list to that found in Qutb al-Din’s treatise and asserts that his list, which was established
by the masters of Rum, is the sounder version. Following accounts of other masters of
the Six Styles, Ṣ̣ Âli turns his attention to the calligraphers of Rum.

Like the Persians, Ṣ̣ Âli says, Rumis too had their “Seven Masters.” They were,
Shaykh Hamdullah of Amasya, Dede Chalabi, Muhy al-Din of Amasya, Jamal of
Amasya, Ṣ Abdallah of Amasya, Ahmad Qarahisari, and Sharbatchi-zade Mawlaya
Ibrahim. The enumeration concludes with the accounts of these masters of Rum plus a
few additional Persian masters. Ṣ̣ Âli then remarks on the art of calligraphy as a path
toward nobility and fame, and follows this with comments on calligraphers’ complaint
about their low income and neediness, complaints, which he says, are in fact an
exaggeration of their situation, for at the time there were calligraphers whose daily
income was “purses and purses of silver and gold.”

Chapter three is devoted to writers of the nastâ’i liq script. Unlike the previous
chapter where Rumi calligraphers were discussed, this chapter is limited to the accounts
of Persian calligraphers. Drawing on his written sources, Ṣ̣ Âli first gives a list of the
calligraphers whose masters are not certain, and then moves on to a discussion of great
masters like Mir Ṣ̣ Ali of Tabriz, Sultan Ṣ̣ Ali of Mashhad, Mir Ṣ̣ Ali of Herat, Anisi, and
their pupils. While the biographies of some of these calligraphers hardly exceed a few
sentences, accounts of the more prominent masters are given in greater detail, with
anecdotes, poems, and comparisons to other masters. Ṣ̣ Âli’s admiration for the artistic
patronage in the idealized Timurid Persian court is apparent from his frequent references to renowned patrons such as Sultan Husayn Bayqara and Baysunghur Mirza. The biographic accounts of calligraphers are disrupted by ʻAlī’s vociferous critique of “ignorant” art-collectors. Artists who exploit the ignorance of collectors by selling them specimens with forged signatures are not spared.

Chapter four is on writers of the chap hand, Persian and Rumi calligraphers who practiced in diwani, and penmen who wrote in registrar’s hand (ūslūb-i defter) and siyaqat. Rumi practitioners of diwani are acknowledged for their modification of the Persian style, out of which they created an admirable hand with easy-to-read forms and characters. Matraqṣī Nasuh is mentioned as the exemplar of this group. Another contribution of Rumi writers to the field is noted to be their invention of a new script, the mektubi qirma.

Chapter five is on masters of decoupage, painters, gilders, limners, binders, gold-sprinklers, rulers, and book repairers. As in chapters two and four, here, too, Persian and Rumi artists are discussed within their own group. A notable difference between this chapter and the others is the conciseness of individual accounts. ʻAlī tries to justify this disparity by saying that the number of these “wonder-working artists” is so great that detailed accounts of them would necessitate the expansion of this abridged treatise, which he deems inappropriate. The account of the Chinese painter Mani is the only exception. In a most engaging language, embellished with rhyming word plays, puns, and verses, ʻAlī recounts the well-known story of Mani and his defeat of the three masters who attempted to prove their superiority by challenging artists of the world with the

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85 For another reference to ʻAlī’s Timurid ideal, see Counsel 1: 27-28.
illusionistic, three-dimensional images that they created. In later versions of the manuscript, a lengthy account of Mani’s execution on charges of idolatry is appended to the end of the story. The chapter ends with ʿĀli’s brief but forceful assertion of the superiority of Rumi artists in ruling, stitching, and binding over the Persians, who, he admits, carry the ball of superiority in diluting gold (ṭilā ḥallī) and decorating cut lines of poetry (muqāṭṭaʿ).

Finally, in the conclusion, ʿĀli reiterates the names of the most eminent calligraphers, and without citing any specifics, also remembers the group of cutters, painters, and binders. In later versions of the text, a long closing poem is inserted here. ʿĀli finishes the manuscript by humbling himself and asking for forgiveness for the flaws of his work. Nevertheless, he adds, he hopes that critics and gifted men of excellence will overlook the text’s imperfections and lavish praises on its literary merits and excellence. A long, closing prayer in Arabic is followed by a colophon that establishes the date of copying as 996/1587-88.

1.4 Manuscript and Printed Versions of the Text

In the course of my research, I have been able to identify twenty-four versions of the text, twenty-two in manuscript form and two printed editions. Of these, I was able to locate and examine fourteen manuscript versions as well as the printed editions. Of the remaining eight copies, the existence of one version (Mk 1093) is highly dubious and the specific whereabouts of two versions (K and Z) that are recorded as being in private libraries in Turkey are unknown. The remaining five copies, to which I was not able to
have access, are cited in the catalogs of libraries in Paris, Cairo, and Leipzig. But for the
Cairo copies, for reasons explained below, these versions all have but minimal value.

The following catalog of manuscripts provides descriptive information about
these twenty-four versions.

1. Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe, 9757 (T 9757)

Version T 9757 is a unique manuscript copy of the text important for three
reasons: it is the oldest extant copy; as suggested by the notation discussed below, it was
probably one of the copies owned by ʿĀli himself; and, it is a version whose existence
has hitherto been unknown to scholars. For these reasons, it has been used as the copy
text for this study.

T 9757 is mentioned in only one source, a recently compiled, handwritten catalog
of Ottoman manuscripts in the Istanbul University Library, where it is housed today. The
binding is of burgundy board covered on the outside with marbled (ebru) paper in dark
green and white. On the spine, a circular adhesive sticker contains the catalog number “T
9757.” The book consists of eighty-seven folios numbered in pencil using Arabic
numerals in the upper left corner of the recto side of each folio. The text is written on
unpolished, unwatermarked, yellow-colored paper of local manufacture in a neat taʿliq
hand, fifteen lines to a page (except for the opening page, which has eleven lines, and the
last page, which has eight). While the main text is penned in black ink, marginal
notations (written in the same hand and enclosed by borders) are inscribed in blue. The
text is framed by a double-lined border and punctuation dots are in green. The opening
page is illuminated by an elegant illumination of flowers framed by a lobed arch,
executed in gold, red, pink, and dark blue. Dimensions are 205 x 140 mm. But for a small water stain on 2a, the text and the binding are both in good condition.

The manuscript contains three distinct library stamps. The first, a small, circular stamp visible in the top right corner of 2a, reads the name “Hzil” in Arabic letters. The impression of a second stamp is found in the upper left corner of 6b. The only two legible words, “Mehtmed Şa‘id,” apparently identify one of the book’s owners. The imprint of a third stamp, that of the oval, rubber stamp of the İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, is found on the inside of the front cover and on the left margins of folios 16b and 41b.

In addition to these, beneath the circular stamp of Mehtmed Şa‘id on 2b, there are three notations. The lowermost notation “istemleke el-faqir ‘Ali,” even though the handwriting appears different from ‘Ali’s own, suggests that the book was copied out for the author himself, which, given the early date of the manuscript, seems plausible. A second inscription above this mentions that the book was later owned by calligrapher Muhammed Amīn al-Giridī,86 a pupil of the renowned master Hafiz ‘Uthman who copied versions H 1291 and Bibliothèque nationale 756. Finally, a third notation attributes the ownership to Mehtmed Şa‘id, whose small, circular stamp was mentioned above. Perhaps as a result of an increased value attached to it due to the author’s presumed ownership of T 9757, subsequent owners of the book all seem to have paid particular attention to record their ownership. On 5b, at the end of the index, a final owner of the manuscript, whose name is unknown, identifies himself as the maternal-uncle of Muhamad Tawfiq

86 Huart, 163; also see n. 9 above.
Efendi. In this note, that is inscribed in ta‘liq in red ink, the owner notes the deaths of, first, his sister Nafisa Hanım in 1246/1830, and then the latter’s son Muhammad Tawfiq Efendi in 1251/1835. Even though the owner does not state that he acquired the book from Nafisa Hanım or Muhammad Tawfiq Efendi, the fact that he recorded the dates of their death in detail on the folio preceding the opening page of the book suggests a possible ownership by these two.

Like several other versions that postdate it, T 9757 includes an index of names at the beginning of the text (2a-5b) arranged according to chapters. On the last folio (87a), a colophon gives the date of the text’s completion as Safar 996/February-March 1588 but lacks mention of the identity of the copyist.

2. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1227 (Vn)

This version, which I have seen only in black and white microfilm form, is listed in Babinger and Flügel, and was used as the copy text of the 1926 printed edition of İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal. The manuscript consists of sixty-eight folios penned in a clear naskh, nineteen lines to a page, with occasional marginal notations. The text is

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87 Most likely the gatekeeper (bevâb) of Sultan Mahmud II’s (r. 1802-1839) new army (See, table 1, Faculty, Staff and Students of the Military School in 1837 in “The Officer Corps in Sultan Mahmud II’s New Ottoman Army, 1826-39” by Avigdor Levy in the International Journal of Middle East Studies (vol. 2, No. 1, Jan., 1971), 21-39. In Silivrikapı, Istanbul, there is a fountain built in the year 1298/1880 for the soul of one Muhammad Tawfiq Efendi. For more on this fountain, see, Affan Egemen, İstanbul’un Çeşme ve Sebilleri (Resimleri ve Kitabeleri ile 1165 Çeşme ve Sebil) (Istanbul: Arıcan Yayınevi, 1993), 590.
88 Egemen (660) mentions a fountain in Etyemez, Küçük Langa, built for one Nefise Hanım in the year 1233/1817-18. The author notes that Nefise Hanım was the wife of one ‘Ali Ağa, serçevas of the Janissaries.
89 Franz Babinger, Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1927), 130.
enclosed by narrow borders. Dimensions are 165 x 75 mm. The impression of a rectangular stamp at the bottom of the unnumbered page 1 reads “Bibliotheca Palat. Vindobonensis” and the same stamp appears again on an unnumbered page 3. The title of the book is inscribed in a rather crude hand in thick letters at the top center of page 1. It reads “Hūnerverān-i ʿAlī” (Artists by ʿAlī). On the same page, to the left of the library stamp mentioned above, there is the impression of an oval stamp in Arabic letters, which, due to the poor quality of the microfilm, is illegible.

A tabular index of the artists that are mentioned in the text is found on 1a-3b. It is written in an attractive naskh distinct from the rest of the text. An inscription in the upper left corner of 3b records the identity of the book’s owner as Raḥīm Efendi, the mūḥūrdar (Keeper of the Seals) of Vizier ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha (r. 1107-11/1695-1700). The text concludes with a colophon on folio 68b that gives the name of the copyist as ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ibn-i Yāmīn bin Ahmad and the date of the text’s completion as 1008/1599-1600. This manuscript was the oldest version known to İnal.

3. İstanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi, 1302 (Ark 1302)

This copy is listed only in Atsiz who recorded it as “Müze 1302,” without a mention of the museum’s name. An abridged version, it consists of thirty-four pages of thick, cream-colored local paper, thirteen lines to a page (except for 33b which has eight lines and an additional two lines of notations written on left margin), penned in a clear taʿliq in thin, black ink, with headings and names underlined in red. Pages lack borders.

\[91\] Atsiz, 19.
Folio numbers are added in Turkish numerals in pencil in the upper left recto margins of
the folios, and catchwords are found at the lower left recto corner of each folio. The
binding is in black leather, and the front and back covers bear a geometric design
consisting of repeated squares and dots enclosed by a gold border of double lines. It
lacks a tuck flap. But for occasional water stains, the book is in good condition.

Folio 1b bears the marks of two library stamps. The first is the rectangular stamp
of the museum library that reads “Arkeoloji Müzeleri Bibliyotek” in modern Turkish with
the catalog number “1302” noted beneath it. A second impression of this stamp is found
on 34a. The second mark on 1b is that of the old, round stamp of the museum that reads
“Müze-i Hümayûn Kütüphanesi 1330 [1911-12]” in Ottoman. The title of the text
(Menâqib-i hünverân) is added in Arabic letters on top of 2a, presumably by a librarian.
The colophon on 33a, dated 1009/1600-1601, makes it clear that the manuscript was
copied out by one Ḥusayn al-ḥājj Murad al-Marâşi from an early version dated 995/1586-
87.

The text contains a startling number of omissions. In addition, there are several
sentences that are arbitrarily cut in the middle and conflated with a sentence from one of
the following folios. These occurrences result in the formation of pedagogical lines that
forge invented affiliations between masters and pupils. In this respect, the value of the
text is quite limited. At the same time, the significant number of variants that it contains
proves helpful in constructing the genetic relationships between different versions.

4.  İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi 1231 (EH
1231)
This attractively penned copy is recorded in Atsız\textsuperscript{92} as well as in Karatay\textsuperscript{93} and it is one of the seven versions that were unknown to İnal. The binding and tuck flap are in dark red leather covered on the front and back with ebru paper in blue and green against a grey-brown background. EH 1231 is a manuscript of seventy-four folios of thick, cream-colored, unwatermarked local paper with fifteen-lines to a page, penned in naskh in black ink, with headings and names in red. The title of the text (Menâqib-i hünerverân) is inscribed on 4b in Arabic letters using a pencil. The text’s opening page (5a) is headed by an illumination of flowers framed by a lobed arch, executed in gold and dark blue. The text is enclosed by a red border. Dimensions are 250 x 160 mm. An index of names, arranged according to chapters and penned in alternating black and red ink, is found on 1a-4a. Except for the first two folios, whose top lines are damaged by water stains, the manuscript is in good condition.

The book bears the marks of three stamps. The impression of the rectangular rubber stamp of the Topkapı Palace that reads \textit{"Topqapu Sarayı Taḥrīr Qomisyoni"} in Arabic letters is visible in the upper right corner of 1a. The old catalog number 244/25957 in Arabic numerals is noted above this stamp. The other two stamps, both inscribed in modern Turkish, are found at the bottom of 1b. They are a rubber, rectangular stamp of the museum library that reads \textit{"Emanet Hâzînesi"} and a smaller, square stamp that records the new catalog number “1231.”

\textsuperscript{92} Atsız, 19.
The text concludes with a colophon on folio 74b that gives the name of the copyist as Yaʿqūb bin Ḥabīb al-İskilībī (Skopje) (d. 1040/1630-31)\(^\text{94}\) and the date of completion as Cumaziyelahir 1010/1601-1602. Copied from a 995/1586-87 version, this manuscript is the earliest example in which the narrative about the execution of the painter Mani, as well as a concluding poem, is appended at the end of the text.

5. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan, 1504 (R)

Revan 1504, housed today in the Topkapı Palace Library, is listed in Karatay’s\(^\text{95}\) and Atsiz’s\(^\text{96}\) lists of manuscript sources. Written in an elegant taʿliq, the book consists of sixty-eight folios with seventeen lines to a page (except for 1a, which has fourteen lines, and 67b, which has thirteen), penned in black ink, with headings, names, and punctuation points in red. The binding is of burgundy leather with an embossed medallion of floral motif at the center of the front and back cover. But for the damaged upper right corner of the binding, the book is in good condition. The paper is thick and polished local paper without watermarks. Dimensions are 195 x 122 mm. The text of the Deeds is found on folios 2a-67b, and an additional folio (68) is used to inscribe some Arabic prayers in prose and verse (duʿānāme). The title of the text “Haẓā kitāb-t menāqib-t hūnerverān li-ʿAlī-yi şāḥib-i ʿIrqān [sic]” (The Book of Epic Deeds of Artists by ʿAlī, man of learning) is written in red ink on top of folio 1b. Beneath the title, a series of poems and an adage are inscribed.

\(^{94}\) Mustaqimzada (586) notes that he was known as “Kirli Yaʿqub Efendi” and studied calligraphy under Hasan Üsküdarı.

\(^{95}\) Karatay, 386.

\(^{96}\) Atsiz, 19.

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The catalog number 1504 is written in black ink on the inside of the front cover. The notation “Revan” in Latin letters appears below it. Folio 1b bears the impression of the rectangular, rubber stamp of the “İtopqapu Sarayı Tahrir Qomisyoni” at the bottom. The old catalog number 244/25957 is inscribed in Arabic letters above it. A second stamp, the new stamp of the museum library that reads “Emanet Hazinesi,” is found in the lower left corner of the same folio. Next to it is a third stamp with the words “TKS Müzesi Revan 1504” in modern Turkish.

A significant feature of this version is the tuğra (imperial cipher) of Sultan ıUthman III found on folio 2a, which establishes the text’s royal ownership. It reads “Alḥamdu lillahi’llazi hadānā li-hażā wa mā kūnna li-nahtadiye lawlā an hadānāllah”97 ıUthmān Ḥān bin Muṣṭafā Shāh al-muẓaffar ḍā’imā.98 In the absence of a colophon or watermark, the tuğra permits us place the manuscript with certainty to a date before 1757, the end of ıUthman’s reign.

6. İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe, 4098/5-7 (T 4098)

This manuscript is one of the three versions that were available to İnal but which he did not use for his printed edition due to the insignificance of its variants.99 It is also mentioned in Babinger.100 Interestingly, both authors incorrectly record the manuscript’s old catalog number (6780) found on the inside of the front cover. Babinger gives it as “687.” In İnal’s edition, probably due to a printer’s error, the number appears as “6870.”

97 “Praise be to God, who hath guided us to this [felicity]: never could we have found guidance, had it not been for the guidance of God,” Qur’an 7:43.
99 İnal, 133.
100 Babinger, 130.
A microfilm copy of this version is found in the Milli Kütüphane in Ankara (M.F.A. 3822/1).

Version T 4098 is bound into a large codex (mecmu‘a) that contains fifty-three texts (incorrectly noted as fifty-six at the bottom of the index), two others of which are also by ʿÂli. These are the abovementioned Nuşhatü’l-melik [sic] (the Counsel), which follows the Deeds as the seventh text in the codex, and the Qavâ‘idü’l-mecâlis (the Delicacies) bound after the Counsel. The brown leather binding is undecorated. The codex consists of two hundred thirty-four folios of polished paper with thirty-one lines to a page (except for the opening pages of each text with varying page numbers) penned in a tiny, occasionally hurried riq‘a hand in black ink, with headings in red. The text is enclosed by a thin border, which, on some folios, is of double lines. Dimensions are 295 x 200 mm. The paper is of European origin and two different types of watermarks are visible. One consists of the letter I with three small, round leaves on top, and letters A and C beneath it, laid out in pyramidal form. Toward the end of the book, another watermark, a crown topped with a star and crescent, appears. The first ten folios are damaged with water stains, leaving some passages almost entirely illegible.

The title of the text (Menâqib-i hünerverân) is written in red on 154a. On the top center of 1a, an oval stamp in black ink reads “İstanbul Üniversitesi Kitap Sarayı” around the circumference with the number “4098” in the center. The text of the Deeds lacks a colophon. However, since the earliest text in the codex is dated 1025/1616-17 and the latest 1055/1645-46, it is reasonable to place this version to the first half of the eleventh/seventeenth century as well.

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101 For European watermarks used in paper that was sold to Muslim customers, see Kütükoğlu, 26.
A notation in the upper left corner of folio 1a establishes that the book was bound by one Nazir Efendi in the year 1167/1753-54. At the center of the same folio, beneath the library stamp mentioned above, a second notation identifies the first owner of the book as Muhammad Labib son of Mustafa. A third notation beneath it adds that in the year 1292/1875-76 the book passed into the hands of Sayyid Ahmad ‘Izz al-Din son of ‘Abdulhamid Farid Pasha by way of his mother Saliha Munira Hanim, daughter of the abovementioned Muhammad Labib.

7. *Istanbul, Hacı Salım Ağa Kütüphanesi, 757/1 (S)*

This elegant version of the text is found in the library of Salim Agha (d. 1203/1789) at Atlama Taşı in Üsküdar, Istanbul. It is listed in Babinger\(^1\) as well as in Atsz,\(^2\) and İnal used it in his printed edition with the sigil S.\(^3\) A microfilm copy of the text is found in the Milli Kütüphane in Ankara (M.F.A. 1448) and there is also a CD version in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (CD 3788).

Version S forms the first part of a codex of one hundred thirty-four folios containing two other texts as well, *Ḫalātī‘l-Qāhire mine‘l-‘ādātī‘z-zähire* (The Conditions of Cairo Concerning Her Actual Customs) by ʿĀli, and *Fetihname-i cezîre-i Rodos* (The Conquest of the Island of Rhodes). The text of the *Deeds* is found on 2a-48b. The brown leather binding is embossed with a decorative motif at the center, has a tuck flap, and is covered on the inside with *ebru* paper. Dimensions are 197.5 x 110.5 mm. The text is penned on polished, cream-colored European paper in a neat *ta‘liq* hand with

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\(^1\) Babinger, 130.  
\(^2\) Atsz, 19.  
\(^3\) İnal, 132.
twenty-one lines to a page in black ink, and headings, names, and punctuation dots in red. Several folios contain a watermark with letters A, I, and C, the I standing taller than the other two letters, and with three small, round leaves on top. The codex is in excellent condition.

The title of the text (Menāqib-ı hünnerverân) is inscribed in Arabic letters on 1b. The oval seal of Haji Salim Agha, owner of the library, is visible on the first (1b) and the last (134b) folios. On 1b, above the seal, there is also an illegible signature (kuyruklu imza). A colophon at the end of 48b states that the text was copied out by one Ḥasan ibn-i Shayḥî at the end of Rabi‘u‘l-ahır. Since all three texts in the codex are written in the same hand, the date at the end of the third text, the year 1040/1630-31 can be regarded as the date of completion for the Deeds as well.

8. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi, 2211 (E)

This version, which once belonged to the library of Sahaflar Shaykhizada Muhammad Asad Efendi (d. 1264/1848), is listed in Babinger and Atsız and it was also used by İnal who designated it as “E.” The binding is of burgundy leather covered with ebru paper. Dimensions are 240 x 140 mm. The stamp of the Esad Efendi Library with a date illegible but for the last two numbers, “62,” and the library catalogue number 2211, both inscribed in Arabic numbers, appear on the lower right of folio 1b. In addition, the rectangular stamp of the Süleymaniye Library with four lines of text (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi / Kism Esat Ef. / Yeni kayıt no… / Eski Kayıt no. 2211) is

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105 Babinger, 130.
106 Atsız, 19.
107 İnal, 132.
found at the bottom of the same folio. An adhesive sticker on the spine contains the
collection’s name and catalogue number: “Tarih Esad Efendi 2211.” The sixty-two-page
manuscript is written on thick, cream-colored, European paper with nineteen lines to a
page penned in divani qurması in black ink, with headings and dots in red. Several folios
bear a watermark of crown, star, and full moon motif, similar to that found in version T
4098 above.

An interesting feature of this version is that Ėlî’s Nevâdirî’l ḥikem (Curious Bits
of Wisdom), which he composed during his appointment in Sivas in 1588-89, is copied
into the margins of folios 1b through 22a. The colophon at the end of the manuscript
does not mention the name of the copyist but gives the date of the text’s completion as
Zilhicce 1042/1632-33 (incorrectly noted as “1043” by Cunbur). ¹⁰⁸

9. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Hazine, 1291 (H 1291)

This version of the text, catalogued as Hazine 1291, is cited both in Karatay¹⁰⁹
and in Atsiz.¹¹⁰ The binding is of brown leather with an elegant floral motif in blue and
gold embossed at the center of the front and back cover. It has a tuck flap. Consisting of
sixty-five folios, the manuscript is written on polished, cream-colored paper with
nineteen lines to a page (except for the opening page which has fourteen lines), penned in
very attractive naskh in black ink, with headings, names, and punctuation dots in red.
Dimensions are 225 x 135 mm. But for occasional water stains, the manuscript is in good
condition.

¹⁰⁸ Cunbur, 9.
¹⁰⁹ Karatay, 385.
¹¹⁰ Atsiz, 19.
Folio 2b contains an enumeration in tabular form of calligraphers of Persia and Turan as well as masters who wrote in naskh and ta‘liq. Unlike the tabular index that follows on 3a-4a, containing the names mentioned in the Deeds, this one-page list appears to have been prepared independently of the text. At the bottom of this list, a notation in red states that the text was copied out by “ʻUthman Beg Ḥaṭṭat,” that is, Hafiz ʻUthman (d. 1110/1698-99), a celebrated calligrapher of the seventeenth century.

One curious aspect of this list is the inclusion of the names of Ibn Muqla and Yaqut al-Musta‘simi among the masters of Persia and Turan, an error that is repeated in another version of the text (Bibliothèque nationale 756), also copied by Hafiz ʻUthman. As Blochet\(^{111}\) has also pointed out in his catalogue to the library’s Ottoman collection, their inclusion here is out of place. However, given the fact that the list was copied out, if not prepared, by a leading calligrapher of the time, to whom the non-Persian identities of these two exemplary masters must surely have been known, one is tempted to assume that Ibn Muqla and Yaqut were included in the list only on account of their position as the forerunners of succeeding Persian calligraphers. In any event, Blochet’s accusation of “ignorance” on the part of the writer and his characterization of the names’ inclusion as being of “great ludicrousness” seem a little harsh, especially if the target is indeed Hafiz ʻUthman.

A notation beneath the name of ʻUthman attributes the ownership of the book to one “Ahmad Bey.” Underneath is a small, indecipherable circular stamp in Arabic letters. On the right bottom corner of the same folio, the rubber stamp of the Topkapı Palace Museum is found with the words “TKS Müzesi/ K. no. Hz 1291.” A third

impression, that of the rectangular rubber stamp of the Topkapı Palace, is found on the inside of the front cover. It reads in Arabic letters “Topqapu Sarayi Tahrir Qomisyoni.”

In the absence of a colophon, based on the date of Hafiz ʿUthman’s death, the year 1110/1698, it is possible to place this version to late seventeenth century.\(^{112}\)

10. *Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, 1232 (EH 1232)*

This version is listed only in Atsiz.\(^{113}\) The manuscript forms the first part (2a-29b) of a one hundred ninety-three folio codex that contains two other treatises on calligraphers and painters, *Giülzär-i šavāb* by Nafasāda ʿIbrāhīm Efendi\(^{114}\) and *Devhätüʾl-küttäb* by Suyoljizāda Najīb Efendi.\(^{115}\) The title of the *Deeds* is inscribed in black ink on 1b as “Menāqib-i hünnerverān-i ʿĀli” (Epic Deeds of Artists by ʿĀli). A notation on the same folio identifies the copyist of the codex as Mustaqqimzada.\(^{116}\) A second inscription found on folio 65b records the death of Suyoljizāda Najīb Efendi as being the year 1171/1757-58.

Four distinct stamps are found in the manuscript. The first is visible at the top center of the flyleaf. It reads “*Topqapu Sarayi Tahrir Qomisyoni*” with the old catalog number 244/25960 inscribed beneath it in Arabic letters. The other three impressions are found on 1b. These are: a small circular stamp in Arabic letters that identifies the owner

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\(^{112}\) See n. 8 above.
\(^{113}\) Atsiz, 19.
\(^{114}\) See n. 10 above.
\(^{115}\) See n. 11 above.
\(^{116}\) See n. 12 above.
of the book as İbrâhim Tâhir el-ḥâṭṭâṭ (d. 1166);117 the rectangular stamp of the Topkapı Palace Library that reads “Emanet Hazines[i]”; and, the square, rubber stamp of the same library with the words “TKS / E Hazine / Ehz 1232.”

The binding is of dark brown leather stamped with a decorative medallion at the center. It has a tuck flap. The text is written on thick, darkish-cream colored, watermarked, European paper, irregularly cut, with twenty-five lines to a page, in a cramped taʻliq hand in black ink with numerous corrections, marginal notations, and crossed-out and revised passages. Dimensions are 210 x 145 mm. The text closes with a colophon that gives the date of its completion as “1148/1735-36,” (incorrectly noted by Atsiz as “1151/1738-39) without a mention of the copyist’s name.118

11. Istanbul, Bayezid Devlet Kütüphanesi, Umumi, 4987 (B)

Version B is listed only in Babinger’s catalogue of manuscripts by c̣Áli.119 Both Ínal and Atsiz were apparently unaware of it. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the CD collection of the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in Istanbul where it is numbered “5445.” The binding is of undecorated brown leather. The sixty-eight-folio manuscript is written on unpolished, pale-pink and yellowish European paper in a naskh hand in black ink, with headings and names in red. There are twenty-one lines to a page (except the last page, which has nineteen lines). Some folios bear a watermark of three letters arranged in pyramidal form, letter I with three small round leaves on top, and letters F

117 Huart, 172.
118 Atsiz, 19.
119 Babinger, 130.
and G below. The manuscript, whose dimensions are 170 x 112 mm, is in very good condition.

The title of the text (Menāqib-i hünerverān) is added on the inside of the front cover and a second title that reads “Tezkire-i ḫāṭṭātīn” (Treatise on Calligraphers) is inscribed in a crude hand on the flyleaf. Folio 1a bears the impression of a stamp’s lower half that reads in Arabic letters “Ḥafid Çelebizāde,” but is otherwise indecipherable. The text concludes on 68b with a colophon that gives the date of its completion as “Ṣevvāl seb’a ve ḥamsīn mi’e ve elf” (Ṣevvāl 1157/1744-45).” A version that was copied from B was in the private library of Zeki Pakalın, and was used by İnal in his edition where it is identified as version “Z.”

12. Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe, 6201 (T 6201)

Version T 6201, formerly housed in the Yıldız Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, is listed by Babinger as well as İnal, who identified it with the old catalog number 2710/22, visible today on an adhesive sticker on the inside of the front cover. Even though he examined this version, İnal did not include it in his edition since he deemed its variants insignificant. A microfilm copy of the text is preserved today in the Milli Kütüphane in Ankara with catalog number M.F.A. 1850.

The binding is of brown board with ebru paper in blue and white pasted on the outside of both the back and front board. The text is written on unpolished, thick, cream-colored, European paper with a grape motif watermark, nineteen lines to a page (except

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120 İnal, 132.
121 Babinger, 130.
122 İnal, 133.
the opening page 2a that has eleven lines) in an unadorned, small naskh hand in black ink. Folio 2a is headed by an illumination of flowers framed by a lobed arch, and the text on this folio is enclosed by a thick, double border of gold and orange. The borders on the remaining folios are thinner and colored in gold. But for 2b, where small leaves and flower motifs mark the breaks in the text, the text contains no punctuation points. Dimensions are 125 x 205 mm.

The text bears the marks of two rubber stamps. The stamp of the Yıldız Library, where the book was formerly housed, is found on the inside of the front cover and reads “Yıldız Kütüphanesi” in Arabic letters. The later, oval stamp of the Istanbul University Library is visible at the bottom center of 1b. It reads “İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi” around the circumference and contains the catalogue number of the manuscript, “6201,” in the center. The title of the book (Menâqib-i hünnerverân) is added in pencil at the top of the same folio, beneath which there is an ornate but illegible signature. The text does not contain an index. However, chapter headings are inscribed below the signature mentioned above. The text of the Deeds ends on 88a with a colophon that mentions that this manuscript was reproduced from a version (EH 1231) copied out by Yaʿqūb bin Ḥabib bin Yaʿqūb. The copyist of T 6201 is identified as ʿÖmer Naʿṭi, and the date of the text’s completion is given as 1184/1770-71. Three folios of hadith (Prophet Muhammad’s traditions) are appended to the end of the book.

13. Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi, 1305 (Ark 1305)
Ark 1305, housed today in the library of the Istanbul Museum of Archaeology, is the version of the text that Babinger\textsuperscript{123} refers as the most recently discovered. İnal\textsuperscript{124} and Atsız\textsuperscript{125} were also aware of the manuscript, which the former identified as “M” and the latter as “Müze 1305,” without, however, identifying the name of the museum. The manuscript forms the first part (1b-65b) of a codex that contains (68a-77a; 79a-b) Mustaqimzada Sulayman Sa’d al-Din’s \textit{Risâle-\textsuperscript{2}i hâffâfin}” (Treatise on Calligraphers) and \textit{Silsile-i hâffâfin} (The Pedigree of Calligraphers). Following this latter treatise, a sample \textit{icâzetnâme}\textsuperscript{126} is inserted on 78a. A neatly organized index of artists, arranged according to chapters, is found on 1b-4b.

The binding is of burgundy leather embossed with gold medallion consisting of floral motif enclosed by a plaited border. It has a tuck flap. Both the tuck flap and front and back boards are covered with \textit{ebru} paper of gray, orange, pink, green, and white. Paper is of local manufacture, thick, and without watermarks. The text is written on plain, undecorated, unframed folios in a clear \textit{ta\textsuperscript{‘}liq} hand in black ink, with names and headings in red. In addition to the index at the beginning of the text, each artist’s name is also inscribed on the margin of the paragraph wherein he is mentioned. On the fore edge of the book, the titles of the \textit{Deeds} and the \textit{Treatise on Calligraphers} are inscribed in a neat \textit{nashk} hand in thick, black letters as “\textit{Menâqib-i hûnerverân ve Silsile-i hâffâfin}.” An adhesive sticker at the center of the spine inscribed in Arabic letters reads “\textit{Menâqib}.” Except for the first few folios that have separated from the spine, the book is in very good condition.

\textsuperscript{123} Babinger, 130.
\textsuperscript{124} İnal, 133.
\textsuperscript{125} Atsız, 19.
\textsuperscript{126} Literally “certificate of fitness” to teach; a calligrapher’s licence.
Folio 1b bears the marks of two library stamps. In the top left corner, the black impression of the rectangular rubber stamp of the library reads “Arkeoloji Müzeleri Bibliyotek,” and the same stamp is found again on 2b. Beneath this, the catalog number “1305” and the notation “148/2” are inscribed in Arabic numerals. In the bottom left corner of the folio, there is an illegible mark of a circular stamp in Arabic letters, probably that of the Arkeoloji Müzesi. A fourth, circular stamp of the museum library is found in the left bottom corner of 4b. It reads “İstanbul ʿĀsīr-ʿīʾ Atīka Müzeleri Kütüphânesi” in Arabic letters. Page numbers are written in pencil in Arabic numerals in the top left corner of the recto side of each folio. The colophon on 65a states that the manuscript was copied out by one ʿAbdülhüseyin el-Kirmâni in Zilhicce of 1304/1886-87.


Version AE from the Millet Kütüphanesi collection is housed today in the Bayezid Devlet Kütüphanesi in Istanbul. Atsız127 records this copy as “Ali Emiri Efendi (Tarih) 801” and İnâl,128 who did not include it in his collation, as “Millet Kütüphanesi 1093/2154.” A microfilm copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Yazma Eserler Koleksiyonu in the Milli Kütüphane in Ankara, and is numbered M.F.A. 1450.

The binding is of black leather covered with ebru paper of orange, red, and yellow. The text is written on high quality, polished, thick paper, with no watermarks, in a neat taʿliq hand in black ink, with headings and names in red. The unbordered folios of

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127 Atsız, 18.
128 İnâl, 133.
the book, which are in excellent condition, contain fifteen lines to a page. Dimensions are 273 x 197 mm. The title inscribed in Arabic letters on 2a in a hand distinct from the rest of the text reads “Menāqb-i hünerverān-i ʿĀlī” (Epic Deeds of Artists by ʿĀli). This is followed by the opening phrase Bismillāhirrahmānirrahīm (“In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful”). Both the recto and verso sides of the folios are paginated. Page numbers are written in black ink in the same hand as the text itself, starting with number 2 and ending with 104.

The book contains three different stamps, all of which are visible on 1b. The circular stamp of the Millet Kütüphanesi, where the manuscript was formerly housed, is found toward the top left corner. It reads “Millet Kütüphanesi” in Arabic letters in the outer ring and contains a crescent and star at the center. A stamp to its right reads “Allahu Taʿalā Hzretlerinüñ rızası için vaqf eyledüm” in the outer ring, and Diyarbekirli ʿAlī Emīrī 1341 (1922/23) in the inner ring, and serves to identify the donor of the book as Diyarbekirli ʿAlī Emīrī Efendi (d. 1342/1924). An impression of this stamp is found again at the end of the book, on page 104. A third stamp, the rectangular rubber stamp of the Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, contains four lines of text that read “Millet Genel Kütüphanesi / Kism: A. E. Tarih / Eski Kayıt no 801 / Yeni Kayıt no blank / Tasnif no: blank.”

AE 801 is the second version that includes the additional passages describing Mani’s execution and a concluding poem preceding ʿĀlī’s final words. A colophon on page 104 states that the text was copied out by Mirza Seyyid Ahmad of Tabriz, and the date of completion is noted as 17 Zilhicce, 1335/1917-18.

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129 For more on the stamp, see Kut and Bayraktar, 135-36.
15. *Istanbul, Maṭba‘a-i ʿĀmire, İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal printed edition* (İ)

This edition of the *Deeds* was published in 1926 as volume nine of the *Türk Tarih Encümeni* (Turkish Historical Society) series at the Maṭba‘a-i ʿĀmire in Istanbul. A critical edition of the text is preceded by an introductory essay on ʿĀli’s life and work, written by the biographer and literary historian İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal Bey (İnal). The pagination of the introduction (1-134) and the text is discontinuous (1-78). Both texts are printed in a naskh typeface, the number of lines varying between twenty to twenty-five from page to page.

At the end of the introduction, İnal mentions that when Sâkiz Ohanis Paşazade,\(^{130}\) former Chief of the State Department of Finance (*divân muḥāsebāt reʾis-i esbaqi*) lent a photographic reproduction of version Vn to the Turkish Historical Society, the Society assigned the task of preparing a critical edition to him. İnal then located and examined eight more versions of the text out which he selected five for this edition. These five versions were:

1. A manuscript copy in İnal’s private library, which he identified with sigil K. The copyist of this version, İnal notes, was ʿAli son of Husayn, one of the *muazzins*\(^{131}\) of the mosque of Sulayman Agha in Beşiktaş, Istanbul. Sulayman Agha, İnal adds, was also

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\(^{130}\) Probably Sakizli Ohanis Pasha, for an impression of his stamp, see Kütükoğlu, 592.

\(^{131}\) The official whose main function is summon the believers to prayer.
an agha at the Bābī‘-s-sa‘ādet\textsuperscript{132} and the chief-treasurer of the Enderun.\textsuperscript{133} The manuscript is dated Rebi‘l-evvel 1177/1763-64.

2. A manuscript copy owned by the historian-biographer Muhammad Zaki Bey (Pakalın), a member of the State Department of Finance. İnal identifies this version, which was reproduced from version Bayezid 4987, with sigil Z.


5. \textit{Asar-i Atika Müzesi}, version Ark 1305 (discussed above).

The three manuscript copies that İnal states he examined, but, on account of the insignificance of their variants, did not include in his collations, are versions T 4098, AE 801, and T 6201, all again mentioned above.

As a printed edition, İnal version provides invaluable help in deciphering the illegible,scribbled words that one encounters in manuscript copies. It does contain, however, two deficiencies that are worth mentioning. Lack of folio and line numbers of either the copy text or the collated versions is the first shortcoming. While İnal does take the time to establish the identity of each of the manuscript versions that he used in his collation, he does not indicate the folio or line numbers of the variants he noted in the footnotes are to be found. Therefore, a study of this edition with the aim of identifying possible omissions or errors becomes a time and energy-consuming endeavor. Printer’s errors, the second downside of this edition, are, of course, as uninvited as they are

\textsuperscript{132} Literally “the Gate of Felicity,” the gate leading from the second into the third court of the imperial Topkapı Palace.

\textsuperscript{133} The Inner Palace.
inevitable. Misprints, some of which result in the creation of new words that change the meaning of the text, such as cerbi (p. 19) for cezmî, mihayrân (p. 50) for mîrîn, iltiňâqlari (p. 74) for iqtydârlarî, and Kevsêr (p. 74) for kevster were reproduced in later studies on the Deeds that relied solely on this version without consulting the original manuscript copies.


This printed version is listed only in Babinger with a question mark. Written in German (with names also spelled in Arabic script) by Von B. Dorn, the text is an abbreviated list of the names found in the Deeds. At the end of the article, the author also gives a list of the specimens found in the Asiatische Museum by some of the calligraphers of the book.

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In addition to the sixteen manuscript and printed versions discussed above, I have identified seven other versions of the text that are attested in secondary sources. My attempts at verifying and/or obtaining microfilm or CD copies of these versions from the

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134 Babinger, 130.
libraries in which they are held have so far proved futile. The following is a list of these seven versions.

1. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 756*

   This version is described in Blochet’s catalog of Ottoman manuscripts housed in the Bibliothèque nationale. According to Blochet, the book contains sixty-nine folios measuring 210 x 135 mm. and is penned in naskh. The copyist is identified as ʿUthman Bey Hattat, that is, Hafiz ʿUthman. Based on Blochet’s description of the index and the peculiar inclusion in it of Ibn Muqla and Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi among masters of Persian origin, it is possible to conclude that this version originated either directly from H 1291 (a version copied out by the same calligrapher and containing the same erroneous enumeration), or from another version that descended from H 1291. Hence, its significance in determining the history and structure of the *Deeds* does not appear to be of crucial value.

2. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Schefer, 1162 (catalog 196)*

   This version is listed in Babinger, and a brief description of it is also found in Blochet. Blochet describes the text as a ninety-page manuscript written in a naskh hand on paper measuring 185 x 115 mm. He dates the manuscript to the nineteenth century. No mention is made of a copyist.

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135 Blochet, 56.
136 Babinger, 130.
137 Blochet, 184.
3. Leipzig, Leipzig University Library, Institute of Oriental Studies, 1039 (L)

The only reference to the Leipzig copy is found in Babinger’s list,\(^{138}\) where it is mentioned that this version was copied out by G. Flügel from the Vienna version. Its value, therefore, is only minimal.

4. and 5. Cairo (TK 220)

The Cairo versions, of which Babinger states there are two, are attested only in his list of the manuscript copies of the *Deeds*.\(^{139}\) It is not clear from Babinger’s notation whether these two versions are identical copies. The fact that both copies are recorded with the same catalog number, TK 220, might lead one to think that they are. However, the number might also be referring to a codex in which two texts of different origin are bound.

6. Zeki Pakalın özel kütüphanesi (Z)

Discussed above under version І.

7. İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal özel kütüphanesi (K)

Discussed above under version І.

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\(^{138}\) Babinger, 130.
\(^{139}\) Babinger, 130.
Finally, the existence of a twenty-fourth version, recorded as “Milli Kütüphane, 1093 (2154)” by Babinger\textsuperscript{140} seems dubious, for no record of such copy exists in the catalogs of the National Library in Ankara or in the libraries of Istanbul or Edirne.

\section*{1.5 Date of Composition and Authorship}

In the absence of the author’s holograph, we have two sources that help us fix the text’s date of completion to the year 995/1585-86. These are, first, three later manuscript versions whose copyists reproduced in their texts the date of completion that Ėlyûdî must have inscribed in his original; and, second, Ėlyûdî’s references to specific events and persons found in the text.

The three versions whose scribes diverged from the common practice of replacing the colophon of the text from which they worked with the date of completion of their own copy are Ark 1302, T 6201, and EH 1231. These versions all appear to conclude with the colophon of Ėlyûdî’s holograph (or of a version that descended from it, which similarly reproduced the original colophon) dated Rebi‘ülahîr 995/April 1587, followed by a second, new colophon added beneath.\textsuperscript{141}

The date of completion given in these versions is verified by evidence internal to the text. For example, the following passage from the preface (13a:9-15) indicates not only the text’s authorship but also the author’s place of residence at the time of the text’s composition.

\textsuperscript{140} Babinger, 130.
\textsuperscript{141} Ark 1302 on 33b:3; T 6201 on 87b:17; and EH 1231 on 74b:7.
In fact, as a result of humble pleas, this well-wishing humble ʿĀli, while serving as a faithful finance minister in the treasury of the capital city, Baghdad,\textsuperscript{142} acquired an abridged treatise that Mawłana Qūtb al-Dīn (Muhammad of Yazd), the chief of that age’s writers and God’s eternal gift to the calligraphers of Iraq, had written about world’s calligraphers and about fifty masters among the calligraphers of nastaʿliq [style].

We know from ʿĀli’s biography that the date of his arrival in Baghdad to assume the post of finance minister was 993/late 1585. Although upon his arrival he was informed that the assignment was sold to someone else who had contracted for it, ʿĀli stayed in Baghdad until 995/the summer of 1586. This latter date is confirmed in the following passage (10b:15-11a:9) in praise of the reigning Sultan Murad III.

In this year of nine hundred ninety-five, the sultan of all sultans…His Excellency Sultan Murad Khan [III] son of Salīm Khan [II] son of Sulaymān Khan [I] …became the adorer [i.e., patron] of the sweet basils [i.e., artists] of the humankind and the dispenser of delights of the paradises to the inhabitants of the world.

A second indication of the date of composition is found in the paragraph on Baba Shah of Isfahan (58b:2-6).

Another among this group is Mawłana Baba Shah of Isfahan, a superior master among the calligraphers of the time and the most renowned among the scribes [who are possessed] of the ability of [Sultan ʿAlī] of Mashhad…He is [still] alive and active in this year of nine hundred ninety-five [1586-87], demonstrating the miracle of his penmanship and skill. Verily, the scribes of Isfahan regard the aforesaid to be the equal of the masters of the past.

In this particular case, the author’s purpose in recording the date was clearly to indicate that the account is based on a contemporary oral source.\textsuperscript{143} Such occurrences,

\textsuperscript{142} For ʿAlī’s appointment to Baghdad and the events in the aftermath, see Fleischer, 123-25.
where the author records the date of composition with the purpose of showing either an oral source or firsthand familiarity with the people and events he discusses, are characteristic of ʿĀli’s scholarship.

1.6 The text’s written and oral sources

In composing the *Deeds*, ʿĀli benefited from several written and oral sources, most of which he identifies in the text by title or name. It is clear from the content of the text that the author acquired his main written and oral material during his stay in Baghdad, where he was immersed in a Persisanate cultural milieu from late 1585 until the summer of 1586. In addition, evidence internal to the text suggests that ʿĀli had at his disposal additional, unidentified materials, some in the form of oral communications, that he must have gathered prior to his sojourn in Baghdad, perhaps during his brief assignment at an imperial atelier in Istanbul in 1581 while supervising the production of the royal edition of the *Book of Victory*.

As his written sources, ʿĀli identifies five texts: the abovementioned *Risala-ʿi Quṭbiyya* (Treatise of Qutb [al-Din]) of Qutb al-Din Muhammad of Yazd; *Ishrāq al-tawārīḥ* (The Illumination of Histories) of Qara Yaqūb b. ʿĪdris Qaramānī;¹⁴⁴ *Taẓkira-i Dawlatshahi* (i.e., *Taẓkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, Memoirs of the Poets) of Dawlatshāh Samarqandi;¹⁴⁵ *Majālis al-nafaṣ*¹⁴⁶ (Assemblies of Rarities) of ʿAli Shir Nawaʾī;¹⁴⁷ and,

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¹⁴³ Huart (234) notes that Qutb al-Din met Baba Shah in Isfahan in 995/1587, which date or location cannot be correct.
¹⁴⁴ See n. 84 above.
Tuhfa-i Sâmi (Choice Gift of Sam [Mirza]) of Prince Sam Mirza.148 As his immediate oral sources, Ṣâdi also acknowledges the accounts of three calligraphers, Qutb al-Din Muhammad of Yazd, Mawlama Ṣâdi, and Ṣâdi of Crimea (Kâtip Tatar).149

Among these sources, Ṣâdi gave special recognition to Qutb al-Din Muhammad’s treatise on calligraphers and the information and insight Qutb al-Din shared with Ṣâdi at the literary gatherings they both attended in Baghdad. In a paragraph from the preface, Ṣâdi explains how he obtained the text he identifies as Risala-i Qutbiyya from its author.

In fact, as a result of humble pleas, this well-wishing humble Ṣâdi, while serving as a faithful finance minister in the treasury of the capital city, Baghdad, acquired an abridged treatise that Mawlama Qutb al-Din (Muhammad of Yazd), the chief of that age’s writers and God’s eternal gift to the calligraphers of Iraq, had written about world’s calligraphers and about fifty masters among the calligraphers of the nasta’liq [style].150

As is the case in almost every instance when Ṣâdi was personally acquainted with his subject, here too, he provides us with a detailed account.151 In chapter three, Ṣâdi includes Qutb al-Din in his list of calligraphers of the nasta’liq style and writes that Qutb al-Din was from the town of Yazd, where he lived for more than twenty years and gained

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146 Kemal Arslan, ed., Mecâlis-i Nefâis, 2 vols. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2001). The text was the first literary historical work in Chaghatai Turkish and the first that dealt almost exclusively with contemporary poets. It was completed in 897/1491-2, although some later manuscript copies contain information up to the year 904/1498-9. Along with Jâmi’s Bahârîstân (883/1478-9) and Dâwlâtshâh’s Taqârat al-shu’ârâ’, the text was known to and used as models by the first Ottoman biographer of poets, Sehi of Edirne (d. 955/1548-49) who composed the Hesht Bihist (945/1538-39).
147 Niẓâm al-Din Ṣâdi Shîr, later called Mîr Ṣâdi Shîr, with the pen-name of Nawâ’î (844/906-1441/1501), outstanding ninth/fifteenth century Chaghatai poet and important Central Asian cultural and political figure of the reign of the Timurid sultan Ḥusayn Bâyqarâ (873/911-1441/1501).
148 See n. 23 above.
149 The Deeds, 13a-13b.
150 The Deeds, 13a.
151 Brief accounts of Qutb al-Din and his brother Mawlama Sharaf al-Din Ṣâdi of Yazd are found in Tuhfa-i Sami, 122.
fame. In a deferential tone, Ėli then mentions how, “for many days and months,” Qutb al-Din kept him company during his stay in Baghdad. After praising the latter’s probity and good qualities, such as the affectionate attention he showed others and his modesty, Ėli describes Qutb al-Din as a solitary dervish with an illuminous visage. He also praises Qutb al-Din’s gifts as a calligrapher and connoisseur, and provides a list of the masters under whose tutelage he studied as verification of his talent and fame.

One missing note in Ėli’s detailed account of Qutb al-Din has to do with the latter’s previous position as storyteller at the court of Shah Tahmasp. Perhaps due to this omission, the identity of Qutb al-Din has been open to debate. To determine his identity, David Roxbourgh consults Hasan Beg Rumlu’s chronicle of the early Safavids.\(^{152}\) Comparing Hasan Beg’s description of Qutb al-Din Muhammad of Baghdad to what we know of Qutb al-Din Muhammad Qissekhvân, both of which emphasize, for example, the subject’s talent in \textit{insha} (rhymed prose), Roxbourgh suggests that the two might be one and the same person. If this assumption were to be correct, however, Roxbourgh adds, the Qutb al-Din Muhammad that Ėli met in 995/1586 must clearly have been another person, because, according to Hasan Beg, Qutb al-Din Muhammad of Baghdad had died in 970/1562-63.\(^{153}\)

An examination of the excerpts from Qutb al-Din’s treatise that are contained in the \textit{Deeds} makes it clear that even though Ėli never refers to the author by the designation “storyteller,” the text that he benefited from was indeed the one composed by Qutb al-Din Muhammad Qissekhvân. Therefore, we can conclude with certainty that the

\(^{152}\) Hasan Rumlu, tr., 183.
\(^{153}\) Roxbourgh (30) gives the date incorrectly as 920.
Qutb al-Din Muhammad mentioned in Hasan Beg’s chronicle, provided that Hasan Beg’s necrology is correct, cannot be the Qutb al-Din Muhammad with whom ُÂli conversed in Baghdad.

From an examination of ُÂli’s references to Qutb al-Din’s text, it appears that in more than a few occasions, ُÂli felt free to depart from his main source. In the section on the masters of nasta’liq, for instance, ُÂli first gives his list of the “Seven Masters,” and after providing the list found in Qutb al-Din’s treatise, he assures the readers that his list, which was compiled in accord with “the investigation of the masters of Rum and copyists of learned traditions,” is the sounder version. In another instance, the name that Qutb al-Din recorded as Yusuf of Mashhad is noted by ُÂli as Yusuf of Khorasan.

These examples are illustrative of two characteristics of ُÂli’s scholarship: his continued interest in collecting written and oral materials; and his critical treatment of sources. From ُÂli’s biography, we know that he traveled extensively within the vast lands of the Empire, and he also participated in the 1578-79 Ottoman campaign against Shirvan, which introduced him to the non-Ottoman and largely non-Muslim cultures of the Caucasus. During these journeys, ُÂli acquired a large number of historical, literary, and biographical manuscripts, and also collected oral traditions and reports from the men of learning and other prominent figures with whom he conversed. His various assignments in all three branches of government service (ilmiyya, qalamiyya, and

154 The Deeds, 31b.
155 Among the poets whom ُÂli met in Baghdad, Fleischer (123) mentions Tarzi, Ruhi, and Ahdi. For ُÂli’s interest in collecting written material on Anatolian and Caucasian folklore, see Fleischer’s discussion of ُÂli’s sojourn to Niksar in 1588, where he acquired the manuscript of a fourteenth-century Turkish Danişmendname on the deeds of Melik Danişmand (131-32). For the research ُÂli did on the history and monarchs of Georgia during the short period of time he spent in that land in 1578-79, see Fleisher, 79-80. ُÂli’s study For an annotated translation of ُÂli’s study of the customs of the peoples of Cairo, see Tietze, 1975.
askariyya) also gave him access to the unofficial information network of the Empire. It is not uncommon, therefore, to find in ʿĀli’s writings comments that refute or amend the facts or interpretations of his sources. As the example of the list of the “Seven Masters” mentioned above illustrates, when writing on subjects that were not necessarily his specialty, ʿĀli did his research by collecting a variety of written materials and consulting with experts. But in the end, instead of blindly reproducing his sources, he felt free to disagree with them.
PART 2

2.1 The Text’s Historical Models

Č Ăli’s inquisitive mind and creativity made him the originator of several new literary genres, including works on reform, circumcision books, and the book of etiquette (exemplified by Counsel for Sultans, The Gathering of the Seas on the Scenes of the Celebration, and Table of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings, respectively). Based on the textual discoveries to date, we may consider Epic Deeds of Artists as another pioneering work in Ottoman literature. Unlike the works mentioned above, which were the first examples of what were to become specifically Ottoman genres, however, the Deeds was composed within the context of a tradition of biographical memoirs (tezkire), album prefaces, and technical manuals that preceded it by more than four decades.

The earliest examples of tezkires date to the Timurid period of the late fifteenth century. Among these were Ăbd al-Rahman Jami’s Nafaḥāt al-uns min ḥażarāt al-quds (Sweet Scents of Intimacy from the Presences of the Pure), a collection of notices of five hundred and sixty-seven saints commissioned by Mir Ăli Shir Nawa’i in 1476-77 and completed in 1478-79; Dawlatshāh Samarqandi’s Taẓkirat al-shu’arā’ (Biographies of Poets), completed in 1487 and dedicated to Mir Ăli Shir Nawa’i; and Khwandamir’s
Dastūr al-wuzarā’ (Formula of the Viziers), a compendium of biographies of viziers from the ʿUmayyad through the Timurid dynasties, dated to 1509-10.\footnote{Khwandāmīr, Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Dastūr al-wuzarā’}. Samarqandī’s compendium brought together the accounts of poets, who were also calligraphers, and it was followed by two works of similar content. These were Mir ʿAlī Shir Nawaʾī’s Majālis al-nafāʾīs (Assemblies of Rarities, begun in 896/1490-91), which was the first Turkic anthology of contemporary poets who wrote in Persian and Chaghatai Turkish; and Khwāndāmir’s historical work, Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān-t aḥwāl al-akhyār (Summary of Histories in Describing the Conditions of the Most Excellent, dated 906/1500),\footnote{Khwandāmīr, Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān-t aḥwāl al-akhyār. Edited by Jalāl Ḥumāʾī. 4 vols. (Tehran: Khāyām, 1333). Translated and edited by Wheeler M. Thackston, edited by Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay. (Cambridge, Mass.: Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures: Harvard University, 1994-94).} which included in an epilogue consisting of biographical notices of some of the artists at the court of Sultan Husayn Mirza. In a later work, Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār al-bashar (Beloved of Biographies in Relating the Tales of People), which covers the world history from the pre-Islamic period until 929-30/1523-24,\footnote{Khwandāmīr’s commentaries include information on the artists’ place of origin, family background, areas of expertise, and profession.} Khwāndāmir appended at the end of the section on Sultan Husayn Mirza’s reign, short notices of the time’s eminent figures, including calligraphers, painters, and illuminators.\footnote{For more on Khwandāmīr, see, Roxburgh, 26, 47, and 124.}

Two sixteenth-century works continued in the format first formulated by Khwandāmir: the abovementioned Prince Sam Mirza’s Tuḥfa-i Sāmī (Choice Gift of Sam [Mirza], dated 957/1550-51), a compendium of poets with a focus on the reign of Sultan Husayn Mirza; and Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlat’s Tārīkh-i rashīdī (dated 953/1546), a
history of the Moguls of Central Asia, again with a focus on the Herat court of Husayn Mirza. These two works were both original in that the brief notices of artists were now in narrative form rather than being mere enumerations of names. In addition, in Ḥaydar Dughlāt’s history, artists’ accounts were organized in groups where calligraphy and painting were treated not as auxiliary skills that most poets and the learned acquired, but as professions in their own right.

A second genre that forms the tradition of art-historical writing out of which the Deeds was born was album prefices. As David Roxburgh discusses in detail, two prefices, those by Murvarid and Khwandāmīr/Amini, provide evidence for the genre’s beginnings in the final years of the Timurid dynasty. The majority of prefices, however, come down to us from the first century of the Safavid rule. Among these are Shahquli Khalifa’s preface to the Shah Tahmasp album; Dost Muhammad’s well-known preface to the Bahram Mirza album; Mālik of Daylam’s preface to the Amir Husayn Beg album; and Qutb al-Dīn Muhammad’s preface, which was later signed by Mir Sayyid Ahmad for the Amir Ghayb album, and which was acquired by ʿĀlī in Baghdad.

In addition to album prefices, there was a critical mass of technical manuals, the earliest examples of which dated back to the tenth and eleventh centuries, which served as models for the Deeds. These include the treatises by Ibn Muqla (d. 328/939-40), the creator of the Six Styles, and his successor ʿĀlī ibn Hilāl (Ibn Bawwab (d. 413/1022-23

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161 Roxburgh, 47.  
162 Roxburgh, 10, 46-51.  
163 For annotated translations of these texts, see Thackston, 2001.  
164 For Qutb al-Dīn treatise, see n. 78 above. For an annotated translation of Sayyid Ahmad’s version, see Thackston, 2001, 24-30.
or 423/1032-33), which served as the model for later Persian texts, and contained sections on inventors and masters of the Six Scripts. Among the later technical manuals were Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad’s Șirāṭ al-suṭūr (Way of Lines of Writing, 1514), Mahmud b. Muhammad’s Qawānīn al-ḥuṭūṭ (Canons of Scripts, c. 1561-62); ʿAlī of Herat’s Midād al-ḥuṭūṭ (The Model of Scripts, 1519-20); and Sadiqi Beg Afshar’s Qānūn al-šuwar (The Canons of Painting dated to a period between 1576 and 1602).

The practice of compiling biographic memoirs began in the Ottoman lands also in the sixteenth century. Sehi’s Heşt Bihiş (Eight Paradises, 945/1538-39), the first Ottoman anthology of poets, was followed by several others, such as ʿĀhdī Ahmad Çelebi’s Gūlṣen-i șuʿarā (Rose-garden of the Poets, 971/1563) and Qnalızade Hasan Çelebi’s Tezkiretül-šuʿarā (Biographical Dictionary of the Poets, 995/1586). Like Persian examples, these Ottoman texts also touched upon poets’ calligraphic skills where relevant.

A complete listing of literature, the highlights of which are given above, shows that by the end of the sixteenth century, there was a notable corpus of historical and biographical texts that circulated in the Safavid and Ottoman lands. In addition, a document dated Rebiyūlevvel 932/1525, which records the names and salaries of palace

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165 See Minorsky, 18.
166 For a translation of the text, which Qadi Ahmad inserted in his Rose-garden of Art, see Minorsky, 106-25.
167 The text gives a highly detailed narrative history of the Six Styles.
168 In the second chapter of his text, ʿĀli Haravī listed masters of the Six Scripts. The text was edited by Najīb Māyīl Haravī in Kitāb ārāʾî dar tamuddan-i islāmī (Mashhad: Astān-i Quds Ražavī, 1372/1993), 87-101.
170 See n. 16 above.
artists as well as their origins and titles, indicates that a royal workshop could have existed in the Ottoman capital perhaps as early as the late fifteenth century. If such was, in fact, the case, it is a mystery just why during a period of almost a century, between the late fifteenth century and Ğâli’s time, no Ottoman author known to us was inspired to compose a treatise on calligraphers and painters.

A thorough examination of the problem is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, two issues that are a key in defining the framework in which this investigation should be pursued deserve a mention here. The first issue is the use of oral traditions at the Ottoman court as the main source through which standards of artistic taste were transmitted. As the contents of art-historical treatises suggest, the sixteenth-century interest in written records of calligraphers and painters was centered on artists’ biographical profiles, and analyses of individual artistic styles and works remained largely the subject of verbal discussions. Given that circumstance, the absence of a treatise on Rumi artists that predate the Deeds has two implications. First, a courtly interest in written records of artists was catered to by texts of Persian origin, which seems appropriate for a court whose orientation in artistic and literary affairs was predominantly Persianate. Second, since Persian—or Arabic—treatises did not incorporate information on Rumi artists unless the artists practiced in those lands, until the composition of the Deeds in 1587, discussions on Rumi artists seem to have existed only in oral form. References in treatises to communication with masters and critics (such as Ğâli’s dialogs with Qutb al-Din Muhammad, Ğ Abdullah the First, and Ğ Abdullah of Crimea) make it

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172 The document is reproduced in Rıfkı Melul Meriç, Türk Nakiş Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları: Vesikalılar (Ankara 1953), 3-5.
clear that while at the Ottoman, as also at the Safavid court, biographical data on artists were generally obtained from previous written materials, access to critical perspectives on artists’ merits was acquired through a traditional network of oral sources.

The second issue that needs to be pondered has to do with the increase in the number of biographical treatises penned in Ottoman Turkish in the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries. An understanding of this increased concentration on art-historical writing calls for a study of the deteriorating economic situation of the period and its effects on artistic production. One observation that can be made here is that the shrinking financial sources of the Empire, which resulted in a decline in royal patronage of the arts, played a major role in the emergence of lesser, independent patrons and collectors. It was after this change took place in the art market, and the purchasing power and taste of new patrons began to shape the nature of artistic production, that fourteen new treatises made their appearance.173 In short, while in the sixteenth century oral communications sufficed to a great extent to equip royal patrons with the critical knowledge needed for assessment of art, in the following centuries, written records grew in number as a response to a new, diverse form of patronage.

According to ʿÂli, this change in the art market had already taken place by the late 1580s, and its effects were less than salutary, given that “ignorant,” and “corrupt” art

173 Devhâtü’l-Küttâb by Suyolcizâde Najib Efendi (see n. 11 above); Gûlzâr-ı Şavâb (Süleymaniye Küttâphanesi, Bağdati Vehbi Efendi 920/1234, Tezkireti’l-elagefîn (Süleymaniye Küttâphanesi, Aşı Efendi, 920/289), and Kitâb fi fedâi’l-elagef ve’l kitâbe (Süleymaniye Küttâphanesi, Hafif Efendi, 417/293) by İbrâhîm Nefesizâde: ʿElâ ve ʿElâfîn by Habîb (edited by Ebüzzîyâ Tevfîq Beg, Koşantiniyye: Matba’a-i Ebüzzîyâ, 1305); Mızâni’l-egra alâ vâz-ı üstûd-i selef by Kebecizâde Muştafa Hilmi Efendi (Fatih Millet Küttâphanesi, 1129); Tuğfe-i Küttâb ve minhatat’s-ühullâb by Ahmed b. Ḥâlid Qâdizâde (Süleymaniye Küttâphanesi, Aşı Efendi, 520/18); Tezkireti’l-elagefîn by Mufti Muhammad Sham’i Efendi; Mızâni’l-egra by Omer Efendi; Mi’rât-i ʿElâfîn by Sulayman Efendi (Beyazid Umumi Küttâphanesi and Millî Küttâphane F.K. 64); and Tuğfe-i ʿElâfîn (see n. 12 above), Sılsîle-i ʿElâfîn (See, Ark 1305 above), and Mecelletü’l-Nisâb (Yöntem mentions that he saw a copy of this text in the Halet Efendi Küttâphanesi) by Mustaqimzâda Sulayman.
collectors were in excess, and the market had become a playground for false artists. However, the quantity and quality of the art of the period indicate that the backbone of the artistic world was still royal patronage. In fact, the number of lavishly illustrated historical works that were produced between 1574 and 1595 under Sultan Murad’s patronage exceeded that of both the preceding and the succeeding periods.\textsuperscript{174}

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, it was again during this period that a royal edition of \textsuperscript{c}Âli’s \textit{Book of Victory} was ordered, and \textsuperscript{c}Âli himself was assigned to oversee the project. Despite his infuriated protests, therefore, we can argue that, at the end of the sixteenth century, Ottoman artistic world, at least as regards calligraphy and book illustration, was quite intact, and artistic production was thriving. At the same time, a closer look at the motivations that underlie \textsuperscript{c}Âli’s authorship, and an understanding of the perspective through which he viewed the artistic world reveal that his criticism was far from being groundless.

\textbf{2.2 Motivations Underlying \textsuperscript{c}Âli’s Authorship} 

At the time he composed the \textit{Deeds}, \textsuperscript{c}Âli was forty-four years old and had served three different sultans (Sulayman I, Salim II, and Murad III) at all three levels of the administrative system (\textit{qalamiyya, ilmiyya,} and \textit{askariyya}) in various provinces of the Empire from Bosnia to Erzurum. Consequently, he had much experience, expertise, and insight into a great variety of administrative, political, and sociocultural issues. As mentioned in chapter one, when he arrived in Baghdad in late 1585, only to see that he

\textsuperscript{174} For a list of these eighteen illustrated works, see Stchoukine, 172 (\textit{Manuscrits du règne de Murâd III}).
was already dismissed from his new post, ʿÂli was utterly frustrated and, in a letter that he wrote to the administration in Istanbul, he pleaded for permission to retire so that he could devote himself to pious contemplation. In the following months, while acting as the interim finance director of Baghdad, ʿÂli was engaged in intense religious activity; he visited the holy places in and around Baghdad and, despite his tight budget, even endowed a fountain at the sacred Shiʿite site of Kerbala.175

At the same time, as was characteristic of him, ʿÂli also mingled with the learned men in town. Notwithstanding his seeming loss of interest in worldly affairs, his ongoing contact with the intellectual world and his ever-increasing literary activities prove that he was still deeply committed to his cause, that is, to the reestablishment of the allegedly by-gone Ottoman ideals of justice, learning, and integrity in all aspects of life. This preoccupation with a decline in, and in some areas, even a total loss of, great Muslim-Ottoman traditions and values is especially visible in ʿÂli’s later-period works, such as the Counsel, the Delicacies, and the Essence. With its earnest and vigorous criticism of the contemporary artistic world, the Deeds also falls into this category of works in which ʿÂli takes it upon himself to fight the two major causes of a purported Ottoman decline: ignorance and corruption.

In the preface of the Deeds, after praising the reigning Sultan Murad and his patronage of art, ʿÂli proceeds with explaining his reason for writing the book as follows.

Accordingly, in this time, in the Exalted Capital City (pây-i taḥt-i ʿaliyye) [Istanbul], a single qitʿa of two verses by Mir ʿAli sold for one hundred florins, [which bargain was achieved] as the result of a thousand persistent pleads, and humble and painstaking [entreaties]. It was commonly known that many among the secretaries of the state and

175 For ʿÂli’s interest in Sufism and his tarikat (Sufi order) affiliations, see Fleischer, 23, 131-38, and 167.
those who fill the the auspicious diwan spent fortunes of forty to fifty thousand gold coins and, according to some, exceeding even that, to the degree of the wealth of Croesus,\(^{176}\) on a single album, and splurged similarly on its arrangement and gilding. It was clear, therefore, that it would be prudent to adequately investigate and examine the identities of [these] scribes of good penmanship, cutters, gilders, decoral-painters, and portraitists, their origins, the masters under whom they excelled, and the padishahs with whose favors they attained those [exalted] ranks, if the qit’as, calligraphic works, paintings and illuminations acquired [by these persons] are to be appreciated.\(^{177}\)

In this introductory note, in addition to identifying his target audience as private collectors of art, \(^{c}\)Âli also makes a remarkable statement: he communicates to his readers that, for him, writing a history of art and compiling biographies of artists were not ends in themselves, but rather tools to guide and educate consumers so that they would appreciate the works of art for which they paid enormous amounts. This new approach to art-historical writing, that is, a discussion of monetary issues on the same platform with issues related to art’s meaning and value, is found in no previous work on calligraphy and painting, and it is a phenomenon that is explicable in terms of the unique perspective through which \(^{c}\)Âli came to view the artistic world.

Unlike the authors of most art-historical treatises, \(^{c}\)Âli was not a practicing artist; the majority of the posts he held were secretarial jobs and posts that had to do with the control of finances, such as registrar of timars,\(^{178}\) and finance director. Mustaqimzada Sulayman, who included a short account of \(^{c}\)Âli in his compendium of calligraphers,\(^{179}\) notes that the latter studied thuluth and naskh hands\(^{180}\) under Shukrullahzada Pir

\(^{176}\) Last king of Lydia (r. ca. 560-46 BCE) known for his legendary wealth; see Encyclopaedia Iranica; vol. 6, 401.
\(^{177}\) The Deeds, 11b.
\(^{178}\) See n. 42 above.
\(^{179}\) Mustaqimzada, 521.
\(^{180}\) For calligraphic styles, see chapters two, three, and four of the translation as well as the Glossary.
Muhammad Dede.\textsuperscript{181} Even though Mustaqimzada does not mention at what point in his life ْĀlī studied calligraphy, we do know that a trained hand was one of the qualities that men of the pen like ْĀlī had to acquire in order to attain chancellery posts. Since his very first appointment at the Court of Prince Salim was a secretarial job, we can postulate that training in calligraphy probably comprised part of ْĀlī’s advanced studies as a student. Whatever the case may be, even though he was an indirect student of the eminent Shaykh Hamdullah through the son of the latter’s daughter, and despite his interest in chancellor’s posts, ْĀlī was never interested in pursuing calligraphy as an art form at professional level; he was first and foremost a writer, a historian, and a poet.\textsuperscript{182}

\textsuperscript{181} Pir Muhammad Dede (d. 986/1580) was the son of Shaykh Hamdullah’s daughter, whose name is unknown. Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 926/1520), the most eminent Turkish calligrapher, was the leader of the school known as the Seven Masters of Rum (see below, conclusion) as well as instructor of calligraphy to Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512). His son-in-law Shukrullah Halife of Amasya (father of Pir Muhammad Dede), his son Mustafa Dede and the latter’s son Dervish Muhammad (d. 888/1483) were also distinguished calligraphers. See, Mustaqimzada, 226; Rado, 62 and 80.

\textsuperscript{182} In her Calligraphy and Islamic Culture (New York and London: New York University Press, 1984) 73, Annemarie Schimmel inaccurately describes ْĀlī as a “rather frustrated calligrapher.” She states that ْĀlī “apparently devoted every spare moment of his busy life in the various corners of the Ottoman Empire to calligraphy.” An incident between ْĀlī and Sokollu Muhammad Pasha in one of the many dark moments of ْĀlī’s career is worth mentioning here since it not only refutes Schimmel’s account of ْĀlī’s professional activities but also shows the clear distinction ْĀlī made between his career as a historian and that of a calligrapher. The incident happened when ْĀlī presented his Haft Majlis (Seven Scenes, completed in 977/1570) to vizier Sokollu Muhammad Pasha. One of his major historical works, the Scenes dealt with the events of Sultan Sulayman’s Szigetvar campaign of 1566, and, not surprisingly, concluded with a report of the hardships ْĀlī endured during a period of forced unemployment in Istanbul. In dedicating the work to Sokollu, ْĀlī’s hope was to attain an assignment. However, as ْĀlī too was well aware, Sokollu was not his ally, and when he finally responded to ْĀlī’s pleas, he did so by sending ْĀlī away from the capital, to Dalmatia. In the Counsel (II: 73-74), ْĀlī recounts the event in detail and mentions how Shaykh Nur al-Din Muslih al-Din, his then pîr (spiritual master) and protector, intervened and asserted to Sokollu that by “frightening away to foreign lands the phoenix of ْĀlī’s ardor” he had done a “manifest injustice to the beloved of learned men, [who was] equipped with so much knowledge and learning, and [whose] truth-speaking poetry and prose is in everybody’s mouth.” Sokollu’s response to the sheikh was most unexpected and insulting for a man of ْĀlī’s caliber: “I thought that he had presented to me his own calligraphy, that he had copied someone else’s work and had brought it to me as a means of attaining his wish.” ْĀlī’s agony upon hearing this is best expressed in his own words:

\begin{quote}
How should a learned man not die with grief?
For months and years he has devoted himself to formulate wisdom,
To compose a fine book in elegant style for a minister,
[But the minister] thinks that fine work is someone else’s and only the writing
Alī’s encounter with the world of the painters, on the other hand, was the result of a lucky incident. As mentioned in part one, under the patronage of Murad III, the illustration of historical works had become quite popular, and as part of his efforts to attract royal attention and patronage, and keeping current with the fashion, Alī had two of his own works (the Book of Victory and the Counsel) illustrated. For some unknown reason, illuminations he had intended for a third one (the Gatherer) remained unexecuted. Of these, the Book of Victory provided Alī a unique opportunity; impressed with the original manuscript, which included five illuminations by local artists paid by Alī himself, Murad ordered the preparation of a royal edition, and appointed Alī the supervisor of the project. The task occupied Alī nearly a year, until Receb 992/mid-July 1584, and during this time, while artists under his supervision were working on the lavish illustrations of his book, some of which included his own portrait, Alī learned the ins and outs of the royal atelier.

Alī’s notes from this period are found in three of his works: the Counsel, the Deeds, and the Delicacies. In their pertinent sections, all three books contain Alī’s critique of what he observed in the palace workshop: a widespread misuse of the government’s financial resources. This exploitation, Alī claims in the Counsel, had permeated almost all of the administrative centers of the Empire. It was caused by a

his skill!
He ascribes the contents to someone else
So that the work itself remains contentless.
When his very existence is treated that ungenerously,
How can the yearned for youth (i.e., the reward) then find approval?
(Translation by Tietze).

183 Today in the British Museum.
184 This extravagant royal edition (Topkapı Sarayı, Hz. 1365) was kept in the palace treasury. It contains forty-one illustrations, some of which are double pages. See Ivan Stchoukine, La Peinture Turque d’après le manuscrits illustrés Ire partie (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1966), 75.
common moral decline in the society, and its outcome was a fast-shrinking public
treasury. In Ėli’s mind, two groups were responsible for this situation: the viziers and
other members of the Imperial Council; and the government officials, that is, secretaries
and tax collectors, who, incidentally, comprised the main segment of the newly emerging
group of private collectors and patrons of art.

When such was the case in the lands of Rum, the duty of a man of wisdom like
himself, Ėli believed, was to alert the Sultan to the situation. To this end, Ėli’s earlier
promise in the preface to write a book for the enlightenment of the collectors suddenly
segues in chapter three into a fiery denunciation of the perceived ignorance, decadence,
and profligacy of these persons. In a section entitled “Advice,” Ėli criticizes the
government officials, whom he collectively calls “scribes,” in this vociferous tone:

Reproaches! A hundred reproaches for those uninitiated fools and wealthy ones, and for
those among the well-to-do who are carried away with a craze for [collecting]
calligraphic works and qit’as! Most of them are dissipated pen-holders, that is, lazy
penmen who prove true the adage “All scribes are ignorant,”185 ill natured, ignorant
persons who are most likely to be appointed to the offices of treasurer or tax collector.
Though it is certain that among that group [there are] learned and talented ones as well,
the fool, the imperceptive, and the inept are many and in the majority.186

In the following paragraph, Ėli claims that in addition to being lazy and ignorant,
these officials were also guilty of bribery.

Doubtless, if what the indolent officials spend on embellishing their qita’s [i.e., single
sheet specimens] and on partly gilt, partly colored decoration [of their] albums comes
from bribery [collected] through treacherous deeds, like the sort of wealth and

185 Ėli used this Arabic adage in his later works (twice in the Delicacies and once in the Essence) when he
wrote about the tezikreces (chief secretaries of the viziers and higher dignitaries) and men of the pen in
general. See the Delicacies, 83, 156, 157 and the Essence 1:43.
186 The Deeds, 53b-54a.
possessions they acquire by way of corrupt bribery, which, unquestionably, is an expenditure from the public treasury (beytü'l-māl) and the exclusive treasury of the Sultan of the sultans, then it is true that they confirm the beautiful saying, “May God curse those who bribe and those who accept a bribe!”\(^{187}\)

The irritation that the government officials as collectors cause Ėlî by their mishandling of the Empire’s resources is aggravated by their exploitation of the artists. In the passage below, where he gives the account of Ė Abd al-Karim Padishah, Ėlî tells us how, having attained expertise and fame, the calligrapher did not deign to write specimens anymore, but that greedy collectors succeeded in their attempts to manipulate him so as to have possession of his works.

At still other times, throwing off the cape (kirīban) of contentment, [Ẹ Abd al-Karim Padishah] neither deigned to write [nor] submitted to being a slave of people. At last, he started to produce two-layered and polished papers, fine pen-sharpeners, and reed pens. And people began to say, “You are a padishah! Your treasury must include splendid qīṭas! Surely you must write!” Thus manipulating him, people gained possession of his calligraphic works and succeeded in laying hold of and collecting the qīṭas that he wrote.\(^{188}\)

Finally, Master Waliyan, one of the artists whom Ėlî had probably met in Baghdad, was a young, talented artist who, Ėlî comments, fell prey to collectors’ avarice at an early stage of his career. Ėlî writes the following of him.

Truly, his work is marked by finesse, just as his wonder-working reed pen, like the reed pens of the masters of the past, is marked by precision and grace. However, his youthfulness and the praises of the fools who inhabit the house of stupidity, as well as [the praises of people who proclaim] his oeuvre as absolute confirmation [of the saying], “This is a marvel!”\(^{189}\) have devastated the black core of his heart with the darkness of

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\(^{187}\) The Deeds, 54a.
\(^{188}\) The Deeds, 67b.
\(^{189}\) Qur’an, 38:5.
vanity. And it is known to the young and old that [manipulated in this way], his pride became a great obstacle for him in the learning [of that] art.¹⁹⁰

If collectors were guilty of ignorance and corruption, they were not the only group whose perfidious deeds ʻAlī tried to expose in his book. In a section entitled the “Anecdote,” ʻAlī tells us how painters and dealers took advantage of the collectors’ ignorance by selling to them at inflated prices “whatever [artworks or sketches] they had in their pockets.” In fact, the buyers’ uninformed desire to collect art was such that the market provided room even for false artists. With their “distorted nature,” ʻAlī argues, these people produced forgeries of first-rate calligraphic specimens by creating mix-and-match albums and destroyed not only the form but also the meaning of what once was art.¹⁹¹

ʻAlī’s critique of artists as a professional group is limited in the Deeds to the discussion above,¹⁹² for, his main focus in this book is on the collectors. But in the Counsel and the Delicacies more is found on the palace artists. In these two works, in connection with his larger agenda to reveal for the Sultan (in the case of the latter book, Murad’s son, Muhammad III) the reasons for the Empire’s purported decline, ʻAlī provides a detailed account of the burden that he believed the palace artists imposed on the economy. In the Counsel, under a section called, “On the matters necessary for kings,” ʻAlī gives a list of eighteen reforms, or “requirements,” for the restoration of the state. The fourteenth requirement is “to protect the public treasury (beytū’l-māl-i mūṣlimīn) from waste, to protect the treasures and other things from being squandered for

¹⁹⁰ The Deeds, 78a.
¹⁹¹ The Deeds, 54b.
¹⁹² His critique of the artists’ personality and morals will be discussed below.
all kinds of unnecessary things.”¹⁹³ Saying that a sovereign whose expenses surpass his revenues would resemble a bankrupt merchant, ⁶ Ali offers the Sultan practical advice as to how to minimize the expenditures of the royal palaces.

The major unnecessary expense incurred by these palaces, which, ⁶ Ali reminds the Sultan, he visits only very rarely, is the salaries paid to the guards, gardeners, and cooks, who were kept full-time on the unoccupied premises. Another group attached to the palace and in receipt of regular salaries were the artists. Under the subheading “curious matter of the salaries of the pompous ilk known as court artisans (ehl-i ʰɪɾeʃ),” based on his observations at the palace atelier, ⁶ Ali argues that the number of the artists at the royal workshop (sixty or seventy gold beaters and about two hundred decorators and painters)¹⁹⁴ exceed by more than ten times what is actually needed “for the fulfillment of laudable services.” As a result, artists’ salaries amounted to a huge number, which, according to ⁶ Ali, was nothing but a waste of the treasury. More exasperating was the fact that at the time of a military campaign, these artists, “like contemptible donkeys,” were exempt from service, and if they were ordered to join the army, they would demand extra pay.

There was more to the despicable behavior of these “parasites.”¹⁹⁵ In particular, ⁶ Ali points to the outrageous fees that they charged for the illumination project of his Book of Victory. “One scribe,” ⁶ Ali notes, “copied [the book] in about one year’s

¹⁹³ Counsel, I: 60.
¹⁹⁴ The archival documents published by Rıfkı Melul Meriç suggest that ⁶ Ali’s numbers are slightly off, and that the total number of the registered master painters and apprentices does not exceed sixty-two for each category. Later in the Delicacies (57), ⁶ Ali exaggerates the number of that “vile and depraved class” and notes that, “Whereas in earlier times they numbered not two hundred in total, they have since frown to several thousand.”
¹⁹⁵ The Delicacies, 58.
According to him, this was a deliberate hold back on the part of the scribe, who prolonged the project in order to insure continuation of his daily pay. Furthermore, the additional fee that the calligrapher was paid for his work on the project in addition to his daily pay had “exceeded the value of his work.” Even more avaricious were the three goldbeaters, who, in addition to their salaries totaling twenty thousand aspers a year, made extra income by selling gold foil that was the property of the atelier.\textsuperscript{197} Finally, about twenty painters, decorators, and gilders, whose total yearly salary exceeded fifty thousand aspers, were also paid an additional fifty thousand aspers for the project.

It appears from these criticisms that the resources of the royal workshop were being used without any control, so much so that, \textsuperscript{198} \^\textsuperscript{Ah}li claims, the Keepers of the Imperial Treasury had become “laughingstocks.”\textsuperscript{198} For \textsuperscript{Ah}li, squandering money on “such a worthless and…condemnable breed of scoundrels,” even if it was for his own book, was not only unacceptable but also against the rules of financial administration. Such extravagance, he argues, was not witnessed in earlier times when “in the course of a year [artists] were asked to decorate a cane or a few small plates, and a bow and they were rewarded with a few gold coins.”\textsuperscript{199} \textsuperscript{Ah}li’s comment about the scantiness of the artistic

\textsuperscript{196} Ms. Hz 1365 is signed by Mu\textsuperscript{a}fa ibn \textsuperscript{Ah}d al-jalil.
\textsuperscript{197} \textsuperscript{Ah}li sees the issue of wasted gold as one of the major causes of the deficit in the budget. In chapter three of the \textit{Counsel} (II: 41), as he delineates on the uses of gold thread in the palace, he writes the following.

Its existence causes infinite waste. Other goods and merchandise and [the materials called] \textit{ser\textsuperscript{a}ser} (brocade), \textit{zerb\textsuperscript{a}ft} (brocade), and \textit{dib\textsuperscript{a}} (brocade), the wrap and weft of which are made of spun gold and whose patterns are woven with gold and silver wires, are burned when they have become old…Somehow they do not completely turn into air. However, the gold that has been used for gold thread vanishes without a trace like the zephyr. While the gold used in other materials in the end falls to the share of its owner with a certain gain, the ornaments made of gold thread are not seen to yield [even] a slight benefit. They are therefore a superfluous and harmful expense among the invincible army.

\textsuperscript{198} The \textit{Delicacies}, 58.
\textsuperscript{199} \textit{Counsel}, I: 61.
activities in the preceding periods is, of course, hyperbolic. However, his observation about the wealth of manpower and financial resources that Murad happily expended on the illumination of historical works was quite in place.

Such was the scandalous situation at the royal workshop as ʿĀli observed it, and immediate reforms were necessary. ʿĀli’s recommendations to the Sultan were quite practical: a dramatic cutback on the number of the salaried artists; a rearrangement of salaries so that artists’ pay would not exceed ten aspers per day; and transfer of those with a high salary and those who surpass the required number of staff, to the cavalry troops. With this latter practice, ʿĀli states, “neither would anybody suffer a real injustice, nor the public treasury incur a clear loss.” Still, he warns the Sultan, he should be aware that such transfers would be “doing the artists a big favor,” for, “those craftsmen, that blamable ilk, those ignoble and inauspicious sinners” were “unworthy of the service with the sword” and were “in no way whatsoever capable of the service with the pen.” In either capacity, they would continue stealing from the treasury by charging under the title of “expenses” double the value and fee of their work. Therefore, ʿĀli concludes, “to grant them patronage and protection is an act of felony that violets the interests of Faith and State.”

This is one of ʿĀli’s famous moments when he startles the reader with his astonishing courage, charging anyone, including the Sultan, who, he believed, had

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200 *Counsel*, I: 62. About ten years later, in the *Delicacies*, ʿĀli returns to the subject, and condemns the artists, more specifically, miniature painters whom he calls “a bunch of disgraceful, ill-fortuned wretches,” for their various reprehensible behaviors, such as “turning the matters on their head,” “inhabiting the corners of coffee houses and wine taverns,” and “disliking each other heartily.” With increased frustration for not having seen any changes in the regulations regarding the artists’ pays over the past decade, this time ʿĀli demands that, “[the artists’] revenues should immediately be cut off and they themselves killed!”

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violated the shari’a or the kanun. Such accusations are quite common in ʿĀli’s later-period works that reflect his increased frustration with his lack of patronage and unattained promotion. In them, with confidence that comes from his thorough knowledge of the Ottoman laws and regulations, ʿĀli dares to lecture the ruler on the administration of the state, and, not surprisingly, on the issue of patronage. An excerpt from a poem in the Counsel will suffice here to capture ʿĀli’s thoughts about the Sultan’s duties as both the leader and protector of his country’s men of learning.

The duty of the king is justice,
Fairness in dealing out the lots.
If ranks and position are not given to qualified men,
The army disperses like the smoke of a [burning] sigh.
When the statesmen refrain from taking bribes,
The educated will find access to the [high] jobs.

Among the educated whose access to high ranks had long been delayed was, of course, ʿĀli himself. With this conviction, in countless books and petitions, while alerting the Sultan to the adversities that were allegedly ruining his domain, as part of the solution, ʿĀli offered the ruler his services. Even though when he arrived in Baghdad he had written to the administration that he wished for retirement, it is clear from the messages he sent via the Deeds that he worked relentlessly to bring himself to the attention of the influential people, if not the Sultan himself, in Istanbul.

With this motive, ʿĀli inserts into the Deeds, commendatory references to his authorship. His first mention of himself is found at the end of the introductory paragraph

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201 Islamic jurisprudence based on the Qur’an.
202 Dynastic law issued by Ottoman sultans based on their right of ‘ürf (custom), as opposed to laws based on the shari’a.
203 Counsel, I: 18-19.
quoted earlier, where he explains his reason for the composition of the book. Following his words about the collectors’ need to learn about the lives and works of artists before they can appreciate the artworks in their possession, ʿAlī recounts how his friends, that is, the artists and poets he met in Baghdad, encouraged him to compose a book on the subject. He writes:

Moreover, some close friends and critical brothers looked forward to the results of [a study on] this matter. Astonished, they asked [me], “Since you have [produced] works [totaling] nearly twenty volumes and since you have many ideas that developed into various world-renowned texts, why don’t you compose a book on this subject?”

In this account, two creative efforts for self-promotion are apparent. First, the merits of ʿAlī’s scholarship are endorsed by the respectable men of Baghdad, reinforcing the accuracy and implications of the case; second, these artists’ and poets’ praises of ʿAlī’s works are juxtaposed with his preceding statement about the collectors, creating an unmistakable contrast between his erudition and the other party’s ignorance.

Such contrasts, by way of which ʿAlī hoped to communicate his superior merits to potential patrons, are found in several passages throughout the text. In a paragraph from the “Anecdote,” for instance, ʿAlī points out what the “ignorant scribes” lacked, namely, good morals, love of knowledge, and expertise—merits, he announced at every opportunity, that he himself proudly possessed.

Among penmen [there are] some depraved [ones] whose corrupt nature (sevād-i vech) came out into the open, the sons of so and so who are utterly deprived of talents having to do with book keeping and writing, devoid, like a blank page, of the blackness [i.e., ink] of

\[\text{204 The Deeds, 12a.}\]
the science of accounting ("ilm-i hesāb), and ready, like court artisans (ehl-i hiref), to
deviate from the “embarrassment” of reading a [single] word.205

These attacks on government officials also show ĖÂli’s frustration with the
nepotistic appointment practices that infiltrated the Ottoman administrative system at the
time. Because of favoritism, those whom he believed did not even know how to hold a
pen, inhabited the offices of chancellors and tax collectors, while he, the learned and able
servant of the Sultan, was being deprived of the honors and rewards to which he was
entitled.206 Murad’s mentor, Khwaja Sa‘d al-Din, a noted scholar and an influential
politician of the time, was himself a man of the pen, who, ĖÂli hoped, could understand
and right the injustices from which he had suffered. ĖÂli had been acquainted with the
khwaja for a long time before his composition of the Deeds, and the two were on
amicable terms. Given Sa‘d al-Din’s close relationships with the Sultan, in his search for
a patron and a high-ranking post, ĖÂli thought it would be a right move to dedicate his
book to the khwaja.

ĖÂli’s dedication of the book to Sa‘d al-Din begins with a long tribute. A colorful
celebration of the khwaja’s personal and professional merits, the lauding is also a proud
display of ĖÂli’s literary prowess and his mastery of the insha style. Praises to Sa‘d
al-Din, who is addressed as “the illustrious among the most illustrious of patrons” and
“the helper of the leaders of the masses,” are followed by a statement of ĖÂli’s
expectations from him: that the khwaja hold the author in high esteem and “look upon
him favorably.”

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205 The Deeds, 54a-b.
206 For the letters and messages ĖÂli sent to the Porte as well as to Khwaja Sa‘d al-Din protesting the
appointment as chancellor of the “ignorant” Hamza Chalabi instead of himself, see Fleischer 91-92.
The ornate dedication in the preface is the only occasion in the text where ۶ری addresses Khwaja ۶ری’d al-Din directly. However, as he proceeds in writing his historical and biographical accounts, the theme of patronage remains a recurrent element. In integrating this theme to the fabric of the text, in addition to the conventional method of praising the ruling Sultan and the person whose patronage is being sought, ۶ری skillfully uses a variety of other approaches. The first of these is to add occasional, brief commentaries at the end of his accounts of various artists. In these notes, by way of allusions to the celebrated patrons and their protégés of old times, ۶ری tries to emphasize the importance of such patronage for the progress of nations. In his account of Yaqut Musta‘sim bi’llah, for instance, he mentions how the protection and encouragement of Caliph al-Musta‘sim made it possible for the great calligrapher to thrive in his art, and adds the following remark.

Let it not be hidden that, [among] artists and men of refinement, the pursuit of skill in their arts, the concentrated striving to increase their capabilities, the gradual emergence of perfected talent, and the serious expenditure of fruitful time and full commitment to hard work is facilitated through either the favor of rulers of abundant munificence or the infinite encouragement of exalted viziers.²⁰⁷

With this final note, and with his reference to al-Musta‘sim, the great ۶ری Abbasid caliph of the thirteenth century, ۶ری hopes to communicate to Khwaja ۶ری’d al-Din that his patronage is needed for the continuation of ۶ری’s commitment to hard work. Furthermore, in a subtler way, as he likens the khwaja, in his power and compassion, to the renowned Caliph, ۶ری also implies a resemblance between his own merits and those of Yaqut. That is, just as he had previously separated himself from the “ignoble ilk” of

²⁰⁷ The Deeds, 45b-46a.
scribes in order to accentuate his erudition, here, he hopes to achieve the same affect by identifying himself with a world-renowned master.

In another example, Ėlī recounts an anecdote about the Safavid ruler Shah Isma‘il. According to the story, before his departure for the battle of Chaldiran (1514) against the Ottoman Sultan Salim, fearing for the lives of the respected calligrapher Shah Mahmud Nijad and the famous painter Bihzad, the Shah hid them in a cave in order to protect them from the “God-empowered hands of Sultan Salim.” Upon his return, “crushed and defeated,” the Shah first went back to the place where he had lodged the two artists, and “was filled with gratitude to the Lord of Power from the depths of [his] heart.” The moral of the story that Ėlī enunciates for the reader is as follows.

Now, from this it should be understood what a beloved person Shah Mahmud was, since a padishah deemed his protection and defense to be above that of his land and riches. In truth, it is crucial and incumbent upon persons of sound thinking and crowned princes that with this precious anecdote [and] by direct analogy they realize just how essential it is to protect and defend men of knowledge.

The message Ėlī conveys with this anecdote is one directed more to Sultan Murad than to Khwaja Sa‘d al-Din. The rival Safavid Shah, who was defeated by Murad’s great-grandfather, was well aware of his duties and went out of his way to protect the artists whom he valued greatly. Murad, on the contrary, was closing his eyes to the injustice his viziers have been inflicting on Ėlī, a man, as the passage implies, who was comparable in his deeds to a Bihzad or a Shah Mahmud.

A second approach that Ėlī employs to integrate the issue of patronage into the historical and biographical context of the text is his frequent references to the idealized Timurid court and to the legendary Timurid patronage of the arts and sciences. When
writing about the celebrated ʿAbdullah Sayrafi, for example, ʿĀli mentions that he had a scribal post as calligrapher “during the prosperous time of the forgiven Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 873-911/1469-1506). Master Bihzad again appears as a personage, who, despite his talent and excellent training, ʿĀli states, could not have achieved the recognition, popularity, and excellence that he had if it were not for “his special connection to the lofty favors of [Husayn Bayqara and Shah Ismaʿil].” On another occasion, ʿĀli states that when Bayqara ascended the throne, he brought “nourishment to the skilled and the virtuous,” and he was “the munificent benefactor of authors of the insha style and poets.” Furthermore, he had “graciously allowed the men of genius (erbāb-1 ṭabʿ) and companions of excellent virtues of that epoch to become used to his sublime benevolence and exalted gifts.” The great power behind Bayqara’s achievements was the venerated grand vizier ʿAli Shir Nawaʿī, “the just and learned man of perfection,” who exerted great efforts for the enlightenment of his people.

Baysunghur was another exemplar Timurid prince. A patron of poets and artists, he is remembered in the Deeds for his consummate benevolence and for having bestowed “highest ranks and offices upon men of perfection.” Finally, ʿĀli praises Shahrukh (r. 807-850/1404-47) for “his soundness in the art of poetry, in calligraphy, and in skills pertaining to the laws of fiscal registers (qānūn-i defter)” as well as “his pure and noble care for his subjects.”

It was, in short, not possible for any talented man or a man of learning, be it Bihzad or Sayrafi, to thrive in his profession and mark his name on the pages of time without the encouragement and help of a patron. In this connection, references to the specific qualities of the Timurid princes and viziers, such as their righteousness,
munificence, interest in arts and sciences, and competence in finance, were all too obvious to miss for someone who was familiar with ʿAlī’s agenda. The assiduous patronage of the Timurid rulers in particular, and the idealized traditions of the Persianate world in general, were meant to establish models for the Ottoman court.

Today, the age of Murad III is generally regarded as having been a period of exceptional creativity in the sciences, humanities, and the arts. In fact, as noted earlier, in the preface of the Deeds, ʿAlī too admits to Murad’s stupendous patronage saying that in his time “men of the sciences and arts…and all of the talented masses… are held in full esteem.” Murad, like his father Salim II before him, was not a greatly cultivated man, and his patronage was more perfunctory than for the sake of learning. Nevertheless, the resources were there for those in need, and ʿAlī’s predicament was that even in this period of generosity, at the age of forty-four, he was still unable to bridge the gap between his dreams and realities. His belief was that the venomous courtiers in Istanbul were slandering him and blocking his road to promotion. The secluded Sultan, “alone with his person, like the pearl in the ocean,” had lost control of his government to his viziers and advisers, and ʿAlī, a man who could be Murad’s ʿAlī Shir Nawaʾī, a man of

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208 In his discussion of the ways in which sultans’ cultural orientation affected their personal taste, thus their stance as patrons, Fleisher (268) points to the change in the cultural outlook of the ruling elite of the Ottoman Empire. Where Muhammad II, the Conqueror had books copied for him in a variety of languages and Salim I wrote poetry in Persian, Fleisher notes, Murad III preferred to read Arabic books translated in Ottoman Turkish and was interested in works on popular esoterism (For a sex manual Murad while he was still a Prince commissioned ʿAlī for his son Prince Muhammad, see Fleisher 55). Like his father, Muhammad III was not fond of literary works in insha style.

209 ʿAlī’s request for appointment as Murad’s counselor and court poet is found at the end of his Cāmīʿīʿīʾl-kemālāt (Gatherer of Perfections), a text on popular esotericism. For more on this text, see Fleisher, 112.
Jalal al-Din Rumi’s caliber, a “nightingale amongst the crows,” was left in the “wastes of Baghdad.”

Such was the inequitable Ottoman world in which ʿÃli penned the Deeds. As he experienced it during his old age, the economic, political, and social changes that the Empire was going through had an unsavory flavor, but he was never inhibited in his protests. He was not the only person in his circle who was adversely affected by the changes and problems in the lands of Rum, but he certainly was the most outspoken. Sometimes, his criticism was overstated, and at other times (when, for instance, he demanded that all palace artists be killed) he was impetuous and intended to shock his reader. That such was the case is, of course, our good fortune, for had he not reacted to the changing artistic, economic, and moral values of the market, it was going to be another sixty years before an Ottoman author spoke out.

ʿÃli’s experience at all three levels of the administrative system allowed him to see each component of the Ottoman world as part of a whole. For him, from law and economy to etiquette and art, every aspect of life was interrelated. Thus, his literary output expanded to include a great variety of issues, from administrative problems to the inappropriateness of one’s eating food with onion and garlic before joining a public gathering. The perspective from which he saw the artistic world was likewise all-

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210 The verse in which ʿÃli makes this resemblance (Divân, Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye 107, 52b) reads, “Eger bu devrden evvel cihāna gelse idīm / Yā Ḥusrev olur idīm ben yā ḥaẓret-i Monlā,” see İsen, 1988, 30.
211 Divan, İstanbul Universitesi Türkçe 768, 86a. For more on this poem, see Fleischer 31, note 51.
212 For an excerpt from ʿÃli’s letter of protest addressed to the governor-general of Rumeli, Doğancı Muhammad Pasha, see Fleischer, 118.
213 In his Lâyihā’ul-hakîk (135a-137b), for instance, ʿÃli speaks on behalf of a group of poets and asks the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha why in his time distinguished poets such as ʿÃli himself, Bâki, Ehli, Mecdî, Hatemî, and Saʿî (all of whom were unemployed) are not honored.
214 See Gülcär-i şavāb above, note 10.
inclusive. It was one that deemed the monetary value that is attached to a calligraphic work as important as the grace of the calligrapher’s pen. ĖÂli’s main motivation in composing the *Deeds* was to enlighten the collectors and to inform the ruler from an insider’s perspective of what was really taking place in the artistic world under his very eyes. For his hard work, honesty, and loyalty, he hoped in return, recognition and an assignment, which he was to receive in the winter of 996/1588 when he was given the finance directorship of Sivas, only to be dismissed soon after.

### 2.3 The Text’s Language and Literary Style in Relation to ĖÂli’s Authorship

Despite the obvious significance of the work in the context of Ottoman and Middle Eastern art-historical writing, the language and literary style of the *Deeds* has been a continuing target of criticism. Many scholars who wanted to make use of the text as an art-historical source complained about its literary intricacies that revolved around amphibologous constructions, puns, and overly embellished rhetorical expressions, and denounced it claiming it to be verbose, hyperbolic, pretentious, and cliché. According to these scholars, these alleged characteristics obscured the text’s art-historical content and limited its utility. For that reason, the *Deeds* was deemed less valuable than later

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215 ĖÂli’s harshest critique is his biographer Nihal Atsız, who criticizes ĖÂli’s self-confidence in his literary and linguistic talents as mere arrogance and accuses ĖÂli of being “pompous” (*küstah*) and “greedy” (*açgözli*). In his critique of ĖÂli’s character Atsız is even harsher. He describes ĖÂli as an “ignorant” (*cahil*), “immoral” (*edepsiz, ahlâksız*), and “proud” (*gürurlu*) “beggar” who “disgusted” the people around him. See, Atsız, 8-10.
works of similar content (such as Mustaqimzada’s Tuḥfe-ī ḥattāfīn) composed in a plain language that did not defy the art historian’s main area of expertise.\footnote{In the introduction to The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries (The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 5. London and Oxford: The Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1996), Nabil F. Safwat resembles Mustaqimzada to Vasari but makes no mention of ĖAli. He writes, “Müstakim-zade writes with simple, unpretentious scholarship, free from jargon, and with remarkable clarity; the sympathetic manner in which he integrates anecdotes, poems and biographical detail into a comprehensive history of Islamic calligraphy makes him an Ottoman Vasari, as it were.”}

From a purely linguistic point of view, the argument of scholars that the Deeds does not fall into the category of “reader-friendly texts” is certainly valid. However, in assessing the value of the text, as anyone who glances over ĖAli’s works would immediately notice, such an argument is also irrelevant. As a master of the insha style with proficiency in four languages (Chaghatai Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish), one of ĖAli’s great concerns was to make Ottoman Turkish a literary language, and fusing historical and biographical writing with literary practices was a component of the formula he devised to achieve this goal. A true appreciation of the Deeds requires, therefore, a perception of ĖAli’s larger literary objectives as well as an understanding of the text as part of his lifetime efforts to elevate Ottoman Turkish to the level of the mature Persian literary traditions that prevailed at the Ottoman court.

In order to lay out the grounds for a theoretical framework that would free the Deeds from the narrow confines of unjust criticisms such as those mentioned above, some of the literary characteristics of the text and the ways in which they relate to its content are highlighted below. While illustrating how literary creativity came into play in ĖAli’s historical-biographical writing, these characteristics will also exemplify the multifarious aspects of his authorship.
Until recently, critical studies of biographical memoirs (tezkires) often focused on their imitative quality, which are described as an unfavorable characteristic intrinsic to Islamic literary tradition. With such overarching labels, these modern studies not only discarded the role that the past played in the creation of new genres within this tradition, but also failed to detect the unique aspects of each individual work. Furthermore, they also overlooked the fact that, especially in the sixteenth century, when tazkira as a genre became increasingly popular, familiarity with traditional literary tools and a common courtly language was expected of every talented author or poet. In this respect, in interacting with the traditions of the past on the road to mastery and perfection, emulation meant awareness and knowledge. At the same time, traditions also encouraged and valued originality through innovative uses of conventional tools. In fact, emphasis on original creation was so conspicuous that while patrons applauded and awarded novel creations with enthusiasm, some rival authors and poets belittled one another for purported lack of creativity.\(^{217}\) Imitation, in short, was not a derogatory act on the part of the writer as perceived by some modern-day scholars, but rather an inseparable part of the creative process. When looked at from this perspective, it becomes clear that rather than being passive texts without history, tazkiras were active and multi-dimensional literary exercises.

In the specific case of the Deeds, the most apparent novelty was the language. As discussed in chapter one, several authors before cÅli, including Sehi, cAhdi Ahmad Çelebi, and Qnalizade Hasan Çelebi, had composed anthologies of poets and other men

\(^{217}\) One such work that proved unsuccessful due to lack of originality was cÅli’s own Mihr ü Vefâ (Affection and Fidelity), which he composed at the age of twenty-one when he was at the court of Prince Salim. In terms of both subject matter and meter, the text appeared to duplicate another work with the same name by one Mustafa Çelebi. See, Fleischer (39).
of letters in Ottoman Turkish, but the *Deeds* was the first art-historical treatise written in this relatively new literary language. In introducing Ottoman Turkish to the field, in order to demonstrate his expert familiarity with the linguistic traditions on which he drew, ğAli not only used a polished, courtly style, but also interspersed the text with Persian and Arabic quotations in prose and verse, some of which were borrowed from well-known written sources, while others were his own creation. With his composition of the *Deeds*, therefore, ğAli pioneered the integration of Ottoman language into a new field of study, which, until then, had been investigated solely in Persian and Arabic.

A second original aspect of the *Deeds* lies in ğAli’s literary style as it is illustrated in his effortless shifts between a high, learned Ottoman and the vernacular. Far from being what might at first glance seem to be loose joints of his writing, these movements are expressive of ğAli’s awareness of the power of language in effectively communicating his message. Therefore, when he writes about historical or biographic matters, ğAli conforms to the norms of the *insha* style (lengthy sentences, internal rhyme, rhythm, paired expressions, homonymy, homography, etc.). When he writes on matters with which he takes a personal issue, on the other hand, his no-nonsense and informal tone takes over, and putting the ceremonial aside, he seizes his trenchant pen. The following passage, even though it loses its original zest in translation, still illustrates how in the *insha* style ğAli turns a simple biographical note into a colorful display of literary mastery.

And another [pupil of ğAli of Mashhad] was the [calligrapher] renowned as

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Muhammad Qasim [son of] Shadishah. It is said that, he was a fortunate [calligrapher] with a lucky star, [and was] a jovial master. As such, he is said to have possessed a graceful pen and, on the path of knowledge, he steadfastly followed a course like beautiful [lines of] writing. In truth, when the Functionary of Perpetual Life [and] the Keeper (ressām) of the Log of Eternity distributed to common people and sages their shares of refinement and knowledge, the said [Qasim’s]’s destiny was endowed with the faculty of calligraphy, and, with the [Qur’ānic verse], “Writing down [your deeds],” his occupation [as] written upon the Tablet was ordained to be a fixed vocation of scribal service (qalem ḥidmeti).219

Such was the elaborate language that many tazkiras shared, although, certainly, its creative quality and finesse depended on each individual author’s mastery of the insha style. What was not common in works of this genre was, however, the invective language as illustrated above in relation to ʿĀli’s critique of the collectors.

Use of a terse language is a common element in ʿĀli’s informal style, which he practices when he brushes away alternative and traditionally held opinions and asserts the soundness of his own facts and ideas. For instance, in writing about the superiority of the Rumi masters over the Persians in binding, ruling, and chain stitching, after declaring his judgment in favor of the Rumis, ʿĀli’s discussion abruptly ends with the words: “The words of those who dispute this are mere arrogance, and the meaningless talk of those who do not agree with this assertion is, likewise, [mere] contention and wrangling.”220

In criticism, verse, which was ʿĀli’s favorite form of self-expression, served him equally well. A passage where he condemns the false artists who tried their hands at gold-diluting and gold-sprinkling, concludes with this poem:

May God his flourishing house ruin!

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219 The Deeds, 46a.
220 The Deeds, 84a.
He, who tore apart the Flourishing House. After devouring a dish with a big appetite, He diluted [the dregs] into zard-asham.

Such startling expressions and curses, which are found more frequently in ĔAli’s works of historical and social content, reveal ĔAli the linguist’s larger intellectual and human dimensions. As is also clear from the examples above, where ĔAli’s concern is application of Ottoman Turkish to the new field of art-historical writing, subject matter conforms to form, and he skillfully wraps history and biography in a stylish, learned Ottoman, which he further adorns with Persian and Arabic. On the other hand, where there is a discussion of a sociocultural or artistic problem, form is no longer the dominant element, and ĔAli expresses his personal views most simply and directly.

As mentioned earlier, sixteenth-century tazkira authors used several common literary tools in their works. In order to reinforce an idea, for example, they used poetry, metaphor, and allegory; cited previous authors who wrote on the same subject; told folk stories and anecdotes, or quoted Qur’anic excerpts and the Prophet Muhammad’s traditions (hadith) in Arabic as the uncontested sources of authority. Mention of historical events and prominent figures as the backdrop to contemporary achievements was another common practice when writers sought to establish unbroken and legitimate

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221 Beyt-i ma’mūr, the prototype of the Ka‘ba, which descended to earth from the Seventh Heaven with Adam.

222 A literal translation would read “After eating up something, as if he was eating halva,” halva meaning a popular traditional Turkish sweet made of various ingredients such as white honey, grape syrup, sugar, egg white etc.

223 zard-asham, a saffron-colored drink. With this pun, ĔAli criticizes the artists who steal and sell the bulk of the gold that was allocated for their work and use instead only the remaining grains of material, thus ruining the value and meaning of art.

224 Authors also made use of manuals that contained useful quotations (Qur’anic verses, hadith, and sayings of saints and sages) for epistolary compositions. For examples, see Roxburgh, 104.
lines of historical achievement on a given subject. Finally, references to first-hand observations about the people and events under discussion were a means through which authors hoped to further increase their credibility.

As should be expected, all of these tools are effectively used in the Deeds, demonstrating ʻAlī’s mastery of the literary traditions. In this respect, the book is a successful continuation of the tazkira genre. ʻAlī’s remarkable achievement lies, however, not in his already proven command of the conventional literary practices, but rather in the ways in which he makes his personal voice heard through them. As he did in his other books, ʻAlī achieves this by integrating his intellectual ideals and human sensibilities into his authorship; as he pens the biographies of the artists, his ambitions, hopes, concerns, and disappointments become part of the text, and reveal a partial biography of ʻAlī himself. At the same time, the criteria by which he evaluates the artists’ lives and works express the values and traditions of the Ottoman and the Persianate worlds to which he was heir. Hence, the art-historical content of the book also portrays for us the artistic taste of the period’s elite and their attitude toward art and artists. To facilitate a better understanding of the artistic milieu of the period, the elements of this portrayal, specifically, the descriptive and analytic concepts of ʻAlī’s art-historical writing are outlined in the following pages.

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225 Such as tracing the calligraphers’ line back to Idris, Adam, and Imam ʻAlī.
2.4 Guidelines to the Components of ِî’s Art-Historical Writing

As noted earlier, unlike the authors of many album prefaces and treatises on calligraphy and painting, ِî was not a practicing artist or a connoisseur of art. However, thanks to his versatility as a man of learning, his training in calligraphy, his exposure to book illumination and related arts in the royal atelier in Istanbul and in Baghdad, the anecdotes that he gathered through oral communications with peers, connoisseurs, and artists about the artistic world, and the written sources that he had collected over a period of time, by the time he set about composing the Deeds, he was equipped with substantial knowledge of the subject. In fact, the range of information and commentaries covered in the text is so broad that a brief outline of the descriptive and analytic concepts of ِî’s art-historical writing will facilitate a better appreciation of the text.

1. Historical narrative and pedagogical lineage

As was typical of such treatises, the biographical sections of the Deeds are set against a sketchy historical backdrop. This historical narrative, for reasons that will be discussed in the conclusion, relates only to the development of writing, leaving a history of painting and the arts of the book outside the work’s scope. For a summary of each chapter’s historical content, see the introduction.
In establishing his narratives, Ėdî’s primary goal is to create an uninterrupted linear progress in the history of art, which he forges by following the long-standing tradition of “firsts” (awā‘īl). His history of writing begins with the Prophet Idris as the first man who wrote, and comes down to Ėdî’s own time. Where dates are not provided, passage of time is implied by the genealogy (silṣile).

As opposed to the linear historical narrative, the silṣile is formed in a complex scheme showing concomitantly both the horizontal and linear lines of masters and pupils. With few disparities or repetitions, the artists’ accounts are organized in a tree that begins with a horizontal line of several contemporary masters, from which emerge linear lines of each masters’ pupils. Linear lines of pupils are then extended into new horizontal lines of each pupil’s pupils, and so on. Students are classified in two separate groups, as direct or indirect pupils, the latter relationship usually being determined according to stylistic affinities. Within each group, the accounts of more renowned masters precede those of the lesser. The silṣile is especially noteworthy for its complexity, which surpasses that of the genealogies in similar texts dating from the late-fifteenth- or sixteenth centuries, in which artistic lines develop one linear line at a time.²²⁷

2. Biographical Tools

a) Profession

²²⁷ Ėdî’s well-known interest in the sciences of biography and genealogy is best illustrated in his voluminous Essence of History.
Avocations are the primary organizational and descriptive tools used in the accounts of artists. The wide variety of professions that are mentioned in the text are: decoupage, lacquer and ʿaks work, illumination, miniature painting, limning, gilding, illumination in gold (halkari), portrait painting (sebih), epigraphic ornament, geometric design (girih), book binding (under which are listed culs- de-lampes and medallions, embroidery, paper coloring, zerefshan, and book repair.\footnote{For terminology, see translation 83b.} In his biographies, ʿĀli also points out artists’ auxiliary skills, where present. His praises of certain artists’ skill in composing or reciting poetry, in the sciences of music, orthography, and grammar, and in the arts of prose (inšā), epistle, social grace (adāb), discourse, riddles, and prosody (ʿarūz) give us a clear idea of the various qualities that a cultivated man of the sixteenth century possessed. Oftentimes, if an artist was affiliated with a royal palace and received a regular salary, this too is noted. Despite ʿĀli’s general dislike of the court artists for reasons discussed above, he occasionally credits some of good disposition for their services at the royal palace in Istanbul. Among the worthy, he cites Katip Tatar and Khubi-i Husayni.

Two other criteria by which artists are assessed are excellence in teaching and abundance of students. Zayn al-Din Mahmud is one master with “auspicious teaching.” Muhammad Khandan and Shah Mahmud Nijad are calligraphers whose auspiciousness is said to be “manifest in the instruction of so many students.”

b) \textit{Identity}
The biographical information on artists comes mainly from ʿÂli’s written and oral sources. In cases where ʿÂli was personally acquainted with an artist, accounts are extended and lively. The length of individual notices vary from a single sentence to a couple of folios, depending on the artist’s fame, excellence, or familiarity to the author. A full entry identifies the artist by name, penname, ethnic origin, place of birth and residence, area of expertise, master(s), and pupil(s). Dates of birth are rare, but more information is found on the dates and details of death. Artists’ physical characteristics are mentioned in only two instances: with reference to his wisdom and enlightenment, Qutb al-Din of Yazd is noted to be a man with a “white visage” (rû-yi sefîd); and “moonlike beauty,” a conventional expression of exquisiteness in Persian poetry, describes Mir ʿÂli.

c) Artistic merits

In a typical biographical account, factual information is followed by a discussion of artistic merits. Based on merit, artists are described as “innovators,” “stylists,” “imitators,” or “connoisseurs.” From ʿÂli’s commentaries, it becomes clear that innovators, (such as Ibn Muqla, Ibn al-Bawwab, Anisi, ʿAli of Tabriz, Matrakçî Nasuh, and Bihzad) are at the top of the hierarchical ladder. Stylists, such as ʿAli of Mashhad, who “set down the rules and perfected” an artistic style are the second group of venerated artists. While innovation and originality are praised, emulation of the great masters makes continuity and progress possible and is therefore considered to be a laudable quality. Among the artists of Rum, ʿÂli praises Dervish Husam for being the only artist
who, unlike other artists of Rum, did not resist obstinately a learning process based on emulating the great Persian masters.

Another commendable merit is the ability to “justly assess the value of an artwork.” ābullah Sayrafi, Mubarakshah Qutb, and Simi of Nishapur are connoisseur calligraphers who are recognized for their reliability in distinguishing “the fake scatterers of jewels [from real ones].” Āli also takes note of those at the opposite end of the spectrum, mentioning āhmad Suhrawardi and others who were “not sound critics of defect.”

On the hierarchical ladder, a second analytical tool is comparison by association. To assess ranks, Āli frequently juxtaposes abstract comparative expressions, such as “a fine artist” followed by “a supreme guide.” He also judges artists against one another. Mir Āli and Sultan Āli are two equally great masters whose excellence is articulated by comparison. In praising a lesser master, ābullah Ashpaz, on the other hand, Āli compares him to the exemplar Yaqut, and honors Ashpaz by deeming him an equal of the former. More often, comparisons are made between masters and pupils so as to establish the latter’s level of excellence. Writing of Muhammad Rida of Tabriz, one of the protégés of Khwaja Saʿd al-Din, Āli notes that the quality of his calligraphic works was “close to that of his master.” Similarly, the thuluth of Hasan Qarahisari, the celebrated pupil of Ahmad Qarahisari, was “not quite equal to that of his master, but not really inferior either.” Āli mentions Mawlana Azhar, the pupil of Mawlana Jaʿfar, as one pupil whose pen exceeded in its firmness that of his master.

A fundamental element in artistic achievement is the bond between the master and the pupil. Being a direct pupil of a master conferred great prestige on the student for in
this way he could learn the stylistic and technical principles and intricacies of his art by
his teacher’s example. Mawlana ʿAbdi is one calligrapher whose works were sought
after “thanks to his studies under ʿAli of Mashhad.” In a poetic note, ʿAli mentions that
ʿAbd al-Wahid of Mashhad, another pupil of ʿAli of Mashhad, proclaimed to the world’s
scribes “with the scratching of his pen...his Mashhad origins and his discipleship of [ʿAli
of Mashhad].”

Indirect discipleship is also valuable, especially in forging an inexorable line of
historical progress. It is recounted that Mir Khubi, without seeing Sultan ʿAli in person,
acquired from the master’s tomb a reed pen that had been trimmed by him and,
“practicing with it day and night,” learned calligraphy “through Sultan ʿAli’s spiritual
influence.” Such stories and imagined ties not only endorsed a pupil’s stylistic
affiliations with a great master of the past, but also reminded the reader of the master’s
prolific teaching.

Continuous descent was forged also by family ties, through sons, sons-in-law, and
nephews. Anthony Welch, who observed kinship ties between artists of the Safavid
period, suggested that marriages between artistic families were sought after, “possibly as
a means for transmitting genetic abilities, perhaps too as a way of establishing a de facto
guild.” Among the artists of the Deeds, those who were privileged by such an assumed
genetic ability included Nur al-Din Purani, “the noble son of Sultan ʿAli;” Muhammad
Baqir, on the face of whose calligraphic works the imprint, “A child bears the secret of

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229 One training method for students was to practice from the master’s sample work called mashq. These
specimens also served useful to indirect students. For sample mashqs, see Rado, 21.
230 Or, as in the unique case of Ibn al-Muqla, through a daughter.
231 Anthony Welch, Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran
his father,” was read; and Muhammad Murwarid, “the fortunate, audacious son and upright [and] righteous heir” of ʿAbdullah Murwarid.

The importance of carrying on one’s family name is best illustrated in the account of Muhibb ʿAli. The son of the celebrated Rustam ʿAli, Muhibb ʿAli was not a greatly talented calligrapher. In fact, ʿAli comments, his lines were so poorly aligned that they all looked “as if jumbled.” After noting this criticism, however, ʿAli immediately reminds the reader that, “Regardless, [Muhibb ʿAli] was a master’s son,” and adds that, “while the finesse of his penmanship is inferior to many, it [still] is better than a few.” This latter remark, which at first seems to be a backhanded compliment, is in fact ʿAli’s clever solution to give Muhibb ʿAli at least a portion of the praise to which he believed the calligrapher was entitled by virtue of his family ties.

Another determinant factor in artistic excellence is ethnicity. Like the authors of other art-historical treatises, ʿAli too unreservedly acknowledges the superior skills of artists of Persian origin, especially in calligraphy. At the same time, he exerts great effort in establishing Rumi artists as a group comparable in talent to the Persians. In chapter two, for instance, following the accounts of the “Seven Masters,” ʿAli asserts that, “…the calligraphers of Rum also have their own ‘Seven Masters,’” and elaborates on their accounts, which he embellishes with verses that he composed in their honor in Ottoman Turkish. Artists’ notices in chapters four and five are similarly organized according to ethnicity, Persian artists being the first group to be mentioned.

The only occasion where accounts of Rumi artists precede those of the Persians is found in chapter five, in a section on binders. Here, ʿAli’s list of leading binders begins with Muhammad Chalabi, chief binder of Sultan Sulayman Khan, and extends to include
Muhammad’s two brothers and son. The paragraph ends with ʿĀli’s assertion that, in terms of finesse, the superiority of the Chalabi family over the masters of Persia in binding, *culs-de-lampes*, medallions, gilt, color, and multi hues is acknowledged. This statement is followed by a brief list of the Persian binders, after which ʿĀli returns to his earlier statement about the excellence of the Rumis. After acknowledging the indisputability of the Persian binders’ superiority in diluting gold and decorating cut lines of poetry, ʿĀli states that, in ruling, chain stitching, and binding, Rumi artists surpass them.

While success among the Persian and Rumi artists is simply *de rigueur*, one Turkic artist, Maqsud ʿĀli, is also praised for exceeding what was expected of him, given his Turkic, that is “peasant,” origins. As opposed to the Turks who are considered to be an inferior ethnic group, Dervish Husam, an artist of Bosnian origin like ʿĀli himself, is praised at length and, with regard to the prowess of his pen, he is even compared to Imam ʿĀli.232

Regardless of their family ties or ethnic origins, artists are distinguished on account of their education and productivity. In addition to having auxiliary skills as discussed above, an ideal artist is one with a “well-grounded education” in not only his art, but also the larger fields of sciences and humanistic learning. Muhammad Nur is one such erudite artist, the beauty of whose letter *ha* ʿĀli likens to “a sun in the heaven of knowledge.” Another artist commended for the wealth of his work is Muhammad Khandan, the black of whose ink, ʿĀli comments, “was an abundant stream that day and night sought out the garden of perfection.” Productivity, however, is applauded

232 For ʿĀli’s sympathy for people of Bosnian origin, see n. 37 above.
providing the quality measured up to the standards. One calligrapher, Muhammad Rida, whose excellence was “superior to and [even] utterly beyond that of many of his predecessors,” wrote only a couple of qit’a every month.” Still, his “succinct penmanship,” on account of its superior quality, is not criticized as a shortcoming.

d. Personality

With his belief that a work of art was the index of its producer, ʿAlī puts great emphasis on the personal attributes and moral conduct of the artists he describes. As such, piety, integrity, diligence, kindness, audacity, wit, and joyfulness are mentioned among the qualities that complement artistic merits. Notwithstanding one’s excellence in art, lack of morality and spiritual values always render a person imperfect. Shah Quli Naqqash is one artist who, ʿAlī argues, had the potential of being a Bihzad or a Mani, but nevertheless could not attain success comparable to those two great painters due to his bad morals and neglect of piety. “Had he possessed morals as [excellent as] his art,” ʿAlī writes of him, “Bihzad in his day could not have achieved the fame he did,” and had he “in accordance with his conscientious nature, become a wayfarer on the path of divine observance, people would not in his time have talked about the art, reputation, and works of Mani.”

In order to illustrate for the reader how deceitfulness, vanity, rivalry, or greed spoiled the reputation of even the most talented artist and prevented him from excelling in his art, ʿAlī plants numerous anecdotes in each chapter. In one such story, the eminent Yaqut al-Mustaʿsim plays a trick on his patron, Caliph al-Mustaʿsim, so as to prove to the Caliph that his art surpassed that of Ibn al-Bawwab. When the Caliph becomes aware
of Yaqut’s stratagem, however, he rebukes the calligrapher and deprives him of favors and approval. According to the story, after this incident, Yaqut’s pen made no progress and “not an iota (miqdār-i ḥarf) of improvement was observed in his fine writing.” His deceptiveness, in other words, had prevented the great master from attaining perfection.

In another story, vanity brings an artist a more tragic end. When Mir Chalama excelled in his art, his master honored his pupil by giving Chalama permission to sign his works in his name. But Chalama was ill-bred and proud, and failing to understand the meaning of his master’s gesture, he responded to him saying, “Who do you think you are that I prefer [to use] your signature?” Angered by Chalama’s conceit, the master cursed him, and Chalama soon became blind.

Some of these tales, like this anecdote about Chalama, were probably not meant to be taken at their face value, but rather, with their simple language, familiarity, and, at times, humor, they were tools intended to urge the artists to strive for perfection in personality.

3. Visual analyses

Most biographic accounts, especially those of eminent calligraphers and painters, incorporate an evaluation of the artists’ output. Except for a few cases where the focus is on a specific work of art, ʿAlī’s assessments are usually in the form of commentaries on the general characteristics of each artist’s distinctive manner as it relates to style, form, and meaning.

It appears from the biographical accounts that the key element in an attractive calligraphic style is firm rendering (rūsūḥ-i muḥkem, or metānet-i ḥaṭṭ). Imam ʿAlī, the
patron saint of calligraphers, is celebrated especially for the firmness of his letter *kaf* (xx). Similarly, the letter *ha* that Muhammad Raza’i’s “miracle-performing fingers” drew is likened to “a solid golden-hinge or an iron ring on the gate of knowledge.” Firmness of writing was a testament to the high standing also of Monla ʿAbdullah, the most famous pupil of Mir ʿAli of Tabriz. Last but not least, in chapter three, Persian writers of *nastaʿliq* under the patronage of Baysunghur are praised for their firm pens that were like “upright saplings in Baysunghur’s garden of benevolence.”

Grace (*nezăket*) is another quality of a desirable calligraphic style. Writing that the grace of Sultan ʿAli’s reed pen was “pleasantly protected by the shade of the Tuba tree,” ʿAli suggests a heavenly source for the calligrapher’s elegant hand. The Georgian Monla Yusuf, a scribe at the Ottoman Imperial Council (*Divân-i Humâyun*), was another calligrapher “valued by the most illustrious men of the court for the grace of his pen.”

Pleasing to the eye as well is luminosity (*nūrāniyyet*). Associated with the heavens, stars, the mystic light, and wisdom, luminosity is considered to be “a blessed beauty,” and it was a quality that characterized the works of Husayn Shihabi and Khwaja ʿAbdullah Murwarid in particular. Similarly, Muhammad Baqir, Khwaja Mahmud Shihabi, Mir Sayyid Ahmad, Husayn of Bukhara, Malik of Daylam, Haydar of Bukhara, and Mir Chalama are noted to be seven calligraphers “the radiance of whose talents’ productions is as bright as the seven planets.”

The ability to give writing a fresh, luscious appearance (*tarāvet*) is implied to be an unofficial prerequisite before a calligrapher could be deemed excellent. As suggested

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233 *Tūbā*; a tree in Paradise, the branches of which are said to enter every abode with flowers and fruit.
by the story of Mir Sayyid Ahmad, the devout calligrapher who spent ten years in Mashhad without showing his writing to anyone until his pen had duly acquired crispness, mature writing retained a fresh look. In fact, the writing style known as “the style of Anisi,” had become popular “thanks to its freshness and elegance.”

All of these characteristics could be manifest only on a clean and tidy page. Diwane Memi of Manisa, the acknowledged master of the Six Styles, was a calligrapher notorious for pages that were not “free from stain and blemish.” An anecdote about the exemplar Anisi and his brother ʿAbdulkarim Padishah makes the importance of neatness more clear. According to the story, Anisi was excessively preoccupied with amending his work. His brother, on the other hand, “was distinguished for his concern in writing from the tip of the pen,” that is, without making any amendments. One day, the two calligraphers brought a qīṭʿa of their own and presented it to Sultan Yaʿqub. When the Sultan approved of Anisi’s work with delight, and bestowed him “rewards, favor, and zeal,” ʿAbdulkarim was riled. So as to prove to the Sultan the superior quality and neatness of his own writing, he dipped the two sample works into a nearby pool. When Yaʿqub saw that Anisi’s writing was obliterated here and there, but ʿAbdulkarim’s was like “the golden marks on a steel sword, devoid of [any] decay,” he applauded ʿAbdulkarim. After this incident, with his gift for writing without making any amendments, ʿAbdulkarim attained utmost fame.

Formal characteristics of calligraphic specimens are evaluated mainly in terms of proportion (mezūn, ṭarāvet) and alignment (kūst). In comparing ʿAyshi’s hand to that of his master, for instance, ʿĀli gives precedence to the student on the basis that “in evenness and elaborateness,” ʿAyshi’s hand is finer. In his eulogy of Mir ʿAli, ʿĀli
describes the evenness of the master’s writing by likening his reed pen to a “well-proportioned cypress in the meadow of knowledge.” Not all practitioners excelled in the use of formal devices, however. One calligrapher, whose lack of expertise in alignment ÊÁli feels it is important to note, is Muhibb ÊÁli. On close examination, ÊÁli comments, his lines were all as if “jumbled.”

A harmonious union of style and form is fundamental for calligraphy, but without inner meaning (ma‘nā), beauty would be superficial at best. This conviction is articulated in a short anecdote about the Timurid prince Ibrahim Sultan. Rumor had it that the Prince sent to the bazaar a work that he had copied from Yaqut and signed with the latter’s name. The Prince’s writing was so delicate that no one suspected that it was not actually in Yaqut’s hand and, believing it to be the work of the great master, the specimen was sold for much gold and silver. Indeed, writes ÊÁli, Ibrahim Sultan’s jewel-like writing was “flawless,” and its outward form (zevāhir-i ḵurūf) “lacked not in pearly or ruby (yāqūt) meaning.” Since emulation without ma‘nā deprived the work of its beauty, however, forgeries (such as the mix and match albums produced by false artists) were doubly offensive, for they distorted the outward form and eradicated the inner meaning of the original.234

A calligraphic work with outward and inward beauty was then flawless (kāmil, nā-ma‘yūb). Following the tradition, ÊÁli acknowledges Yaqūt as the unrivaled artist who perfected the art of calligraphy and set down its rules. Among the calligraphers who attained perfection was Shaykhzada of Purani, who, as an unshaven youth, excelled in

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234 The concepts of form and meaning can be related to the Ismāʿīlī notion of zāhir (manifest, literal meaning) and bātin (the hidden, inner meaning). For more on the subject, see Irene A. Bierman, Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
writing to such a degree that “[even] the leading masters and calligraphers gifted in penmanship [never] reached that level.” Other artists of perfection include Mawlana Muhammad Ibrishimi, whose pen “grew in the meadow of talent and perfection;” ʿAla al-Din Muhammad Razaʿi, whose pages were perfect; and Anisi, who perfected the style that his father Monla ʿAbd al-Rahman had invented. Among royalty, the abovementioned Ibrahim Sultan was one who wrote flawlessly, so much so that people could not distinguish his hand from that of Yaqut.

In contrast to the wealth of insight we have about the calligrapher’s output, assessments of the painters’ “wonder-working creativity” are found in the accounts of only a handful of artists. In the short chapter on the art of depiction and the related arts of the book, where most notices are limited to a sentence or two, the criteria used to judge the artists’ perceived excellence remains for the most part undefined. Still, from the brief account of the painter Walijan we learn that precision (diqqat) and grace (leṭāfet) are two elements of a winning style. Master ʿUthman of “discerning eye” (pāk-i izān) is a leading painter whose style is distinguished especially on account of its precision. Finally, finesse is an attribute of the limner and illuminator Monla Sharaf of Yazd, a “master of excellent refinement.”

From the biographical accounts we are able to extract only these bits and pieces of information about artistic styles, but a more inclusive analysis is found in a lengthy anecdote about the legendary painter Mani. In this lively story about a painting contest in which the young Mani proved to the world his inimitable artistry, the artist’s works are discussed in terms of subject matter, form, style, and color. The significance of the subject matter of Mani’s contest painting (a dog’s carcass with writhing worms on it) was
its symbolism. Heartbroken at seeing how three spiteful masters had humiliated many of
the world’s painters by playing a trick on them with illusionistic paintings that they had
executed, the talented Mani responded to them with an image in which he likened the
spirit of the three masters to a rotten dog’s carcass. In the end, with their “pure, natural
quality,” in both outward appearance and inner meaning, Mani’s paintings had become “a
mirror for his enemies.”

In addition to their symbolism, both the carcass and other paintings by Mani are
praised for their realism. Mani’s greatest success was in depicting animate beings: he
would render living beings so realistically that, even their soul would appear “as if in
motion.” Furthermore, ʿÂli’s commentaries on Mani’s depictions of the wind, storm, and
water makes it clear that illusionistic representation, especially of elements with “no
visible form,” is considered to be a most extraordinary visual tool.

Form, in its ideal manifestation, is described as “lucid and clear,” while gloss,
transparency, and hue all contribute to a better effect. Mani’s wall paintings had such a
burnishing that, “[even] pure water had never been so transparent,” and his every image
had such a bright appearance that “the world-illuminating mirror has never furbished
plants and flowers in that tone.” In his praises, ʿÂli goes so far as to say that the colors of
the images that Mani and the three masters painted on the ruler’s pavilion matched the
miraculous colors of the highest paradise.

A quality that is highly praised in the context of both painting and calligraphy is
originality. When ʿÂli’s commentaries on artistic styles are evaluated together, his
definition of beauty manifests itself as a harmonious union of the outward form and the
inner meaning, and when the two are fused in unconventional ways, art reaches its climax.

In the field of painting, the prototype of creativity is noted to be Mani. He was “well-versed in assembling the techniques of painting and design” and, with his original images, illusionistic tricks, and variegated colors, he showed that it was possible to fashion the beauties that the Painter of Perfection, that is, God, had not rendered “on the slate of intellect.”

Bihzad is another painter celebrated for his innovative style. In his account of Shah Tahmasp, in order to point out the Shah’s accomplishment in painting, ʻAlī writes of him as having “Bihzad-like creativity.”  235 Muhammad of Herat was a master of the art of illumination highly regarded for his “confounding innovations.” Similarly, Hasan of Baghdad, the head of Shah Tahmasp’s studio, was “the originator of much-admired [stylistic] innovations.”

As regards the art of calligraphy, Imam ʻAlī is celebrated for both his mastery of the “archetypal writing,” and his innovative style, with which “he seized the winning pennant from his contemporaries and took precedence over them.” One master “distinguished in his time for his [stylistic] innovations,” is the renowned Anisi. Another scribe of “pleasing originality” is noted to be Katibi Muhammad Tarshizi. Finally, Shah Tahmap’s master, Khwaja ʻAbd al-ʻAziz, is also known as a “master of outstanding [stylistic] innovations.”

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235 As one of the architects of a long-lasting piece period (from 1555 until his death in 1576) between the Safavids and the Ottomans, Shah Tahmasp enjoyed great respect from Ottoman historians. For Ottoman attitude toward Shah Tahmasp, see B. L. Lewis and P. M. Holt, ed., “The Historiography of Ottoman-Safavi Relations in the Sixteenth Century,” in Historians of the Middle East (London, 1962), 197-211. 119
Innovation, in short, is the mark of historical moments in the development of both individual and period styles, and an awareness of its significance in continuing time-honored visual traditions is observed in all chapters of the book.

4. Technical tools

Unlike similar treatises on calligraphy and painting, technical matters constitute a very limited part of the contents of the Deeds. In the introduction, following a discussion on the nobility of writing, ٍAli gives a list of the old and contemporary alphabets used in the lands of Arabs, Persians, Rum, and Daylam, without, however, mentioning their distinctive characteristics. Under “Preliminary examination,” the trimming of the pen according to writing styles is discussed. Writing implements are the subjects of the section entitled, “A detailed examination.” ٍAli’s quick notes on the pen and ink types relate to quality and durability. Thirdly comes the enumeration of the twelve paper types, the Damascus type being listed as the lowest quality, and moiré the best. This list is significant in that it has been the source of numerous technical manuals on calligraphy written in both Ottoman and modern Turkish.236

A paragraph in the introduction on copyists’ fees is worthy of note for it is encountered in no other treatise on calligraphy from this period. Here, ٍAli gives a price list for copying of qitas based on the quality of the calligrapher’s hand. He notes that, in a lower quality hand, one thousand couplets are copied for one florin, two florins if it is in middling hand, and three florins for a first-rate hand. If the copyist is an exalted calligrapher, prices can go up to five florins for each thousand couplets. ٍAli’s interest in

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236 See notes 71 and 72 above.
recording the copyists’ fees in such detail is, of course, related to his larger concern about artist’ misconduct in the art market as discussed above. By informing collectors and connoisseurs of the standard fees, his intention was to help prevent price increases and fraud in the market.

Another note on technical issues is found in ٍّّ’s account of Yaqt al-Musta’simi in chapter two. Here, quoting Yaqt’s well-known verse in Arabic that summarizes the rules of calligraphy, ٍّّ records the principles of writing as being ligatures (tarkîb), support (kurrâs), interrelation (nisbat), upstroke (su’âd), curving (tashmir), downstroke (nuzûl), and flourish (irsâl). Brief explanations of these terms follow the terminology, but no information on the application of these principles to writing is provided.

Despite their limited number, ٍّّ’s notes on technical matters demonstrate his awareness of the mechanism concerning the production of art, especially as it relates to writing.

2.5 Conclusion: The Text’s Limitations and Its Contributions to the Field

In his conclusion to the Deeds, ٍّّ writes that his “nobly penned book…no matter how copious [it] may grow to be, will always have [its] shortcomings,” and asks that “knowledgeable critics and gifted men of excellence of superior justice overlook its flaws and defects.” From the modern-day art historical perspective as well, the text exhibits numerous problems and limitations relating to ٍّّ’s biographical accounts and visual analyses. Before delineating each of these shortcomings, however, it is necessary to remember that in composing the text, ٍّّ had a specific goal in mind: to provide
collectors and connoisseurs a guidebook on artists. Thus, a theory of art, for instance, was out of the scope of what he had set out to do. Similarly, he was not interested in technical matters regarding the production of art, although he did not entirely overlook them either. Therefore, the following notes relate only to aspects of writing a biographical-historical guide to artists to which _ENC_Ali is committed.

In studying a text like the *Deeds* with such a vast amount of biographical information, dates comprise one of the basic tools that a researcher considers indispensable. However, of the book’s entries on nearly two hundred seventy artists, _ENC_Ali provides only about a dozen dates. Since recording individuals’ dates of birth was not a prevailing habit at the time, _ENC_Ali’s congruent practice is not unusual, but it is disappointing to researchers none the less. The reason for his neglect in noting most artists’ date of death, on the other hand, remains a mystery, especially given _ENC_Ali’s interest in recording factual data in his other works, and the availability to a certain extent of such information in written sources that he almost certainly had at his disposal. In addition to its crippling effect on the researcher’s attempt to create a chronological chart of the artists, this scarcity also complicates the issues having to do with the identification and dating of works of art.

The disproportionate attention _ENC_Ali pays to individual artists is another problematic aspect of the book. Where a quick glance at the text gives us the impression that the varying length of the biographical accounts is in proportion to the artists’ merits or repute, on closer examination, it becomes clear that such qualities are not a primary factor that dictate the comprehensiveness of the notices. On several occasions, for reasons we cannot determine, _ENC_Ali chooses to limit the accounts of even some
distinguished masters to a sentence or two. At other times, the biographies of some practitioners who may or may not have been among the most select are extended over half a folio, mainly because of a personal interest  cumshot took in their lives and work, or on account of his first-hand familiarity with them.

A comparison of the biographies of Master Waliyan and Muhammad of Tabriz will illustrate the point. In his account of Waliyan, a young and talented artist whom he probably met in Baghdad,  cumshot provides us with information on the painter’s origins, merits, character, and employment. In his account of Muhammad of Tabriz, on the other hand, all  cumshot tells us is that he was a pupil of Agha Mirak. Had we not known from other sources that Muhammad of Tabriz was an instructor of painting to Shah Tahmasp, based on (95,409),(210,425)’s incidental mention of him, we would have erroneously assumed that he was an artist of mediocre talent whose repute in his own time was probably no greater than that of Waliyan. Clearly, in this and several other instances, especially in the absence of complementary information we can cull from other written sources or visual material,  Su’s biographies with their uneven inclusiveness blur the distinction we would like to establish among the artists based on their talent, output, or fame. That said, when the subject is lesser known artists whose accounts are not found in other written sources, the extended information  Su provides us is certainly of great value.

Despite the wealth of insight they bring into art-historical writing,  Su’s visual analyses also contain weaknesses. The most substantial of these is the meagerness of the artworks that  Su incorporates into his biographical accounts. As we read the artists’ notices and look for specific references to their output, we are struck by the fact that, in contrast to the plethora of information  Su provides us on the artists’ origins, merits, and
personality, the total of the works of art to which he refers by name or discusses in detail is limited to a startlingly meager six.\footnote{A gravestone by Sultan Āli of Mashhad designed for Husayn Bayqara; epigraphic ornaments by Abdullah Sayrafi for the Bayqara madrasa; an unnamed Shahname by Mir Khubi for Sultan Sulayman; the Shah Isma’il Shahname (Zafarnama) by Mahmud Nijad of Nishapur; a portrait of Sultan Salim, and the competition painting by Mani.} This neglect on Āli’s part limits the book’s utility in two ways. First, even though Āli makes occasional references to the artists’ main area of expertise, since these are in the form of general descriptions, such as “human portraiture” or “writing of qit’as,” they do not allow us to develop a sense of the specific themes in which individual practitioners had specialized. Second, with insufficient testimony to the artists’ output, the text fails to give an accurate representation of their versatility in a great variety of fields from architectural epigraphy to ceramics. As a result, the points of conceptual, formal, and stylistic congruences and divergences among different branches of visual arts in the vast lands of Islam remain out of sight.

Another weakness of Āli’s visual analyses is the ambiguity that surrounds his use of the term “originality.” It was mentioned earlier that in the context of calligraphy, painting, and the related arts of the book, Āli puts great emphasis on the concept of innovation; he tries to trace and bring to the fore the period and individual styles, and his response to artistic creativity is always enthusiastic. As such, inventors of “pleasing styles,” and originators of “much-admired [stylistic] innovations” are praised as being “impeccable,” “inimitable,” or “the most illustrious.” Much applauded as it is, however, the notion of originality remains undefined, with the exception of Mani’s case. Thus when Āli tells us that Muhammad Tarshizi was “a scribe of pleasing originality,” and Anisi “a renowned master distinguished… for his [stylistic] innovations,” we are neither
able to establish what ʻAlī’s perception of originality is nor can we distinguish in any way either calligrapher’s distinctive style. In the absence of any criteria by which originality can be defined, unless the text is read in its entirety and the elements of ʻAlī’s visual tools are understood as a whole, his expressions of excitement about creativity face the danger of being labeled simply as epistolary bravado.

A final shortcoming of the book, a feature that is common to all tazkiras on the subject from this period, is the overwhelmingly disproportionate attention calligraphy is given at the expense of the art of depiction. As is known, even though the Qur˒an itself does not have an interdiction on the subject, reluctance toward making images of living beings has been a widespread sentiment in the Islamic world, for, in popular belief, such creative exercise was considered rivalry with God. As a result, especially under the patronage of rulers who were especially concerned with what they perceived as religious prohibitions, the art of depiction remained subservient to calligraphy, which was considered the Islamic art par excellence and given divine homage. As should be expected, this bias in favor of calligraphy came to be one of the significant factors that gave shape to the field of art-historical writing in the lands of Islam. Thus, it seems worthwhile to go into some detail here to examine the structure and the content of the text so as to reveal how this favoritism was at play in the Deeds and how, in return, the text served as a tool that reinforced this Islamic sentiment.

The most overt indications of this partiality are found in the structural organization of the text, the well thought-out scheme of which ʻAlī first announces in chapter two. In his opening words to this chapter, ʻAlī explains why he placed the accounts of the copyists of the Six Styles after those of the writers of the Kufic script in
chapter one. He notes that since Kufic was invented before the Six Styles it has a chronological priority. Furthermore, ʻAlī adds, as the script that was most commonly used for the original transcribing of the Qurʾan, Kufic has a more sacred place in the history of writing than that of the preceding or succeeding styles. As he planned the layout of the book, then, ʻAlī took into consideration both the chronological and symbolic religious factors and arranged the chapters based on a hierarchical principle. This principle is doubly important since it operated also at a micro level and governed the organization of the contents of each individual chapter. Accordingly, in all five chapters, with few exceptions, ʻAlī placed the accounts of the choicest artists and their lines before those of the lesser.

If the structure of the book was based on a hierarchical principle, this certainly involved all of its chapters. Indeed, the fact that, of the five chapters that make up the text, only a section in the final chapter is devoted to the art of painting indicates clearly the secondary status of painting in relation to calligraphy. This attitude is manifest also in ʻAlī’s placement of the painters’ accounts after the notices of several decoupage artists, among who were many calligraphers. Finally, ʻAlī’s inclusion of some eminent painters (such as Matrakçı Nasuh, Dost Muhammad Musawwir, and Hasan of Egypt) not in the expected section on painting, but in the sections on their additional area of expertise (that is, calligraphy and decoupage) is yet another example of his awareness of the subtle means that he, as the author, could use so as to give shape to the history of art as he deemed appropriate.

The implications of these structural arrangements become even clearer in ʻAlī’s historical investigations and in the anecdotes that he chose to include in the text. As was
typical of such treatises, the *Deeds* begins with prayers of praise and thanks to God for His creative power. Addressed as the “Scribe of the school of creation and power,” God is venerated in the preface as the sublime source of knowledge, who, with His mighty Pen, “adorned the tulip-cheeked pages [of the Qur’an].” Then, the divine homage given to writing as the image of God’s word and the sacred essence of the Tablet and the Pen as His first creations are illustrated with a selection of Qur’anic verses and *hadith*.

Whereas in the preface ³ʿAlī looks at the religious connotations of writing, in the introduction he carries the subject to a new platform and discusses writing’s functions in non-religious contexts. Quoting this time from pre-Islamic sages and philosophers, such as Plato and Euclid, ³ʿAlī explains the universally acknowledged necessity and significance of writing since the day of Creation in the fields of education, humanistic learning, sciences, and ethics. Another non-religious function of writing, the political, is discussed in chapter one. Here, in a section entitled “Commentary,” ³ʿAlī compares the virtues of men of the pen and men of the sword. He argues that while writing is a fundamental tool for the integrity and prosperity of nations, a fearless sword, if it were in the hands of an ignorant sovereign, would bring only devastation to a country. When such was the crucial role of writing in people’s lives, calligraphy was incontestably the most virtuous of all arts: it conferred honor upon those who possessed it and it was “a path toward nobility and fame,” which led those who commanded it to “glory and high station.”

In contrast to his engaging and all-embracing deliberations on the historical significance of writing, ³ʿAlī’s discussions of the art of depiction are merely ephemeral. ³ʿAlī’s attitude toward the art of painting, which did not radically differ from that of his
predecessors or contemporaries, is manifest in the contents of chapter five. The most striking aspect of this concluding chapter is that, unlike the preceding chapters, the discussions are void of a historical context. In the absence of any systematic information on the stylistic or formal developments in the history of painting, the artists’ accounts are suspended in a historical vacuum in which the passage of time is understood only through the *silsile* and by reference to several Sultan-patrons. It is also noteworthy that, in contrast to accounts in previous chapters that are based on the principle of “firsts,” in chapter five, ʻAli seems to be unaware of, or unwilling to submit to a tradition prevalent with Shi‘ite elements that trace the origins of the art of depiction to Imam ʻAli. In the end, while calligraphy is glorified with a rooted and progressive history marked by numerous stylistic changes and innovations, the art of depiction is characterized by an indistinct and stifled past.

Another source of information that provides us insight into a shared Muslim reluctance toward the representational arts is anecdotes. Of the many stories found in the *Deeds*, three relate to painters. One of these narratives from chapter three, the account of Shah Isma‘il and his two artists, was briefly mentioned earlier. In recounting the details of this story about how the Shah protected the calligrapher Shah Mahmud Nijad and the painter Bihzad from the Ottoman Sultan Salim, ʻAli writes:

> When the late Sultan Salim…battled with that Shah Isma‘il on the Chaldiran plain…Shah Isma‘il first hid the praiseworthy Shah Mahmud Nijad and then the matchless figural-painter Master Bihzad in a cavern saying, ‘Who knows, should flight or death befall my body, and destruction and chaos [overtake] the land of Persia, they might fall prey to the God-empowered hand of Sultan Salim Khan of Rum.’

238 For the tradition that accepts ʻAli as the patron saint of painters, see Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky, 174-75); and Emel Esin, *Ottoman Empire in Miniatures* (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1988), introduction.

239 The *Deeds*, 45b.
By virtue of their dynamism, oral traditions always allow room for the narrator’s own interpretation. One wonders, therefore, whether in this case it was one of the previous storytellers or ʻAli himself who added the detail to the anecdote about the order in which Shah Isma‘il hid the two artists when he feared for their lives. Regardless of whose creation it was, inserted into the story is a seemingly redundant point that makes a powerful statement about the calligrapher’s higher status over that of the painter.

The two other anecdotes about painters are found in chapter five. Interestingly enough, as opposed to the numerous stories about calligraphers that relate to many different historical periods, the two stories in this chapter call to mind the painters and events of only the near past and the third century B.C. As the centuries in between are skipped, the splendor of the history of painting is, once again, overlooked.

The first of these stories recounts an infamous incident that took place at the court of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp. One day, Khwaja ʻAbd al-ʻAziz, an instructor of painting to the Shah, and ʻAli Asghar, another court painter, deceived the Shah’s favorite slave, Mirza Muhammad. Fleeing the court, the three men headed to the far lands of India. Before long, however, as they were trying to make illicit gains by using a forged letter patent at the port of Hormoz, the two heinous painters and the slave were caught by the Shah’s soldiers. When they were brought back to the palace, the Shah first considered sentencing them to death, but refrained from executing ʻAbd al-ʻAziz since the painter was his master and a creator of outstanding works. Instead, he gave the painters a lighter punishment by severing with his own hands ʻAbd al-ʻAziz’s nose and ʻAli Asghar’s two
ears. Thanks to the young slave’s beauty and the Shah’s overwhelming affection for him, Mirza Muhammad was punished only by a brief imprisonment.

‌Áli’s agenda in the book about revealing the artists’ discreditable deeds so as to encourage the new generations to strive for perfection of personality was mentioned above. When considered as part of this larger framework, the story of the devious painters seems fitting and edifying. One still cannot help but wonder, however, why of all the stories he could have chosen Áli preferred as his only anecdote about the masters of the near past this particularly scandalous one. Even though he acknowledges Abd al-Áziz’s “outstanding creations” and mentions him as “a rarity among the painters,” Áli’s concluding words that the two artists had been “extremely offensive” and that their deeds were “utterly wicked,” clearly intend to bring to the fore the artists’ disgraceful acts. Áli’s reason for choosing this story could partly have been due to its popularity and alleged actuality. The message that Shah Tahmasp’s consummate benevolence could convey to the Ottoman sultans was undoubtedly a factor as well. Regardless, after reading this lengthy story that is placed in the middle of a series of concise notices, it is the two painters’ disloyalty and decadence that is imprinted on the mind of the reader more than anything else.

The second anecdote in chapter five, also well known, relates to the legendary Mani. Full of praises about the young painter’s artistry, creativity, valor, and good morals, this lively narrative and the accompanying witty poetry indeed balance out the preceding gloomy story about Abd al-Áziz and Ali Asghar. In fact, Áli seems to be so enchanted by the accounts of Mani’s illusionistic tricks and “wizardry” that, with the freedom that the pre-Islamic context of the subject grants him, he goes so far as to say
that in his art Mani showed the world the possibility for a painter to embellish “the beauties that the Artist of Imagination [i.e., God] did not impart on the Tablet of mind.” After these praises, the story ends with a flowery account of how his protector Shah Bahram\textsuperscript{240} celebrated Mani’s artistry and bestowed upon him many favors and rewards.\textsuperscript{241}

This, however, is the version found in the copy text (T 9757) used in this study. A few other manuscript copies of the *Deeds*,\textsuperscript{242} originating from an ancestor other than that of T 9757, include an extended account of Mani’s tragic end that is not found in the copy text. In this latter version, the praises about Mani’s matchless talent in representing “even the soul” of living beings are immediately followed by the details of his slaying, as if to give the rationale for this historic execution.

When he excelled in his art and gained worldwide renown under the patronage of the Shah, the story goes, a group of men of learning, jealous of the largesse the Shah bestowed upon Mani, raised questions about the legitimacy of his art. Prompted by these men, the Shah asked Mani to confront them and defend his case. When he failed to justify the innocence of his creative exercises, however, the sages demanded that Mani stop painting images of living beings, ask for forgiveness for his sins, and “return to the Right Path.” Mani did not succumb to these demands and he was subsequently put to death on charges of idolatry. He was flayed, his skin was stuffed with straw, and he was put on public display. So as to prevent similar sinful activities in the future, the entire group of painters known for their interest in painting images of animate beings was also

\textsuperscript{240} The shah’s name is omitted from the copy text.
\textsuperscript{241} For Firdawsí’s version of the story see Abolqasem Ferdowsi. *Shahnameh*, tr., Dick Davis (New York: Viking, 2006) 597-98.
\textsuperscript{242} AE 801, EH 1231, and their lost ancestors.
killed. After this intrusion by the details of Mani’s execution, the story continues in the same way as in the copy text.

Based on the extant copies we have of the *Deeds*, it is not possible to determine whether the portion of the story that relates to the killing of Mani existed in ʿĀli’s holograph or whether it was a later addition of a copyist. Regardless, the fact that someone along the line decided to delete this segment from or add it to his version is revealing in itself. It shows us an awareness of the implications of this execution as well as the existence of differing views on the appropriateness of this detail’s inclusion in the text. That being said, at the time, as it is today, Mani’s slaying was such a well-known story that, even in abridged form, its message would have been clear to all.

What these three stories of ʿĀli’s choice have in common, then, is a manifestation of conflicting feelings toward painters and the art of depiction. In the first story, the Shah values the lives of two of his most favored artists above his land and riches. Nonetheless, in time of danger, it is still the calligrapher to whom the Shah first reaches out his hand. In the next story, ʿAbd al-ʿAziz is praised for his outstanding creative talent; he is, after all, an instructor to the Shah. Yet, he and ʿAli Asghar display disloyalty and deceit, thus they are discredited. In the third and final story, the legendary Mani does reach the sublime in both his personality and art, at which point, ironically, he poses a threat to dogma and is killed. These narratives reveal for us how generations of people in Islamic lands tried to distance themselves from the miracles of the painter’s art, for the more their
adoration for man’s creative power increased, the greater the threat they believed this posed to their religious sensibilities.  

Following the story of Mani, there are no further commentaries on painters in chapter five, but the conclusion tells us more about ʿAlī’s attitude toward the art of depiction. ʿAlī begins the conclusion with the seemingly standard words, “Thanks be to God, the Lord of the world, [this book] entitled *Epic Deeds of Artists*, the account of calligraphers [who worked in] graceful styles has, with [His] auspicious aid, reached a conclusion.” Ignoring, in other words, his earlier promise in the preface to compose a book about “the scribes of good penmanship, cutters, gilders, decoral-painters, and portraitists,” ʿAlī changes position at the conclusion of his text and redefines the *Deeds* solely as a work about calligraphers. Lest the reader thinks that this opening sentence was a slip of the tongue, ʿAlī reiterates in the immediately following line that his book was meant to serve “those interested in calligraphy, the great, illustrious and exalted virtuous men.” With this new definition of his book and its purpose, ʿAlī skillfully frees himself from possible charges of having given calligraphy an overwhelmingly disproportionate attention at the expense of painting.

In the rest of the conclusion, ʿAlī’s stance remains the same. He continues his words with a quick summary of the first four chapters of the book, remembers the key names in the history of writing, and pays them one last tribute. “There are also others,” he adds, “…the group of cutters, painters, and binders, men of letters and master craftsmen with successors [i.e., disciples], all of whom are known to be vassals of that glorious group [of artists].” Then, without citing a single name from among this group,

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243 For Shah Tahmasp’s withdrawal from art, for instance, see translation, note 756 below.
Âli apologizes to the reader for the flaws of his work, requests that critics and men of virtue overlook his imperfections and mention him favorably, and concludes his book.

The reasons for this partial attitude and the message that these structural arrangements, anecdotes, and commentaries seek to convey are too conspicuous to be unintentional. It is important to note, however, that giving short shrift to painters is by no means unique to the Deeds. In fact, with the exclusion of technical manuals, practically every major art-historical text from the pre-modern era displays a similar attitude toward the representational arts. What is intriguing about this pattern is its pervasiveness, for, as is known, despite the reluctance toward the depiction of living beings and despite its secondary status to calligraphy, painting in Islamic lands did become a highly celebrated branch of the visual arts. As we examine the Deeds and conclude that its structure and content were shaped by, and helped perpetuate a long-standing Islamic mindset, we are also prompted to look for additional reasons that would explain why, despite the astounding achievements of its practitioners, the art of depiction did not receive its fair share of attention in written records.

One such reason is articulated over and over by authors of similar art-historical texts on calligraphy and painting whose works express an attitude that is akin to that of Âli. According to these authors, most of whom were practicing calligraphers, the wondrous elements of the art of painting were not explicable by words. Beautiful imagery, in their minds, was meant for contemplation, not for narration. Since no writer that we know of from any sectarian, political, or artistic background exhausted his

\[244\] See, for example, Dost Muhammad’s preface where he writes that Bihzad’s painting is “beyond all description.”
resources to delineate the subject, it is reasonable to believe that this conviction was
indeed a binding factor that prevented authors from fully entering into the realm of the
visual. Therefore, even though Āli makes no mention of it, it is probable that this line of
thinking was partially operative in his authorship as well.

Āli’s personal views about painters offer a second explanation for his less than
committed coverage of the art of depiction. As noted earlier, both in the Counsel and in
the Delicacies Āli makes startling commentaries about the court painters, and in the
latter book he even goes so far as to demand the extermination of all court painters. As
he makes this outrageous demand, however, Āli makes sure to clarify that his wrath is
directed specifically at the miniature painters whose corrupt deeds he had observed in the
palace atelier during the illumination project of the Book of Victory. Given the extent of
his frustration with the court painters, we can presume that Āli’s strong disapproval of
that particular group affected his attitude toward painters in the Deeds, and toward the art
of painting in general.

Probably owing to a combination of these reasons, Āli avoided offering a
discussion of the art of painting as detailed and evenhanded as we would have wished
and thus limited the book’s utility for us. At the same time, writing in a field that was
dominated by authors of Arab or Persian origin, Āli was well aware of the potential
significance of his text for the artists of Rum in the competitive art-historical arena.
Thus, in the Deeds, unlike what he did in the Counsel and in the Delicacies, he restrained
his personal views about the court painters. He simply remained distant, rather than
maintaining a hostile attitude towards them. In fact, it will be remembered from an
earlier discussion that the only occasion where Āli mentions a discreditable deed of the
Rumi painters is when he tells us how, taking advantage of the collectors’ craze to buy, the painters sold them forgeries. Other than this instance where his purpose is more to disparage the collectors’ greed and ignorance than to reveal the painters’ depravity, .ease does not direct any criticism at the court painters he despised so much. This unusual attitude was dictated by .ease’s larger agenda, that is, to promote in the Deeds the art and artists of Rum.

  ease’s desire to foreground the attainments of Rumi artists was in keeping with his other scholarly activities. As mentioned earlier, despite clashes and political, ideological, and sectarian differences between the Ottoman and the Persian world, the Ottoman elite of the sixteenth century had a great appreciation of things Persianate. In the cultural sphere, from language to literature and visual arts, Persianate models were considered a point of reference for excellence, sophistication, and finesse. Like many of his peers, .ease too was exposed to this courtly orientation in his early youth and strove for perfection in his learning and scholarship by studying the Persian heritage. At the same time, especially in his early- and late-period works, .ease ambitiously asserted a comparable, and even superior, status for the cultural and literary output of the Ottomans. He hoped to do this in the Deeds, first, by exhibiting the linguistic and literary riches of Ottoman Turkish as well as this language’s suitability to the field of art-historical writing. Secondly, he tried to integrate into the field the previously unrecorded attainments of the artists of Rum in an international and largely Persian-dominated artistic arena. An unprecedented effort in this direction, this was one of .ease’s major contributions to Ottoman as well as Islamic art history.


c-Áli’s attempt to promote the artistic world of Rum becomes visible first in chapter two in his notes on the “Seven Masters.” Here, as part of his discussion of the copyists of the Six Styles, c-Áli gives a detailed account of Jamal al-Din Yaqt and his six pupils, which group he calls the “Seven Masters.” Before giving the names of Yaqt’s pupils, however, c-Áli notes that his list is based on “the investigation of the masters of Rum and copyists of learned traditions.” This emphasis on Rumi sources is significant in that it announces to the reader c-Áli’s awareness of the differences that his list contains as regards both the name of the group and the list of pupils. Indeed, at the end of the pupils’ notices, c-Áli returns to his earlier statement, quotes the list found in Qutb al-Din’s treatise, and disputing its reliability, asserts that “the sounder version” is the one that he himself accounted. By discarding the alternative versions and relying instead on this particular list, then, c-Áli displays his confidence in Rumi masters’ opinion and ascribes a higher credibility to these men of “learned traditions.”

In an attempt to highlight the established Ottoman artistic traditions, c-Áli focuses on the accomplishments of a select group of artists. In chapter two, following his accounts of the abovementioned Seven Masters and the other writers of the Six Styles, c-Áli inserts a note stating that, “the calligraphers of Rum also have their ‘Seven Masters.’” Then, before the notices of additional Persian calligraphers, he turns his attention to the “jewel-like artists” of Rum. c-Áli’s praisefilled accounts of these Rumi calligraphers are embellished by three poems, appropriately composed in Ottoman Turkish. In the first poem, he praises Muhy al-Din of Amasya by likening his

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245 The Deeds, 26a.
246 See, appendix.
achievement in the naskh hand to Imam ًAli’s excellence in Kufic. In the second verse, he exalts Ahmad Qarahisari by ascribing to him the ubiquitous title “the glory of [the art of] writing.” Finally, ًAli honors Shaykh Hamdullah of Amasya (the grandfather of Pir Muhammad Dede under whom he himself studied calligraphy), by deeming his hand better than that of Yaqut. He delivers the panegyric words, “Ever since the calligraphy of Hamdi son of Shaykh appeared, / The writings of Yaqut have surely vanished from the world.” With these assertions in verse and prose, ًAli points to the rooted traditions of Ottoman calligraphers and champions the masters of Rum as equals to the most revered personages in the history of calligraphy.

As he celebrates the accomplishments of the Rumi artists, ًAli tries to underscore the importance of emulation for a well-grounded training. The ideal models to be emulated were by default the masters of Persia. Thus, in the abovementioned account of Dervish Husam, ًAli praises the calligrapher for not resisting, like other artists of Rum, a learning process based on imitation of Persian models. ًAli’s belief was that emulation, when acted upon with creative power, would bring about advancement.

One such moment of ingenuity is recorded in chapter four. Following his accounts of the Persian calligraphers who wrote in diwani, a calligraphic style of Persian origin, ًAli brings the subject to the masters of Rum and notes that the writers of that script in the lands of Rum “modified the Persian style in its entirety and transformed [it] into an admirable [style] with easy-to-read forms and characters.” The achievement of the Rumi calligraphers that ًAli lauds with these words is twofold: their mastery of the Persian hand by way of imitation, and their creation of a distinctively Ottoman

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247 The Deeds, 33a.
calligraphic mode by refining the original script in form and style. Indeed, for centuries to come, diwani came to be the most frequently used script in Ottoman imperial decrees and orders.

In the artistic arena, insofar as they were models to be emulated, Persian masters were also rivals. For this reason, it was important for Ėli that he bring to the fore the perceived preeminence of the Rumi masters over the masters of Persia in the art of bookbinding. Ėli expresses his conviction on this matter twice in chapter five; first, following his brief mention of the Chalabi brothers of Rum, and again, at the end of his list of the Persian binders that follows. In both instances, Ėli points to the fine quality of the art of Rumi binders in ruling, stitching, and in executing medallions, and asserts that even though in diluting and sprinkling gold the Persians carry the ball of superiority, they are inferior to the masters of Rum in the aforesaid crafts.

Ėli’s accounts of binders are quite brief and do not contain, as his notices of the Rumi calligraphers do, elegant eulogies so as to highlight the artists’ excellence. Rather, as he hurriedly wraps up his sentences, Ėli retains a self-assured and terse tone. He writes that any attempt to dispute his assertion about the Rumi binders’ incontestable superiority would be mere arrogance and the “meaningless talks” of those who would argue against him would be mere blabbering. With these words, refusing to engage in further debate, Ėli puts an abrupt end to his commentary and displays his unyielding position on the matter.

Not surprisingly, Ėli manifests no such assertiveness in his discussion of the Rumi painters. In fact, unlike what he does in the sections on calligraphers and binders, Ėli never judges the masters of Rum against the world masters in the course of his
A cursory and selective discussion of this group. About Shiblizade Ahmad, for instance, Āli writes that “He was the best of the artists of Rum in human portraiture.”However, he makes no comparison of Ahmad’s art with the art of Persian portraitists, whose excellence in this field was acknowledged by all. Similarly, Master Sha’ban, “a painter of wondrous and flawless images and epigraphic ornament” is said to be “unique in today’s Rum,” but his achievement, too, is confined to the homeland. Finally, Āli praises Hasan of Kefe for being “without peer in human portraiture,” but still avoids commenting on his general perception of the Rumi portraitists in relation to the distinguished masters of the neighboring lands.

Āli’s deliberate and by now familiar remoteness toward the painters of Rum makes his discussion of their art a loose point in his otherwise well orchestrated strategy to promote the art and artists of Rum. Yet, even in the absence of comparative assessments, his accounts of painters are significant in that they are the earliest records of the names of a choice group of Rumi masters who flourished under the patronages of Muhammad II, Salim I, Suleyman, and Murad III. In this connection, Āli’s references to the artists of the “paradise-resembling palace” of Sultan Muhammad, including Sinan Beg and his pupil Shiblizada Ahmad, as well as the visiting Maestro Paolo, are especially valuable, since they enable us to trace the history of the so-called Istanbul School of the fifteenth-century.

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248 The Deeds, 79a.
249 The Deeds, 79a.
250 The Deeds, 79b.
251 The name Istanbul School refers to the period between the fifteenth- and eighteenth centuries. For more on this school, see Atl, 113 and Esin, introduction.
ÊÁli’ s attempts to promote the achievements of Rumi artists are valuable especially because they point to the rivalry between the Ottomans and the Persians. As illustrated in the discussion above, ÊÁli’s awareness of his position in this rivalry as a Sunni Ottoman is evident from the enthusiasm and forcefulness of his commentaries on Rumi calligraphers as well as the compromise he makes by concealing his frustration with the court painters. Interestingly, it is again thanks to ÊÁli’s position as a Sunni Ottoman that the Deeds becomes our only source about a group of practitioners whose names or accounts are not found in standard Safavid sources.

These practitioners can be placed in two groups. In the first, we find some Persian or Turkman masters who practiced in their homeland, but whose names did not find their way into written sources probably because of their ethnic, political, or sectarian affiliations that deviated from the mainstream. Two such artists are Mir ÊAzd, the illuminator of the Tehran Zafarnama dated 1528-29, and Qasim of Iraq, who, Welch and Dickson suggest, was most likely Painter B of the Houghton Shahnameh.252

In the second group are Persian or Turkman masters who moved to and settled in Rum, either on the order of a conquering Ottoman Sultan or on their own will. One such artist from the time of the “benevolent padishah” Sultan Bayazid II (r. 1481-1512) was the calligrapher Mawlana Idris. Two other calligraphers, ÊAbd al-Wahid of Mashhad and Haji Muhammad of Tabriz were considered “worthy of the exalted favors of the choice [sultan] of the exalted Ottoman House,” Sultan Sulayman. In addition, ÊÁli mentions Qinci Mahmud, an illustrious painter who came to Rum also during the reign of

252 Dickson and Welch, 243B. The authors also mention ÊÁli’s unique reference to one Shaikhzada Muhammad Beg, but no such name is found in the Deeds.
Sulayman. The same sultan, “conqueror of lands with Alexander-like zeal,” also arranged “numerous favors and kindesses” and allocated a private workshop in the Imperial Palace to Shah Quli Naqqash. Finally, Ilchi Ibrahim Khan of Qum, Muhammad Rida, and Walijan were ʿĀli’s contemporaries who were employed at the royal atelier in Istanbul during the reign of Murad III.

ʿĀli’s unique references to these artists are invaluable not only because they bring to us the accounts of a group of masters whose names would otherwise have been lost, but also because they illustrate the author’s role in shaping the history of art. The artists’ allegiance in the latter group to the “evil Ottomans,” for instance, was certainly a reason why their names do not appear in Safavid records, especially where their loyalty was voluntary. Writing from the vantage point of a Sunni Ottoman, however, ʿĀli wanted to note the Ottoman rulers’ acquisition and protection of Safavid artistic resources as evidence of their military and political supremacy.

If the authors’ political, sectarian, or ethnic affiliations had such a major impact on how they selected and studied their subjects, then, as the only art-historical text we have from the sixteenth-century Ottoman world, the significance of the Deeds becomes even clearer. An investigation of the divergent ways in which authors with different backgrounds represented the artists, artistic production, and patrons of the competing Persian and Rumi worlds, will, hopefully, be the topic of a future study.

In his concluding words to the Deeds, ʿĀli states his conviction that, as his book reaches its end, he has demonstrated why “the great, illustrious, and exalted virtuous men” ought to keep it in their treasuries. The text that he composed in only about a year

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253 Qadi Ahmad, 168, 190, 194.
and which he never had the time to edit since he soon became immersed in his new opus, the *Essence*, was indeed valued by many. To their love of learning, we owe the existence of the *Deeds*’ twenty-four extant copies. It is perplexing and sad for the modern-day art historian that no Ottoman writer composed a similar text until sixty years after the *Deeds*. Yet, being the author of the only text on the subject until that time would have been a well-earned source of pride for ğÁli and a reaffirmation of his conviction about the significance of his work. To be sure, with the *Deeds* ğÁli once again connected his own day with our present as he did with so many of his other works.

As he set out to do this, ğÁli made great use of the written, oral, and visual traditions to which he was heir. At the same time, he composed the *Deeds* from a unique personal perspective, and it was owing to this human dimension that the final work became very much his own. In the *Deeds*, ğÁli brought to the fore the importance of monetary issues in all three phases of art: during its production, exchange, and appreciation. First, the artist’s talent and the patron’s support were essential. Next, both parties involved in trade were expected to be informed as well as honest. It was only when these requirements were met that art could fulfill its function and become pleasing to the eye and to the intellect of its possessor or viewer. In ğÁli’s definition of art, in other words, artistry, probity, erudition, and proper management of resources were all interrelated.

The nature of ğÁli’s engagement in the artistic world was different than that of the authors of most art-historical texts on the subject. From where he stood, decadence in the art market was the most urgent issue ğÁli felt needed attention. In his mind, corruption was one of the most alarming signs of a fast-declining empire. Thus, ğÁli devoted much
space in the Deeds to human detail, encouraging artists to maintain integrity and calling for authenticity in their art. As he did so, "Âli himself brought originality and sincerity to his own work. His book was original in form: it was the first to be penned in Ottoman Turkish and it was also an experiment with an unprecedented, complex artistic line in which the names of nearly two hundred seventy artists were skillfully placed. The Deeds was also sincere in spirit: in it, "Âli revealed his ambitions and frustrations, strengths and weaknesses.

In his lifetime, "Âli’s versatile, complex, and no doubt out of the ordinary character won him the high regard as well as animosity of many. Regardless of his alleged enemies, however, in a period when so much was expected of a man of learning, "Âli did manage to make a name for himself among the learned elite. Many of his nearly fifty works were read by sultans, viziers, and dignitaries, referenced by the literati, and reproduced by the following generations, thus making it all the more discomforting for modern-day scholars that so little of what he fervently produced has been studied thoroughly.

Admittedly, "Âli was a man of contradictions. In his mature years, for instance, he was highly critical of the government’s nepotistic practices. Yet, when he himself was in need of a job or sought promotion, "Âli exerted unrelenting and brazen effort to win the favors of influential men. Among them were even some whose intellectual, moral, or personal qualities he had condemned in the past.254 Khwaja Sa’d al-Din, for one, that “angelic majesty of firmament-like station,” to whom "Âli dedicated the Deeds and

254 See, for example, his relations with Shaykh Shuca (Fleischer, 72, 74-75), the illeterate dervish and seer of Murad III, to whom "Âli wrote an ode requesting patronage.
praised as being the most illustrious of patrons and helper of the masses, was none other than the mentor he had criticized in the following poem from the *Counsel*.

I feel sorry for the King of the World
Who is alone with his person, like the pearl in the ocean.
   His mentor, his shaykh, his vizier,
   They all are after their own gain day and night.
By letting themselves be influenced to favor others,
They neglect their duties vis-à-vis the Divine commandments.
   Favoring a horde of unworthy ones,
   They cause grief to the King of the World.\(^\text{255}\)

\(^\text{255}\)\(^\text{255}\) \(^\text{255}\)\(^\text{255}\) Åli had uttered these words at a time when he was preoccupied with showing Sultan Murad his conviction that the only concern of the Sultan’s counselors was to fulfill their own ambitions. Only four years later, however, as Åli was in desperate need of an appointment and a protector, the *Deeds* gave him the hope that Sa’d al-Din would indeed let himself “be influenced to favor others.” After all, Åli believed, on account of his learning, experience, and age, it was most natural that he receive such favoritism.

In his personal life, beliefs, and practices, too, Åli had his contradictory moments. To cite only one example, given his interest in having his historical works illustrated, it is puzzling that when he wrote the *Delicacies*, Åli quoted the famous *hadith*: “Every former of an image shall be in hellfire.”\(^\text{256}\) As mentioned earlier, Åli paid painters from his own account to illustrate the *Book of Victory*, and his portrait embellishes the pages of the book’s royal edition. As he quotes this *hadith*, then, did Åli believe that as the formers of images were cast to hell, their collaborators would not be

\(^{255}\) *Counsel*, I: 34.

\(^{256}\) In his *Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale, 1987), Oleg Grabar traces the origins of this opposition to painting images of animate beings to the mid-eight century.
accountable? Or, at the end of his life, did he have a change of heart and come to believe that all his efforts to keep current with the time’s fashion were, after all, a mistake?

Today, what is more important to us than definite answers to these questions is the fact that while ĒʿAlī was critical of the world in which he lived, he was also an active participant in it. This was the contradiction he lived with both as an intellectual and as a human being. The fast-changing economic, political, and intellectual milieu of the Empire that corresponded to ĒʿAlī’s middle and old ages certainly made his life more paradoxical than it would have been otherwise. Whatever the circumstances that brought about ĒʿAlī’s contradiction, the shifting positions ĒʿAlī maintained most of his life did not make him the most likeable figure in Ottoman history in the eye of some of his biographers. So much so that, some even labeled him a liar, hypocrite, and an opportunist.257 On top of the stylistic, formal, linguistic, and contextual complexities that his works present, ĒʿAlī’s personality, too, became a challenge for scholars. In the end, for more than four hundred years, his massive oeuvre remained an always current but never sufficiently studied part of the Ottoman intellectual life.258

When in 1550 Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) penned the first draft of his Le Vite de più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, et Architettori, neither he nor the critics deemed it to be the ultimate source on the subject. Eighteen years later, Vasari published a second edition of his work, which came to be accepted as a standard reference book for some three hundred years. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, uncomplimentary critics

258 Early scholars’ assessment of ĒʿAlī as a mediocre talent is another reason that limited the quality as well as the number of studies on him. Schimmel, for example, writes that, “This ĒʿAlī Efendi from Gallipoli was an employee in the divans of several grandees and a prolific writer of pretty mediocre prose, history, and poetry as well.”
discovered the text’s flaws. Its wildly confused records on Popes, emperors, and artists, its literary form, its oral sources that mirrored Vasari’s interest in human nature and gossip, and even some of the written sources on which Vasari relied became targets of disparaging articles. Soon, the Canon came to be viewed as an “amusing fiction” and was categorized simply as an inventory of factual information about artists—the precise category from which Vasari wanted to disassociate his work. In the following years, Le Vite went through several revisions during which many amendments and additions were made to the original manuscript. It was only after these meticulous studies that the text achieved its present, secure place in art-historical literature.

The purpose of this dissertation is to launch the Deeds on a similar journey and to investigate its flaws as well as its merits that surpass them. Granted, though not properly studied, the significance of the Deeds has long been recognized in the field of Islamic studies. In the larger field of art history, however, as I have tried to explain in this introduction, there is still work to be done. For example, the multilayered literary meanings of ʿĀli’s prose and verse present a wealth of insight into the literary riches of the period that warrant further investigation. Furthermore, the complex symbolic, religious, and spiritual associations ʿĀli establishes in the non-biographic sections of the book merit the attention of specialists. It is my hope, however, that this critical edition will provide a solid foundation for future studies that would ultimately involve an analysis of the text’s place in world literature, alongside the works of writers such as Vasari, Cennini, and Alberti. ʿĀli was an ambitious man, whose accomplishments were

not prized during his lifetime as he had hoped. The task remains, therefore, for modern-day scholars to grant him the belated recognition that he well deserves.
CHAPTER 2
Translation

[Epic Deeds of Artists]

[Preface]

(7a) The book begins with prayers of praise and thanks [to God] with whose pen [the verse], “Kind and honorable, writing down [your deeds], they [the recording angels] know [and understand] all that ye do,”260 was made evident and manifest. And the foreword is a preamble of gratitude and adoration that, with the [Qurʾanic] ordinance, “[There is] a Register [fully] inscribed, to which bear witness those nearest [to God],”261 written in taʿliq script—a written transcription (nesb-i fitrāt) of the true religion and weaving of natural intelligence (nesc-i fitnāt).262

(7b) How wondrous is the Scribe of the school of creation and power [i.e., God], who adorned the tulip-cheeked pages [of the Qurʾān] with perfect embellishments in

260 Qurʾān, 82:11-12.
261 Qurʾān 83:20-21. Reference is to ʿala-ʾi ʿilmiyyin, see n. 410 below.
262 A verse in praise of the Pen follows.
rayhani\textsuperscript{263} script! He inscribed a history of beauty and splendor with two lines of thuluth\textsuperscript{264} that [He] engraved on rose-cheeked frontispieces.\textsuperscript{265} At one glance, He demonstrated the Creation [with] a Kufic kaf (Kān), and at another glance He established the messengerhood (risālet) with the letter ra and prophethood (nūbūvvet) with the letter nun. Doubtless, the perfect page[s] [of the Qur\textsuperscript{a}n’s] beauty, which resemble an elusive secret protected by a talisman, became a matchless illustration of [His] greatness. As such, like the noble [Qur\textsuperscript{a}nic] verses, “By the kāf and nūn,”\textsuperscript{266} “By nūn and by the Pen,”\textsuperscript{267} [and] “Tis for the people who are wise”\textsuperscript{268} [they] became a testimony [to the fact that] its rhymed prose (inṣā), the begetter of the well-formed and the graceful [text], was the sweet face of the camphored black of writing. And its soul-ravishing prose, a charming and alluring\textsuperscript{269} manifestation of God, was a colored heading (ser-suhen)\textsuperscript{270} of enchanting import to the two brow[-like] lines. In other words, that beautiful and graceful epistle [i.e., the Qur\textsuperscript{a}n] became a work of great penmanship. And the Reed Pen of perpetual creation and Scribe of (8a) eternal pre-destination [i.e., God], by turning the

\textsuperscript{263} rayhani, literally “the aromatic plant basil,” “having a fragrance.” A smaller version of muhaqqaq, it was used for copying the Qur\textsuperscript{a}n, and like muhaqqaq, started to go out of use after the eleventh/seventeenth century, being replaced by naskh, an essentially cursive script. Because of its poetic name, rayhani was the favorite script poets used in their puns.

\textsuperscript{264} thuluth, literally “one-third.” This script is generally said to have derived its name from being based on the principle of a third of each letter being sloping. Among the Six Styles, this is the longest surviving. It was and is still used for every kind of frame and for book titles.

\textsuperscript{265} Schimmel (106-114) and Khatibi and Sijelmasi (130-31, “Spell of the Face”) explain the Hurūfī (a cabalistic sect) understanding of the human face as a vibration of the invisible beauty of God. According to the Hurūfī teaching (developed by Fadlullah of Astarabad), there is a “mute” Qur\textsuperscript{a}n and a manifested Qur\textsuperscript{a}n, which is revealed in the human face. The Hurūfī endow this face with the symbol of the number seven, which is that of the Fāṭiha or the first Sura of the Qur\textsuperscript{a}n: seven lines—two pairs of eyelashes (4), the eyebrows (2), and the hairline.”

\textsuperscript{266} kāf and nūn, the two Arabic letters spelling the word kun, the creative fiat. Qur\textsuperscript{a}n, 2:117; 3:47, 59; 6:73; 16:40; 19:35; 36:82; 40:68. The vertical stroke on the letter kāf xxx resembles a pen, and the nūn xxx is shaped like an inkpot.

\textsuperscript{267} Qur\textsuperscript{a}n, 68:1. Surat al-Nun is also called Surat al-Qalam because of its opening “Nun. By the Pen and by the [Record] with which [they] write.”

\textsuperscript{268} Qur\textsuperscript{a}n, 2:164; 16:12; 29:35; 30:24; 45:5.

\textsuperscript{269} gūnq u dālāl, also, a cessation in the manifestation of God to a saint, as an effect of divine love.

\textsuperscript{270} Usually ser-levhā, the term refers to the decorative heading at the top of the first folio of a text.
reception of [divine] light into a bright and visible path [i.e., by revealing the Qur’an] with manifest lines like the illustrious Qur’anic verse “Nūn and the Pen,” made the jewels of His Pen into pure pearls of excellence. It is a wonder how God made fragrance flow over camphor, “By a Decree inscribed, in a Scroll unfolded.”271 “God is the Protector of those who have faith: from the depths of darkness He will lead them forth into light.”272

Two ‘ayns, two ras or two nūns,273 became the heading of the secret “Be! And it was.” The verse Nūn274 became a postscript to [the miracle], [Of a Pen’s causing] the Tablet275 [appear] cleft asunder.276 [God] set the light of ink into the fiery inkwell, And threaded each letter like a hidden pearl. With the mighty Pen, the Scribe of Creation fashioned On two pages the design of fickle fortune.277

Praises of pure gratitude and sincere salutations (8b) to the noble soul of that unlettered prophet (nebi-yi īmmī)278 of exalted rank and the messenger of agreeable

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271 Qur’an, 52:2, 3.
272 Qur’an, 2:257.
273 The letter ‘ayn is resembled to the eye, the letter ra to the eyebrow, and the letter nūn to the ear, or to the sidelocks over the ear. The following verse is a reference to the creation fiat “Kūn!” formed with the letters kāf and nūn.
274 Qur’an, 68:1.
275 The mystic Pen and the Tablet are the symbolic foundations of the Revelation to humankind. The oath of the Pen disposes of the flippant charge that God’s Messenger, Muhammad, was mad or possessed. For he spoke words of power, not incoherent, but full of meaning, and through the Record of the Pen, that meaning unfolds itself in innumerable ways.
276 Qur’an: 54 (al-gamar, The Moon) tells the story of Muhammad’s miracle of splitting the Moon into two. Pen’s (Muhammad’s finger?) splitting the Tablet (moon?) into two is possibly a reference to one of the wondrous signs of the Prophet Muhammad as noted in this sura. Verses one and two read: “The hour [of Judgment] is nigh, and the moon is cleft asunder. But if they see a sign, they turn away, and say, ‘This is [but] transient magic.’” The story refers to an incident when the people of Mecca asked the Prophet to show them a miracle by splitting the moon into two, and Muhammad did so by pointing his finger. For an analysis of the spiritual lesson of this event, see Abdullah Yusuf Ali, The Qur’an Text, Translation and Commentary (New York, n.d.), 1454. In later versions of the text, these two lines of the poem are reversed.
277 According to the traditions quoted by al-Tabarî in his Tafsîr, the qalam (Pen) was the first thing created by God so that He could write down events to come. Two explanations have been given of this qalam: 1) that it is simply an implement used for writing, one of the divine gifts; and 2) that it is a spiritual qalam of light, wrote down all things that are to happen until the last judgment; see EI, vol. 4, 471.
[and] dignified virtues! [Praises and salutations] to God’s knowing beloved, the illustrious intercessor of the Day of Judgment, that is, to the graceful person of his Excellency Muhammad Mustafa, who must be revered, and to his wives, children, companions, and family! He is favored with the words “Because [He] taught thee what thou knewest not [before],” and his virtuous being is clear as day, especially with the agreeable order, “Read! In the name of thy Lord He who taught [the use of] the Pen.”

Chancery scribes (mūṣīyān) of clear writing and messengers (mūnḥiyān) [skilled in] the art of eloquent speech (9a) are informed on this matter [i.e., on the excellence and divine endorsement of writing] on which there are numerous Qur’anic verses. According to [the adage], “The first thing God created was the Pen,” the fragrant Fatiha of the Book of Creation is taught by the recitation of the Bi’smīllah and the object [i.e., the text of the Qur’an] of the legendary verse heading of [Qur’anic] pages is protected by a talismanic, brow-resembling line. As such, [the Pen’s] precedence and preferableness is made manifest, and the indispensability of writing for the pages of time is betokened and indicated. Among these [i.e., pages of time for which writing was necessary] is the great and absolute Qur’an, the unconditioned noble Furqan, that is an indisputable confirmation of the illustrious line, “This Our Record speaks about you with

278 Some Muslim traditions hold that Muhammad was illiterate in its literary sense while others interpret his being illiterate with the sense of “the one who needs no learning.” Western scholars, on the other hand, usually interpret that Qur’anic phrase to mean the “Prophet of the common folk.” They believe that as merchant in his early life, Muhammad had to have known how to read and write.
279 Qur’an, 4:113.
280 Qur’an, 96:1, 4. A long Arabic prayer for the soul of the Prophet follows.
281 Plural of munshi, a writer who composes documents in good official style; a chief clerk in a public office.
282 Fātihā, “the Opening,” the opening chapter (sura) of the Qur’an.
283 “In the name of God, most Gracious, most Merciful.”
284 That is, the suras of the Qur’an are preceded (and protected) by the talismanic line of the basmala.
285 Furqān or ‘āẓīm; “The Glorious Divider,” a name given to the Qur’an because the book is the basis for discrimination between truth and unreality.
truth.\textsuperscript{286} Its elegant prose would not have been possible to record without a pen, and its exalted cover\textsuperscript{287} [could not have been] bound with line of wisdom (\textit{sirāze-i ḥikmet}) without having recorded it [first]. Furthermore, great messengers succeeded in executing divine orders through the revelation of the honorable pages [of the Qur’an]. And chosen prophets (\textit{ālāl‘l-‘azm})\textsuperscript{288} [executed] the [divine] commands and prohibitions of disapproved [deeds] by the acceptance of the verses of the Books of the Messengers.\textsuperscript{289} In addition, [the aforementioned adage] emphasizes the fact that, among implements, (9b) the Tablet\textsuperscript{290} and the Pen are holier than all others, while penmen are the most virtuous of people.\textsuperscript{291}

\textbf{(10a) Regulation (qā‘ide)}

Now let it not be hidden that that group [i.e., writers, is divided into] two categories. The first category [includes those] whose beautiful writing is agreeable, or, according to the noble \textit{ḥadith}\textsuperscript{292} “Writing is what can be legible,” whose inability to write beautifully is not shameful. [They are] the eloquent authors, \textit{tughra-kash}\textsuperscript{293} with lofty positions; scribes of the chancery offices (\textit{divān}) of exalted grandees; and accountants

\textsuperscript{286} Qur’an, 45:29. I.e., Nothing misses the Recording Angel, and whatever is said in the Record is true.
\textsuperscript{287} \textit{cild}, can also mean “parchment pages.”
\textsuperscript{288} The prophets distinguished by Muslims as highest in rank, such as Noah, Abraham, and according to some, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammad. Others add Seth, Isaac, Jacob, Job as well.
\textsuperscript{289} Presumably the earlier books of revealed scriptures (Torah, Bible) plus the Qur’an.
\textsuperscript{290} Qur’an, 85:21-22 reads “Nay, this is a Glorious Qur’an [inscribed] in a Tablet Preserved!” I.e., God’s Message is not ephemeral. It is eternal. The “Tablet” is not to be understood in a material sense, made of stone or metal. It is “preserved” or guarded from corruption; see Yusuf Ali, 1717.
\textsuperscript{291} A passage that explain the uses of writing follows.
\textsuperscript{292} An account of what the Prophet Muhammad said or did, or of his tacit approval of something said or done in his presence, handed by his companions.
\textsuperscript{293} \textit{tughra-kash}, official in the office at the Porte where the imperial cipher was inscribed on imperial edicts.
who keep the books of the treasury, above all, the judges and governors of the time; and
the persevering pen holders who are in need of compensation. It is certain that every one
of them is a servant of the edict, “Teach your children how to write, for writing is one of
[the most] unique of deeds.” And [each] is a scribe of the age immersed in the penning
of one page after another, through the gentle encouragement of the scribe of divine
revelation, the trustee of the Prophet [Muhammad], the seat of the prophecy, His
Excellency [Imam] ʿAli—may God illumine his face! Anything they write is sought
after, for it conveys [not only] the substance of the outward appearance of what they
write, [but] their (10b) endlessly praiseworthy virtues as well. As for those with beautiful
writing (ḥaṭṭ) like the down (ḥaṭṭ) on moon-like faces, they acquire fame like the day
[expressed in] the eulogy, “Light upon Light.”

The second category [includes] the calligraphers of the world and stellar writers
who confirm the saying, “Unto you the beauty of calligraphy, for it is among the keys to
sustenance,” and who are most rightfully entitled and most deserving of high praises
by virtue of [their] erudition. Above all, the superior chief of all and celebrated prince of
the realm of discourse is His Excellency, the lion of God, Imam ʿAli son of Abī Talib,
King of the battling lion[s], brave lion of God, sultan of the land of spiritual knowledge
(ʿulūm-i ledūniyye), proof of the paths of the universal sciences (fīnūn) of God’s
perpetuity, explorer of the doubts of men of religious certitude (ehl-i yaqīn), and resolver

294 Imam ʿAli, the son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth caliph, was the patron saint of calligraphers.
295 The down on the face of a young man was a commonly used phrase in Persian and Ottoman poetry
suggestive of excelling beauty.
296 ʿAli used this paragraph in a slightly changed form in section 94 (“Men of the Pen”) of the Delicacies.
The verse “Light upon Light” is from Qur’an: 24:35. It alludes to “the glorious, illimitable Light that
cannot be described or measured.”
297 Attributed to Imam ʿAli.
298 shāh-mardān, “King of men,” a title given to the caliph ʿAli by Shiʿite dervishes.

154
of the difficulties of the heavens and the Two Worlds—may God illumine his face! He is the foremost padishah and [most] virtuous of the scribes of divine revelation and soldiers of endless virtues.

In this year of nine hundred ninety-five [1586-87], the sultan (11a) of all sultans, exalted ruler of Alexander’s throne, world lord of the planets’ fortuitous conjunction, conqueror of the kings of Persia, subduer of obstinate rebels, commander of Arabia and Persia, ruler of India, Sind, and Daylam, occupier of the lands of Rum, conquering and governing lord, and wayfarer through [various] lands, His Excellency Sultan Murad Khan [III] son of Salim Khan [II] son of Sulayman Khan [I] became the adorer [i.e., patron] of the sweet basils [i.e., artists] of the humankind and the dispenser of delights of the paradies to the inhabitants of the world. In his current time of benevolence, men of knowledge live well and men of elegance are content. Men of the sciences and arts are appreciated and protection is bestowed upon eminent men of varied virtues. Learned men, poets, men of refinement, calligraphers, gilders, painters, all of the talented masses and chief [artificers of] curios things are held in full esteem.

Furthermore, calligraphic works of all styles (11b) are fully honored and, above all, men of subtle affairs (nükte-sencân) are joyful as they have in their possession the qir‘as of Mir ets Ali and [Sultan ets Ali] of Mashhad.

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299 The highlands of Gilān close to the Caspian Sea. The remote origins of the Daylamites, who are thought to have belonged to a pre-Iranian stock, is uncertain.
300 The word refers to the civilizations that lie to the west of Iran, in Asia Minor and in Europe. Its adjective is Rumi.
301 An Arabic prayer for wellness and prosperity of the Sultan’s reign follows.
302 I.e., calligraphic specimen.
303 mir, a Persian title applied to princes, but also borne by poets and other men of letters.
Accordingly, in this time, in the Exalted Capital City (pāy-š ū’t-š ‘aliyye) [Istanbul], a single qit‘a of two verses by Mir ‘Ali sold for one hundred florins, [which bargain was achieved] as the result of a thousand persistent pleas, and humble and painstaking [entreaties]. It was commonly known that many among the secretaries of the state and those who fill the auspicious diwan spent fortunes of forty to fifty thousand gold coins and, according to some, exceeding even that, to the degree of the wealth of Croesus,\footnote{Last king of Lydia (r. ca. 560-46 BCE) known for his legendary wealth; see Encyclopaedia Iranica; vol. 6, 401.} on a single album, and splurged similarly on its arrangement and gilding. It was clear, therefore, that it would be prudent to adequately investigate and examine the identities of [these] scribes of good penmanship, cutters, gilders, decoral-painters, and portraitists,\footnote{Other versions of the text also include bookbinders in the list.} their origins, the masters under whom they excelled, and the padishahs with whose favors they attained those [exalted] ranks, if the qit‘as, calligraphic works, paintings (\textit{12a}) and illuminations acquired [by these persons] are to be appreciated. Moreover, some close friends and critical brothers looked forward to the results of [a study on] this matter. Astonished, they asked [me], “Since you have [produced] works [totaling] nearly twenty volumes and since you have many ideas that developed into various world-renowned texts, why don’t you compose a book on this subject?”

In particular [I was encouraged by Sa‘d al-Din] the sultan of discerning men, ruler of the investigators of truth, the heavenly pin of the pivot of the world, the great prince of exalted human power, illustrious among the most illustrious of patrons, the helper of the leaders of the masses, the confidant of the hidden rarities, the commander-in-chief of commanders of sultans of Alexander-like power, the fine philosopher of noble
qualities, the generous [man of] eloquence known for [his] munificence, the Sa’id al-Din of oration, the Sayyid of rhetoric, [he who] discourses [like] Abu’l Su‘ud [and is of] Bayzawi rank, articulate among the eloquent commentators who are well-grounded in the sciences, fortunate among the blessed [who] conform to the canon law, tutor of the illustrious shah of the world [Sultan Murad III], our lord, the one on whom we rely, Mawlama Sa’id al-Din son of Hasan Jan.

Now, the lofty abode of that angelic majesty of firmament-like station [Sa’id al-Din,] was a special refuge for this lowly servant and a stronghold [in whose presence he] wished to be privileged. With the composition of a new book like this, it is incumbent upon this old, fettered slave to renew and embellish prayers for [Sa’id al-Din’s] continued occupation of his station, neglect of which [prayers] would cause disgrace, just as [would one’s] disregard for [his] duties and religious obligations (siinen). (13a) It is known that as regards the excellence of his pen and his

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306 Reference here is either to Sayyid Hasan Ghaznawî (d. 556/1161-62), the Persian poet who spent the greater part of his life in Ghazna as a panegyrist of the Ghaznawid Sultan Bahrâm Shah (512-47/1182-52), or more likely to al-Sayyid al-Himyari (born 105/723-24 and died between 173-179/789-95), a Shi’î poet and a grandson of the poet Ibn Mufarrigh al-Himyari; see EI, vol. 9, 116.
307 Abu ’l-Su‘ûd Muhammad b. Muhyi ’l-Din (896-982/1490-1574), known as Hoca Chalabi, famous commentator of the Qur’an, Hanafi scholar and shaykh al-Islam. His father, a native of Iskilip (west of Amasia) had been a notable scholar and sufi. Abu ’l-Su‘ûd began his career as a teacher and was eventually promoted to one of the “Eight Madrasas” of Sultan Muhammad II; see EI, vol. 1, 152.
308 al-Baydawi’ Abd Allâh b. Umâr b. Muhammad. A member of the Shâfi‘î school, he served as chief qâdi in Shiraz. He had a reputation for wide learning, and wrote on a number of subjects including Qur’an exegesis, law, jurisprudence, scholastic theology, and grammar; see EI, vol. 1, 1128.
309 mawlânâ or monlâ, literally “Our Lord,” an honorific title applied to great personages of the religious hierarchy.
310 An Arabic prayer and verse in praise of Sa’d al-Din follows.
311 sunan, plural of sunnat, a way, habit, practice, rule of action, especially a practice of Muhammad observed by Sunni Muslims. The passage continues with praises to Sa’d al-Din.
composition, that meticulous author of *Kashshaf* is a Wassaf\textsuperscript{312} of admirable qualities, and in composing verse[s] and prose, is a Labid\textsuperscript{313} around whose knowledge [people] congregate. Hoping that he will extend the skirt of his munificence to veil the defects of this text and [will] lavish his kindness and favors for the dissemination of its agreeable contents, I have dared to embark upon the process of researching and writing [this book].

In fact, as a result of humble pleas, this well-wishing humble ʿĀli, while serving as a faithful finance minister in the treasury of the capital city, Baghdad,\textsuperscript{314} acquired an abridged treatise that *Mawlama Qutb al-Din (Muhammad of Yazd)*,\textsuperscript{315} the chief of that age’s writers and God’s eternal gift to the calligraphers of Iraq, had written about world’s calligraphers and about fifty masters among the calligraphers of the *nastaʿliq* [style].\textsuperscript{316} [I also had access to the accounts of] ʿAbdullah I, the foremost [calligrapher] in the *thuluth* and *naskh*\textsuperscript{317} styles, as his designation [the First] implies, (13b) and of *Mawlama ʿAbdullah of Crimea*, known as *Katip Tatar*, called “the Second [ʿAbdullah],” the excellent calligrapher of the time, who is like the second soul [i.e., the spirit of Muhammad]. [He is] one of the salaried scribes at the Ottoman court, known for his

\textsuperscript{312} Shiḥāb al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Fadl Allāh Shīrāzī, known as Waṣṣāf al-Hadrat (“the court pengyrist”), chronicler and poet of Mongol Persia in the early eight/fourteenth century, known for the florid style that provided a model for later Persian historiography; see *EI*, vol. 11, 174.

\textsuperscript{313} Labīd b. Rābīʿa (d. 40/660-61), Arab poet of the seventh century. Even before 600 AD, he seems to have attained a prominent position in his tribe as a result of his command of language. His poems were highly esteemed by the Arabs. Al-Nābigha, commenting on Labīd’s *Muʿallawa* is said to have declared him the greatest of Arab poets. His *Diwan* was edited by several of the greatest Arabic philologists; see *EI*, vol. 5, 583.

\textsuperscript{314} For ʿĀli’s appointment to Baghdad, see the introduction above.

\textsuperscript{315} From Vn (8b:1) and EH 1231 (10a:15-10b:1). For an abbreviated version of Qutb al-Dīn’s treatise on calligraphy, see Sukhan (Tehran), 17/6-7: 666-676 (1246/1967). For more on Qutb al-Dīn, see page 64 above.

\textsuperscript{316} A script that is a combination of *naskh* and *taʿliq*.

\textsuperscript{317} Literally “act of cancellation, abrogation.” Although the cursive script with its several different types continued to be used for several centuries, this small, round style of script became very popular as the modern Arabic typography. For its origins, see Ibn Muqla below.
truthfulness and fairness in critiquing the art of calligraphy and in exploring the state of calligraphers and calligraphy. A detailed account of him and his achievements is given below. Without question, their accounts and narratives helped and assisted [in the preparation of] this text.

Much heartened by the demands of beloved friends and tumultuous entreaties of affluent confidantes, renowned for their avidity for albums, [I composed this text in the following manner]. The introduction is on the nobility of beautiful writing and on the miraculous calligraphy of certain messengers, in particular, on the merits of pen and penmen, and includes an account of the classification of letters and syllables. Chapter one is on the copying of the divine revelation and on the exalted achievements of [the Prophet’s] companions, who wrote (14a) countless verses in Kufic script. Chapter two is on Ibn Muqla, on the Seven Masters, and on virtuous scribes well-versed in the Six Styles.318 Chapter three is on scribes who write in the nasta’liq [style], (and) on celebrated calligraphers among the men of discernment to whom reverence is due. Chapter four is on the munshis of the chap style, and on the intelligent, luminous envoys, who practice the diwani script. Chapter five is an account of those renowned among the talented cutters of Rum and Persia, choice decoupage artists of legendary works, figural-painters, gilders of the world, and the limners and binders of humankind. And the conclusion has been organized and composed to include some comparisons and similies and is a request for prayers for this author. And this book was given the celebrated title “Epic Deeds of Artists.”

318 shesh qalam in Persian and aqlâm-i sitta or khatûţ-i sitta in Arabic. Also translated as “Six Pens,” or “Six Scripts,” the term refers to naskh, muhaqqaqî, rayhânî, thuluth, riqâ’, and tawqi.
Now the *Introduction* is on the necessity of writing, the nobility of calligraphy, and, in particular, the elevated rank of the Tablet and the Pen in the highest sphere of the heavens, the noble services of scribes of discernment, (14b) and their legacies.

(Let it not be) hidden that, (hidden) or revealed, “The first [man] who wrote and sewed was the Prophet Idris—Peace be upon him!”\(^{319}\) That is, the first human being who held a reed-pen and wrote, and tailored a garment was the Prophet Idris—Peace be upon him! And among the angels who were acknowledged and honored [by God] with the task of recording the deeds of the worshippers and exploits of the devotees were the two [recording] angels who were referred to in the beautiful eulogy, “But verily over you [are appointed] kind and honorable [angels to protect you], writing down [your deeds].”\(^{320}\) [And to them] veneration is due.

Above all, writing is such an honorable art that God the Creator—may He be exalted!—emphasized its sacred essence in His glorious Book with the honorable line, “And We ordained laws for him in the Tablets,”\(^{321}\) and the graceful saying, “God has decreed: ‘It is I and My apostles who must prevail.’”\(^{322}\) Above all, [He] designated it an honorable way of life with the noble verse “*Nun. By the Pen and by the [Record] with which [they] write.*”\(^{323}\)

\(^{319}\) Original in Arabic.
\(^{320}\) See n. 261 above.
\(^{321}\) Qur’an 7:145.
\(^{322}\) Qur’an 58:21.
\(^{323}\) See n. 266 above.
Likewise, the heir of the messengers,324 His Excellency Imam ʿAli—may God illumine his face!—pronounced the subtle words “Writing is one half of knowledge (ʿilm).” Imam Jaʿfar son of Muhammad al-Sadiq,325 may God be pleased with him!—(15a) said, “I have not seen a better smile on a weeping face than that of the pen.”326 Furthermore, the philosopher Plato327 said, “Pens [or, writing] are the tools of illusions,” while the sage Galinus328 [noted], “Pens [or, writing] are the tools of the intellect.” The gifted Euclid [stated that] “The pen is the maker of speech [or, discourse]; it discloses what is contained in the heart and forms what resides in the intellect. And some virtuous men of exalted discourse among philosophers [gave expression to] the formula, “The intellects of people are at the tip of their pens.”329

(15b) Now, the first of those scripts330 is the Arabi script,331 and it is that script which is still in use among the Arabs, Persians, and people of Rum and Daylam. The

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324 ṣaḥīḥ, one of the titles of Imam ʿAli.
325 Jaʿfar al-Ṣadiq (“the Trustworthy”), a transmitter of the Prophet Muhammad’s traditions and the last imām recognized by both Twelver and Ismāʿīlī Shiʿīs. He was born in 80/699-700 or 83/702-03 in Medina and died in 148/765-66; see EI, vol. 2, 374.
326 I.e., a pen as it writes.
327 Arabs referred to Plato as Aflāṭūn, “the Spring of thought.”
328 Claudius Galinus of Pergamum (A.D. 130-220), the Greek physician.
329 The passage continues with a general commentary about the stylistic differences among the scripts used by the Arabs, Persians, Turks, Daylamis, and writers of other nationalities.
330 Minorsky (53, note 122) writes that Yāfiʿi (d. 768/1367) in his history, in connection with the name of ʿAli b. Hīlāl, known as Ibn Bawwab (see p. 180 below), states that all the systems of writing of various Eastern and Western nations are twelve in number: Arabic, Himyar, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew, Rumi (Latin), Coptic, Berberi, Andalusian, Indian, and Chinese. In other books eight additional script systems are mentioned: Thamudi, Hajari (Jafari?), Rumi, Maslub (Maqlub?), Kufi, Maʿqili, Jaʿfari, and Georgian.
331 A type of Arabic script constructed with Kufic. In Dost Muhammad’s account of history of scripts (Thackston, 7), the Arabic script is listed after the Kufic and as an invention of Ibn Muqla. Dust Muhammad’s account is as follows: “There was Kufan script until the time of al-Muṭṭadid biʿllah, at which time ʿAli ibn Muqla, who is known as Ibn Muqla, saw the Prince of the Faithful ʿAli in a vision, during which he instructed him in the thuluth, muhaqqaq, and naskh script, which script was named the ʿArabic script.”
second is the Kufic script. Before the hegira, the most widely used script was this one. Its letters were slightly more well-defined than the Arabic type. The third is the tabīʿī script. It is this script that the masters of miniature writing (aṣḥāb-i uṯāq), [that is] talisman writers and other astronomer-astrologers have been using. The fourth one is the script of Hermes the philosopher. According to Ermiya the First (Jeremiah) (and) some others, he was the revered messenger whom they call the Prophet Idris [Enoch].

This was probably (16a) the earliest script. The fifth [is] the script of master architects (qalem-i qalfaṭīnī). The sixth is the script of philosophers (qalem-i ḥukemā). The seventh is the enigmatic script (qalem-i ʿsrār). The eighth is the hidden script (qalem-i meknūn). The ninth is the sign script (qalem-i ʾishāre). The tenth is the Syriac script (qalem-i Sūryānī). The eleventh is the clay writing (qalem-i faṭīrī). The twelfth is the script of Joseph the soothsayer. The thirteenth is the Persian script (qalem-i Fārsī). The fourteenth is the rayhani script. The fifteenth is the Greek script. The sixteenth is the Coptic script (qalem-i Qibṭī). The seventeenth is cuneiform (mīḥ). The eighteenth is the Slavic script (qalem-i Ṣaqālibī).

Though it is commonly held that there are a total of twenty different types of scripts, the true enumeration is the above-listed eighteen that we have mentioned. And

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332 Kufic style is named after the city of Kufa in Iraq. In general, the term applies to non-rounded styles of Arabic writing. In his introduction, the Qadi (Minorsky, 48-55), in keeping with the Shiʿite tradition, mentions Imam ʿAli as the originator of the Kufic style. Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 7) and ʿĀli also devote a long section in praise of Imam ʿAli, not as the originator of Kufic, but rather as the one who perfected it. While ʿĀli does not name an inventor for this script, Dost Muhammad notes that it was Yaʿrub ibn Qahtan who produced the Kufic style from the Maʿqili. Named after Nahr al-Maʿqil at Basra, Maʿqili was a highly geometrically stylized script used in brick work. Among the earliest forms of Kufic were Qarmatian Kufic, broken Kufic, eastern Kufic, Kufic-naskhī, New Style, and broken cursive.

333 Hermes Trismegistus, a name given to the Egyptian god Thoth by Greek neo-Platonists, who regarded him as a teacher of religion, magic, and alchemy.

334 I.e., the Aramaic alphabet.

335 Persians use the Arabic script with the addition of three letters not found in Arabic.

336 See n. 262 above.
thuluth, naskh, ta’liq, rayhani, muhaqqaq, and riqa‘ are what scribes of the age consider to be the Six Styles. Apart from these, there are also nastā‘liq, chap script, diwani qirmasi (broken diwani), and dasti script, which bring the total [of calligraphic styles used for Arabic] to ten. As such, it becomes evident that the art of the reed pen confirms the excellence of the graceful [Qur‘anic] verse, “Making ten in all.”

Now, (16b) the enumeration noted above is based on differences having to do with calligraphic styles. The listing of the scripts we have discussed, however, has to do with differences in the classification of letters. That is, what others call the Six Styles and the rest collectively make up a seventh script. What is meant by this is not that [nastā‘liq, chap, diwani qirmasi, and dasti] are stylistically different, but simply that the dots [i.e., modules] of letters are fashioned differently.

Preliminary examination (Tedqîq-i daqîq)

The Tablet of Creation and Intellect must be described with the reed pen of discernment and perception. Scribes well-versed in subtleties call the side of pen facing the scribe insi and the side that faces the writing wahshi. They state that, for the scripts that are called naskh, thuluth and riqa‘, the Six Styles that are [especially] valued

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337 The Six Styles are the main cursive styles used in Arabic calligraphy. For details, see chapter two below.
338 Qur‘an 2:196. This verse discusses the duties of a Muslim who is unable to make the required pilgrimage to Mecca needs to fulfill. Among these duties is fasting for three days during the time of the ‘umra, a less formal pilgrimage any time of the year, and another seven days upon one’s return from the ‘umra, “making ten in total.”
339 I.e., what ‘Ali refers to as Arabic above.
340 As ‘Ali explains below, each kind of script required a special pen, and the cutting of the nib was an art in itself. The width of the nib was important in determining the alif mode, see n. 342 below.
341 It is commonly held that the part of the point left of the incision was called insî, “human,” because it is turned towards the writer, and the right wahsî, “savage,” because it is turned outwards.

163
and used by scribes, the wahshi should be twice [as broad] as the insi. And for diwani script, that is in chap, qirma, and dasti, the opposite holds true and it is the insi that should be twice [as broad] as the wahshi. However, for nastaʿliq (17a) script, the insi and wahshi should be equal.342

In sum, scribes with agreeable writing who are known and celebrated for [their] skill in the Six Styles should trim their pens such that if the side that faces them is the size of a point,343 the other side should be two points. And those who write in diwani and in qirma should trim their pens in the opposite way, such that they make the side that faces them two points, and the other side, one. But, if they are writing in nastaʿliq, they should trim the two sides equally.344

A detailed investigation (tahqīq-i ḥaqīq)

It is essential for masters who are calligraphers of the world and for erudite writers to use a real Wasiti reed pen,345 and they should choose the most firm, solid, and

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342 I.e., the pen should be slit exactly down the center. In his epistle on calligraphy, Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad (Minorsky, 115) notes the following on trimming of pen:
   Make the insi and the wahshi even,
   For the rule of four-sixths and two-sixths is obsolete.
   ...
   If you cut slantwise, a fault will occur,
   If you make a middling cut, this will do.

343 In calligraphy, the dot is the universal unit of proportion. It is a square impression formed by pressing the tip of the pen onto the paper. The dimension of each side of this square dot thus depends on the way in which the pen has been cut, and on the pressure exerted by the fingers. This pressure had to be sufficiently delicate and precise to separate the two sides of the nib. For details, see http://arabworld.ntle.org, “The Alif Module.”

344 The discussion is followed by a brief mention of certain masters’ preferred style of trimming.

345 Several kinds of reed for the making of pens were used in the sixteenth century including ones from Wāsiṭ (in Iraq), Āmol, Egypt, and Māzādarān. In terms of firmness, those from the marshes of Wāsiṭ were considered the best, followed by those from the swamps of Egypt or from Fāris; see EI, vol. 4, 471; Kütükoğlu, 37-41.
iron-like type [of reed]. They should not use ink made of lamp-black (midād),
but ink of the blackest and the most vivid sort (ḥibr), so that, over the course of time, it remains
durable and its color and gloss stand out. As for paper type, (18a) [calligraphers] should never value [paper made of]
wood fiber (ḥaṣebī) or Damascus type (Dimuşqī). They should use nothing of lower
quality than the Samarqand type (Semerqandī). The lowest [quality] paper is the

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.

Followed by a short passage about the necessity for using good quality ink follows. Calligraphers of the
time had in their disposal numerous recipes for different types and colors of inks, which can be divided into
three main groups: carbon-ink (midād, lamp-black ink bound with plant gum), metallo-gallic inks (ḥibr,
black precipitate of tannin and a metallic salt), and mixed ink (carbon and metallo-gallic). Bloom (107)
explains that midād was appropriate for use on papyrus, but it had notoriously poor adhesion to parchment
and tended to flake off. Ḥibr, a brownish type of ink used to copy the Qur’ān, penetrated the surface of the
parchment like dye. When used on paper, the mixture produced acid that eventually destroyed the paper.
Carbon ink, by contrast, was the type preferred by secretary-copyists for it had no destructive chemical
effect on papyrus or paper. For ink recipes and kinds, see Mahmud Bedreddin Yazar, Medeniyet Āleminde

In the early period of development of Muslim culture, the east was acquainted only with papyrus as
writing material. It was Chinese prisoners of war who, after the battle of Atłakh near Tālās first introduced
in 134/751 the industry of paper-making to Samarqand; see EI, vol. 4, 419-20. Paper’s thickness, the
finesse of its grain, and its resistance to the reed pen or to water were important criteria for the artists. Most
paper types were named either after the region of its origin or after the name of a notable or government
official. Today, some of these paper types are unknown, except for their names. For a history of paper in
the Islamic world, see Jonathan M. Bloom, Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the
Islamic World (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001); Yves Porter, Painter, Paintings and
Books: An Essay on Indo-Persian Technical Literature, 12th-19th Centuries, tr., S. Butani (New Delhi,

It is interesting that “Āli lists the Damascus type among the low quality papers. As Osman Ersoy
mentions in his XVIII. ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Türkiye’de Kağıt (Ankara, 1963, 16), Damascus type was in
high demand in Europe. This might suggest that the paper that was exported to Europe was of higher
quality than that distributed in the East.
Damascus type, the [low] grade of which is well-known. The second [lowest grade] is Dawlat-abadi,\textsuperscript{350} which is known by everyone. The third one is Chinese (Haťayī).\textsuperscript{351}

The fourth one is ‘Adilshahi.\textsuperscript{352} The fifth one is silk paper from Samarqand (ḥarīrī-Semergandi). The sixth one is the sultan type from Samarqand (Sultānī-Semergandi).\textsuperscript{353}

The seventh one is Indian (Hindī). The eighth one is Nizam-shahi.\textsuperscript{354} The ninth one is Qasim Begi.\textsuperscript{355} The tenth one is silk paper from India (ḥarīrī-Hindī), which is of smaller dimension. The eleventh is colored paper from Tabriz (gūnī-yi Tebrīzī), which is of sugar-cane color.\textsuperscript{356} It is manufactured processed (işlemesi) solely by the people of Tabriz. The twelfth is moiré (muḥjayyer). It is also of sugar-cane color.\textsuperscript{357} (Scribes of the past noted [these] in the following verse.\textsuperscript{358}

\textsuperscript{350} By the end of the sixteenth century, while the high standard of Iranian papermaking continued, Indian paper industry also became very competitive and paper from Dawlatabad spread not only over India but also in Persia and in the Ottoman Empire. Porter (2000, 19) suggests that the Deeds is probably the oldest text to mention the Dawlatabadi paper. Bloom (73) mentions a Safavid work on administration from 1725 or thereabouts which specifies that the chancellery secretary received thirty reams of paper from Dawlatabad.

\textsuperscript{351} ‘Āli’s comment on the Chinese (khiṭā’ī) paper contradicts to the belief of many Persian calligraphers who deemed this type as the finest paper. In his epistle, Sultan ‘Āli of Mashhad (Minorsky, 113) places Chinese paper at the top of his list in terms of both quality and color. He writes, “There is no paper better than Chinese, / However much you may try,” and continues as follows:

There is no better color than that of Chinese paper.
There is no need for you to test:
Writing on it is good, it is also good for gold,
For writing slightly tinted paper is suitable,
That it should be restful to the eye.

\textsuperscript{352} From the name of the dynasty which ruled in Bijapur (Deccan) between 1486 and 1696. This type of paper is also mentioned in Risāla-i ḥoshnuvisī, an anonymous treatise on calligraphers attributed to ‘Abdullah of Sayraf; see Porter, 20 and 222.

\textsuperscript{353} Porter (25) suggests that sultani may designate a glossy type.

\textsuperscript{354} Produced under the Deccan dynasty of Ahmadnagar which ruled between 1490 and 1636.

\textsuperscript{355} Two other sources that mention the Qasim Begi type are the Bayaz-ī khoshbu‘ī, dated to 1109/1698, and the Khulasat al-mujarrabat (before 1766). Porter (20) mentions several personalities from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the name of Qasim Beg, three of them of Iranian origin.

\textsuperscript{356} Bloom (69) quotes the following from Simi of Nishapur (see page 256 below) on color of papers. “It is better to give paper a slight tint because white is hard on the eyes and the master calligraphic specimens that have been observed have all been on tinted paper.”

\textsuperscript{357} In his treatise, Simi of Nishapur (Porter, 17) mentions paper coming from Baghdad, Damascus, Amol, Samarqand, and Bengal. Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad makes no mention of any strictly Iranian paper. He simply refers to khata‘i paper and paper from Samarqand. Porter suggests that, although it is not
Essential regulations

Let it not be hidden that, according to the scribes of Persia and writers of systematized knowledge (ma‘ārif niẓām), forty-five letters, or, according to some, fifty letters constitute a couplet (beyt), and when [penmen] copy a book, they settle [the cost on the basis of units of] one thousand bayts. If [the writing] is in a lower quality hand, they ask for a fee of one florin \(^{359}\) for one thousand bayts. If it is in middling hand, [they ask for] two florins for one thousand bayts and for three (18b) florins if it is in first-rate hand. If it is from the pen of a famous scribe and an exalted calligrapher, then one thousand bayts are [sold] for three gold [coins] or more. In fact, when we asked Mawłana Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad of Yazd, who at the time was the foremost calligrapher of the Iraq-ʿArab,\(^ {360}\) how much one thousand bayts in his hand would cost, the candid response was, “Copying of one thousand bayts is for a non-negotiable five florins each.”

Addendum

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mentioned in the treatises, Herat also must have produced some paper during the Timurid period since Babur reports that he saw some paper mills there.

\(^{358}\) A verse of three couplets follows.

\(^{359}\) The Ottoman name for the standard gold coins of Europe.

\(^{360}\) The ʿArab ʿIrāq (i.e., the territories of the modern-day ʿIrāq) as contrasted with Iraq-i Ajam, (the Persian ʿIrāq, the lowlands of the Iranian plain, Western Iran).
It was noted in the beginning of the introduction that the first human to write was **Idris [Enoch]**—Peace be upon Him! However, because it is necessary to provide further explanation on that subject, we have set forth for a full account in this section.

Now, as indicated above, the penmanship and tailoring of His Excellency the **Prophet Idris** are known and confirmed. Likewise, another miraculous blessing bestowed upon His Excellency **Idris** by God was the science of astronomy-astrology and arithmetic, the explanation or demonstration of which (19a) is not possible without writing.

And one of the miracles that was bestowed upon His Excellency **Daniel**—Peace be upon Him!—was the science of geomancy (**ilm-i remîl**)\(^\text{361}\) Its [original] illustration on sand is [indicative of] scarcity of paper and pen, and when [signs of geomancy started to be] drawn on paper, the need for the art of [sand]writing was eliminated. Furthermore, just as reading goes along with writing, so does writing have the same qualities and tokens as knowledge. The words of the philosopher **Galinus**, “Writing is dead speech and speaking is live speech,” [of] others [to the effect that.] “Writing is the articulation of the mind,” **Plato**[’s words that,] “Writing is the most intelligent [deed] of the mind,” and [the words of] some sages that, “[There is] darkness [everywhere], and there is light in [their] vision,” prove that writing is essential for reading.

For the prophets, to the majority of whom many revelations were sent, and for sincere messengers, to whom scriptures were revealed, it was certainly important to recite [what was sent to them] in its exact form. And for [accurate] recitation, writing was indispensable. It is for that reason evident and manifest that all of the exalted prophets

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\(^{361}\) **Ilm-i remîl**, a kind of divination reputed to have been taught to the prophet Daniel by the angel Gabriel.
and honorable messengers (19b) —to them reverence is due—except for the Sultan of the messengers, the last prophet, His Excellency the Prophet [Muhammad] of the umma,362 have honored writing.363 And with that remark, it is made clear that they offered a complimentary hand to pages and to reed-pen. In [Muhammad’s] case, his illiteracy was meant to be an indication of the supremacy of his virtues, and the supremacy of his virtues was meant to be a path toward the perfection of his prophecy and messengership.364

362 The Muslim community.
363 For the “illiteracy” of Muhammad, see page 34 above. According to Schimmell (77-79) mystics loved to dwell on this subject for they realized that “letters might be a veil between themselves and the immediate experience of the Divine, for which the mind and the heart have to be like a blank page.”
364 A lengthy passage about Muhammad’s virtues and his acquiring knowledge through Divine help follows.
Now chapter one is about the virtues of the exalted Righteous Ones, the Four Chosen Friends and the sanctified (kerāmet-rehīn) companions and disciples [of the Prophet Muhammad]—may God, be He exalted, be pleased with them all!—who recorded the divine revelation [i.e., the Qur’an] in Kufic script.

Let it not be hidden that, as noted in the books of hadith and history, the total number of the persons who were appointed to copy the divine revelation in the holy presence (dīvān-t hūviyyet-nizām) under the spiritual guidance of His Excellency, the Most Noble and Exalted Messenger [i.e., the Prophet Muhammad]—may God, be He exalted, commend and salute him!—was twenty-seven, [and] to them reverence is due. These are the noble and illustrious persons who ought to be praised: Abu Bakr-i Siddiq, the faithful companion of the cave; Umar son of al-Khattab, the choice companion; Uthman son of ‘Affan, the compiler of the verses of the Qur’an; Ali son of Abi Talib, the lion at war, the triumphant Lion of God; Zubayr son of ...
Awwam; Amir son of Fuhayr; (20b) Khalid, Aban, and Sa’id, sons of As; Abdullah Arqam; Hanzala son of Rabî; Ubayy son of Ka‘b; Sabit son of Qays son of Shammas; Sharhabil son of Hasana; Mughira son of Shu‘ba; Abdullah son of Zayd; Jahim son of Salt; Khalid son of Walid; Ala son of Khadrami; Amru son of As; Abdullah son of Rawaha; Muhammad son of Muslimah; Abdullah son of Abdullah son of Ubayy; Ibn-i Mas‘ud;

372 al-Zubayr b. al‘Awwām (?-?), one of the most eminent companions of Muhammad, known as Hawārī Raṣūl Allāh (“the Disciple or Apostle of the Messenger of God”) who took part in most of the early battles of Islamic conquests; see EI, vol. 11, 549-51.
373 Abu Amr Amir b. Fuhayra al-Taymî (d. 4/625), one of the companions of Muhammad who migrated with him from Mecca to Medina; see IA, vol. 3, 65.
374 ‘Ās or Al-lān, an Iranian people of Northern Caucasus, formerly also attested east of the Caspian Sea. The ‘Ās are frequently mentioned at the time of the Mongol invasion when they were Greek Christians. Persian sources also know the ‘Ās as Christians at the court of the Mongol sovereigns, but according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the ‘Ās in Saray on the Volga were Muslims; see EI, vol. 2, 354.
375 ‘Abd al-Allāh b. al-Arqam (d. 53/673 or 55/675), an early companion of Muhammad, al-Arqam was in charge of the Prophet’s official correspondence; see, IA, vol. 2, 102.
376 Hanzala b. al-Rabî (d. 45/665 [?]), known as “al-kātīb” (the scribe), al-Rabî was a companion of Muhammad who recorded the revelations. He was also in charge of the Prophet’s official correspondence; see, IA, vol. 16, 53.
377 Unidentified companion of Muhammad.
378 Unidentified companion of Muhammad.
379 Unidentified companion of Muhammad.
380 Muqīr b. Shu‘ba (d. 50/670), regarded to be one of the greatest Arab men of learning, Shu‘ba was a scribe to Muhammad and is said to have collected more than one hundred ḥadīth; see IA, vol. 30, 376-77.
381 Reference here is either to ‘Abd Allâh b. Zayd b. Asîm (63/683), also known as Ibn-i ‘Ummu Umâra, or to ‘Abd Allâh b. Zayd b. Şa‘laba (d. 32/653), both companions of Muhammad. The former is known as one of the two persons who killed the false prophet Musaylima. According to the story, the words of the call to the prayer (ezân) was revealed to the latter in a dream; see IA, vol. 1, 143-44.
382 Unidentified companion of Muhammad.
383 Ḥalîd b. al-Walîd Abû Sulayman Sayf Allâh (d. 21/642), one of the commanders of Muhammad’s army. He was given by the Prophet the honorary title “the sword of God;” see IA, vol. 15, 289.
384 ‘Alâ b. al-hadramî (d. 21/642), the governor of Bahrain during the time of Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and ‘Umar. He is also said to have recorded four of ḥadîths; see IA, vol. 2, 310.
385 Amr b. al-‘Aṣ (d. 43/664), a companion of the Prophet and a great statesman, he is known for his conquest of Egypt in (19/640); see EI, vol. 1, 451. An illuminated page (f. 1414) from Tercüme-i Cifrî’l-czącûni (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe 6624) shows him playing polo (çevgân).
386 ‘Abd Allâh b. Rawāha (8/629), one of the companions of Muhammad who the latter showed great respect due to his being a poet, a khaṭîb, and a men of sword; see IA, vol. 1, 129.
387 Abû Abdullah Muhammad b. Muslim (d. 265/878-79 [?]), known as Ibn Vâre, a third/ninth century hadîth teller; see IA, vol. 20, 438.
388 ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Abd Allâh Ubayy b. Seliîl al-Ansarî al-Hazréçî (d. 12/633), one of Muhammads companions who is said to have participated in all battles following the battle of Badr; see IA, vol. 1, 80.
Mu‘ayqib son of Abi Fatima; Zayd son of Sabit; [and] Mu‘awiya son of Abi Sufyan. This is how it is [described] as well in the book Ishrāq al-tawārīḫ (The Illumination of Histories).

Among this group, His Excellency [Imam] ‘Ali, on account of his efforts in calligraphy, his attainments in the Kufic hand that outshined others, his distinguished rank in the various sciences and virtues, and [his] attainments in mysticism, is the chief of the saints (evliyâ) and the foremost of the Imams of the Way of the Faith. He is especially noteworthy for his exalted fame and brilliant mastery in the Kufic script, which was by several degrees superior to the writing of the Chosen Imam Hasan and the sultan of the blessed martyrs, Imam Husayn of Karbala. (21a) Apart from this, it can be said without argument that his white-vellum adorning writing, and the beauty of [his] blending and fusion of the crying of the ink with the Napali musk on the camphored page are sufficient [attributes] of his saintly wondrousness (kerāmet). In particular, his

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390 ‘Abd Allāh b. Mes‘ūd (d. 32/652-53), the founder of the taṣfīr and fiqḥ schools in the city of Kufa, he was one of the ten people to whom the Prophet promised the Paradise (al-‘ashara-i mubashshara); see IA, vol. 1, 114.
391 Mu‘ayqib b. Abī Fāṭima (d. 40/660 [?]), one of the early converts to Islam, Mu‘ayqib was a scribe and keeper of seal to Muhammad, see IA, vol. 1, 80.
392 Zayd b. Šabīt, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad credited with a crucial role in the collection of the Qur’an. The date given for his death ranges from 42/662-63 to 56/675-76; see EI, vol. 11, 476.
393 Mu‘āviye b. Ebi Sufyān (d. 60/680), Muhammad’s brother-in-law and the founder of the Ummayads (r. 661-80); see IA, 30, 337.
394 See n. 84 above.
395 Both Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 7) and Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky, 54) praise the distinguishing character of Imam ‘Ali’s Kufic hand. Dost Muhammad notes that “…at the head of the alif as written by him is a split in the value of half a dot.” The Qadi describes this characteristic as an alif the top of which is “twin-horned.”
396 Hasan b. ‘Ali b. Abī Ţālib, (d. 669) Muhammad’s grandson, oldest son of ‘Ali and Fatimah, and second imam in the Shi‘a tradition. Forced by Muawiyyah ibn Abi Sufyān to abdicate the role of caliph in his favor, he was abdicated; see EI, vol. 3, 241-43.
firm rendering of Kufic kaf397 was [such that], if one thousand and one of [his kaf] were to be measured with a compass, not a single defect could be found. And were it said that the firmness of his pen in [rendering] other letters was the product of human hands, it would not be plausible. At times, through his violin-like fingers, his flute-like reed pen rested on archetypal writing;398 at other times, [with his innovative writing], he seized the winning pennant from his contemporaries and took precedence over them. And up until the year three hundred ten [922-23],399 every one of the moonlight brightness casting works that his ink produced was the apple of the eye of the calligraphers. And the black of his pen, like a beautiful fragrance, became proverbial, like the captivating lines and [beauty] marks of perfect blackness of down400 on a martyr’s401 face.

[Verses] by the author

[‘Ali], the wondrous sultan of the land of sainthood,  
Bestows wisdom with [his] sword and pen.  
    In his hand the reed-pen is a font of talent. 
    It is succulent honey that flows out of that sugar-cane.402  
Every time he seizes his lethal spear,  
He sheds his foe’s blood over the sand.403  
(21b) In remel meter404 he arranges jewels.  
    His wants the redif405 on doomsday.  
He is, in sum, a master of the sword and the pen.  
With him the saber and the reed-pen are exalted.

397 kaf, the twenty-fifth letter of the Ottoman and Persian alphabets, and twenty-second of the Arabic. Also see notes 266 and 273 above.  
398 i.e., he followed a conventional style.  
399 The date when mystic Mansur Hallaj died, see n. 419 below.  
400 The downy beard of a young man was regarded by Persian and Turkish poets as a mark of particular beauty.  
401 shahid, used for those who die as martyrs for the Muslim faith. Reference here is to ‘Ali’s son Husayn.  
402 Pen that is cut from a reed is resembled to sugar-cane and the ink that Imam ‘Ali used is resembled to honey.  
403 ‘Ali, one of whose nicknames was “the Lion of God,” fought side by side with the Prophet Muhammad in many battles and was celebrated as a great warrior.  
404 A class of meter in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish poetry.  
405 In Persian poetry the continuing rhyme of several syllables or words.
Whenever not engaged in prayer,
An arrow or a pen is in his hand.
The pen reveals knowledge of Divine Providence \(^{406}\) (‘ilm-i ledünn)
[And] ink is a slave (qanbar) at that gate of virtue.
Whenever the exalted speech is “Ali,”
The pen is Qanbar \(^{407}\) or [writes] in large letters.
But in time of war, his Zu’lfiqar \(^{408}\) Is the servant of the verdict of annihilation.
The elegant pen inscribes “Calligraphy is eternal.”
The sword and blade are mellowed with that epigram.
Inscribing in tiny letters \(^{409}\) with the blood of his foes,
His Zu’lfiqar writes, “Life is impermanent.”

**Commentary\(^{410}\)**

Now, amongst sages (‘ulemmā-’i kāmilin) and men of virtue with sound knowledge
in sciences (fużalā-’i rāsiḥīn)—May God enlighten their hearts with the light of faith!—
there has been much argument and dispute over the relative status of Men of the Sword
(āshāb-ı seyf) and Men of the Pen (erbāb-ı qalem), and over which should be given
precedence. \(^{411}\) On account of the adage, “The first thing God created was the Pen,” some
deemed it right to give precedence to [Men of] the Pen, while most inclined toward the
superiority of Men of the Sword and believed it more fitting to end disputation [in this
way].

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\(^{406}\) For pen as an instrument with which God wrote, see n. 81 above.
\(^{407}\) Qanbar ibn Kadan, the faithful Abyssinian slave of Imam ‘ Ali who was freed by the latter and converted
to Islam.
\(^{408}\) Zū’l-fiqār, the name of the celebrated two-pronged sword that Muhammad gave to his son-in-law ‘Ali.
\(^{409}\) ḡubār, a name given to every type of very small script difficult to read with the naked eye, but often
found in the naskh script.
\(^{410}\) Arkeoloji 1302 (8a:7) has the additional line, “The Question of the Significance of a Comparison
between the Sword and Pen” (Maṭlēb-ı ehemm-ı der maqābele-’ı seyf ve qalem).
\(^{411}\) In considering the structure of the ruling institutions in Islamic societies, Muslim authors traditionally
made a distinction between the military and civil employees of the ruler. The former, the military elite,
were known as the erbab-ı seyf or ashāb-ı seyf (men of the sword), while the latter, the administrative
bureaucracy, were the erbab-ı qalem (men of the pen).
According to this humble one, on the other hand, (22a) to give precedence to the pen is [for the following reasons] an obvious conclusion. First, in the ‘alā-‘iliyyīn, the highest heaven and the supreme sphere, where the divine ordinance and secrets of faith arose, the Tablet and the Pen were present, while the firm sword was not. Second, it was at all times manifest that, in the hands of those who write, the sword was that which serves the pen. [These], I argue, brought the auspiciousness of the pen, and its consequent precedence [and] necessary preferability from the darkness of sheer uncertainty out into the daylight of sound choice. If the sword does not serve the pen, it is impoverished and overwhelmingly destitute. And if the pen does not gain the service of the sword, its connection to the excellence of knowledge and virtue becomes hidden (mektūmū l-‘āṣār). As such, because the pen is the spigot of the pleasant waters of knowledge, and because, in essence, the sword usually finds fame amongst commoners and the ignorant, it is again the pen, in my opinion, that deserves precedence.413

412 ‘alā-‘iliyyīn, name of the highest of the eight paradises where the Register of the righteous is kept. Qur’an 83:18-21.
413 The paragraph continues with further discussion about the superiority of Man of Pen over Man of Sword. In a section entitled “Subtle Note” (nūkte), ʿAlī discusses Imam ʿAlī’s talent in writing as well as using the Zu’l-fiqar and concludes that the precedence of the sword is fitting only if it serves the pen.
(23b) Now chapter two is on the copyists of the world who are (24a) experts in the “Six Styles” (Şeş qalem), and, in particular, the fine calligraphers who are renowned as the Seven Masters.

For reasons of chronology, it is necessary [for this chapter] to come after [the chapter on] the Kufic writers, as this logical arrangement allowed the presentation of the writers of the revelation to come first. In addition, since it is most necessary and most indispensable to present the scripts that were used for the writing of the Great Qur’an before presenting [accounts of] the nasta’liq writers, who will be listed in chapter three, this particular mode [of presentation] has been chosen.

As a matter of course, during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir bi’llah Ja‘far son of Ahmad, when the hegira of the Glory of the World—may God, be He exalted, commend and salute him!—reached [the year] three hundred [912-13], when Mansur Hallaj, the pole star of those who have joined with God in spirit,

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414 The six Arabic writing styles known as aqlam-i sitta (or, shah qalam in Persian): naskh, muḥaqqaq, rayhānī, thuluth, riqā’, and tawqī’.
415 I.e., the Qur’an.
416 See n. 284 above.
417 Al-Muqtadir bi’llah, Abu ʾl-Fadl Ja‘far (r. 295-320/908-32), ʿAbbāsid caliph, son of al-Muʿtaṣid by a Greek concubine; see EI, vol. 7, 542.
418 hijra, Latinized as hegira, the emigration of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in September 622. This era does not begin on the date of Muhammad’s arrival at Medina, but on the first day of the lunar year in which that event took place, which is reckoned to coincide with 16 July 622; see EI, vol. 3, 366.
419 I.e., the Prophet Muhammad.
420 The date is incorrect. Hallaj died in 310 (922). For ʿĀli’s confusion of dates of this period, see n. 397 above.
journeyed from the abode of the wicked\textsuperscript{422} to the mansion of eternity and with increased dignity reached the pavilion of the heaven of heavens [i.e., the Throne of God]; [and], above all, when His Excellency Junayd of Baghdad,\textsuperscript{423} the pole star of the skies, traveled to the divine universe [i.e., when he died], all that is earthly (mā-sīvā ārmanī) caught fire and burnt, and flames fell over the entire universe like [sparks from] a fireplace. (24b) In the first third of the first part of the fourth century [310/922-23],\textsuperscript{424} the vizier of the said Muqtadir, Ibn Muqla, [Muqtadir’s] chief secretary, the imam of the calligraphers and the great prince of copyists, appeared to highest acclaim on the scene.\textsuperscript{425} He modified the Kufic script and the grace of his pen became famous.\textsuperscript{426}

Then, about one hundred years later, around the time that the caliph, as the events of that delightful century and those noble times were unfolding, Qadir bī’l-lāh Ahmad son of Ishaq\textsuperscript{427} appeared. [And] while Mawłana Ahmad son of Hanbal,\textsuperscript{428} the most revered of the great imams, and [he] who was known as Abu ʿAli Husayn son of

\textsuperscript{422} dār-i fanā, the world of mortal existence.
\textsuperscript{423} al-Junayd, Abu ʿl-Qāsim (d. 297/922), a native of Baghdad, the celebrated Sufi studied law under Abū Thawr and associated with Hārith al-Muhāsibī. The two were considered the greatest orthodox exponent of the “sober” type of Sufism. Later writers bestowed on Junayd the honorary titles, “Lord of the Dervishes,” “Peacock of the Dervishes,” and “Director of the Directors;” see EI, vol. 2, 600.
\textsuperscript{424} The year 310/922-23 is the year when Mansur Hallaj died. Muqtadir, as noted above in note 420 above, reigned between 295 and 320 [908-932].
\textsuperscript{425} Ibn Muqila was several times vizier to Abbasid caliphs, once under al-Muqtadir, once under al-Qāhir, and twice under al-Rādī. At the end of his career, he is said to have fallen into disgrace, imprisoned, and executed in the year 328 [939-40].
\textsuperscript{426} Tradition attributes the invention of the “Six Styles” to Ibn Muqila. Although there is no extant genuine samples of his work, he is known as the inventor of a new writing system based on measurement in dots specific to each script. He first calculated the size of an alif, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, and then determined the sizes of all other letters in relation to alif. The first script he thus regularized was known as muhaqqaq, “well-established,” or “ideal.”
\textsuperscript{427} Abu ʿl-ʾAbbās Ahmad b. Ishāq (r. 381/991 to 422/1031), twenty-fifth caliph of the Abbasid dynasty, the grandson of the Caliph al-Muqtadir and cousin of the Caliph al-Tāʾiʾī. He worked effectively for the restoration of threatened Sunnism and attained political and religious success; see EI, vol. 9, 378.
\textsuperscript{428} Ahmad b. Hanbal (164-241/780-855), “the Imam of Baghdad,” celebrated theologian, jurist, and traditionist, and one of the most vigorous personalities of Islam, which he has profoundly influenced both in its historical development and its modern revival. He was the founder of one of the four major Sunni schools, the Hanbali; see EI, vol. 1, 272-73.
Sina, the chief of the most skillful and intelligent, the learned physician of elevated station, caused tumult throughout the world, ṢAli son of Hilal known as Ibn al-Bawwab came forth as the exemplar of the scribes and the leader of the most learned calligraphers. And he passed away in the year four hundred thirteen [1022-23] in the capital city, Baghdad—may God’s pardon be upon him and the exalted heavens be his abode! Verily, the beautification of calligraphy as well as its “arabization” (ta’rīb), and the making of the vowel marks and quiescent sukun were his inventions.

After that, when the hegira year (25a) passed six hundred [1204-05], the pole of the fraternity (qabīle) of calligraphers, pillar of the copyists among the revered scribes, master of beautiful writing, and guardian (ṣāhid) of the guardians of the scribes, Khwaja Jamal al-Dīn Yaqūt appeared. And the death of His Excellency the Great

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429 Ibn Sīnā, Abū ṬAli al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣabd Allāh b. Sīnā (370/980-428/1037), known in the West as Avicenna, he is one of the most distinguished physicians and philosophers of Islamic history. See EI, vol. 3, 941.

430 There are several versions of the Ibn Muqla story. Dost Muhammad’s account (Thackston, 7) links Ibn Bawwab to Ibn Muqla with this story: “Ibn Muqla, being al-Muqtadir’s vizier, was accused of treason, and al-Muqtadir ordered two fingers of his right hand cut off with a penknife. Thus that tree was deprived of drawing in the water of life that rested in the darkest recesses of the inkpot. Thereafter he instructed his offspring, who was a very talented girl, with his left hand. Master ṢAli ibn Hilal, known as Ibn Bawwab, was his [indirect] student.” Hasan Beg Rumlu (Alṣan al-tawārīkh, 66) also mentions that Ibn Muqla trained his daughter to become a calligrapher. Qadi Ahmad’s account (Minorsky, 56-57) is similar to that of Dost Muhammad. He briefly says that after Ibn Muqla’s death, Ibn Bawwab learned calligraphy from Ibn Muqla’s daughter and that through this intermediary Ibn Bawwab is Ibn Muqla’s pupil. Writing in 1587, the same year ṢAli wrote the Deeds, Fathullah ibn-Ahmad ibn-Mahmud makes no mention of Ibn Bawwab’s daughter in his treatise entitled “On the Foundations and Laws of the sīṭa Writing.” According to Fathullah (Minorsky, note 139), the succession of the masters of the Six Styles was as follows: after Ibn Muqla, his two sons, ṢAli and ‘Abdullāh, improved on their father’s style. ‘Ali specialized in muḥaqqaq, and ‘Abdullāh in naskh. They were followed by the master Ibn al-‘Asa, after who came ṢAli ibn Hilal, known as Ibn Bawwab. For Bawwab’s biography, see Huart, 80-84; and Khatibi and Sijelmasi, 116-18.

431 This is the same date given in Fathullah’s treatise (Minorsky, note 139). According to Thackston (7, note 6), however, Ibn Bawwab died in 423/1032-33. Huart (80) mentions both dates (413 and 423) as a possibility.

432 tesḵīn-i nuqāt, a letter’s being of becoming quiescent, not being pronounced with a vowel following it in the same syllable, hence the name of the orthographical sign placed over a consonant to indicate its quiescence.

433 qibla, the direction of Mecca towards which the Muslim worshipper directs himself for prayer.

434 khwaja, a title used for scholars, teachers, merchants, ministers, or eunuchs.

178
Shaykh Ibn al-`Arabi\textsuperscript{436} and the departure of Ibn al-Fariz\textsuperscript{437} [also] took place in the first part of the seventh century. The reign and the eventual martyrdom of Musta`sim bi`llah,\textsuperscript{438} the period of attacks of Hulagu\textsuperscript{439} [followed by] the end of the prosperity and happiness of the House of ̄Abbas; [and] above all, the journey to Heaven of His Excellency ʿAbd al-Qadir Gaylani,\textsuperscript{440} the pole star of the skies, the Shaykh of the Shaykhs of Iraq; the passage to eternity of the sultans of the past, Sultan Sanjar\textsuperscript{441} and Atabek Zengi,\textsuperscript{442} and the series of disastrous events [in the lives of] the virtuous Mahmud Zamahshari,\textsuperscript{443} the author of Kashshaf, and the [birth of] the abovementioned Jamal al-Din Yaqut [all] took place in the second part of that century.

Surely, [Jamal al-Din Yaqut] was a consummate scribe and investigator of truth.

As every isolated dot he drew was like a beauty mark on the image of a youthful boy’s

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\textsuperscript{435} A thirteenth-century calligrapher who was considered as the originator of the “Six Styles” (aqlam-i sitta, shesh galem, khatu-t-i sitta). The chronogram that was composed upon his death gives the year 968/1560-61. See Minorsky, 144, note 497.

\textsuperscript{436} Ibn al-Aʿrābī, Muhammad b. Ziyād, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (150-231/767-846), philologist of the school of Kūfah, he was praised for his learning in grammar, lexicography, genealogies, and poetry, and is said to have dictated from memory, without having to refer to any book, enough material “to have loaded several camels;” see EI, vol. 3, 707.

\textsuperscript{437} Ibn al-Farīd, ‘Umar b. ‘Ali (576/181-632/1235), a celebrated Sufi poet. In early youth, he studied Shafi’i law and hadith and then converted to Sufism. Upon seeing a vision of the Prophet Muhammad, he was venerated as a saint until his death. His Diwan is considered to be one of the most original literary works in Arabic literature; see EI, vol. 3, 763.

\textsuperscript{438} Al-Mustaʿsim bi`llah, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Al-Mustanṣir (r. 540-61/1247-58), the last ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdad. After the sack of Baghdad, by the Mongol Hūlāgū Khan, he was put to death, which event ended the line of ʿAbbāsids in Baghdad; see EI, vol. 7, 753.

\textsuperscript{439} Hūlāgū Khan, founder of the Mongol-Ilkhanid dynasty that ruled Iran from 1256 to 1335; see EI, vol. 3, 569.

\textsuperscript{440} ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Muhammad b. Abī Śāliḥ Jengi Dost (470/1077-8-561-1166), Hanbalite theologian, preacher, and Sufi, who gave his name to the order of the Qadiriyya. Al-Jilānī was considered by many to be the greatest saint of Islam; see EI, vol. 1, 69.

\textsuperscript{441} Sanjar b. Malik Shah, Saljuq ruler of Khorasan from 490/511 to 1097/1118 and then supreme sultan of the Great Saljuks ruling Khorasan and northern Persia until his death in 552/1157; see EI, vol. 15-17.

\textsuperscript{442} Hasanān kuran ve saltanat suren atabey sulalesi 1127-1233.

\textsuperscript{443} al-Zamakhshari, Abu l-Qāsim Mahmūd b. ʿUmar, called Jār Allāh, one of the outstanding scholars of later mediaeval Islāmis times known for his studies in the fields of grammar, philology, lexicography, the collecting of proverbs, theology, and Qurʾān exegesis; see EI, vol. 11, 432-33.
face, and every twisted dat\textsuperscript{444} was (25b) a beautiful lovelock of [his] Habashi\textsuperscript{445} pen, [he himself], with the auspicious black of his ink, became a beauty mark on the face of the age. Though he was a servant descended from a lowly family and [was] bought [as a slave] by Musta\textsuperscript{sim}, he became known as “the Sultan of the masters of the pen” and gained Jupiter-like fame. In fact, upon his death, a charming chronogram was composed.\textsuperscript{446}

He was (also) well-versed in arts other than calligraphy and was accomplished in fine poetry founded on knowledge of Arabic. He composed the [following] couplets that illustrate how well-grounded he was in the arts. And they were recorded in his own hand with his notation, “By the author.”\textsuperscript{447}

And the following verse in the said Mawlna’s hand was also seen [by this author], and, moreover, it was identified [as his poetry] by the inscription, “By the scribe.”\textsuperscript{448}

(26a) According to the investigation of the masters of Rum and copyists of learned traditions, the pupils of the aforesaid Khwaja Jamal al-Din [were as follows].

\textsuperscript{444} dat, the tenth letter of the Ottoman and Persian alphabets, and the eight of the Arabic. Its hooked form (ş) is likened to a lovelock. For the poetic uses of Arabic letters, see Schimmel, 115-47.

\textsuperscript{445} A reference to Yaqt’s Ethiopian origins.

\textsuperscript{446} A Arabic chronogram follows. Thackston (7, note 6) mentions a specimen of Yaqt’s calligraphy in an album page in Istanbul (TSM, H. 2160, fol. 82a) bearing the date 695, which appears to be the latest of his dated works still extant. In light of this manuscript, the date given in this chronogram, 667/1268-69, would be incorrect. Other dates suggested for Yaqt’s death are as follows. The Qadi (Minorsky, 60) says that “Yaqt lived very long, over a century,” and marks his death to the year 696/1296-97. A different date, the year 699/1299-1300, is suggested by Ahmad Musa (Minorsky, note 151), a well-known Egyptian scholar. Finally, Bayani (Minorsky, note 151), in agreement with Ibn al-Fuwati, places Yaqt’s death in 698/1298-99. While ʿAlī does not mention the place of Yaqt’s burial, the Qadi (Minorsky, 152) notes that his tomb is beside that of Ahmad ibn-Hanbal, a famous jurist and theologian. According to Huart (80), however, the tomb next to Ibn Hanbal belongs to Ibn Bawab, and not to Yaqt.

\textsuperscript{447} A poem in Arabic follows.

\textsuperscript{448} A poem in Arabic follows.
The first was Mawlana Arghun Kamil. He was an excellent explorer of muḥaqqaq and when compared to his other hands, this hand was his best. The second was Mawlana "Abdullah of Sayraf, who was a world champion at weaving inscriptions in naskh. The third was Mawlana Yahya Sufi, and it was commonly accepted that he had no earthly equal in writing in thuluth. The fourth was Mubarakshah Suyufi. In rayhani, he was the foremost [calligrapher] of the time. The fifth was Mubarakshah (Qutb) [sic Suyufi], who was renowned far and wide for his naskh. And like "Abdullah of Sayraf, he was one [who could] distinguish the fake scatterers of jewels

449 The earliest surviving specimen of his calligraphy is an album page (Istanbul, TSM, H. 2156, fol 92a) by "Arghun son of "Abdullah" dated 700/1300-01; the latest is in the same album (fol. 33b) and is dated 753/1352-53. (Thackston, 8, note 10). Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky, 61) mentions two madrasas in Baghdad, the Marjaniyya and the madrasa "beside the bridge," both faced with glazed bricks on which there were inscriptions by Arghun Kamil." Rado (30) writes that Arghun Kamil was born in Iraq-i Ajam and lived in Baghdad. He also notes that the Turkish name "Arghun," was traditionally given to Arab men whose mothers were of Turkish origin.

450 muḥaqqaq, literally “well-established,” or “ideal.” The invention of this calligraphic style was attributed to Ibn Muqla. Muḥaqqaq has as its main characteristics the feature that the left corners of the twenty-one letters of the alphabet are angled. This script was used for long-page format Qur’ans and also for frames. Muḥaqqaq yielded place to the thuluth style after the end of the eleventh/seventeenth century.

451 Sayraf, name of a city that formerly existed on the Persian Gulf. In his A Treatise on Calligraphers and Miniaturists by Dust Muhammad (Lahor: 1936, 7) Abdullah M. Chaghtai mentions a treatise on calligraphy by Sayrafi, two copies of which are said to be in the library of the Juma Masjid in Bombay. Known as an active epigraphic and architectural calligrapher, particularly during the reign of Öljeitü (r. 1304-17), "Abdullah son of Mahmud al-Sayrafi ornamented many buildings in and around Tabriz. According to Huart (93), inscriptions in Mashhad-i 'Ali Rida at Najaf are by him. His calligraphic works include an album page dated 710/1310-11 in Istanbul (TSM, B. 411, fol. 70b) and a Qur’an in Istanbul (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi), dated 744/1343-44; see Thackston, 8, note 14.

452 See n. 316 above.

453 Yahya son of Jamal al-Sufi. The Qadi (Minorsky, 62) notes that his work is found on many buildings in Najaf and that he was in the service of the Jalayrid and Ilkhanid sultans. Thackston cites two of his extant works, one from 731/1330-31 (Bayani, AAK 4:1233), and the other from 746/1345-46 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, F. 1422, fol. 53a, executed in Shiraz).

454 See n. 263 above.

455 Huart (92) notes the eerie coincidence of how the numeric value of the letters of Suyufi’s name in abjad give the date 735/1335, the date of his death.

456 See n. 262 above.

457 Also known as Khwaja Mubarakshah Zarin-qalam, Mubarakshah Qutb is said to have executed the epigraphic calligraphy in the shrine of Imam 'Ali in Najaf, commissioned by Sultan Uways Jalayir. A single undated specimen of his writing survives in Istanbul (TSM, H. 2310, fol. 25b). Another by Mubarakshah son of "Abdullah (fol. 61a), who may be the same person, is dated 732/1331-32; see Thackston, 8, note 11. Rado (30) notes that, because of his religiousity, Mubarakshah was given the nickname “Quds,” “Sacred.”
The sixth was Mawlana Shaykh Ahmad Suhrawardi, who was renowned for [his] naskh-i jali. And his Six Styles were a highly esteemed keepsake in [all] the Seven Climes and in Six Directions.

Now, (26b) the above-mentioned Monla Abdullah of Sayraf had a scribal post as a calligrapher during the prosperous time of the forgiven Sultan Husayn Bayqara. It happened that, at that time, the victorious padishah had gained people’s appreciation by building the madrasa known as the Madrasa of Mirza in [that] city of Herat, which resembled the Flourishing House. Its inner and outer parts contained four thousand rooms, and, in the center of its courtyard flowed the bounteous stream known as the River Anjir. Its walls, with charming glaze tile (kašī) decoration fashioned in lapis and gold on the exterior and on fringes, are all pleasing to the viewers. And those who have walked the four corners of the world and those who have swum the shores of the Seven Climes agree that when it comes to either appearance or to sheer size, no lofty building like it has been built on the face of the earth. And, [indeed], since [the day] the heavens were raised and the world was created, [neither] architect of chosen-discernment [nor] engineer with innate perception has had the capacity to create an edifice or foundation its equal.

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458 I.e., he was an expert connoisseur.
459 Ahmad son of al-Suhrawardi of Baghdad, known as Sheiyykhdada. The earliest surviving specimen of his work is in Istanbul (TSM, H. 2130, fol. 55b) dated 702/1302-03; the latest, dated 728/1327-28, is a detached page in the Taqwâ Collection in Tehran (Bayani, AAK 4:1025); see Thackston, 8, note 9.
460 naskh-i jali, naskh written in large letters.
461 monla, same as mawla, a title of function of dignity or profession.
462 Husayn Mirzâ b. Manṣûr b. Bayqara (r. 873-911/1469-1506), Timurid ruler of Herat. His reign was the heyday of the cultural and artistic life of that town. His court was known for a refined taste in book illumination and it was under his patronage that a copy of the Timurid history Zafarnama (Book of Victory) and Sa’di’s Gulistân (Rose garden) that was penned by Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad were produced.
463 bayt-i ma’mūr, see n. 221 above. Here the Timurid capital Herat is resembled to the bayt-i ma’mūr.
464 Glazed tiles. In Persian, kashi is a term for glazed tile of the sort produced in the town of Kâshân, the most famous center of tile production in Iran.
According to legend, the Persian shah, Sultan Muhammad Khuda-banda [r. 1578-87], his vizier Khwaja Salman, and his only son Mirza Hamza\textsuperscript{465} once (27a) alighted at that madrasa, whose workshops, it is said, could accommodate six thousand people. They stayed there together for several months, and when they searched [the place] they found that, of the five hundred rooms, the majority was filled with people engaged in work, and [only] a few remained empty.

Another well-known [story] is that [when] the above-mentioned Sultan Husayn [Bayqara] set about [erecting] that building, he exerted himself [in its construction but], the money he appropriated for it ran out half way through [its completion]. Since he could not attain his goal of finishing [the building], he was shamed and discomfited before the people of his country. In truth, he offered his prayers and humbled himself before the Builder of the World, the Architect of the Wheel of the Loftiest Sphere of Heaven and Majesty of that beautiful place to which one returns. When subsequently a royal decree was issued for foundations to be dug, on that celebrated day, by the wisdom and generosity of the Almighty, two jars of gold coins suddenly came forth. [And] completion of the construction and the splendor of the building (27b) were realized and [made] manifest with that treasure.

\textit{Mathnawi}\textsuperscript{466} by the author

That edifice (insā)\textsuperscript{467} turned into a pleasant book,

Containing many thousand fine rooms (beyt).\textsuperscript{468}

\textsuperscript{465} Hamza-mīrzā’s uterine brother was ʻAbbās-mīrzā. He was born in 972/1564-65. He particularly distinguished himself in battles with the Ottoman army near Tabriz in 994/1586-87. For more on Hamza-mīrzā and his father, see Minorsky, 11, 15, and 95.
\textsuperscript{466} A term used in Persian, Turkish, and Urdu for a poem written in rhyming couplets.
\textsuperscript{467} With a pun with the word \textit{insā}, ʻAlī is ressembling the building to a rhyming piece of writing.
With [its] chambers that solid site,
Is a versicolored, wondrous creation.
Its waters flow smoothly.
They are a natural spring for men of refinement.
With that work of art he proved what [great] edifice means.
His art is in his skill with the pen.
When the shah alighted there and set up [his] court,
That [place] instantly turned into Khusraw’s court.\textsuperscript{469}
This edifice was founded with [divine] assistance.
It rose up with God-sent (\textit{lutf\textasciitilde{}i tab\textasciitilde{'}}) kindness.

\textit{Prose}

Then, as called for by an exalted [and] honorable royal decree, \textbf{Mawlana} \\textsuperscript{468}
\textit{[\&\textsuperscript{‘}Abdullah] of Sayraf,} the master of pen, started [to work beginning] (28a) with the gate
of that madrasa, the abode of goodness. To be precise, with perfect sincerity and
devotion of heart, he started from the right side [of the gate] inscribing the noble \textit{Fatiha}
and by the time he reached the end on its left side, he had written down the entire Qur\textsuperscript{‘}an\textsuperscript{470} and laid out and transcribed the whoe of the Great Furqan\textsuperscript{470} from beginning to end. And
he made [it] manifest such a monumental (\textit{cel\textl{"}i}) and vivid (\textit{m"uncel\textl{"}i}) calligraphic style,
embellished in fine artistry, that [people] cried “Wonderful!” and [their] voices reached
to the heavens. Using the measurement of an \textit{alif} [as a module],\textsuperscript{471} the length of [the

\textsuperscript{468} Again with a pun, \&\textsuperscript{‘}Ali is praising the building by likening its rooms to couplets in a poem.
\textsuperscript{469} The legendary king of Persia.
\textsuperscript{470} See n. 284 above.
\textsuperscript{471} According to the rules set by Ibn Muqla, the proportions of the letters remain in a constant relationship
based on the size of an \textit{alif}, the first letter of the alphabet. The height of an \textit{alif} varied from three to twelve
dots depending on the author and the style of script, its width then being equivalent to one dot. For details
of modular composition, see Porter, 67.
entire inscription] was found to be nearly twenty cubits.\textsuperscript{472} Responsibility belongs to the narrator, not to the one who records [the story].

May God this wondrous calligraphy bless!
It is a miracle of perfect artistry.
The master who adorned the wall (ḥāk-rīz) with his art:
May he not be covered with dust (ḥāk-rīz) till the Day of Judgment!\textsuperscript{473}
That choice drawing is an embellishment of the wall.
It is [like] a belt inlaid with jewels.\textsuperscript{474}
Just as he was a hafiz\textsuperscript{475} of the words of God,
Words of God were his protector.
Its outward appearance is [like] a crown of roses aligned through arduous effort,
Its inward appearance [resembles] a meadow with a pleasant stream.
There is no [foundation] its equal in the world!
Long may he live, the builder of that abode!

In short, the group of great and famous scribes (28b) known as the “Seven Masters” includes the master Yaqut and his six pupils, even though it is known that Ahmad Suhrawardi did not study [directly under Yaqut] like the others. And it is known [as well] that in [Suhrawardi’s] day, the jewels of the letters that he kept in his gem casket were not the equals of the pearls of Yaqut’s calligraphy, and in the shop of acceptance [i.e., in the art market] he was not a sound critic of defect [i.e., connoisseur] like [Ṣ Abd Allah of Sayraf].\textsuperscript{476} Nonetheless, on his way to hajj, Mawlama Yaqut came to the town where Ahmad Suhrawardi lived. And when he alighted in the vicinity of

\textsuperscript{472} The Qadi (Minorsky, 63) provides the additional information that in Tabriz, the inscription of the arches of the madrasa of the Chubanid Dimishq as well as a verse laid in Chinese tiles outside the window of a mosque near the Sulaymaniya chapel on the road to Baliyan-kuh, a mountain overlooking Tabriz, were also by Ṣ Abd Allah of Sayraf.
\textsuperscript{473} i.e., “may he not be forgotten.”
\textsuperscript{474} Or, with dotted letters.
\textsuperscript{475} hafiz, one who memorized the entire Qur’an by heart, also, a guardian, a protector, meaning here that with his calligraphic work Sayrafi preserved the Qur’an on the wall.
\textsuperscript{476} In his account of Suhrawardi, the Qadi (Minorsky, 60) notes that in Baghdad, “inscriptions on buildings are mainly his work; in the cathedral mosque of Baghdad he wrote the entire sura “al-Kahf,” and the stonemasons reproduced it in relief, without embellishments, merely with baked bricks.”
[Suhrawardi’]s workshop and observed the way in which his students cut the pens, he said, “Your master is not a bad scribe, yet, it is peculiar that he is not eager to trim his pen and cut it at an angle.” Immediately one of the talented pupils set off to find his master and informed him of the arrival of [this unknown] scribe and his interference with their [way of] cutting their pens. Suhrawardi was slightly perplexed [and] concluding that “[The person] who interferes with my style must be Yaqut,” hurried to his workshop. Upon seeing [the mysterious visitor], (29a) he recognized [him] from what he had heard of his apperance as Monla Yaqut. Most assuredly, on that respected day, Suhrawardi learned how to cut the pen and make a delicate line.477

In fact, what made it possible for Mawlana Yaqut to build up [his] talent, excel [in his skill with] the reed-pen, and [attain] perfection was the training (terbiyet) and attention the above-mentioned [Caliph] Musta‘sim bi’llah [gave him]. Hence the subtle nicety in his signature evoked by the nickname Musta‘simi [“of Musta‘sim”] [came to pass].

Let it not be hidden that, [among] artists and men of refinement, the pursuit of skill in their arts, the concentrated striving to increase their capabilities, the gradual emergence of perfected talent, and the serious expenditure of fruitful time and full commitment to hard work is facilitated through either the favor of rulers of abundant munificence or the infinite encouragement of exalted viziers. And the following story

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477 Yaqut is known for having perfected bn Muqla’s calligraphic system by replacing the straight-cut nib of the reed pen with an obliquely cut one, thereby creating a new, extremely delicate style. This invention earned him the epithet of “cynosure of calligraphers.” In his account of Yaqut the Qadi writes, “The cynosure of calligraphers [Yaqut] cut the end of the pen. Thus he altered both the rule and the writing, because writing is subordinate to the pen. For this reason his writing is preferred to that of Ibn Bawwab [who did not trim the end of his pen] for its finesse and elegance, and not for the sake of the basic rules…” For a full account of Yaqut by the Qadi, see Minorsky, 57-58.
about Monla Jamal al-Din Yaqut is a truthful testament that establishes the soundness of this proposition.\(^{478}\)

(30b) Prose

In short, the perfection of the virtues of calligraphy and the explication of its canons and benefits were achieved by honor-deserving His Excellency Yaqut. And, it was written in an Arabic book which this servant once saw that “It was Ibn Muqla who first Arabicized the Kufic style, then Ibn al-Bawwab refined it, and then Yaqut al-Musta’simi perfected it and he standardized it by listing all its regulations.” That is, [the first] to adapt the Kufic script and Arabicize it agreeably was Ibn Muqla, and the one who clarified and refined it further was Yaqut’s master ‘Ali son of Hilal, known as Ibn Bawwab. But, the one who perfected the art of calligraphy and who sealed and set down its rules was (31a) the matchless Jamal al-Din Yaqut, who explicated all of its rules and the tradition of fine penmanship in couplet form in Arabic. And he arranged those pearls of the rules [of calligraphy] and incomparable versified anecdotes in this manner.

Verse by Yaqut

\(^{478}\) According to the story, in an attempt to earn the favors of his patron Musta’sim bi’llah, Yaqut played a stratagem on him by signing one of his works as Ibn Bawwab. When the Caliph preferred the work that he thought was by Ibn Bawwab over to that the specimen by Yaqut, Yaqut was thrilled with joy. Soon, however, the Caliph understood Yaqut’s trick and instead of praising him, he cursed Yaqut and deprived him of favors and praises.
First principle (uşūl), ligatures (tarkīb), support (kurrās), and interrelation (nisbat),
Upstroke (su‘ūd) and tashmir, downstroke (nuẓūl) and flourish (irsāl).\textsuperscript{479}

Now, it was written in the Risala-	extsuperscript{3}i Qutbiyya that the direct pupils of Mawlana
Jamal al-Din Yaqut were Mawlana ʿAbdullah Arghun [Kamil], Monla Nasr al-Din
Mutatabbih,\textsuperscript{480} (31b) Mawlana Mubarakshah, Monla Yusuf of Khorasan,\textsuperscript{481} Mir
Haydar Kunda-nuwis,\textsuperscript{482} and Shaykh Ahmad Suhrawardi, and that these six talented
calligraphers and well-known copyists, along with their master, are the “Seven Masters.”
But the sounder version is the one accounted above.\textsuperscript{483}

\textsuperscript{479} An explanation of this Arabic verse follows. The same verse is quoted by Qadi Ahmad. Minorsky (58,
note 145) mentions that this verse is explained in one of the manuscript copies of the Qadi’s text. He writes
that, “Under uşūl, 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.’ The term kurrās ‘seats, couches’ [on which the characters recline] was used with regard to ‘the
parallelism or contraposition of letters.’ The masters distinguished five kinds of kursī, represented in the
treatise in the 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 nuẓūl, ‘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 tashmir or shamra, according to Fathullah’s definition,
means literally to tuck up, roll up… and technically means ‘to make the end [tail] of a letter curved and
fine.’ The last term, irsāl, which in Arabic means ‘letting off,’ according to Fathullah designates the stroke
used either at the end of a line, or in the middle of the line of the naskh style.”

\textsuperscript{480} Thackston (8) notes that among the surviving works by Nasrullah Tabib (or Nasr al-Din Mutatabbib, as
ʿĀli recorded it), are two specimens dated 1) 729/1328-29, Istanbul, TSM, H. 2161, fol. 24a; and 2)
735/1334-35, Istanbul, TSM, B. 411, fol. 106b. He is said to have died c. 740/1339-40.

\textsuperscript{481} Qub al-Din, Dost Muhammad, and Qadi Ahmad all refer to him as Yusuf of Mashhad (and by the latter
author, as the master of ʿAbdullah of Sayraf). Thackston (8, note 13), however, notes that of Yusuf of
Mashhad’s work, there are no examples in the Istanbul albums and suggests that he may be the same person
as Yusuf of Khorasan. Rado (30) notes him to be of Herat origin.

\textsuperscript{482} Thackston (8, note 12) notes that Sayyid Haydar, known as kunda-nuwis (“writer in majuscule”) was the
teacher of ʿAbdullah of Sayraf (see folio 26b). However, he adds that there are no works by the name
Haydar and that this Haydar may be the same as Muhammad son of Haydar al-Husayni, specimens of
whose work are found in Istanbul, TSM. The Qadi (Minorsky, 61-62) praises Sayyid Haydar’s “excellent
work,” and lists the vizier Khwaja ʿAli Shah and Khwaja Giyath al-Din Muhammad ibn Rashid as his
pupils. As noted above, according to the Qadi, ʿAbdullah of Sayraf was a pupil of Yusuf of Mashhad.

\textsuperscript{483} The list of Yaqut’s pupils varies in different sources. For alternative listings, see appendix, endnote ii.
Apart from the “Seven Masters” who have been mentioned, there are many non-Arab masters, each of whom has acquired his share of [skill in] calligraphy, and is celebrated in the lands of the Persians, in the seven climes of Rum, and in Daylam. And it is common knowledge that their scrolls are sought after and in demand like boxes of jewels.

Now, one among this group was Mawlana ʻAbdullah Ashpaz, a native of Herat. And in the Persian lands, he has been considered to be the equal of Yaqut. In truth, it is commonly known that he was a learned master and a fine calligrapher. Another was Mawlana Mahmud Siyawushi, a native of Shiraz.

And another was Ibrahim Shah Tayyib, who was distinguished among scribes, and, according to some, he was better than Ashpaz. And another was Mawlana Asadullah of Kirman, the lion-man (ṣīr-i merdān) of the Zu’l-fiqar pen. He was (32a) the master of [Ahmad] Qarahisari, who is mentioned below, and was a skilled exemplar among the writers of Persia. And another was Mawlana Murtaza who was the [artistic] descendant of Arghun Kamil. Indeed he was a man of praiseworthy

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484 Ashpaz, cook.
485 Shihab al-Din ʻAbdullah of Herat, also known as “Tabbakh” or “Ashpaz,” was one of the most eminent calligraphers of his time in thuluth. His calligraphic works include an album page dated 833/1429-30 (Tehran, Sultan al-Qu’ra’i Collection) and a specimen from 866/1461-62 (Hifz al-ayat, Tehran, Bayani Collection). While Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 9) praises Ashpaz with the words, “...in truth, the tongue of the pen falls short of doing justice to him,” the Qadi (Minorsky, 66) says, “He wrote admirably and was a remarkable master in gold sprinkling and book restoration. The Qadi also mentions inscriptions by Ashpaz saying, “In the majority of buildings in Herat, especially in the Gazargah, there is some of his writing. In the Holy Mashhad, ...in the building called Aghacha, in honor of Aghacha-begum [erected by Husayn Bayqa‘ar], the inscriptions are by his hand.”
486 The Qadi (Minorsky, 67) notes that most of the inscriptions of the madrasas of Shiraz and of some of the local built around 920 (1514-15) are the works of Siyawushi and Mawlana Pir Muhammad II.
487 Asadu’llah, “the lion of God,” one of the titles of Imam ʻAli.
488 Another title of Imam ʻAli. ʻAli is making a word play with the calligrapher’s name, which is the same as one of Imam ʻAli’s titles.
489 See n. 406 above.
490 I.e. He used the pen, which also has two prongs (insi and wahsi, see n. 340), as skillfully as Imam ʻAli used the Zu’l-fiqar.
essence among the scribes. And another was Mawlana Sharaf al-Din of Damascus, the prince of calligraphers.

Other than these, (Monla ʿAli Beg of Tabriz) was [one of] the foremost jeweler (gevher-rīz)\(^{491}\) of the fine calligraphers \{and the beloved master of copyists.\} And among his agreeable students were (Monla ʿAbdullah), the brother of Monla Agha who resided in Noble Damascus and was especially known for his talent in embroidering banners in gold thread), and Monla ʿAla Beg of Tabriz,\(^{493}\) \{the incomparable man of judgment of the “Masters of the Six Styles,”\} and a follower of Tayyib Shah. \{(And among his [Monla ʿAla Beg of Tabriz’s?] pupils is the Georgian (Monla Yusuf), who is valued by the most illustrious men of the court for the grace of his pen [and] especially for his scribal services in the [Ottoman] Imperial Council (Divān-i Hūmāyūn). And should he be blessed with a long life, further progress \[in his art and\] a promotion in his post is fitting.\}

And [there were] Baqi Muhammad of Bukhara, the famous master of those with praiseworthy pens and elegant penmanship; Monla Haji Maqsud, celebrated among the calligraphers of colored script (renge-nūvīs), \[who was,\] above all, the most renowned of ʿrīqa\(^{5}\) writers,\(^{494}\) \{and,\} Mawlana Ahmad of Rum, who, although he was a Rumi, resided in Persia and was appointed calligrapher to the illustrious prince

\(^{491}\) Literally “jewel pourer,” the one whose speech is very elegant and pleasing.

\(^{492}\) The Qadi (Minorsky, 79) notes that “many inscriptions on Tabriz mosques” are ʿAli Beg’s work. In a different version of this text, ʿAli Beg is noted to have “restored mosques and buildings.”

\(^{493}\) Copyists of all versions of the text seem to have confused on the names of ʿAli Beg of Tabriz and ʿAla Beg of Tabriz, mentioned below. The Qadi (Minorsky, 80) notes that “inscriptions by [ʿAla Beg of Tabriz] are seen on the gates of mosques and buildings in Tabriz” and adds that when he visited Tabriz in 988 (1580/81), ʿAla Beg of Tabriz was still alive.

\(^{494}\) The Qadi (Minorsky, 79) notes that, “the inscriptions of the building of Mir Maftulband, situated in the Charand-ab quarter of Tabriz, are in [Haji Maqsud’s] writing and that the Haji later went to live in India.
Baysunghur Mirza. All [of these] were fine calligraphers, and, in their time, they were the companions of men of fortune and recipients of their favors.

In addition to these, the calligraphers of Rum also have their own “Seven Masters,” the first of who was Mawlana Shaykh Hamdullah of Amasya. (32b) The second was Mawlana Dede Chalabi, his righteous offspring and talented [and] blessed son. He was known as the “Shaykhzade” [“son of the Shaykh”] and was endowed with his father’s skill. The third was Muhy al-Din of Amasya, son of Jalal, and the fourth, his younger brother Mawlana Jamal of Amasya. And [the two] have become known as Jalal and Jamal. Their calligraphy is mentioned as being of such perfect delicacy and subtlety that it has been said of them:

Verse

He is the son of Jalal, a world calligrapher.
No one has equaled him in majuscule naskh.
Know that with him that naskh attained perfection,
Just as Kufic was perfected (hatm) by [Imam] ʿAli.496
Though he exerted himself earnestly [at calligraphy], already,
At the time of Qala-bala,497 it was bestowed upon him.
The writing of his brother Jamal as well
Is [considered] auspicious in Isfahan498 and Gili.499

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495 Baysunghur, Ghiyāth al-dīn, son of Shahrūkh and grandson of Timur (r. 1397-1433). He was a great patron of art, a designer, and an illuminator. His example as a ruler-patron had considerable influence on the development of the art of painting in Persia under the Timurids; see EI, vol. 1, 1139.
496 I.e., Imam ʿAli.
497 Qur’an 7:172. Qālū-belā “They said ‘Yes! [We do testify]’.” Reference here is to the time when God asked humankind the question, “Am I not your Lord?” and humankind acknowledged God as their Creator, thus completing the covenant. In popular culture, the term is loosely translated as “time immemorial.”
498 The historic city in Iran, 340 km. south of Tehran.
499 Probably, Gilan, a province to the south of the Caspian Sea. Mustaqimzade (397), who quotes the poem from ʿĀli, also gives the word as Gili. Ayverdi (22), probably copying from Güzähr-i şavâb, notes the word as Hiride (“in Herat”).
The fifth was **Monla Ahmad Qarahisari**, [and] he was the celebrated master of Rum. And the following verse in praise of him is a token by one of the poets:

**Verse**

He stood upright in the field of calligraphy.  
The glory of [the art of] writing is **Qarahisari**.

The sixth was **'Abdullah of Amasya**, (33a) whose maternal uncles were **Jalal** and **Jamal**. The seventh was **Sharbatchi-zade Mawlana Ibrahim**, a native of Bursa, or, according to some, of Edirne. All of these were renowned masters and choice, jewel-like artists.

Now, the abovementioned **Shaykh Hamdullah** came to Rum during the reign of **Sultan Bayazid Khan** (r. 1481-1512), son of **Sultan Muhammad Khan**, and received an appointment of fief of thirty aspers per day. And, he was the intimate confidant of the late **Sultan Bayazid Khan**, and an acclaimed companion, envied by [the Sultan’s] viziers. He passed away in the time of **Sultan Salim Khan [II]**, the conqueror of Egypt, and the veneration that was accorded to him amongst the calligraphers of Rum was [never] extended to [any] others. [And they said of him:

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500 Based on a calligraphic specimen signed by ‘Abdullah and dated to 924/1518-19, and taking into consideration the common knowledge that he lived for about eighty years (Mustaqlmzada, 397), Ayverdi (12) suggest that ‘Abdullah was born around the year 840/1436-37. He includes two single sheet specimens by ‘Abdullah from his private collection and mentions that the only other known sample by him is a mawlid in the Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi (Yeni gelenler 1477 no.)

501 Shaykh Hamdullah of Amasya (840-924/1436-1520), the great calligrapher of Rum founded his own school of calligraphy and was known as the the cynosure of scribes (qbleti‘l-kütüb).

502 *aqcha, aqçe*, meaning “small white,” was the name given in Turkish to the Ottoman silver coin habitually referred to by European writers as the *aspre* or *asper*, from the Greek *asprōn*.

503 That is a *timar*, a grant of tax revenues to support a military retainer of the Sultan.
Couplet

Ever since the calligraphy of Hamdi son of Shaykh appeared,
The writings of Yaqut has surely vanished from the world.

And most of them [i.e., the “Seven Masters of Rum”] lived into the time of
Sultan Sulayman Khan Ghazi. Both [Ahmad] Qarahisari and others were appointed
to posts that paid fifteen or sixteen aspers [per day].

Following these came Mawlama Köse Muhy al-Din, who was a contemporary of
Shaykhzade and the last master in the line of Arghun Kamil; and Mawlama ʿAbdullah
of Crimea renowned as “Tatar, »504 who is said to have learned naskh from
Shaykhzade, (33b) and thuluth, rayhani, and the other hands by practicing and studying
from the [calligraphic] samples of the old “Seven [Masters].” In the times of Sultan
Sulayman Khan, Sultan Salim Khan [II], and our padishah, Sultan Murad Khan
[III], he was the chief of the scribes in the capital city [Istanbul], and the [most]
renowned of the excellent ones employed [there]. Another is Dervish Chalabi, the son
of the said Dede Chalabi [Shaykhzade], and he is also best known as Shaykhzada. The
aforementioned Monla ʿAbdullah Tatar approached them [i.e., lived in their time].505

Another [among the calligraphers of Rum] is Mawlama Katib Husam of
Gallipoli, who is a skilled master in all styles of calligraphy [but] especially in
monumental thuluth, in which he has few equals. And another is Monla Hasan, known

504 The name of a Mongolic tribal grouping. Their earliest attestation is in the eight century Orkhun Türk
inscriptions; see EI, vol. 10, 370. Until the late eighteenth century, Crimea was occupied and ruled by the
Tatar descendants of the Golden Horde.
505 To clarify the meaning, EH 1231 (28a:2) adds “and studied under their tuteelage.”
as “the slave of Qarahisari.” [a man] with joyful lot. His *thuluth* is not quite equal to that of his master, but not really inferior either. And another is Rawani Muslih al-Din who is a native of Vize. He is the instructor of calligraphy at the Galata Palace, and was a respected pupil of the abovementioned Mawłana ʿAbdullah [of Crimea]?

Other than these [there are noteworthy among the calligraphers of Rum] Dawud of Skopje, Katib Hayr al-Din of Maraš, Mahmud Chalabi of Edirne, Monla ʿAbd al-Rahman, who resides in Sarajevo, and (34a) Monla Nuri, one of the celebrated ones of this age and a scribe of the Sublime Court (*Divān-i Ṭālī*). And Husam Zarīn-qalam, who is also a scribe at the esteemed Diwan (*Divān-i muhterem*). And Diwane Memi of Manisa, the acknowledged [master] of the Six Styles of his age. He is not, however, noted for being clean, and his white page is not free from stain and blemish. Another is Dervish ʿAbdullah Chalabi, the pupil of ʿAbdullah [of Crimea?] whose writing is not bad.

And, [among the calligraphers of Persia is] Ibrahim Sultan son of Shahrukh Khan, of the praiseworthy-lineage of Persian princes descended from Timur

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506 Hasan Chalabi (d. 1594), the adopted son and disciple of the greatest Ottoman calligrapher of the sixteenth century, Ahmad Shams al-Din Qarahisari (d. 1556). In an inscription on the left of the entrance to the prayer hall of the Sulaymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, Hasan refers to himself as Hasan bin Karahisari; see Rado, 82.
507 Palace School and later modern lycée at Pera across the Golden Horn in Istanbul. It was founded during the first years of the Sultan Bayazid II (r. 1481-1512), as one of the place schools in Istanbul and Edirne for the education of the ʿazemīoğlan (navice boys).
508 The Imperial Council of State in Istanbul.
509 “Golden-pen.”
510 A religious mendicant, a dervish who has renounced the world for the love of God.
511 Vn (25a: 4-5) and EH 1231 (28a:12-13) insert the additional line: “Then, there is also Shukrullah Khalife, pupil of Shaykhzada, who is a fine calligrapher.”
512 The Qadi (Minorsky, 85) notes that “Mawłana Dervish ʿAbdullah was a native of Balkh in Khorasan and wrote very remarkably. Some consider him superior to Khwaja ʿAbd al-Hayy…”
513 Mirzâ Sultân İbrâhîm (d. 838/1434-35), son of Shahrukh and grandson of Timur.
Gürkan\(^{514}\) who, in the year eight hundred seventeen [1414-15] was named the ruler of Persia. His soundness in the art of poetry, in calligraphy, and in skills pertaining to the laws of fiscal registers (qānūn-i defter)\(^{515}\) is well known, as is his pure and noble care for his subjects.\(^{516}\) On one occasion, he wrote a verse copying the hand of Yaqut Musta’simi. And adding to it [Yaqut’s] signature, he sent it to the bazaar. Because of the delicacy of his writing, no one suspected that it was not [actually in Yaqut’s hand]. Believed to be “the work of Yaqut,” it was priced like jewels and sold to a customer (34b) for [much] gold and silver. How wonderful was that beautiful calligraphy desired by everyone! [And] how marvelous the esteemed, flawless writing, the jewel-like letters of which were indistinguishable from those of Yaqut, and whose outward forms lacked not in pearly or ruby (yāqut) meaning. He passed away in the year eight hundred thirty-four [1430-31].

In addition to him, another among the copyists of Persia and those with a delicate hand who acquired talent in the Six Styles was Shams al-Din Zahir, who was without equal in his art.\(^{517}\) And there was also Mawlana Jamal al-Din Husayn Fakhkhar of Shiraz, an agreeable pupil and a wise [and] faultless apprentice of the aforesaid [Shams

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\(^{514}\) Timur Land (“Timur the Lame”), the founder of the Timurid dynasty that ruled in Central Asia and eastern Iran from 1307 to 1507.

\(^{515}\) For a detailed account of types of defter, see EI, vol. 2, 77.

\(^{516}\) On Ibrahim-sultan Mirza, the Qadi (Minorsky, 69-71) has this additional information: “The inscriptions of the madrasas which he himself founded in Shiraz in those days, namely Dār al-safā [House of Purity] an Dār al-a'yām [House of Orphans], 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'qub Dhal-Qadar…In the building of Zahrīyya, too, the inscriptions are by the Mirzā, and on the raised platform of Shaykh Muṣṭāfī al-Dīn Sa'dī…the following ghazal of the poet was written in the royal writing of the Mirzā on the glazed tiles of its pediment…A copy of the Qur’an made by the Mirzā is known, in the cemetery of Bābā Lafūlāh ‘Imād al-Dīn.’”

\(^{517}\) The Qadi (Minorsky, 67) notes that Mawlana Shams al-Din Zahir was a calligrapher of Shiraz and that, along with Mawlana Ruzbihan, Mir ‘Abd al-Qadir Husayni, and Hafiz ‘Abdullah, the majority of local inscriptions belong to him.
al-Din Zahir]. He was the choicest among the calligraphers of Persia, or rather, their proud sultan. His writing was greatly appreciated in all lands, and it is common knowledge that his illuminated style was imitated and approved by the copyists of {the world}.

In short, fine calligraphy is a virtue, which unstintingly confers honor upon those who possess it. And the art of writing is a path toward nobility and fame, which leads those who command it to glory and high station, unless they are reproached by people for bad morals, (35a) or are notorious [for their] addiction to opium paste,\(^{518}\) opium or hashish.\(^{519}\) Still [there are] some, who, though the fine quality of their writing is established, have been addicted to poverty and want, and have become famous for their constant whining about fate’s lack of favor. Even saying that, “This art is dignified, valued, and precise in meaning. It cannot be comprehended by the feeble minds and it is taken up only by the most fortune,” they declare that the [art of] writing is a rank-defining rank and those with imperfect temperament cannot grasp its honorable qualities and virtue. But still, so as to recount and transmit their complaints about poverty and lack of recognition, some have said:

Don’t think that writing made me happy,  
And there was no generosity of the hand of Khatim-i Ta’i.  
I need only one thing,  
That is the shifting of the dot from the kh to the f.

In other words, “Do not think that calligraphy leads me to happiness when I live in a time when there is no kindness or generosity pouring from the hand of a Khatim-i

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\(^{518}\) *barsh*, an electuary of hemp leaves and laudanum or opium with syrup.  
\(^{519}\) *bang* or *banj*, henbane.
Ta‘i\textsuperscript{520} and no one receives an allowance from [such a patron] or enjoys his beneficence. Rather, I live in a time in which my hand earns not an asper and am in such great misery [that] I do not have the means to produce [even] a single verse, (35b) so that with that verse, which is also a dotted design, I could cause the dot of the letter “ḥa” in the word “ḥatt,” [i.e., calligraphy] go away and give [dots] over to the “ta” in the word ḥatt such that “calligraphy” becomes a pure “ḥazẓ” [i.e., happiness, fortune]. And thus, through that calligraphy, that which my life requires could come into existence [for me].\textsuperscript{521} In short, it means “perfect calligraphy has not given me a share of fame such that I could reach happiness through it, and, like others, entertain happiness and delight in return for it that I might attain my heart’s desire.” However, it is obvious that the complaint is exaggerated. It is not easy for someone who has [mastered] calligraphy to possibly become so poor and needy. At the present time, there are calligraphers whose daily income is purses and purses of silver and gold.

\textsuperscript{520} Hūtim-i Tā‘i, Arab poet-prince of the sixth century renowned for his proverbial generosity.

\textsuperscript{521} Schimmel (49) writes that, “This pun was used six hundred years before [‘Áli] by Kushajim, scribe and poet at the Hamdanid court in Aleppo, who says about himself that

[He] produced lines of a delightful handwriting on the paper, like a stripped garment, But khatt has no use so long as it is not dotted wrongly [i.e., transformed into ḥazẓ].”
Now chapter three [is on] scribes of beautiful writing who[se names], like their reed pens, are distinguished in the fine script called nastā‘liq—a combination of the naskh and ta‘liq522 hands.

During the reign of Prince Baysunghur Khan,523 who was born in the year of the hegira eight hundred two [1399-1400] and passed away in the year eight hundred thirty-seven [1433-34], it was decided to preserve people from [spiritual] impoverishment by encouraging (36a) true poetry, by making calligraphers joyful [by engaging them] in beautiful writing, and, through the consummate benevolence of the ruler, by bestowing highest ranks and offices upon men of perfection. It is even accounted that, in his prosperous time, forty talented calligraphers in his service gathered in a school and paradise-like workshop, a joyous place famed like heaven, which would make a picture gallery.524

And Mawlana Ja‘far of Tabriz, who is mentioned below, a pupil of Monla ‘Abdullah son of Mir ‘Ali of Tabriz, was the endless treasure, the principle [and] impeccable master of that group [of calligraphers]. It was agreed that they were all illustrious [personages] of that age; their pens were tokens like upright saplings in Baysunghur’s garden of benevolence, while the beauty of their inscriptions and penmanship was the glory of the fine calligraphers of that century. And it fittingly

522 Literally “hanging;” a calligraphic style that is characterized by letters that are extended to the left. According to Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 9), Mir Sayyid Ahmad (Thackston, 24), and the Qadi (84) the inventor of the ta‘liq script was Khwaja Taj-i Salmani, a native of Isfahan, and the one who perfected it was Khwaja ‘Abd al-Hayy (see page 206 below).
523 Literally “hanging;” a calligraphic style that is characterized by letters that are extended to the left.
524 The metaphor of the picture gallery (nigāristān) is used frequently in Persian poetry, along with the phrase “idol temple of Farkhar in China” (but-khāna-yi farkhar-i chīn). See Roxbrugh, 177, note 71.
became clear that nastāʿīq, zar-afshan,525 book repair (wassali), painting (taṣāʾvir),
gilding and muhasana526 [all] began to be valued then.

(36b) Now, the honorable calligraphers are recorded among the learned [men] of
that age, together with their names, titles, skills, personal histories, and pen names in the
Tazkira-i Dawlatshahi, in Majalis al-nafaʾis of [ʿAli Shir] Nawaʾi, and, recently, in the
Tuhfa-i Sami. Yet, since [these accounts] concern the past, in determining who their
masters were and in laying out how they pursued their education, there are admittedly
[some] uncertainties. The following is [a list of] this choice and venerated group [of
calligraphers]: Mawlana Hafiz ʿAli of Herat;527 Shams al-Din Muhammad of
Kashan, who used the pen name Nawaʾi;528 Mawlana Muhammad, the son of Sultan
Muhammad of Astarabad,529 [and] among the exalted of Nishapur, Mir Sunʿi;
Mawlana Shawqi of Yazd,530 [and] Hafiz Babajan [Udi] of Turbat531 and his brother

525 Speckling and painting paper with gold. Developed by Iranian craftsmen, probably in the fifteenth
century, the technique became popular when collectors developed a taste for binding to gather single sheet
specimens of calligraphy in albums. The term is derived from Zarafshān, a landlocked river in Central
Asia, currently within Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. In early Islamic times, the mountains around its
headwaters were famed as auriferous and bearing many other useful metals; see EI, vol. 11, 458.
526 muḥassenāt, beautification, i.e., decoration of the binding with medallions and other ornamental designs.
527 Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 245) notes that Hafiz ʿAli belonged to the Ghuri family of Herat. He was famous for
his disposition and fine intellect. He wrote a beautiful hand in several styles.
528 Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 246) notes the following on Shams al-Din Muhammad of Kashan. “He is a young
man. Besides being skilled in various arts, he is particularly proficient in calligraphy, rhyming, and riddle.
He has adopted the pen-name of Nawaʾī. While he was proceeding to India, he wrote the following qitaʾ:
   I must proceed to India, as there
   The affairs of the artists prosper.
   Generosity and munificence have departed from the people of the world,
   And gone to the Dark Land [of India].
529 Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 246) notes the following on Mawlana Muhammad: “...He was a very intelligent and
capable young man. He wrote a beautiful hand. He had been a student for some time and wrote under the
pen-name of Mashrabi. He died in the prime of his youth.”
530 Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 247) mentions Mawlana Shawqi to be one of the descendants of Khwaja Rashid. He
adds that Mawlana Shawqi “...is an agreeable companion and very human. He writes beautiful in nastāʿīq
hand. He is perfect in insha and held the post of insha-nuwsī under me.”
531 Udi, “the lute player.” Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 246) notes the following on Hafiz Babajan: “He belongs to
Turbat, in Khorasan. He wrote a beautiful nastāʿīq hand and was highly skilled in engraving and gilding
on bones. Among the musical instruments, he played so well on the lute and the shiturgha [a Central Asian
Monla Fayzi.⁵³² In addition to these [there were] Monla Shihabi, Mawlana `Abdullah of Qazvin, Mawlana Ashiqi of Tabriz, {Monla Ayati-i Maktabdar, Monla Naziki of Tabriz Shi‘ar},⁵³³ Monla Ibrahim, likewise from Tabriz, and the other Monla Ibrahim of Astarabad.⁵³⁴ Monla Isma‘il Najati, Dost Muhammad of Gushwan,⁵³⁵ Muhibb

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stringed instrument] that no one has, in my opinion, surpassed him. He was very polite and dervish-natured. He had a fine taste for prosody and riddles. He died at Tabriz in 944/1537-38.”

³⁵² There is no mention of a Monla Fayzi in Sam Mirza or Qadi Ahmad. According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 148), Babajan’s brother’s name was Hafiz Qasim the Singer, the father of the two was Hafiz `Abd al-‘Ali of Turbat, and the family moved from the borough of Turbat to Persian Iraq and settled there.

³⁵³ Vn (27a:10), hence the 1926 printed version (28), have this line mixed up as, “In addition to these [there were] Mawlana Shihabi, Mawlana ‘Abdullah of Qazvin, Mawlana Ayati of Tabriz, Monla Naziki Maktabdar, Monla Ibrahim of Tabriz Shi‘ar.”

³⁵⁴ Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 247) notes that Ibrahim of Astarabad was particularly proficient in ta‘liq and that it was for this particular reason he held the post of the munshi of the shrine of Imam Rida. The Qadi writes this about Ibrahim: “Mawlana Ibrahim of Astarabad conducted for some time the correspondence on behalf of the holy mausoleum of Imam Rida...He wrote with great delicacy, pleasingly, and lightly. This humble one does not consider his style inferior to that of Mawlana Dervish. He spent some time in Qum.” For a complete account, see Minorsky, 89.

³⁵⁵ Dost Muhammad son of Sulayman al-Harawi, the royal librarian and calligrapher at the Safavid court.

The preface he wrote for the Bahram Mirza Album (TSK H 2154), dated 951/1544-45, is the best-known album preface (For translation with annotations, see Thackston, 4-17). Among the extant works of Dost Muhammad, Thackston (15, note 61) names a specimen dating from 938/1531-32 (Istanbul, TSM, H. 2156, fol. 31b, at Herat) and a copy of Majlīs al-‘ushshāy dating from 972/1564-65 (Tehran, Sipahsālār).

Writing on Dost Muhammad, Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 384) notes that his native Gushwan is a village in the vicinity of Herat and that the Mawlana was a young (Adle points out that at the time, Sam Mirza was approximately twenty years older than Dost; see Adle, “Autopsia, in Absentia,” 227.), amiable, and jovial person. He adds, “[Dost Muhammad] writes beautiful in nasta‘liq. He also possesses proficiency in poetry, prosody, and riddles. At times he is also occupied with book-binding. His pen-name is Kahi.” The Qadi (Minorsky, 147), in keeping with Munshi Qazvini’s notes on the calligrapher in his Jawāhir al-akhbār (Jewels of Chronicles, 1576-77) names Dost Muhammad among the pupils of Mawlana Qasim Shadishah. He notes, “The late Shah [Tahmasp] was well disposed toward him,” so much so that “[the Shah dismissed] all the scribes from the library, except him.” Dickson and Welch (1:4 and 1:34) mistakenly conflate the identities of Dost Muhammad of Herat the calligrapher and Dost-i Diwana the painter, and assert that the single identity of these two Dosts was not known to Qadi. For detailed study on the confusion on the identity of these two Dosts, see Abolala Soudavar, Art of the Persian Courts; Chahryar Adle, “Les artistes nommés Dust-Mohammad au XVie siècle,” Studia Iranica 22, 2 (1993), 219-96; and Adle “Autopsia, in Absentia: Sur la date de l’introduction et de la constitution de l’album de Bahram Mirzâ par Dust-Mohammad en 951/1544-1545,” Studia Iranica 19, 2 (1990), 219-56. For ‘Ali’s account of Dost Muhammad the painter, see chapter five below.
‘Ali the flute player (nāyī) of Herat,536 (37a) and Mawlana Khwaja Mahmud of Astarabad.537

The integrity of this group [of calligraphers], like the [firmness] of their pens in the nastā‘liq [style]; their vigor in discoursing in verses of naturally built meters; the fact that they were all fine calligraphers, and that in the realm of writing they were companions (enīs) of Anīsī538 is all noted in [the abovementioned sources]. Based on the fact that most [of these calligraphers] were contemporaries of Mawlana Ja‘far of Tabriz, and that Mir ‘Ali of Tabriz,539 who set down the rules of calligraphy, came before [them], it was inferred that most of [these calligraphers] were direct disciples of [Mir ‘Ali of Tabriz], although some [learned from him] through an intermediary.

One of [the calligraphers] in this group was Monša Jan of Kashan. He was famous throughout the world for [his] beautiful writing and the style that he fashioned

536 Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 247) notes that Muhibb ‘Ali, a good writer in nastā‘liq, lived in his company for a long time.
537 A prayer in Arabic follows. The Qadi (Minorsky, 90) gives the name as “Mawlana Sultan Mahmud,” son of Mawlana Ibrahim [of Astarabad]. He also adds that Sultan Mahmud wrote under the nom de plume of “Najati.”
538 Mawlana ‘Abd al-Rahīm of Harazm, known as Anīsī (“companion”). According to Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky, 100), he received this nickname because he was a companion and admirer of Aq Qoyunlu Ya‘qūb; this monarch called him Anīsī and joked with him.
539 Mir ‘Ali of Tabriz is regarded the originator of nastā‘liq style. His best extant specimen is found in the British Museum Add. 18, 113, the Kulliyat of Khwaja Kirmani dated 798 A.H.; see Chaghtai, 7. Scholars who studied his biography usually quote the versified treatise of Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad. The following is an extract from that treatise, a full version of which is quoted by the Qadi (Minorsky, 106-125.)

Whether of the fine, or of the large naskh-i ta‘liq,
The original inventor was Khwaja Mir ‘Ali,
…
From his fine intellect he laid down the rules [of the new script]
From naskh and from ta‘liq.
…
Scribes, old or new,
Are gleaners in his field.
[It is true that] Mawlawi Ja‘far and also Azhar
Were masters of writing, the purest of the pure.
But [Mir ‘Ali] was wonderful in all styles of writing,
I have heard masters say so.
His clear writing like his verse displayed full equilibrium.
known as *shikasta-basta*, [and] he was remembered among the men of refinement.

*Shikasta-basta* is written on pages of two colors, one of which is black, so when the two [sheets] are placed on top of each other, the calligraphic style that he invented would be visible.\(^{540}\)

Another leading [calligrapher] in this group was **Mawlama Shir ʿAli**. His Excellency Mir ʿAli Shir Nawaʿi stated in the *Majalis* [al-nafaʿis] that Mawlama Shir ʿAli wrote so beautifully in *nastaʿliq* script, (37b) and made [his] talent manifest with such dignity that none of the calligraphers of that age were able to imitate him and none of the masters were able to follow in his footsteps. The said Mir [ʿAli Shir Nawaʿi], further expanding on tribute, also remarked on [Shir ʿAli’s] complete mastery [of his art] and his preference for a style that could not be imitated by others. He was a meticulous scribe and calligrapher with an enlightened heart {and a devotee of Sufism} as well as of the art of riddles. *Millat-gu*, his [work on] riddles, is elegant testimony to his refined nature.\(^{541}\)

**Prose**

Another [of the masters of *nastaʿliq*] was **Mawlama Katibi Muhammad Tarshizi**, a zealous reciter of poetry, a scribe of pleasing originality, a copyist of matchless talent, a supporter of companions {of erudition}, a careful (*miṣkil-gū*)

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\(^{540}\) ʿAli’s account is taken almost verbatim from that of Sam Mirza (*Tuhfa*, 249), which reads, “Molla Jan of Kashan was a calligrapher and had invented a new calligraphy called *shikasta-basta*. It was like this: two thin leaves, a portion of each of which was black, were placed on each other, and then the writing became visible. He was a wonderful composer too—he could compose one thousand verses in one night!”

\(^{541}\) A riddle from *Millat-gu* follows.
conversationalist of eloquent [speech], and the round ink-pot\textsuperscript{542} of the sawlajan\textsuperscript{543} pen. He came to Nishapur and practiced nasta‘liq. The quality of his excellence and penmanship equaled [that of] the Pen and Tablet of the highest sphere of the heavens, and it was because of this that [he was given] (38a) the pen name Katibi [“the Scribe”]. And his celebrated name became manifest on the pages of the time owing to his fine penmanship. When Simi of Nishapur, who is mentioned below, insulted him [on matters having to do with] the art of calligraphy, he was heartbroken and gave himself up to serving Amir Shaykh Ibrahim Shirvanshah, the honorable son of Amir. After receiving many enticing appeals and exalted favors from him, [Katibi] departed from [Ibrahim Shirvanshah] too and [went to] Isfahan where he joined the blessed dervish convent of the Turkish Khwaja Sayin al-Din, the chief of the seekers of truth. [There] he became engaged in the art of writing without raising his pen [from paper]. He became a devotee of Sufism and the investigation of and instruction in poetry that poured forth [from him] like a sprite of the water of life (dīv-i āb-i ḥayāt). He died of the widespread plague [that occurred in] the year eight hundred thirty-nine [1435-36] and was buried in Astarabad.\textsuperscript{544} It will suffice [here to cite] a couplet that is wholly characteristic of his eloquent, witty verses [and] a fragment illustrative of [his] penmanship:

\begin{quote}
Verse by him

O moon! Do not go beyond the royal curtain of heaven.
Wish that the Sultan is inside the [royal] pavilion.
    The world’s ear is full with the sound of love’s cry.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{542} mahbara, also, a cause of joy and gladness.
\textsuperscript{543} A kind of hooked bat or club, for use on horseback to drive a ball along the ground, as in the game of polo.
\textsuperscript{544} An Arabic prayer follows. Astarabad is a town on the Caspian coast.
(38b) Kātībi, ask with your pen, what sound that is.

Prose

Following in order comes Monla Simī of Nishapur, scrupulous connoisseur of the value of calligraphic works and possessor of silver (sim) and gold (dīnār) from the treasure-troves of jewel-like letters. He resided in the Mashhad of Rida and his talent in the Six Styles, in reciting odes, in the art of riddles, in paper-coloring (reng-āmīz-i evrāq), in gilding, in gold sprinkling, and in book repair was [universally] acknowledged. He was the glory of his age, and, with his auspicious excellence in instruction, a preceptor in that blessed land. [And] Mawlama ʿAbd al-Hayy, unique in the world for [his] diwani script and for [his] decorative painting (naqqaṣluq), was favored and matchless as a pupil of Monla Simī.

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545 Simī, “the Silvery.” Simīyyā, “letter magic.” For the science of letters, see n. 328 above.
546 Mashhad-i ʿAlī al-Ridā, the tomb of the Eight Shiite Imam in the city of Mashhad in northeastern Persia.
547 gazel, an ode, of not more than twelve distichs, of which the hemistich must be of the same metre, those of the first distich, and the last one of all other distichs rhyming together.
549 Unlike ʿĀli, who says that ʿAbd al-Hayy was renowned for his diwānī, the Qadi (Minorsky, 84), like Dost Muhammad before him (Thackston, 9), mentions him as the outstanding master of taʿliq. Qadi Ahmad’s account is as follows: “He found the proportions, elegance, and canons of this [taʿliq] script...The Khwaja was a native of the town of Believers, Astarabad. There exist two varieties of his writing, of which the first is characterized by extreme lusciousness and movement. In this variety, charters and orders of the late Sultan Abu-Saʿid Gurna were written. Thus, too, wrote the munshis of Khorasan, such as Mawlama Dervish, Mir Mansur, Khwaja Jan Jibraʾil, and others. The second [variety] is distinguished by firmness, maturity, solidity, and taste, and it was used in the orders of the late sovereign Hasan Beg, Sultan Yaʿqub, and other Aq-qoyunlu sultans. The munshis of Azarbayjan and Iraq, and especially Shaykh Muhammad Tamimi, Mawlama Idris, and others followed that model. Khwaja ʿAbd al-Hayy became world famous through conducting the correspondence of Sultan Abu-Saʿid. Verily, in his art, he was the Yaqut of his time, and to this day none has equaled him...He lived down to the beginning of
Story has it [that once], at the command of Prince ʿAlaʾ al-Dawla, Mawlama Simi composed a fable of three-thousand couplets\(^{550}\) in a day and a night while at the same time eating with triumphant appetite and digesting without discomfort twelve mānī\(^{551}\) of food and honey-soaked fruit. While the people of Mashhad were watching, (39a) [he] declared himself an alchemist (ṣīmī), and in a hubbub of drums, horns, and kettle-drums inscribed his epithet on marble panels. In truth, like an alchemist, without making any mistakes, he wrote a total of three thousand couplets.\(^{552}\) The following riddle from among his works, the answer to which is various names, suffices [here].\(^{553}\)

Another [of the masters of nastāʿliq] was Amir Shahi of Sabzawar, sultan of calligraphers and chief commander of the men of letters. His profound knowledge and abilities, his talent at poetry, his gift in the science of music and in the playing of the lute, and, especially, his full grasp of and competence in the subtleties of calligraphy, gilding, and illustration were the exact reasons for Baysunghur Mirza’s benevolence and high regard [for him].\(^{554}\) [The character of] his enlivening poetry is represented in these heart-pleasing couplets.\(^{555}\)

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the reign of the glorious Chosroes of eternal memory, Shah Ismaʿil, but, having abandoned attendance at the court, lived in seclusion in Tabriz, where he died in 907 (1501-02). At the beginning of the Tabriz avenue he built an enclosure in which he was buried. It is known by his name, “ʿAbd al-Haiyya.”

\(^{550}\) The Qadi (Minorsky, 125) quotes a verse that Simi composed and cut by an engraver for his signet ring. It reads:

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

\(^{551}\) A weight of about two pounds avoirdupois.

\(^{552}\) In a slightly different version, the same story is told in Khwandamir’s Ḥabīb al-sīyar (4:62).

\(^{553}\) Followed by a riddle of one couplet.


\(^{555}\) A poem in Persian follows.
Another [of the nastā‘liq writers] was Mawlana Sayyid Jalal son of ‘Azd. When asked about Amir Muhammad Muzaffar’s (39b) metered poetry and beautiful writing, given his refined education and his youthfulness, the virtues he exhibited in the rubā‘i556 that he improvised and put in writing in a beautiful hand, as well as the favors and patronage of Sultan Baysunghur on account of his [profound] knowledge, were perfect testaments to the aptitude of his noble person. And [below is] that rubā‘ī.557

Another [one who possessed great skill in the nastā‘liq style] was Khwaja Mahmud of Sabzawar.558 He filled the meadow (sebze-zār) of calligraphy with embellishments from a field of reed pens, and, with upright and firm reeds, made manifest his talent in the Six Styles, and transformed the newly blossoming art of calligraphy and the rules of orthography into an evergreen juniper tree. By composing a jawāhir559 verse, at the end of which he wrote a chronogram, he rendered clear and manifest the attribute[s] of his pearl-casting writing, (40a) and made public his innate talent in versification.

Verse

I wrote in the style of the Six Scripts.
Its chronogram became the style of Six Scripts (897/1491-2).560

556 rubā‘ī, epigrams of four hemistichs.
557 Followed by a rubā‘ī.
558 Sebzevärt; “meadow-like.”
559 jawāhir, a chronogram based on a form of abjad that takes into account only the numeric values of the dotted letters.
560 The copyist of Vn (29b:13) added above line the number “897/1491-92,” the date of the chronogram.
(Another) [skilled practitioner of nastā‘liq] was Mawla(na) Yahya-yi Sibak of Nishapur, who appeared during the time of Shahrukh Mirza, and whose calligraphy flourished during the reign of that exalted sultan.

Now, the enlightened and judicious guide of the masters of the past, [and] in particular, of the later generation of calligraphers, was Mawlana Mir ‘Ali of Tabriz, who set down the rules of the nastā‘liq style. His name is mentioned before [those of his pupils], in connection with whom it is established that these persons were either directly or indirectly instructed and taught by him. However, in order to avoid a lapse by confusing the lineage [of calligraphers] whose masters are known with those [whose masters] are not known, it has been necessary to withhold [the account of Mir ‘Ali] until this time.

Now let it not be hidden that Mawlana Mir ‘Ali of Tabriz was a master inventor par excellence and the supreme guide of the most illustrious masters. All attempts and efforts to refine the nastā‘liq hand, and to distinguish it from and [make it] superior to the Six Styles were initiated by him. Just as Mawlana Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad, who will be mentioned below, was [known as] “the cynosure of scribes (qibletī‘l-kūttāb),” (40b) the aforesaid master was the exalted personage known as the “the leader of scribes (qudvetī‘l-kūttāb).”

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561 Shāhrūkh (r. 807-850/1404-47), fourth son of Timur and ruler of Khorasan. He tried to reunite the Timurid lands in Iran and Central Asia after his father’s death.
562 See page 203 above. For Mir ‘Ali’s line of pupils, see appendix.
And the most famous of his pupils was Monla ʿAbdullah, a his own talented son, whose firm writing was a testament to his [high] standing and whose agreeable style was an indisputable witness to his excellence. He was known for having modeled [his] calligraphy on that of his gifted father, and, in attaining the skill for a firm standing [in his art], every line was a decree issued with full wisdom.

And a talented pupil of [Monla ʿAbdullah] was Mawlama Jaʿfar of Tabriz. Among the masters of the past, he is one whose beautiful inscriptions are imitated. It is said that he was an instructor at the above-mentioned Baysunghur Mirza’s school and the learned head of his library of heavenly works, and that the other calligraphers of that age were disciples in his service.

And now, among the students of the above-mentioned Mawlama Jaʿfar, the most famous was Mawlama Azhar, the most unmistakable (azhar) hidden treasure among the promising sown reed pens [i.e., the most promising student in training]. He, too, was probably from Tabriz. In truth, his sapling-like reed pen was a fruit-bearing grove in the gardens and meadows of calligraphy. His hand was (41a) firmer than his master’s, and,

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563 Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky 100) and Mir Sayyid Ahmad (Thackston, 23) call him ʿUbaydullah. In version H of the Qadi’s text, the name reads “ʿAbdullah.” Thackston (10, note 27) notes a Divan of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir dated 809/1406-07 (Istanbul, TSM H. 909) that is signed twice by ʿUbaydullāh b. ʿAlī al-Kāṭib al-Suṭānī.

564 Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 10) also writes in praise of ʿAbdullah: “...his calligraphy is of such degree that the cognoscenti of the age cannot distinguish between his writing and that of his father.” Version H of Qadi’s text (Minorsky, note 314), on the other hand, notes that “according to some less reliable sources [ʿAbdullah] did not achieve great success.”

565 Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 10, 13) gives the name as Mawlama Farid al-Din Jaʿfar.

566 For the conflicting information about the identity of Mawlama Jaʿfar, see appendix, endnote xvi.
in finesse, the innate grace of his writing was superior to [that of] many [others], while its tidiness was inferior to [only] [a few].

One of his contemporaries was **Mawlama Sultan ʿAli of Qain**, whose writing many praised though some found it objectionable. In the year of the hegira eight hundred sixty-one [1456-57] the late **Sultan Husayn Bayqara**, (the land-adorning padishah, king of kings who conquered [many] lands [and] brought nourishment to the) skilled and the virtuous, the munificent benefactor of authors of the *insha* style (*inšā-girān*) and poets, ascended the throne. He graciously allowed the men of genius (*erbāb-1 ṭab*) and companions of excellent virtues of that epoch to become used to his sublime benevolence and exalted gifts. And, above all, he proclaimed to the world [that] day by day **Mir ʿAli Shir Nawaʾi**, the regulator of the state, most just of ministers and wisest of viziers, painstakingly encouraged the intellectual advancement of the learned as well as the vulgar, while attending with total solicitude and sincerity to their progress toward perfection and enlightenment. [That time] was ripe for the maturing of fine calligraphers, [just] as, day by day, their crisp calligraphic works, and the beauty of their writing and style was elevated and enhanced. It was noted in the *Majalis al-nafaʾis* that at the time of that feast-like sultanate, the above-mentioned **Sultan ʿAli of Qain** was intoxicated with a sip from the goblet of **Mawlama ʿAbd al-Rahman Jami**, who sat at the heart of the gatherings (*majlis*) (41b) of the intimates [i.e., Sufis] and who was the distinguished

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567 Dost Muhamamd (Thackston, 10) calls him Mawlama Zahir al-Din Azhar and notes the following on him. “He was a calligrapher of such a rank that the masters of this art consider his writing better than his master’s.”

568 Fifteenth-century Persian poet. See page 70 above.
agent of divine truth at meetings on law (ṣerīʿāt) and religion. Among the followers of Sufism, he was a bubbling sea, who discovered the secret of the [maxim], “He who knows [himself knows God].” He was [also] a slave committed with all his being to writing, devoted to spending his time on penning literary works. And [as is also noted in the Majalis], when he was asked for a [specimen of his] calligraphic works, proud of the beauty of his [own] writing, he demanded a book’s fee for the writing of one verse. However, since acquiring wealth would be unimaginable and corrupt for a dervish, what comes to the mind of this lowly one [i.e., ʿAlī] and seems to be implied [by ʿAlī of Qain’s attitude] is this: by demanding an extremely high or low fee for his works, he [meant to] mislead those who would ask him to copy a book, so that no one would offer him calligraphic commissions, and, by means of this tactful act, [he could] devote his time entirely to his work for Mawlaya Jami. Or [alternatively], his wish was not to make calligraphy desirable [in and of itself, but rather] to emphasize its unique benefits, to the adaptation and study of which he had dedicated his being. Regardless, he was a scribe (42a) with beautiful writing. His versified speech was likewise charming, desirable, and exquisite.

Verse

O love! It set [your] honor and reputation on fire!
It consigned the existence of elite and commoners to the wind of annihilation!

569 Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 10) mentions ʿAlī of Qain as a protégé of Sultan Yaʿqub.
570 Among ʿAlī of Qain’s extant works, Thackston (10, note 32) mentions a diwan of Jami dated 898/1492-93 (Tehran, Kitābkhāna-i Saltanatī, Atabay 80) and Zubdat al-haḡāyiq of ʿAyn al-Qadāt al-Hamadānī dated 884/1479-80 (St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, Dorn 252).
Another [of the pupils of Mir ʿAli of Tabriz] was the Shaykhzada of Purani, the successor of Shaykh Abu Saʿid Purani and heir holding the honor of the noble rank from two ancestors. Above all, even as a shaven youth, he advanced his calligraphy twice over to such a degree and wrote so flawlessly that [even] the leading masters and calligraphers gifted in penmanship [never] reached that level. And the maturity and accomplishment testified to by his furrowed brow [i.e., his writings on the pages] shone with such intensity that but a few pieces of poetry and rhymed prose were left untouched by his natural finesse. And this rubaʿi is by him:

Verse

There is no one in this world who suffers from your grief like I do.
No one with [such] heartache, fostering indigence.
   My grief and sorrow I wish to tell.
   There is no one, alas, who suffers from the same!

(42b)⁵⁷¹ And the pioneer of this group, that is, the honorable exemplar of calligraphers at the time of the late Sultan Husayn [Bayqara], was Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad.⁵⁷² Reputed as “the pole of scribes,” it is known that he was a leader of his time and, according to the people of Mashhad, [he was] among the calligraphers of the past, the sultan of God’s eternal gift. His master was the above-mentioned Mawlama

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⁵⁷¹ An additional paragraph is inserted here in versions Vn (31b:10-16) and EH 1231 (35a:10-35b:3). In it, Monla Hafiz Futa is noted to be one of the renowned calligraphers of his age. Monla Mir Husayn Husayni, a pupil of Futa, is said to be equal in talent to Mir ʿAli. Finally, Muhammad Nasir of Bukhara, praised as one of the fine calligraphers of contemporary Bukhara, is mentioned as a pupil of the abovementioned Husayn Husayni.

⁵⁷² According to Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 203), Sultan ʿAli, after the death of his Herat patron, was for some time in the service of the Uzbek Shaybani-kahn. Minorsky (92, note 283) suggests that this report may be connected with an anecdote added to one of the versions of the Qadi’s text. It reads “…when Sultan ʿAli brought a qitʿa of his work to Shabek-khan Uzbek, ‘that ignorant Turk.’”
Azhar, and his emergence [as a calligrapher] was thanks to the education (terbiye) he got from him. It is clear as day that the moisture [of the damp ink] of his calligraphy was like the fountain of Hızır⁵⁷³ [concealed] beyond Darkness, and the grace of his reed pen was proclaimed to be pleasantly protected by the shade of the Tuba tree⁵⁷⁴ in the grove of the date palms in paradise. (In truth), he was the sultan of masters of pen and bore witness to those who shared [the gift of] penmanship. [Likewise it was manifest that] in his art [he was] a leader who had dominion over the world and, on the path he took, [he was] an exemplar of fine calligraphers to generations of scribes. In proof, once, when the aforesaid sultan Husayn Bayqara⁵⁷⁵ had issued a decree and given a glorious command to the above-mentioned penman saying, “Design a memorable gravestone for me,” [Sultan ʾAlī] had replied, “Although a matchless edict must surely be met with a comparable service, attaining [such service] can be accomplished only with sufficient time.” (43a) [And] truly, that celebrated shah, showing infinite kindness, joked saying, “We would not be too thrilled to pass away anytime soon, so we will not pursue your not rushing that service!” Nevertheless, with three or four low and high [reliefs], with exposed and concealed [designs], and, with engravings and projections, the said calligrapher rendered a gravestone design with illustrious craft and matchless art, such that, no doubt, people seeing it bring to life with the Fatiha⁵⁷⁶ its designer and the dweller in that resting place, and point to [it] with terrific awe, bewildered as if they were dead

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⁵⁷³ Hızır, an ancient prophet, reputed to have found and drunk of the Water of Life, and therefore to be immortal.
⁵⁷⁴ Tuba; a tree in Paradise, the branches of which are said to enter every abode with flowers and fruit.
⁵⁷⁵ According to the Qadi (102), Sultan ʾAlī was summoned to the court of Husayn Bayqara and spent some time in Herat in his library. He continues, “…In those days he completed much work. The inscription on the building in the Jihan-ara garden (the palace garden situated on the road from the citadel of Herat to Gazargah), known as the ‘Murad garden,’ are entirely in his writing.”
⁵⁷⁶ See n. 281 above.
themselves. In accord with the accounts of merchants and pilgrims, it would not be wrong to attribute that artistry of inscription to the saintliness of Monla Sultan ʿAli.

The tutor of the aforesaid [Sultan ʿAli], Mir ʿAli Shir [Nawaʿi], the grand vizier and counselor, the Ardashir-like lion of the forest of occupation (piyeh) of the lovers of learning, and protector of eloquent poets, made known in [his] Kitab-i Majalis [i.e., Majalis al-nafāʿis] that the said penman [Sultan ʿAli] possessed good morals and bonded with the multitude through genial reconciliation and good deeds. (43b) [Mir ʿAli Shir emphasized] in particular, [Sultan ʿAli’s] strength in composing poetry and his erudition, which exceeded that expected of scribes. He lived for sixty-three years, and with a verse fragment like this, he reminded men of genius such that the grace of his hand did not become flawed by the feebleness of old age or by trembling.

Verse fragment

My age is sixty-three years, more or less, But my musk-colored pen is still young.

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577 Ardashir, well-known name of Persian kings. Muslim tradition has certain knowledge only of the later Sasanian kings of that name, Ardashir I (226-41), Ardashir II (379-83), and Ardashir III (628-29); see EI, vol. 1, 626.
578 According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 102), a copy of the Kitab-i Majalis was executed by Sultan ʿAli. It is interesting that ʿAli makes no mention of Sultan ʿAli’s versified treatise on calligraphy. For translation of the epistle, see Minorsky, 106-125.
580 Candidates for scribal service needed only literacy and ability; ilmiyya training, membership in ulama families, or even descent from devshirme forebears were not sine qua nons for aspiring scribes, although such factors could help an individual to begin a career.
581 Since he was unaware of Sultan ʿAli’s versified treatise, ʿAli draws his conclusion about his age from the following verse fragment inscribed on the tomb of Sultan Mansur in Herat. In his versified treatise dated Muḥarram 920/Febuary-March 1514, however, Sultan ʿAli notes that, “My beloved life has reached the age of seventy-and-four.” In Qadi’s text (Minorsky, 103 and note 405), the date of Sultan ʿAli’s death is given as 10th Rabi I 926/2 March 1520. Accordingly, his date of birth is determined to be 846/1442-43. The Qadi notes Sultan ʿAli’s burial place to be “…opposite the foot [of the tomb] of the…Eight Imam …immediately outside the domed building of the Amir ʿAli Shir, close to the steel door.” Hasan Beg Rumlu (Ahsan’ut-tawārīkh, 67), on the other hand, mentions Sultan ʿAli’s death in his necrology for the year 919/1513-14.
582 This sentence and the following autobiographical mathnawi are quoted from Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 245).
I can still write secretly and openly [i.e., in small and large characters],
That “[I am] the slave [of God], Sultan ʿAli.”

Story has it [that] MawlanaʿAbd al-Rahman Jami was fond of the calligraphy
of the aforesaid [Sultan ʿAli] and showed great eagerness to have his [own] eloquent
diwan embellished with his writing. Yet, according to Mir ʿAli Shir Nawaʾi, he
showed benevolence to a fine calligrapher with the name of ʿAbd al-Samad. And
[ʿAbd al-Samad] obeyed the order and made a matchless copy of [Jami’s] elegant
diwan. Wisdom is God’s! [During the process of copying,] some mishaps characteristic
to a writer’s nature, that is, mistakes and redundant words that [all writers’] familiar
disposition inevitably entails, were revealed. [And when] [Jami] noticed, appearing
between those attractive lines, the corrections [that the copyist made], [some]
imperceptible like dust (44a) [and others] {more considerable}, His Excellency’s fragrant
feelings were hurt. Verily, in addition to paying due respect to the aforesaid, the
following verse fragment is presented here.584

One of the disciples of the said Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad was Mawlana
Muhammad Ibrishimi,585 who attained the rank of “master” and whose reed pen’s stem
grew in the meadow of talent and perfection. It is no secret that his every polished page
was the like of the resplendent Buraq586 in the heaven of heavens587 [and] his black-
bathed ink, like his appearance, was world seizing with its mildness, as [too] was the

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583 The Qadi’s version of the mathnawi (Minorsky, 104) has an additional couplet inserted between these
two. It reads “By God’s grace I am still such, / As, in truth, not to spoil a sheet of paper.”
584 A poem in Persian follows.
585 Ibrishimi, “The Gleaming.”
586 Buraq, the flashing steed, name of the courser that carried the Prophet Muhammad, in his night-journey
from Mecca to Jerusalem, and there to heaven, in an instant.
587 Atlas, the ninth or highest sphere in Ptolemy’s system; the heaven of heavens.
gentleness of his noble hand in ruling over the dominion of calligraphy. [Indeed,] the celebrated abundance of his qit‘as was admired by the public, young and old. 588

Another [of his disciples] (44b) was Sultan Muhammad Khandan, 589 whose fingers were firm sapling[s] grafted to the pen in the garden[s] and meadow[s] of calligraphy. The leaves of his rose-garden [of calligraphy], like vernal safflowers, were [each like] a red-rose burst open (handān) in spring and autumn [that gave] the inkpot of the land of talent its vermilion color. And the black of his ink was an abundant stream that day and night sought out the garden of perfection. 590

Another [of his disciples] was Sultan Muhammad Nur, whose white page was pure light (nūr) and the grace of [whose] calligraphy was an affirmation of [the Qur‘anic verse] “Light upon Light!” 591 Furthermore, each ha 592 of hawwaz 593 [that] he fashioned was [like] a sun in the heaven of knowledge, [and] every couplet and distich he wrote was [like] a Flourishing House 594 kneaded with light. Though the black of his ink resembled the darkness of night in the cultivated quarters of his talent, his every noble line was [like] light that illuminated learned writings. 595

588 Dost Muhammad mentions him as “the late,” making it clear that the calligrapher was dead by 951/1544-45. For the verses that Ibrishimi composed and inscribed in his own hand on the tombstone of Sultan ‘Ali, see Minorsky, 103-104. Among Ibrishimi’s extant works, Thackston (10, note 36) mentions Haft awrang of Jami dating from 910/1504-5 (Tashkent, Akademia, 6149/5293) and Manṭiq al-fayr of ‘Attar from 923/1517-18 (Istanbul, Türk Islam Eserleri Müzesi, 2011).

589 Handān, “the Blooming.”

590 The Qadi (Minorsky, 134) notes that Muhammad Khandan was also good in poetry and riddles and spent all his life in Herat. Thackston (10, note 35) writes that his extant work range from 910/1504-5 (St. Petersburg, Publichnyaya Biblioteka, Dorn 418, ghazaliyyāt of Amīr Shāhī; possibly also London, British Library, Or. 8760 dated 888) to 935/1528-29 I (St. Petersburg, Publichnyaya Biblioteka, Diwan of Nawa‘i).

591 Qur’an, 24:35

592 The thirtieth letter of the Ottoman and Persian alphabets, and twenty-seventh of the Arabic. In the abjad formula, it has a numeric value of 5.

593 The second word in the Abjad formula, the method of numeration by letters of the Arabic alphabet.

594 See n. 221 above.

595 A prayer in Arabic follows. Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 10) provides the following information on Muhammad Nur. “The learned and pious Mawlana Sultan Muhammad Nur was a pupil of Mawlana Mu’in
And another [of his disciples] was ۳Ala al-Din Muhammad Razaٴ، to whose miracle-performing fingers brought forth the key of the gate of calligraphy. The pillar-like reed tip of his magic-producing pen [was] the measure [against which] the chapters of the book of fine penmanship (۴۵۲) need to be judged. Moreover, each of the round \*has [that] his compass-like fingers fashioned would become a solid golden-hinge (reze) or an iron ring on the gate of knowledge. And each \*qaٴ that his steel pen embellished on his perfect pages was solid like David’s artٴ.

Another [pupil of Sultan ۴Ali of Mashhad] is Mawlana ۴Abdi of Nishapur, the maternal uncle—in fact according to some, the noble master—of Shah Mahmud [Nijad of Nishapur], who is mentioned below. He probably still teaches in that province [of Nishapur].ٴ However, it is sure and certain that following a well-grounded education, he studied with Sultan ۴Ali. In any case, Mawlana ۴Abdi is a popular scribe, whose skillful writing, thanks to his studies under [۴Ali of Mashhad, is sought after. [He is] a

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**Notes**

ٴala-Din Wa’iz and was one of the outstanding of the age in nasta’liq script, particularly in writing in colors, for generally color has not flowed so nicely from anyone else’s pen, and few have equaled him for accomplishment and purity in the profession of scribe. From his youth until his sixty-third year, which were the years of his life, he was always devoted and pious.” The Qadi (Minorsky, 134) writes that Muhammad Nur was the son of Mawlna Nurullah and a recognized calligrapher in Herat who wrote very well in minute hand. Thackston (10, note 34) mentions three extant works by Muhammad Nur, a specimen dating from 912/1506-07 (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Mxt. 131, fol. 17a), Ṣifat al-‘āshiqi of Hilālī dating from 957/1550-51 (London, British Library, Or. 4124), and a divān of Ṭūsī in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, No. 1553, with a questionable date of 896/1490-91.

ٴٴRazaٴ, “the Hinge.”

ٴٴThe twenty-fourth letter of the Ottoman and Persian alphabets, and twenty-first of the Arabic.

ٴٴReference here is to the mail-armor wrought by King David.

ٴٴ‘Ali’s unawareness of Mawlna ‘Abdi’s death of about twenty-nine years ago is odd, for the calligrapher’s death is noted in one of his sources, Sam Mirza (Tuhfā, 81) with the words, “...two years ago [i.e., in 1548] he departed to the eternal home.”
calligrapher possessed of fine penmanship and an auspicious style, and a master of the pen.\textsuperscript{600}

Another [of Sultan ʿAli’s pupils] was Shah Mahmud [Nijad] of Nishapur. Celebrated in that group [i.e., among the masters of the pen], he was an eminent master (45b) of the time of Shah Ismaʿil son of Shaykh Haydar\textsuperscript{601} [and] an honorable calligrapher [with] a luxuriant pen and praiseworthy style. When the late Sultan Salim Khan [I], the Alexander-like [sultan] of the planets’ fortuitous conjunction,\textsuperscript{602} battled with that Shah Ismaʿil on the Chaldiran plain,\textsuperscript{603} and the pun

\textit{Verse}

Destiny in the divine workshop
Has sketched some لاقات (Salim) in ہاضم (Shah Ismaʿil)\textsuperscript{604}

was pronounced, Shah Ismaʿil first hid the praiseworthy Shah Mahmud Nijad and then the matchless figural-painter Master Bihzad\textsuperscript{605} in a cavern, saying, “Who knows, should flight or death befall my body, and destruction and chaos [overtake] the land of Persia, they might fall prey to the God-empowered hand of Sultan Salim Khan of Rum.” And

\textsuperscript{600} The Qadi (Minorsky, 134) gives the additional information that Mawlana ʿAbdi spent the greater part of his time in the service of Shah Tahmasp.
\textsuperscript{601} Ismāʿil I Abu’l-Muzaffar (r. 907/1501-930/1524), shah of Persia and founder of the Safavid dynasty.
\textsuperscript{602} ہاشم-قیرح a title that refers to a person born under a happy conjunction, or to a monarch who reigned thirty or forty years.
\textsuperscript{603} A reference to the battle of Chaldiran (1514) at which the Ottoman Sultan Salim Khan I defeated the Safavid ruler Shah Ismāʿil.
\textsuperscript{604} The satirical verse was composed by the poet Umidi (d. 1519 or 1523). لاقات and ہاضم are two styles of ornament. لاقات is an ornamental style in vine-and-tendril motif, and ہاضم is the so-called Chinese style of painting. The latter term was also the pseudonym of Shah Ismaʿil who was also a poet. Here the pun on لاقات and Salim refers to the fact that the victory went to Salim.
\textsuperscript{605} Bihzad, Kamāl al-Dīn, Ustād (d. 1535-36), the most famous Persian miniature-painter of the fifteenth century (for ʿĀli’s account of him, see page 271 below). For a detailed biography of Bihzad, see Richard Ettinghausen in EI, vol. 1, 1211-14.
saying, “I entrust your protection in God’s will,” he left for the battlefield. Later, when he, crushed and subjugated, fled [and] returned, he first went to the place where he had lodged them and searched for them. When he found [the two] where he had left [them], he was filled with gratitude to the Lord of Power from the depths of [his] heart. Now, from this it should be understood what a beloved person Shah Mahmud was, since a padishah deemed his protection and defense to be above that of (46a) his land and riches.

In truth, it is crucial and incumbent upon persons of sound thinking and crowned princes that with this precious anecdote [and] by direct analogy they realize just how essential it is to protect and defend men of knowledge.\(^606\)

And another [pupil of \textit{Ali of Mashhad}] was the [calligrapher] renowned as \textbf{Muhammad Qasim [son of] Shadishah}.\(^607\) It is said that, he was a fortunate [calligrapher] with a lucky star, [and was] a jovial master. As such, he is said to have possessed a graceful pen and, on the path of knowledge, he steadfastly followed a course like beautiful [lines of] writing. In truth, when the Functionary of Perpetual Life\(^608\) [and]

\(^{606}\) Sam Mirza (\textit{Tahfa}, 246) writes the following on Shah Mahmud of Nishapur: “… He is a pupil of Mawlama ‘Abdi, but he has surpassed him in calligraphy. In spite of his great skill, he lives like a dervish and a fakir. He adopted the pen-name of Mukhlis [“Sincere friend”].” The most comprehensive account of Shah Mahmud comes from the Qadi (Minorsky, 135-38), under whom he practiced calligraphy and thus appears to be a more reliable source than others. The Qadi gives his master’s full name as Mawlama Nizam al-Din Shah Mahmud Zarin-qalam and writes the following on him: “His calligraphic samples, both in a large and a small hand, are numerous. He wrote [Nizami’s] \textit{Khamsa} in minute script (ghubār) for the late Shah Tāhmāsp…[which] was additionally [adorned] with miniatures by Master Bihzad…For some time he resided in the capital, Tabriz.” In relation to Shah Mahmud’s account, the Qadi briefly mentions Shah Tāhmāsp’s loss of interest in the arts (which occurred around 1544-45, eventually resulting in complete denunciation with the edict of Sincere Repentance, prohibiting the secular arts in Iran). After this event, the Qadi notes, Shah Mahmud moved to Mashhad where he lived for another twenty years and died in 972/1564-65 and was buried by the tomb of Sultan ‘Ali. However, in light of a copy of \textit{Khamsa} of Nizami (Istanbul, TSM, H. 750) dating from 979/1571-72, which Thackston (15, note 56) says is in Shah Mahmud’s hand, this date appears incorrect.

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\(^{608}\) \textit{Qassām-i azal}, title of a special canonical functionary of Islam whose duty is to fix shares of inheritances falling to the heirs. In this case, the \textit{qassām} is responsible for distributing shares of fate to yet unborn souls.
the Keeper (ressām) of the Log of Eternity distributed to common people and sages their shares of refinement and knowledge, the said [Qasim]’s destiny was endowed with the faculty of calligraphy, and, with the [Qur’anic verse], “Writing down [your deeds],”609 his occupation [as] written upon the Tablet was ordained to be a fixed vocation of scribal service (qalem ḫidmeti).610

Another [pupil] was Mir Hibatullah of Kashan,611 the marvel of whose pen resembled the strength of Zu’il-fiqrar, and the elegance of whose writing, if likened to the delicacy of the down on [a youth’s] smooth-cheek, would be [described as] a noble face. The gloss on his pages was so like kashi [glazed tiles] that (46b) it embellished the mansion (kāšāne) of his writing. And the brilliance of the lines he drew was regarded as the blossoming of a field of flowers fashioned on those kashi.612

Another [pupil] was Monla Rustam 4Ali, who was from Khorasan. His celebrated name, [together with the allusion it makes],613 bears a twofold witness to his being a wrestler in his art.614 It is as if, with the hooked pen of his ink-well, he was a

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609 See n. 260 above.
610 According to one manuscript copy of the Qadi (note 474), Qasim son of Shadishah was active in 950/1543-44. Huart (249) mistakenly gives the date of Shadishah’s death as 1050/1640-41. Among his extant works, Thackston (11, note 38) mentions Qiṣāṣ al-Sa’dayn of Amir Khusraw (Istanbul, Nuru Osmaniye 3825) and a specimen dating from 959/1552-53 (Washington D.C., Sackler Gallery S86.0339).
611 The folio in which Mir Hibatullah’s name appears for the first time in the text is missing in Ark 1302. In the same version, where the name appears on 21a:1, it is given as “Mir Hibatullah of Tabriz.” In other versions of the text, Hībatullah is consistently mentioned to be of Kashmir.
612 A Persian word designating the tiles or trimmed pieces of faince. The most important center of production was the town of Kashan in Iran.
613 That is, the allusion to Rustam, the principal hero of the Iranian epic Shahnameh, especially in the version of Firdawsi; see EI, vol. 8, 636.
614 4Ali is likened the calligrapher to Rustam, the preeminent hero of the Persian epic Shahnameh.
second Rustam, or, with his double-tongued Zu’l-fiqar-like reed pen, [was] the king of scribes.615

And another [pupil] was Monla Ghiyath al-Din Mudahhib. It is said that he was a calligrapher of Persia, whose calligraphy was embellished and whose lines were orderly, [and that he was] a noble [man] gifted in penmanship with complete mastery of [the art of] writing.616

And another was Monla Muhammad [Bostani] of Merv. [He was] known to be an honorable person, whose qit‘as everyone desired, and whose calligraphy the masters of writing approved.

Also [there was] Monla Maqsud ʿAli [who was] of Turkish origin. Though he was a Turk, the quality of his writing was outstanding (sutürk).617

And another was Monla Jalal al-Din Mahmud. Just as the copyists of Rum had their Jalal and Jamal, the calligraphers of taʿliq of that region [i.e., Persia] had the said [Jalal al-Din] as their equivalent.

And another was Mawlama Zayn al-Din618 Mahmud, the adornment (zeyn) of the principles of calligraphy, (47a) distinguished among the devoted reed-pen holders.

615 shāh-mardān, “King of men,” a title given to the Caliph ʿAli by dervishes of the Shi’ite sects. Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 15), who gives the full name of the calligrapher as Mawlama Kamal al-Din Rustam ʿAli, mentions him only briefly with the words, “the writer of majuscule and minuscule script…who is foremost among modern calligraphers in writing in colored ink and in proficiency.” The Qadi (Minorsky, 147) notes Rustam ʿAli to be the nephew of Bihzad, an information that is in conflict by Sadiqi’s statement that Bihzad’s nephew was Haydar ʿAli (Dickson and Welch, 15). The Qadi’s additional comments are as follows: “He was employed at first in the library of Prince Bahram Mirza, and in his old age in the library of the latter’s son, Sultan Ibrahim Mirza in Holy Mashhad. There he died in the year 970/1562-63 and was buried beside the tomb of the late Mawlama Sultan ʿAli.”

616 The Qadi (Minorsky, 189) mentions Ghiyath al-Din among painters and gilders and notes that he was from Mashhad. He provides this additional information: “[He] was the inventor of gold sprinkling, was unrivaled in painting and [ornamental] gilding. He was the contemporary of the late Mawlama Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad. He died on the last day of Jamadi I 942/26 November 1535, in Holy Mashhad and was buried beside Mawlama Sultan ʿAli.”

617 Turk, referring to the peasant origins of the calligrapher.
[He possessed] praiseworthy manners [and executed] luxuriant works, [and was]
celebrated for his auspicious teaching. With rigor and a sound mind, he was
distinguished in lands far and wide for the style of [his] calligraphy.

Now, one other upright sapling planted in the garden of the reed pen[s] of
Mawlama Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad was Monla Pir ʿAli-i Jami, at whose finesse in
breaking lines (saṭr-i nezāket-ṣaṭrī), people pointed and whose every letter’s fresh
appearance exhibited absolute lusciousness. Just as Mawlama ʿAbd al-Rahman Jami
was the chief and leader of the council of the land of virtues, so ʿAli Jami was the sole
master of the dominion of writing. In proof, it is recounted that, alluding to the aforesaid
[calligrapher’s] graceful inscriptions and borrowing from passages lauding his pen,
Mawlama Mir ʿAli, who is discussed below, characterized [this] penman saying, “My
eyes wearied from looking at his isolated ayns and, shedding tears of envy over the
elegance of the illustration of his learning, my star darkened.” It is in this way confirmed
that [Mir ʿAli] was a witness to the high station of ʿAli Jami. Truly, with flawless
writing and no apparent wrongdoing, he was a bold calligrapher (47b) [and] a companion
of Anisi.

And another [pupil of Sultan ʿAli] was Mir Shaykh Nur al-Din Purani, the
noble son of Mawlama [ʿAli] of Mashhad. The ruler of the dominion of writing in Iran

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618 Zayn al-Din, “the ornament of religion.” The calligrapher is mentioned again below on 51a.
619 Jami, “the Glassy.”
620 The twenty-first letter of the Ottoman and Persian alphabets, and eighteenth of the Arabic (┪). The word
ayn means “eye.”
and Turan, he was] remarked upon by writers as [one possessed] of praiseworthy penmanship [and] a master to whom the science[s] were known.

And another [disciple] was Mawlana Abd al-Wahid of Mashhad. He had in the past come to Constantinople, the capital city of the Sublime [Ottoman] State, [where] he was [considered] worthy of the exalted favors of the choice [sultan] of the exalted Ottoman House, Sultan Sulayman Khan—may God’s mercy and pardon be upon him. He achieved an illustrious post from the shah of shahs, and remained in the land of Rum. And the scratching of his pen proclaimed to the scribes of that outstanding time of salvation his Mashhad origins and his discipleship of [Ali] of Mashhad.

Another was Sabz Ali of Mashhad, an exceedingly fine calligrapher. Among the pupils of Ali of Mashhad, he was like Jupiter among the stars.

The masters who were discussed so far are the renowned among the late Ali of Mashhad’s pupils, who studied with him in person. There were also those who learned from him indirectly. One of them (was) Mir Khubi-i Husayni (48a) who also came to Constantinople, the capital city of the Sublime [Ottoman] State, during the time of the late Sultan Sulayman Khan—may God’s mercy and pardon be upon him. [There] he was charged with copying a royal Shahnama [and], with the abundant benevolence of the padishah, was made happy with a [fixed] salary. It is said that without seeing Sultan Ali of Mashhad in person, [but] acquiring from his tomb a reed pen that had been trimmed

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621 Õrân, a geographical-ethnic term in the Shâh-nâma. In Firdawsi’s epic, the term refers to the land to the north-east of Irân, the border between the two countries being the River Oxus. Also, the mediaeval Islamic name for the district around Qusdâr or Quzdîr in the east-central part of what is now Balû-çîstân, the territory in British Indian times of the Khânate of Kalâ; see EI, vol. 10, 672.

622 I.e., Sultan Sulayman’s reign (1520-66).

623 Sabz, “Green” or “Dark blue.”
by him [and practicing with it] day and night, [Mir Khubi] learned from him{—that is, through his spiritual influence}. 624

With fresh lines of down [or, innovative writings] on the [cheeks] of [his] rose-lipped students and with violet[-colored] hair on [their] tulip-resembling faces, Mawla

Sultan Muhammad Khandan625 turned his school of talent into a meadow and a garden of roses. He [made] for righteous men the garden of his teaching of pure-excellence [a parterre of] upright pen[s], and with flawless examples of writings [turned it into] a coveted heaven of heavens. Of [his pupils], many are well-versed and it is rare for one of them not to have grateful disciples [who themselves are now] masters. 626

Now, among this group, one who is still living as this [treatise] is being penned is Mawla

Yari of Shiraz, a mortal renowned for being his master’s equal in dispersing talent. 627 It is known that today he is a worthy successor to his master and in penmanship a model (48b) of his predecessors’ style. [It is also known that] he is the glory of the pupils of Mawla

Muhammad Khandan and, with praiseworthy morals and admired poetry, is [among the persons of] good character of his time.

And [there was] Mawla

Shah Mahmud [Nijad] of Nishapur, 628 who was a skilled master. Wondrous at times, in the style of Mir ʿAli, he was fortunate in

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624 Here, in an additional paragraph, Vn (36b:3-11) and EH 1231 (40a:13-40b:5) mention Monla ʿAli Rida, another pupil of Sultan ʿAli, “the grace of whose pen is acknowledged as being indisputable.” One of ʿAli Rida’s praiseworthy pupils, Mirza Mahmud Katib is said to have died “at the time of the composition of this book,” in Bukhara.

625 Khandān, see n. 585 above.

626 Earlier on folio 44b, Sultan Muhammad Khandan was noted as being a direct pupil of ʿAli of Mashhad.

627 The Qadi (Minorsky, 188) names Herat as the birth place of Yari and in conflict with ʿAli’s note that Yari was still alive in 1587, he adds that Yari was a contemporary of Bihzad. ʿAli mentions Yari for a second time among gilders below on folio 78a.

628 Nizam al-Din Shah Mahmud Zarin-Qalam of Nishapur; mentioned above on folio 45a among the pupils of Mawlana ʿAbdi of Nishapur.
[attaining] the favor of his era’s Shah Isma‘il of magnificent royalty and [for becoming part of] the entourage at Gustaham’s throne of dignity. And [he was] distinguished for having been charged with copying [the shah’s] Shahnama. [He was] a proficient calligrapher and a person whose auspiciousness was manifest in the instruction of so many students.

Another among this group was Mawlama Salim of Nishapur, who, around the year nine hundred ninety [1582-83] engraved his existence on the pages of time [i.e., died] and confidently inscribed the caption “Everything [that exists] will perish except His [i.e., God’s] own Face” in the middle of his Tablet of the unknown. Monla Qutb al-Din of Yazd, who is discussed below, noted in all their faultless qualities the said [calligrapher’s] skill in colored script (renge-nūvīs), his penmanship, and the lusciousness of his calligraphy, and (49a) [he] made known his attributes saying, “Fine penmanship is a sign (āyet) that alighted on his celebrity, and colored calligraphy is an endless fortune that was bestowed upon the sound nature (selīm) of Salim.” Only he [will prosper] that brings to God a sound heart”.

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629 A maternal uncle of Khusraw Parviz and a major participant in the struggles for the throne during Khusraw’s and his father Hormozd’s reigns. Also the name of a Persian warrior during the reigns of the Sassanid Yazdegerd the Unjust and his son Bahram Gur.

630 ‘Ali must be referring to the illustrated edition of Khamsa of Nizami prepared for Tahmasp between 1539 and 1543.

631 Qur’an, 28:88.

632 jibāh, forehead. Reference is to the writing on the forehead, i.e., the decree of Providence in each person’s case.

633 A prayer in Arabic follows. According to Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky, 152), Mawlama Salim Katib’s father was an Abyssinian. He writes that, “In writing epitaphs on tombstones he was a second Sultan ‘Ali. He studied under Shah Mahmud Zarin-qalam...In calligraphy he was considered as an equal to Sultan Muhammad Nur (see folio 44b). He lived all the time in Holy Mashhad, and died there. He also had a gift for poetry.” While the Qadi does not mention the date of death of Mawlama Salim, Huart (234) gives the same year (990/1582-83) as ‘Ali as the year of the calligrapher’s death.

634 Qur’an, 26:89.
And another [of Shah Mahmud Nijad’s disciples] was Mawlana Haji Muhammad of Tabriz. He came to the land of Rum during the time of the [sultan] who [today] sits at the heart of the gardens of paradise, his Excellency Sultan Sulayman Khan, and with the abundant favors of that beloved [sovereign] of the country, he settled in the city of Bursa with a post for forty aspers a day. In truth, people speak of him far and wide as a bright-hearted scribe and a writer who wrote like Mercury. Though the abovementioned Shah Mahmud has numerous disciples, it would not be amiss to include among the renowned ones only these [discussed so far].

Likewise, [two] of the disciples of Mawlana Muhammad Qasim son of Shadishah are Mawlana ʿAyshi, the intoxicated (ayyāğ) scribe [and] the chosen chalice of people of discernment, and especially Mawlana Muhyi, the one who invigorates (mulhyī) what the pen executes and rejuvenates the lives of men of the pen. In both evenness and elaborateness ʿAyshi’s hand is clearer (49b) and finer than his master’s. And Muhyi’s writing, in freshness and finesse, is more desirable and pleasant than his master’s hand. Today, in the lands of Khorasan there is no calligrapher finer than [Muhyi], and the witnesses to his skill in his art are great in number, as if raised from the dead.637

And one of the agreeable disciples of the aforesaid master [Muhammad Qasim son of Shadishah] is Sultan Mahmud of Turbat, whose rank is close to [that of] Monla

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635 ʿAyshi, “the Toper.” In his preface (Thackston, 21), Malik of Daylam mentions ʿAyshi as a native of Herat.

636 Muhyi, “the Sustainer.”

637 The Qadi (Minorsky, 153) does not mention the name of ʿAyshi’s master but notes that “[he] wrote in the style of Mawlana Sultan Muhammad Nur.” He mentions ʿAyshi’s addiction to opium and adds that he was employed in the library of the Prince Sultan Ibrahim Mirza with a regular salary and died in Mashhad. For ʿĀli’s duplicate entry on ʿAyshi, see folio 61b below.
Duri, who is discussed below. As this [treatise] is being composed, though it is acknowledged without reservation that [he is] a [man] sincere in his conversations, [in his art], he is not the equal of Mawlana Muhyi. In truth, Muhyi is a supreme and impeccable scribe, an investigator of the unproven absolute. Ever since [the day] the box-tree of reed pens [first] flourished with pleasant [streams of] ink, and writings on leaves were honored with elegantly composed ornaments like a garden of letters and violets, the wondrous Muhyi, known among calligraphers as “the Sustainer (muḥyī),” with [his] pleasant water[-like] penmanship, bore absolute witness to the fine verse, “How He gives life to the earth after its death.” His unwavering perseverance, his concentration on the beautification of calligraphy despite the decrepitude of [his] old age and a bent stature, the fact that he ceaselessly held his reed-pen on the [letter] nun [i.e., in nūn, the primordial inkwell] and established (50a) the heading to the attributes of his calligraphy to be the illustrious tenor [of the saying], “[The letter] alif is close to nun,” are [all] proved to be true and confirmed by the [Qur’anic verse], “By the nūn and the Pen,” as well as [the saying] “By the honor of the illeterate Prophet, had it not been for him, the Pen [or, writing] would not have been created.”

Another [of his students] was Monla Muhammad Husayn of Bakharz, valiant among the scribes, choice among the calligraphers, and a wayfarer on the path of talent. Though some say the aforementioned Muhammad Husayn and Sultan Mahmud of Turbat were disciples of Shah Mahmud, and others say they were brought

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638 Qur’an, 30:50.
639 For more on the symbolism of this letter, see Schimmel, 55, 79, 108-09, and 157.
640 See n. 266 above.
641 A district in Khorasan.
up by Muhammad Khandan, the truth is the said Muhammad Husayn studied from the calligraphic samples (*mešk*) of both Shah Mahmud and the cherished master Qasim son of Shadishah. However, Sultan Mahmud of Turbat is a creation (*ešer*) of Shah Mahmud’s zeal alone.

And again, the aforementioned Mir Hibatullah of Kashan—who was discussed above and whose elaborate style is renowned among masters—also had eminent and exalted disciples, who are noted and [well] known. Now, the most famous among that group, and their leader of superior talent is Amir Muʿizz al-Din Muhammad, the glory of [his] contemporaries. He studied with Mir Hibatullah in person and, through an intermediary, had savored the spiritual teachings of [Sultan ʿAli] of Mashhad. (50b) In fact, Mawlena Malik of Daylam, who is discussed below, considered Mir Muʿizz the best of his age. [He] acknowledged that in Iraq there existed no other calligrapher like him, and that the planted saplings in his garden of teaching [i.e., his pupils] were numerous like the reed pens of his inscriptions. Possibly a year or two before the year nine hundred ninety [1582-83], he surrendered to the decree “Return to your Lord!” And with the honor of *siyadet*, [in accord with the Qur’anic verse], “Writing down [your deeds] they [the recording angels know and understand all that ye do],” [he] set out

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642 The Qadi (Minorsky, 150) mentions Muhammad Husayn as a pupil of Qasim son of Shadishah only without any mention of Shah Mahmud. He adds that, Muhammad Husayn came from renowned *sāyyīds* of Zara in Bakharz, and during the reign of Shah Tahmasp lived in the capital, Qazvin where he accompanied statesmen. After the death of the Shah, Muhammad Husayn returned to Khorasan, where he eventually died.  
643 *Muʿizz al-din*, “the Defender of Faith.”  
644 The Qadi (Minorsky, 165) notes that Muʿizz al-Din, who also composed good poetry, wrote excellently in large and small hand, and that his writings were exported to India.  
645 According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 165), Muʿizz al-Din died in Kashan in 995/1586-87.  
646 Qur’an, 89:28.  
647 *siyādat*, the rank of *sāyyīd*. Originally, chief, e.g., of an Arabic tribe, and then, in Islamic times, a title of honor for descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. More generally, master; lord; prince.
on a journey to ennoble the dwellers of heaven.\textsuperscript{648} In truth, it is said that his calligraphy was heart-pleasing and highly prized, his \textit{qit‘as} were ever-fresh and jewel casting, [and] he was a model for contemporary men, a glorifier of writing and faith, and a self-possessed pious prince (\textit{sayyid}).\textsuperscript{649}

And \textbf{Monla Rustam \textsuperscript{6}Ali of Khorasan} had some skillful pupils as well. One among this group was his well-versed son \textbf{Muhibb \textsuperscript{6}Ali}. While the firmness of his calligraphy is evident from a glance at its details, when the alignment\textsuperscript{650} of his lines is closely examined, it is as if all are jumbled. Regardless, he was a master’s son, and while the finesse of his penmanship is inferior to many, it [still] is better than a few.\textsuperscript{651}

\textbf{(51a)} And again among the disciples of the aforesaid \textbf{[Sultan \textsuperscript{6}Ali] of Mashhad} [there was] \textbf{Monla Zayn al-Din Mahmud}, an accomplished master whose reed pen flourished in the garden of knowledge and skill. Among the world’s calligraphers, he was a scribe of auspicious disposition. Above all, he was the master of \textbf{Mawlana Mir \textsuperscript{\textit{6}Ali [of Herat]}}, the sultan of calligraphers and ruler of writers, who was an affirmation of the saying, “Many a man weighs a thousand.”\textsuperscript{652} It was also noted in the \textit{Tuhfa-\textsuperscript{2}i Sami}\textsuperscript{653} that the birth of the gifted \textbf{Mir \textsuperscript{6}Ali}, the prince of the world’s calligraphers and the possessor of the throne of exceptional scribes, in truth occurred in Herat, that he grew

\textsuperscript{648} See n. 260 above.
\textsuperscript{649} A prayer in Arabic follows.
\textsuperscript{650} \textit{kursi}, “a seat.” The term was used with regard to “the parallelism or contraposition of letters.”
\textsuperscript{651} The Qadi (Minorsky, 147) provides this information on Muhibb \textsuperscript{6}Ali’s professional career: “Mawlana Muhibb \textsuperscript{6}Ali, the favorite son of Mawlana Rustam \textsuperscript{6}Ali, wrote well in both a large and a minute hand and was the librarian and intimate of Prince Sultan Ibrahim Mirza. He wrote under the pen name of \textit{Ibrahimim}. After twenty (in another version, eight) years of service at the court of His Highness, Muhibb \textsuperscript{6}Ali was dismissed from service and summoned to Qazvin. After a certain time he obtained leave to visit the holy places [of Mesopotamia], …Soon after his return he died in Qazvin. His remains were taken to Mashhad and buried beside his father Mawlana Rustam \textsuperscript{6}Ali.”
\textsuperscript{652} That is, one man might be worth a thousand others.
\textsuperscript{653} \textit{Tuhfa}, 74.
up in the Mashhad of Rida,\textsuperscript{654} which abounds in blessings, and that he was a sayyid of exalted rank and one of the reverent ones with angelic attributes. Moreover, it was [also] mentioned that he studied under Sultan \textsuperscript{6}Ali of Mashhad and that in the year nine hundred forty-five\textsuperscript{655} [1538-39], because of the uprisings and reformation in the land of Khorasan, he moved to Transoxiana (51b) [where] his vision became impaired due to the sway of old age.\textsuperscript{656} Yet, Sultan \textsuperscript{6}Ali’s fame came about during the time of the just reign of Sultan Husayn Bayqara, who appeared\textsuperscript{657} in the year eight hundred sixty-one [1456-57]. And the late Mir \textsuperscript{6}Ali’s departure for and passing on to the world of perpetuity came about in nine hundred fifty seven [1550-51], around the time of the [composition of] \textit{Tuhfa-‘i Sami}. According to some, a chronogram [that read] “Mir \textsuperscript{6}Ali passed away” was composed upon his death, marking his passing at the end of the year nine hundred fifty-one [1544-45].\textsuperscript{658} In that case, Mawlaya Mir \textsuperscript{6}Ali had to have studied with Sultan \textsuperscript{6}Ali [of Mashhad] in person. In accord with the noble hadith, “Typically, my people (umma) live about sixty to seventy [years],” he had the excellent blessing of a long life.\textsuperscript{659} However, the assertion in \textit{Risala-‘i Qutbiyya} that Mir \textsuperscript{6}Ali studied [in person] with

\textsuperscript{654} See n. 546 above.
\textsuperscript{655} In \textit{Tuhfa} (74) the date is noted as 935.
\textsuperscript{656} The Qadi notes that after living for a long time in the capital, Herat, Mir \textsuperscript{6}Ali, together with other notables of the city, was removed to Bukhara by Sam Mirza when in 935/1528-29 Ubady-khan Uzbek captured Herat. Based on the evidence found in ‘Alam-ara and \textit{Sharaf-nama}, Minorsky (130, note 436) agrees with the date the Qadi gives and considers the date 945/1538-39 that Sam Mirza and Huart (227) give incorrect.
\textsuperscript{657} The date is incorrect. Bayqara was born in 852/1438 and reigned between 872-911 (1468-1506).
\textsuperscript{658} The same date is noted also by Huart (227, note 1) as it appears in one of the manuscript copies of \textit{Tuhfa-yi Sami}. Huart himself, however, gives the year 966/1558-59 as the date of the Mir’s demise.
\textsuperscript{659} “Ali is suggesting that the life span of the calligrapher was between sixty or seventy.
Monla Sultan ʿAli’s pupil Mawlana Zayn al-Din Mahmud and indirectly modeled [his] calligraphy on that of ʿAli of Mashhad, is accurate and difficult to refute.\textsuperscript{660}

In sum, he [who was] known as Mir ʿAli [of Herat] was the sultan of the scribes with golden pens and the ruler (ḥāqān) of the masters of rare penmanship. Had Ibn Muqla seen the cry of the ink of his calligraphy (ḥuṭūt-i midād ḭmdādīn) like the blackness in the white of his eye, now with tears, the spring of his eye would flood with reds and vermilions, now out of jealousy, he would pour pearls into the jewel-chest of the Mir from the jewel-chest of the pupil of his eye (muqla).\textsuperscript{661}

[Verses] by the author

His reed-pen is [like] a chisel and his line[s] are [each] a saber. That mir is a master of the sword and the pen.

(52b) Compared to the Mir, that Ibn Bawwab, Is a gate-keeper (bevvāb) whose reed-pen is [but] a staff in hand. He made a moonlike beauty like Yaqut,

An Abyssinian slave\textsuperscript{662} to his Indian style\textsuperscript{663} writing.

Had Argun\textsuperscript{664} seen the miracle of [Mir’s] calligraphy He would have had to be mad (azgün) to deny [its beauty].

Prose

All in all, [Mir ʿAli] was the leader of the talented scribes.\textsuperscript{665}

\textsuperscript{660} Followed by praises of Mir ʿAli.
\textsuperscript{661} Ibn Muqla’s father described him as “son of the white of the eye,” or “of the pupil.” See, Khatibi and Sijelmasi, The Splendor of Calligraphy, 101.
\textsuperscript{662} A reference to Yaqut’s Ethiopian origins.
\textsuperscript{663} A reference to the style known as sakk-i Hinda.
\textsuperscript{664} For Argun Kamil, see folio 26a above.
\textsuperscript{665} A short account of the rivalry between Mir ʿAli and Muhammad Qasim son of Shadishah follows.
In short, he was an honorable lord, leader of the world, superior among the masters of pen, and a sayyid among the servants [of God]. Most calligraphers, (53a) that is, everyone expertly informed about the intricacies of beautiful writing, favored Mawlana Mir ʿAli’s penmanship and skill over the writing of [Sultan ʿAli] of Mashhad, particularly in the composing of qitʿas. They expressed [this] especially clearly, saying, “The crispness of his calligraphy and the firmness of his pen are superior to [that of Sultan ʿAli].” However, many celebrated calligraphers and jewel assessors [i.e., connoisseurs] of Yaqut-like fame, emphasizing [ʿAli] of Mashhad’s finer personality and honorable station, to which scribes turn (qibla) [as an ideal], and others, [underscoring] the firmness of his luminous calligraphy and the subtle finesse in its details, give [him] precedence over Mir ʿAli. And saying, “As a matter of fact, Mir ʿAli is [only] an apprentice of his student,” 666 they bestowed on him [ʿAli of Mashhad] his superior rank. And, in our time, it happened twice that wealthy and generous wits, who give away goods and chattels equal to the wealth of Croesus 667 for miscellaneous inscriptions] and all their possessions for [individual pages of] calligraphy, purchased one choice qitʿa of Mir ʿAli for five or six thousand contemporary Ottoman aspers, (53b) while for a pleasant qitʿa of two verses by [ʿAli] of Mashhad, they paid at most four or five hundred aspers. In the end, it was not clear whether it was purely a matter of preference for those desirous of [Mir ʿAli’s works], or [simply] due to the scarcity of his qitʿas. According to this humble one’s assessment, [Mir ʿAli and ʿAli of Mashhad]

666 That is of Mawlana Zayn al-Din Mahmud, a student of ʿAli of Mashhad, under whom ʿAli of Herat is said to have studied calligraphy.
667 See n. 176 above.
each followed his own path and both were illustrious and celebrated calligraphers who reached in their conduct and work the rank of “master.”

Advice

Reproaches! A hundred reproaches for those uninitiated fools and wealthy ones, and for those among the well-to-do, who are carried away with a craze for [collecting] calligraphic works and qit’as! Most of them are dissipated pen-holders, that is, lazy penmen who prove true the adage, “All scribes are ignorant,”668 ill natured, ignorant persons who are most likely to be appointed to the offices of treasurer or tax collector. Though it is certain that among that group [there are] learned and talented ones as well, the fool, (54a) the imperceptive, and the inept are many and in the majority. Doubtless, if what the indolent officials spend on embellishing their qita’ı̇s [i.e., single sheet specimens] and on partly gilt, partly colored decoration [of their] albums comes from bribery [collected] through treacherous deeds, like the sort of wealth and possessions they acquire by way of corrupt bribery, which, unquestionably, is an expenditure from the public treasury (beytü‘l-māl) and the exclusive treasury of the Sultan of the sultans, then it is true that they confirm the beautiful saying, “May God curse those who bribe and those who accept a bribe!” And if [what they spend] comes from the sweat of the forehead or from possessions earned through exertions of a rightful heir, then it becomes true and manifest that they are a confirmation of the honorable [Qur’anic] verse, “God

668 See n. 185 above.
loveth not those who waste in excess.”\(^669\) In effect, their lack of appreciation for calligraphy as well as the fact that [the number of] corruptly written qita`s [in their possession] is more than [the number of] a geomancer’s drafted notes is known by young and old, and understood by the leading men among the virtuous.

**Anecdote**

Among penmen [there are] some depraved [ones] whose corrupt nature (sevād-i vech) came out into the open (54b), the sons of so and so who are utterly deprived of talents having to do with book keeping and writing, devoid, like a blank page, of the blackness [i.e., ink] of the science of accounting (‘ilm-i ḥesāb), and ready, like court artisans (ehl-i hiref), to deviate from the “embarrassment” of reading a [single] word.

They obtained [their] certificate of literacy with the reports that were jotted down thanks to titles of their fathers. As for their revenues in their account books, [these] shrunk day by day due to the craze for [purchasing] calligraphic works. So much so that, every new enthusiast painter sold the sketch that he drew in the pitch-black of the night to the aforesaid [men] saying it was a pencil drawing by Mani. In addition to buying [calligraphic pieces] from scribes with no name or fame, who forged on their works the signature of Mir ʿAli, some of [these ignorant men] spent a considerable amount of aspers on the gilding and illumination [of these pieces], squandered many thousand dinars\(^670\) in a year, and bought anything they found. And there are painters and dealers

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\(^{669}\) Qur’an 6:141.

\(^{670}\) *dinar*, gold coin of varying weight, fineness, and value.
who, having sold [everything in their hand] to the ignorant among the aforementioned group, do not have left in their wallet even a rough sketch, and who wasted away (55a) forty or fifty filorins for a single album. [There are also those who], with their wicked intentions, tried [their hand at] book repair, at the art of gold sprinkling, and at gold diluting (zer ḥalli), (and) turned first-rate qitaʾs into crooked and irregular [lines], spoiled like their sham pages. (Furthermore) [there are those who], as expected of [ones with] their distorted nature, produced books of fragmentary poems (cöng),671 ruining the corner of every page with incoherent couplets [that are scribbled] in the form of marginal notes [executed] by breaking up each qitʾa into four parts, by separating each of its couplets from the one to which it was connected, and by arbitrarily patching them. In fact, those who, in accordance with their derelict faith, expended lots of bookbinder’s paste were many in number. Yet, those who did not damage a couplet in its form or meaning, or tear it apart into many pieces like the patched mantle (muraqqaʾ) of album (muraqqaʾ)-makers, were rare.672

Verse

May God his flourishing house ruin!
He, who tore apart the Flourishing House.673
     After devouring a dish with a big appetite,674
     He diluted [the dregs] into zard-asham.675

672 muraqqaʾs were albums onto which paintings and drawings, alternating with calligraphic specimens were pasted in patchwork fashion. Muraqqaʾ also meant a dervish’s patched mantle, worn by dervishes to exhibit their bond to poverty.  
673 See n. 221 above.  
674 See n. 222 above.  
675 See n. 223 above.
And, [there are] disciples of Mawlama Mir ʿAli [of Herat], some of whom studied directly with him, while others learned from him indirectly (55b) and educated themselves by practicing from specimens of his [writing]. The first was his righteous offspring, [his] fortunate [and] talented son Mir Muhammad Baqīr,676 whose match in penmanship was rare. An imprint [of the aphorism], “A child bears the secret [i.e., innate qualities] of his father,” is manifest on the face (pīšānī) of his calligraphic works.

The second was Khwaja Mahmud [son of] Ishaq Shihābi,677 the sun of the heavens of calligraphy, and the moon of the exalted revolving spheres of the world of writing.678 Every line of his eloquent hemistich[es] was the like of the great Banat al-naʿsh,679 and the might of his every crisp dot was the gleaming equal of the stars in the Night of Power.680

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676 Baqīr, “the Copper.”
677 Shihābi, a meteor, believed to be a fiery dart hurled by an angel at a demon who attempts to approach paradise.
678 The Qadi (Minorsky, 132) notes that, after the capture of Herat in 935/1528-29 by the Uzbeks, Khwaja Mahmud, a native of the nearby village of Siyawushan, was in the same group of people who traveled to Bukhara, among whom there was Mīr ʿAli of Herat. He writes the following of Khwaja Mahmud. “As Mawlama Mir ʿAli was traveling in the same company, in consideration of their being of the same town, he took Khwaja Mahmud as his pupil. Khwaja Mahmud, who received education and made progress [under his tuition] reached such a degree [of perfection] that some prefer his writing to that of the Mir. The Mir himself used to say ‘I have acquired a pupil better than myself.’ After quoting a poem that Mir ʿAli composed in praise of the Khwaja, the Qadi adds that the Khwaja spent some in Bukhara and then traveled to Balkh, in which town many people assembled around him. According to the Qadi, the Khwaja “played well on the lute and the shiturgha (a Central Asian stringed instrument) and talked mainly about games and entertainments.” Huart (229) notes that the Khwaja died in Herat and gives the date as 991/1583-84.
679 Banāt al-naʿsh, literally “the followers of the bear,” originally the outer three stars each in the constellations of the Great and Little Bears, but usually, the quadrilateral and the three outer stars in each of those constellations.
680 šab-i Qadr, the name given to the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan. In Qurʾān 87:3, the Night of Power (or Honor) is described as being “better than a thousand nights.” It is a mystic night in which Revelation comes down to a benighted world and transforms the conflict of wrongdoing into peace and harmony through the agency of the angelic host, representing the spiritual powers of the Mercy of God.
The third was Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad, the infinite treasure of penmen, leading prince of exalted scribes, sayyid of the honorable calligraphers, and the one upon whom former writers relied.\footnote{For Sayyid Ahmad’s preface to \textit{Amir Gyahb Beg Album}, a reworking of Qub al-Din’s preface, see Thackston, 24. The Qadi, who mentions Sayyid Ahmad as one of his five teachers in calligraphy, devotes a long passage to his master’s account. According to his notes, Sayyid Ahmad first went to Herat to study with Mir ‘Ali. From Herat, he moved to Balkh, and from there to Bukhara, where he again lived with Mir ‘Ali, working in the library of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Khan, son of ‘Ubayd Khan Uzbek. After some time, he left Mashhad and went to the court of Shah Tahmasp in Persian Iraq and Azarbajan. After that, he retired in Mashhad. When Isma’il II ascended the throne, he sent someone after Sayyid Ahmad to bring him from Mashhad to the capital, Qazvin. When Shah Isma’il died, Sayyid Ahmad went back to Mazandaran where he died in the year 986/1578-79. The Qadi mentions two of Sayyid Ahmad’s pupils; Mawlana Hasan ‘Ali and Mawlana ‘Ali Rida. Sayyid Ahmad had two sons who learned calligraphy from him, but the two “did not take the place of their father.” For Qadi Ahmad’s full account on Sayyid Ahmad, see Minorsky, 139-141. Iskandar Beg Munshi claims that, following Mawlana Mahmud Ishaq Siyawushani, Sayyid Ahmad was the second best calligrapher alive at the time of Shah Tahmasp’s death; see Iskandar Beg Munshi, \textit{History of Shah ‘Abbas the Great}, trans., Savory, 1:266.}

The fourth was Mir Husayn Kulungi\footnote{Kulungi, “the Iron Truncheon.”} of Bukhara, the famous-armed [calligrapher], one of the holders of the spear-like pen, and a chosen, valiant lion among the talented [painters] of fight scenes.

The fifth [was] Mawlana ʿAbd al-Khaliq of Bakharz, a praiseworthy stylist among the calligraphers of the world. The sixth, Mir Haydar al-Husayni of Bukhara known by the title “Tabrizi,” [was] a wayfarer of auspicious occupation among the choice reed pen [holders] of the East and West.\footnote{Arabic Ťusuf; the son of Jacob, and according to the Qur’an, an inspired prophet.} The seventh [was] Mawlana Malik of Daylam, the most honorable of contemporary masters, the revered master of great writers, the pen-holding (sāhib-i qalem) Joseph\footnote{For his preface to the Amir Husayn Beg Album, TSM H. 1251, see Thackston, 18. The Qadi (Minorsky, 141), who mentions that the calligrapher studied under Mawlana Malik when the latter was in Mashhad, devotes a long section to his master’s account. In his praiseworthy account the Qadi mentions that Mawlana Malik first studied under the guidance of his father, Mawlana Shahra-mir to learn the \textit{thuluth} hand, and then under Khwaja Jamal al-Din Mahmud of Shiraz. He perfected his calligraphy to such an} of exacting penmanship, the glorious, most celebrated and honorable one in the land of talent.\footnote{For his preface to the Amir Husayn Beg Album, TSM H. 1251, see Thackston, 18. The Qadi (Minorsky, 141), who mentions that the calligrapher studied under Mawlana Malik when the latter was in Mashhad, devotes a long section to his master’s account. In his praiseworthy account the Qadi mentions that Mawlana Malik first studied under the guidance of his father, Mawlana Shahra-mir to learn the \textit{thuluth} hand, and then under Khwaja Jamal al-Din Mahmud of Shiraz. He perfected his calligraphy to such an}
Muʿin al-Din Muhammad Sharifi, a master to whom the praises of fine penmen are due. And the ninth was Mir Muhammad Maʿsum Husayni of Bukhara, the glory of the pupils of the aforesaid master and the chosen excellent one among the calligraphers of luminous writing, known to grandees as well as to men of lower rank and lauded among the renowned scribes. He departed from the world of anguish probably in the year nine hundred seventy [1562-63] and assumed his place in proximity to the Supreme Ruler’s school of compassion.

The tenth was Mir Muhammad of Samarqand, renowned among the pupils being discussed, legendary among the acclaimed masters, and an eminent sayyid among the writers of qitʿa[s]. He used to write together with Mawlana Mir Muhammad Maʿsum. Yet, on the racecourse (mīzmār) of talent, Mir Maʿsum’s reed pen, with the winning pennant, would leave [Mir Muhammad’s reed pen] behind.

The eleventh was Monla (56b) Haji Mirak of Bukhara, eminent among the calligraphers of the century and the glory of the writers of Bukhara. He was famed as Muhammad Amin, and the rhetorical embellishments of his reed pen possessed the qualities of several excellent arts.

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685 This Sharifi may be the same person as Mawlana Muhammad Sharif that the Qadi (Minorsky, 167) mentions in his text. In his brief account on Muhammad Sharif, the Qadi notes that he was of the noble Numayri Arabs, wrote excellently in both a large and a small hand, and was talented in engraving.
The twelfth was Mir Duri, the lord of the masters, whose every penned verse (beyt) was a Flourishing House (Beyt-i ma‘mür) in the world of talent and penmanship. He grew up in Herat and, being of royal descent, his celebrated name was dignified as Sultan Bayazid of Herat. It is said that he drowned in the year nine hundred eighty-six [1578-79], and the pleasant waters of the All-Compassionate swallowed the meadows of his soul, while the depths of the seas of the All-Forgiving embraced him like a pearl befitting royal affection. Furthermore, his pen name, “the Aloof” [Dūrī], is, in fact, an indication of and an explicit testimony to his poetic talent and intimate nature, for, it was assigned in keeping with his stylistic and canonical [use of antonyms] as well as with the esteem [in which he was held] in the presence of Mawlama Mir ʿAli as a favored son and a chosen and beloved disciple. In addition, people say that the said master inscribed on some of his charmingly composed qit‘as [the words], “Written by (57a) the excellent son Mawlama Sultan Bayazid renowned as Duri.”

The thirteenth was Mawlama Muhammad Husayn of Kashmir, who was more distinguished than many of Mir [ʿAli]’s creations [i.e., protégés]. His was the first name on the list of confidant scribes. He was stately like an influential statesman, and an exalted personage among masters [of calligraphy], to whom reverence is due on account of the finesse of his hand.

The fourteenth was Sultan Mahmud of Bukhara. Well-versed in beautiful writing, he was a talented [calligrapher] and a lover of talent, whose hand was better at [the art of] illumination than at writing.

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686 A prayer in Arabic follows.
The fifteenth was Khwaja Mahmud Siyawushani. It is true that he studied under Mir [Ali] {and the elaborateness of his hand is an obvious testimony to his being well-versed in beautiful writing}.

The sixteenth [was] Mawlana Hamdullah Khalkhani. A calligrapher who donned the long sash, and a master to whose celebrated personage veneration is due. The seventeenth [was] Monla Qasim Ali, who wrote in {both} minuscule and majuscule script. The eighteenth [was] Mawlana Pir Muhammad, the most mature (ersed) (and) fortunate of calligraphers. The nineteenth [was] Mawlana Isma‘il, a penman of proven gift and a peerless calligrapher. The twentieth [was] (57b) Mir Chalama of Bukhara, a jewel in the ocean of writing, chief among the latter [day] soldiers of the mighty pen, chosen prince of the army of scribes, glory of the pen of exceptional discourse, and a quintessence of the age.

Most of this group studied with Mir Ali of Herat] in person. However, according to some, Malik of Daylam and Khalkali did not live in the time of the Mir and they only practiced from his qit‘as. Now, among [them] all, Mir Muhammad Baqr, Khwaja Mahmud Shihabi, Mir Sayyid Ahmad, Mir Husayn of Bukhara, certainly Malik of Daylam, Mir Haydar of Bukhara, [and], especially, Mir Chalama, the seal of the sayyids, remain the seven personages the radiance of whose talents’ productions is as bright as the seven planets. Their excellence and the secrets of [their]

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687 Arkeoloji 1302 (19a:5) notes the name as ‘Abdullah, which must be a copyist’s error for the name appears as Hamdullah in other versions.
688 Halljali, “the Anklet.”
689 kemer-beste, a term used in Baktashi mysticism to denote a devotee’s faithfulness.
690 The Qadi (Minorsky, 67) notes Pir Muhammad to be a native of Shiraz and adds that the majority of inscriptions on local tombs and buildings are his work.
691 A prayer in Arabic follows.
writing are revealed with crispness and finesse, reminiscent of that of the seven seas in the seven climes. Mir Chalama, especially, is exceedingly popular in the land of Persia. Goods found in caravans carrying his qit‘as are opened and seized for royalty.\footnote{EH 1231 (48b:4-5) and Vn (44a:10-11) add that “Even though his celebrated name was Mir Iskandar, he was better known by the title Mir Chalama.”} 

Story has it that during the time of his master Mir ‘Ali, the renowned Mir Chalama became such a leading figure and [such] a rarity in lands far and wide that Mawlana Mir ‘Ali, guarded him (\footnote{A similar story is found in Qadi Ahmad’s account of Shaykh Muhammad Tamimi (Minorsky, 84). The Qadi’s story is as follows: “Shaykh Muhammad Tamimi was [Khwaja ‘Abd al-Hayy’s] 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 Khwaja.’ The latter cursed him, and, because of this curse, he died.”}) and gave him permission to sign his qit‘as in his name. Such that, he acknowledged to [Chalama] the aforesaid’s distinction pronouncing the words, “Your rank has reached mine.” Yet, ill-bred and proud, [Mir Chalama] did not grasp the meaning [of his master’s compliment]. And facing his master, he said, “Who do you think you are that I would prefer [to use] your signature?” As a matter of course, the honorable Mir ‘Ali cursed Mir Chalama and, following his malediction, [Mir Chalama] was soon after blinded.\footnote{That is Mir ‘Ali prayed for Chalama’s blindness because of the latter’s impudence.} The arrow of his teacher’s appeal reached the [divine] station of favorable response.\footnote{EH 1303 (44r:16-18) adds that “‘Ali…”} 

Then, another one, who, albeit with uncertain accuracy, is said to be a pupil of Mir [‘Ali of Herat] was [Mir Kirmani Shaykh the First. At his post as a calligrapher at the felicitous gate of Babur Mirza—the illustrious father of Humayun Shah, the padishah of the Indian province—that is, in [Babur’s] glorious abode, the capital city of Qandihar, [Kirmani] was esteemed and prized. Above all, in the last period of his life, his learning benefited from the early years of the appearance of the late Mir (‘Ali). And}
in a short period of time, attaining mostly good fortune and respect for [his] merits in writing, he became a companion in receipt of [Mir’s] honor.

And [there was] also [Mir Kirmani Shaykh the First]’s son Monla Muhy al-Din’s talented child and agreeable pupil] Mir Shaykh Kirmani the Second, who learned the naskh hand from [his father], but who, in nasta’liq, according to some, was a worthy pupil of Mir ʿAli. The reason why some say Kirmani was not a pupil of [Mir ʿAli] is because he lived during the time of Babur Mirza, and Mir’s appearance happened some time later. Among them, there was also Mawlana Asadullah of Kirman who lived before the Mir as well. Because it is plausible that the last period of his life corresponded with the early years [of the life] of Mir ʿAli, this presumption seems irrefutable. Regardless, both of them were [possessors of] firm pens [and] (58b) were modest penmen. Endowed with [good] penmanship, they were renowned masters of calligraphy.

Another among this group is Mawlana Baba Shah of Isfahan, a superior master among the calligraphers of the time and the most renowned among the scribes [who are possessed] of the ability of [Sultan ʿAli] of Mashhad. {He studied with Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad. He especially abstains from qitʿa writing and takes delight in copying books and treatises.} He is [still] alive and active in this year of nine hundred ninety-five [1586-87], demonstrating the miracle of his penmanship and skill. Verily,

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695 Vn (44b:9-13) and EH 1231 (48b:13-49a:10) note that most calligraphers believed that Mir Shaykh the Second learned the nastaʿliq hand from Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad.

696 According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 166), Baba Shah died in Baghdad in 996/1578-88, one year after ʿAli finished the Deeds. Huart (235), on the other hand, says that he died in 1012/1603-04 and was buried in Mashhad.
the scribes of Isfahan regard the aforesaid to be the equal of the masters of the past.  

(59a) While in friendlessness he is of low rank, in beautiful writing, he has a winning hand.  

Let it not be hidden that the aforesaid Mir ʿAli’s pupils also had celebrated (59b) pupils. Most of them are honored among the masters, and their calligraphies are held in utmost respect. Among this group there was Shah Husayn Shihabi, a pupil and a surpassing kinsman of Mawlana Khwaja Mahmud Ishaq Shihabi. Just as his holographs bear the signature “Shihabi” [“Flashing”], the luminosity of the blessed beauty of his reed pen conceals in it the secret of that brilliant pen name. To his master [Khwaja Mahmud], luminosity was handed down from the heavens, [thus making] his glowing creations rightly fitting for the [Qur’anic] verse, “Honorable titles descend from the heaven.” Yet, neither was the said [master]’s pupil [Shah Husayn Shihabi] short of recognition or fame. He is called Shihabi [but] it would not be wrong were he called Sirius. In matter of fact, both [the master and his pupil] were from Balkh.  

According to some, another of his pupils was Mawlama Muhammad Husayn. He was also one of the protégés of Shihabi and his black-bathed ink was a beam of light

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697 Followed by further praises of the calligrapher.  
698 A prayer in Arabic follows. Huart (234) notes that Qutb al-Din of Yazd met Baba Shah in Isfahan in 995/1587. ʿAli’s lengthy and flattery account of Baba Shah must be due to the first hand information Qutb al-Din shared with him about Baba Shah. However, the date of Qutb al-Din’s acquaintance with Baba Shah must be noted with caution, since from ʿAli’s conversations with Qutb al-Din in the same year, we know that the latter spent at least part of the year in Baghdad.  
699 Kawkab-i Yamānī, the Dog-Star, Sirius, the brightest star in the heavens.  
700 Here Vn (46a:3) and EH 1231 (50a:14) mention two more calligraphers, Mnonla Muhammad Salih, a disciple of Mir ʿAli of Herat, and Mnonla Muhammad Amin, a pupil of Muhammad Baqir son of Mir ʿAli. The former is said to be a calligrapher of the time of the Chaghatai ʿAbdullah Khan and Iskender Khan, who died at the time of the composition of the text. EH 1231 gives the name as “Mnonla Muhammad Salih Bakharati.”  
701 Ark 1302 (20a:6) and EH 1231 (50b:4) erroneously note the name as “Muhsin.”
coming from that sun of the heavens of calligraphy. He was born (60a) in Herat and flourished in the vicinity of that prosperous place.

And Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad, who, by appearing in the East and {for} the brilliance of his name [i.e., Sayyid], realized in himself the illuminated verse, “[But it is God] that causeth the sun to rise from the East,”702 appropriately had disciples and protégés who became celebrated for their great number like the stars in the sky.

His best pupil, Monla Hasan ʿAli, was admired among calligraphers for his attachment to his master’s calligraphic style. He wrote in miniscule and majuscule script. He became competent in calligraphy when he was [still] a smooth-cheeked youth and while [other] tulip-cheeked [young men] were [still] practicing the art of erring, he had become a wayfarer on the path of perfection. Indeed, had his reed pen lacked its sugar-cane {flavor}, stories about [his master Mir Sayyid Ahmad] of Mashhad would not taste [like] honey [as they do].703 And had his calligraphy not acquired Hasan [Karahisari]-like charm, fine calligraphers would not say of his style, “Well done!” Above all, he slightly altered his master’s style. (60b) In a way, with his exquisite insight, he clarified the miracle of penmanship.

Another is Muhammad Rahim of Mashhad, whose qīṭʿās appeared in recent times and, whose aptitude in penmanship became manifest around the year [nine hundred] ninety [1582-83]. In fact, when I, this humble servant, arrived in Baghdad, I acquired a couple of the aforesaid’s qīṭʿās. When [I] inquired about his background and asked the cognoscenti of that region about his perseverance at work, they said, “Having

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702 Qurʾan 2:258.
703 I.e., Hasan Karahisari’s glory enhanced the reputation of his master, Ahmad of Mashhad.
received a well-grounded education from Sayyid Ahmad and established himself firmly, he retired into complete seclusion for ten years in Esteemed Mashhad, where he practiced [his art]. Tantalizingly, he neither showed anyone [samples of his] calligraphy nor succumbed to the musk of passion. Only when his reed pen duly acquired crispness and his honorable lines finesse did he start to unveil his qīṭās and bestow them upon those who were interested and wanted {to buy} them.”

And another among these was Mawlama Qanī’i. A dervish by nature and [a follower of] the commendable path [of mysticism], he was content (qānī) with dry bread and covetous [only] for a morsel. [And he was] satisfied with the provisions of ascetic abstinence and subsisted on barely enough to prevent the exit of the last spark of life. Though it was in Noble Mashhad that he flourished and studied with Mawlama Sayyid Ahmad, growing [both] worthy and intelligent, it was to Noble Damascus—whose qualities ought to be described—that, having reached his prime, he retired for greater tranquility. He is a scribe whose conduct is agreeable and whose deeds are acclaimed.

Many also learned from Mawlama Malik [of Daylam], the celebrated heir to Mir [Sultan Ṣalī]. [He] was a gifted [calligrapher], the sincere Joseph-resembling lord of the throne of persevering penmen, and [connoisseurs] took delight from and savored the exquisiteness of his elegant calligraphy. The exemplar and the most renowned master of this group was Mawlama Muhammad Husayn of Tabriz, a unique arranger of jewels among the new generation [of calligraphers]. In the beginning, he sometimes emulated the above-mentioned Mawlama Ismā’īl and sometimes Mir Haydar and Sayyid Ahmad

704 Qanī’ī, “the Contented.”
(61b) of Mashhad. But, after getting a well-grounded education, he dedicated himself to
the service of Mawlana Malik. It was as a result of the education (terbiyet) he got from
him [Mawlana Malik] that he attained (mālik) the rank of a master. In short, in the
twilight of his era, Mawlana Muhammad Husayn was the light of the two places of
sunrise.  
705 It was established that at the time of the clear salvation of future
generations, 706 as he reached the station of the setting sun of the East and West, 707
appreciation of his calligraphy was incumbent upon all, and failure to venerate his glory
would be sheer disgrace for scribes of refinement. Those who might imagine otherwise
are ignorant [even] of the ligatures 708 of calligraphy.

Likewise, among the disciples of Mawlana Malik, [two] whom [God] aided in
conquering the reed pen are Mawlana Shah Muhammad of Mashhad and the
celebrated ranga-nuvis, 709 the distinguished Monla ʿAyshi. 710 It is common knowledge
that, as [this treatise is being] composed, [Monla ʿAyshi] is in [good] health and [serves]
among the guards of the Shah. 711 (62a) In truth, both of them are rare scribes, yet, the
superior ability of Shah Muhammad is distinctly manifest.

Another is Mawlana Qub al-Din 712 Muhammad of Yazd. His birth and
blossoming [i.e., formative years] took place in the town of Yazd, and it was [in] the

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705 mashriqayn, any two points of sunrise; especially, the midsummer and midwinter points of sunrise.
706 I.e., when Muhammad Husayn’s knowledge and expertise became available to the new generations.
707 I.e., as he reached maturity, physically and professionally.
708 About Yaqut’s verse on the ligatures and other fundamentals of writing, see folio 31a above.
709 Writer in colored script.
710 Earlier on folio 49a, ʿĀli had listed ʿAyshi as a pupil of Qasim son of Shadishah. In his preface, Malik
of Daylam himself does not mention ʿAyshi as his pupil, but rather as a pupil of Sultan Muhammad
Khanan. For more on the confusion of ʿAyshi’s line of tutelage, see appendix, endnote xxii.
711 The year 995 (1587-88) corresponds to the end of Shah Isma’il’s reign and the beginning of Shah
ʿAbbas’ reign.
712 Qub al-Din, “the Pole of Faith.”
beautiful and protected capital city of Baghdad where, with (more) than twenty years of residence, he gained honor and was distinguished. In the year nine hundred ninety-four, when to this humble servant, that is, to [this] author of many sins, the post of finance director of the Baghdad treasury was given, the aforesaid Qutb al-Din had reached maturity and for many days and months kept the company of this meek one. (62b) The aforementioned monla in his early and later [years] was made happy and produced calligraphic works under the tutelage of four masters. First, he studied under the Turkish Maqsud ʿAli. Secondly, he practiced writing under Mir Hibatullah’s pupil [Amir] Muʿizz al-Din [Muhammad] and became enlightened by savoring his teaching. Then, thirdly, he served Mawłana Malik [of Daylam]. And afterwards he is known to have received training from Mir Haydar of Bukhara. Therefore, it is possible to record him as a pupil of any one of these [four masters], and his discipleship under ʿAli of Mashhad and Mir ʿAli [of Herat?] is known as well. (63a) However, based on his fame, talent, and [stylistic] affinities to Mawłana Malik, it has been deemed suitable to note [here] that he is a pupil of him. And because he is from Iraq, it is possible, and is reckoned to be permissible to note that he was also a pupil of Muʿizz al-Din.

And the aforementioned Mawłana Qutb had also gifted disciples. The most celebrated among them was Mir Mustafa of Baghdad. He was a fitting and jovial artist of correct penmanship.

Likewise, Amir Muʿizz al-Din Muhammad’s many renowned protégés (āṣār) skilled in the mastery of penmanship are known as well. The best among this group was
Mawlana Muhammad Taqyy-i Murwarid,\(^713\) whose name was recorded\(^714\) simply as Muhammad Taqyy-i Murwarid, without a mention of his being His Excellency Mawlana [Shihab al-Din] ā Abdūllah Murwarid [Bayani]'s\(^715\) fortunate, audacious son and upright [and] righteous heir.\(^716\) As regards lineage, the name Murwarid pertains to that family like a unique gem, [so] there is no doubt that his jewel-like personage is related to the pure line of descent of Mawlana [Shihab al-Din] ā Abdūllah Bayani, (63b) [for] that surname is recorded exclusively [in reference] to that illustrious pedigree.

Other[s] were Monla Muzaffar ā Ali, who wrote in miniscule and majuscule letters;\(^717\) Monla Ḥidayatullāh of Isfahān, a calligrapher of excellence; and, Katib Mahdī Quli [“the slave of Mahdi”]. All of them were disciples of Mir Mu‘izz al-Din, the finesse of whose calligraphy and [command of the] rules of grammar they savored.

Another pupil of [Mir Mu‘izz al-Din] was Iḥi Ibrāhīm Khan, who, sometime ago, when he was the former khan of Qum, came as ambassador (ilçî) from the Persian

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\(^{713}\) Murwarid, “the Pearl.”

\(^{714}\) It is unclear to which written source ā Ḥi is referring.

\(^{715}\) Shihab al-Din ā Abdūllah Bayani son of Murwarid (d. 1516). Officer, poet, and musician at Husayn Bayqara’s court. He composed the earliest album preface to come down to us called Inshā’-yi muraqqā-ī Mir ā Ali Shir (Composition for an Album for Mir ā Ali Shir) (TSM H. 2156) dated 897/1492-93; see Thackston, 22. Sam Mirza (Tuhfā, 245) writes the following on Bayani. “Khwaja Shihab al-Din ā Abdūllah, Bayani, who is known as Murwarid. He is a pearl from the shell of Khwaja [Shams al-Din] Muhammad of Kirman, his father. A Timurid ruler sent him as an ambassador to Qutaif and Bahrain, from where he brought, on his return, some very fine pearls for presentation to the King—it was for this reason that he was given the title of Murwarid…His fingers have drawn a line of annulment of the riqa’ and the tawqī’ writings of the gold-penned masters [of calligraphy]…In his youth, he entered the service of Sultan Husayn Mirza and gradually rose to the position of an Amir of the Court. On the death of the Sultan, he retired from the court and engaged himself in copying the Qur’ān…He died in 922/1516-17.” For more on ā Abdūllah Murwarid by ā Ḥi, see folio 70b below.

\(^{716}\) There is no mention of Muhammad Taqyy-i Murwarid in the Qadi, Dost Muhammad, or Sam Mirza. The latter two authors do mention, however, ‘Abdūllah Bayani’s eldest son, Muhammad Mu‘min (see folio 75a below), which kinship ā Ḥi seems to be unaware of.

\(^{717}\) The Qadi (Minorsky, 186) writes the following on Muzaffar ā Ali: “[He] was the nephew of Mawlana Rustam ā Ali…His father was a good pupil of Mawlana Behzad. He finally achieved such success that people considered him equal to Bilizad; besides painting, he had a most wonderful hand in calligraphic copying (musannā), wrote nasta’-liq well, excelled in gold sprinkling and gilding, and was outstanding in his time in coloring and lacquer work. Few have been so versatile as he. He also arranged one album.”
shah Muhammad Khuda-banda\textsuperscript{718} into the pleasant presence (\textit{cenâb-i müsteṭâbina}) of Sultan Murad Khan son of Salim Khan, the noble king of prosperous lands, at the time of the circumcision feast [of Prince Muhammad],\textsuperscript{719} specifically, in the year nine [hundred] ninety [1582-83, \textit{sic} ninety and nine]. While [Ibrahim] was under [Murad III’s] sovereignty,\textsuperscript{720} he brought Mir Mu‘izz to his side [i.e., to the palace], and, with kindness and favors, made [the master] joyful, and he himself became gloriously exultant thanks to the honor of being taught by him. Still, while his literacy (\textit{sevâd-hânliği}) sufficed for his rank of a khan (64a) and his being a Turkman was quite [a] significant [grounds] for him to refrain from (terk) penmanship, [even] in the prime of his life he did not give up on [his] passion for calligraphy. He probably wrote not a single \textit{qit‘a} on [all of] whose lines, besides its halkari,\textsuperscript{721} he did not disperse gilt. Furthermore, he also used to sign [his calligraphic works with the phrase] “ketebe.”\textsuperscript{722} With that sort of shameful penmanship he gained notoriety and, with his own hand, recorded a testimony to his ignorance. Those who saw [his work] regretted his wastefulness in gold sprinkling and the apparent lavishness in his gilded embellishments.\textsuperscript{723} (64b) Mawlama Muhammad Husayn of Tabriz, chief of the later generation [calligraphers], also had many disciples. Most of them, notables and commoners [who practiced] sound penmanship and correct writing, were famous for [their] fine calligraphy, and acclaimed for [their] beautiful

\textsuperscript{718} See folio 26b above.
\textsuperscript{719} For the \textit{surname} ‘Âli composed for this occasion, see introduction 20-21.
\textsuperscript{720} I.e., at the Ottoman court.
\textsuperscript{721} halkari, illumination in gold.
\textsuperscript{722} The word \textit{ketebe} (He wrote [it]) is placed at the bottom of \textit{qit‘as} or at the end of texts as an indication of the fact that the calligrapher has reached the expected degree of maturity. While some calligraphers did use this phrase as they signed their work, other more modest and usually more talented and famous practitioners preferred to use terms such as “\textit{meşegahu}” (He practiced [it]), “\textit{sevvedehu},” (He blackened [it]), or “\textit{galledehu}” (He copied [it]).”
\textsuperscript{723} Followed by further criticism of the calligrapher’s art.
writing. Now, among this group of [penmen] endowed with good morals [who], with their propriety, were pleasing to and in harmony with other calligraphers, was **Mawlama Muhammad Sharif** whose qualities ought to be described. Another was **Bih-bud-i Shahinshahi**, who was competent in the endless [art of] writing. Among the slaves who sought [the munificence of] **Shah Tahmasp I**, \textsuperscript{724} [he] was one with a beautiful hand whom the shah favored at his private court.

The most renowned in this group [i.e., students of **Muhammad Husayn of Tabriz**] was **Monla Muhammad Rida**, a talent distinguished especially among the calligraphers of Tabriz origin. The finesse of his reed pen and the grace and crispness of his calligraphy are known to all scribes, young and old. Above all, it is universally known to sages in all lands and [has been] heard by the cognoscenti\textsuperscript{725} in all provinces at all times that the quality of his calligraphic works was close to that of his master, [and] that he was a calligrapher [and] friend of erudition whose level of excellence and proficiency was superior to and [even] utterly beyond that of many of his predecessors. In sum, he was a scribe whose reed pen assumed [superior] qualities, and whose penmanship is, beyond doubt, known [to all]. \textsuperscript{65a} Although he was avid for the black of writing, he attended little to white [i.e., blank] pages; from one month to the other, [he] deemed [the production of just] a couple of qit`as sufficient [and] became known for the

\textsuperscript{724} Tahmāsp I, Abu `I-Fath (r. 931-984/1524-76), eldest son of Shah Ismā‘îl, second ruler of the Safavid dynasty. The first half of his reign was an extremely favorable period for the arts and artists. In the second half of his reign, from the mid-1540s onward, he lost interest in arts and released all court painters from his service. Ottoman historians speak of Tahmasp with respect. Cornell Fleischer (78) mentions that ûAli even composed a brief poem of mourning for the passing of so able a ruler and so prominent a patron of arts and culture.

\textsuperscript{725} *fuḥūl*, men who are knowledgeable about the writings of others.
limited [number of examples of his] penmanship. In fact, during his youth, he rarely copied anthologies as [his] predecessors did.

However, in the year nine hundred ninety-four [1585-86], he came to the Exalted Throne, that is, the capital city Constantinople, and took shelter under the felicitous protection (sāha-i saʿādet) of certain grandees, and above all, of the blessed and fortunate Mawlana Saʿd al-Din,\(^{726}\) stronghold of the princes of learned men, orbit of the illustrious, virtuous [men], a Bayzawi-like\(^ {727}\) master, a Zamahshari-like\(^ {728}\) reciter, superior among the eloquent discussants of the shariah,\(^ {729}\) legacy of the righteous\(^ {730}\) ancients, sublime gift of God the Creator, and the mentor of the caliph of the God of the Two Worlds [i.e., Murad III].\(^ {731}\) [Muhammad Rida] gained a special place in [Saʿd al-Din’s] pleasant presence, was made happy in summer and winter alike [i.e., continuosly] with his kindness and favors, and with endless attention from [his patron], he, like his reed pen, (65b) became distinguished among scribes.\(^ {732}\)

Next, among the disciples of Mir ʿAlī, the aforesaid Muhammad Husayn of Kashmir also had a pupil named Dervish Husayn [sic Muhammad]\(^ {733}\) of Kashmir. His beautiful writing is pleasing to the eye like the writing of Hasan [Qarabisari] while the black of his line[s], like the down mustaches of youths, is beloved to the heart.

\(^{726}\) “The felicity of faith.” For more on him, see folio 12a above.
\(^{727}\) See n. 307 above.
\(^{728}\) See n. 440 above.
\(^{729}\) Islamic religious law based on the Qurʾan.
\(^{730}\) naqīye, [spiritually] clean, good.
\(^{731}\) A prayer in Arabic follows.
\(^{732}\) A passage about the calligrapher’s popularity among buyers of art follows.
\(^{733}\) Vn (50b:5), Ark 1302 (22b:3), and EH 1231 (54a:13) all note the name as “Dervish Husayn of Kashmir.”
The abovementioned scribe celebrated with the name Qani‘i also had a pupil named Dervish Husam, who was from Rum. More specifically, he was known to the dervishes (rindān) as “Bosnawi” [“from Bosnia”]. In truth, he embraced penmanship in the naskh and ta‘liq [styles], and possessed the skills needed for graceful calligraphy: an elegant hand and a crisp (66a) writing style. Since he practiced writing mostly in Damascus, he was well known to the people [of that city]. In addition to being a Damascus sword famed as Husam,734 whose two-tongued pen, a guide in writing, was a Zu‘l-fiqar, he was, as expected of a dervish, [also] a wayfarer on the paths of poverty, who embraced the virtues of contentment and trust in God. Above all, he was a humble servant devoted to the complete improvement [of his] moral qualities. It is the hope of old and young that, should he be blessed with a long life, he [shall continue to] progress day by day. And to date, among the people of Rum, {there has been none} who held the masters of Persia in high[er] esteem (rüşen) or as singularly refrained from being stubborn and followed the paths of learning and imitation. Among scribes [who passed away recently], Monla Qasim, the other Qasim, the slave [Köle Qasim], and their like are excluded from this assertion.

Addendum

Let it not be hidden that the sage735 known by the name Mir ʿAli of Tabriz, who laid down the [rules of] the nastā‘liq hand, and the calligraphers [and] companions of

734 husam, “a sharp sword.”
735 ahl-i takqiq, a person who minutely ascertains the verities.
writing who made their appearances after him, collectively followed the same path. And men of sagacity (‘uqalā'-i ẓurefā) consider the orthographic differences between [the writings of] Sultan ʿAli and Mir ʿAli [of Tabriz] to be insignificant. In other words, they all [wrote] in the same manner and practiced (66b) the styles of these two masters.

However, between eight hundred sixty [1455-56] and [eight hundred] eighty [1475-76], there appeared Mawlana ʿAbd al-Rahman of Kharazm.736 He came to be recognized owing to the kind favors of Sultan Yaʿqub737 of the Aq Qoyunlu738 [and was] a sage among scribes and a discriminating [calligrapher] among people of discernment.739

[Other noteworthy calligraphers include] his elder son, Mawlana ʿAbd al-Rahim Anisi,740 a renowned master distinguished in his time for his [stylistic] innovations, and his skilled younger son, Mawlana ʿAbd al-Karim Padishah. [He was] Mawlana Anisi’s brother, the said ʿAbd al-Rahman’s consummate younger son, and the gifted padishah of the carefree poor. At times he signed his works [with the words], “Written

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736 In his La miniature persane (35, note 1), Sakisian mentions a manuscript in Istanbul Evqal Museum (no. 1562) dated 1456 and signed by the calligrapher ʿAbd al-Rahman of Khwarazm. The manuscript was written for one of the sultans of the Qaraqoyunlu dynasty in Shiraz. With this manuscript in hand, it can be assumed that ʿAbd al-Rahman served both the Qaraqoyunlus (“Those of the Black Sheep,” a Turkmen federation that ruled in Western Iran in post-Mongolian times) and their rivals, the Aqqoyunlus (“Those of the White Sheep”). The two decades that ʿAlī suggests as the calligrapher’s period of thriving success, the years between 1455/56 and 1475/76, corresponds to the reigns of the Qaraqoyunlu Jahan Shah, Qaraqoyunlu Hasan ʿAlī, and the Aqqoyunlu Uzun Hasan. The fact that Aqqoyunlu Sultan Yaʿqub’s reign, which started in 1478, does not correspond with the period ʿAlī gives as ʿAbd al-Rahman’s thriving years makes ʿAlī’s comment that the calligrapher “came to be recognized with the kind favors of Sultan Yaʿqub” unconvincing. In fact, it was ʿAbd al-Rahman’s two sons, Anisi and ʿAbd al-Karim Padishah who benefited from the patronage of Sultan Yaʿqub.

737 Son of Uzun Hasan, renowned for his patronage of art (r. 1478-90).

738 “Those of the White Sheep,” federation of Turkmen tribes, which rose in the region of Diyār Bakr in post-Mongolian times in the fourteenth century and lasted till c. 908/1502. The federation ruled in present-day Azarbajian, eastern Anatolia, northern Iraq, and western Iran.

739 Ulā’l-bāb, literally “endowed with hearts.”

740 Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 246) notes that Anisi wrote so beautifully that people considered him to be a rival of Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad and adds that “…in fact [Anisi] carried [nastaʿlīq] calligraphy to the boundary of magic.” Thackston (10, note 31) mentions two of Anisi’s extant works; a diwan of Hafiz dated 864/1459-60 from Bayani Collection, Tehran, and Anisi’s own Diwan from the same collection dated 899/1493-94.
by God,” and at times [he] adopted [the name] “Æbd al-Karim,” or [the sobriquet]
“Padishah,” and every so often used the inscription, “The God-given wrote [it].” And
together, the father and his two grammarians sons, modified the earlier mode [of writing]
and changed the style of old masters as they wished. And letter by letter, they attained
such distinguished status and became fine calligraphers of such quality that the penmen
of the capital city Shiraz began carefully to imitate their style (67a) becoming, with
finesse and elegance, more exalted in rank than their predecessors. Yet, out of envy and
contrariness, many made their alliance with this group into hypocrisy, and, as said in the
noble [Qur’anic] verse, “But those who seek causes of dispute in the Book are in a
schism far [from the purpose],”741 they turned their beautiful union into ugly contention.
Nonetheless, that mode [of writing] came to be known as “the style of Anisi,” and thanks
to its freshness and elegance, in time, its fame increased.742

By way of explanation, if the change [in the earlier style] originated with [Æbd
al-Karim Padishah’s and Æbd al-Rahim Anisi’s] father Monla Æbd al-Rahman, its
gradual perfection sprang from the reed pen of [Æbd al-Rahim] Anisi. And that was the
reason why [that style] came to be known as “The style of {Anisi},” and why, although
his father’s precedence is certain, it was he who, by ascribing that artistry to himself,
became celebrated. It is stated briefly also in the Tuhfa-’i Sami that the first to modify
[the old style] was Monla Æbd al-Rahman; the one who perfected it was Mawlana
Anisi, the [calligrapher] well versed in rarely known things; and third came, Mawlana
Æbd al-Karim Padishah, [who] imitated them. And it is known that (67b) they became

741 Qur’an, 2:176.
742 In his preface to Amir Ghab Beg Album, Mir Sayyid Ahmad (Thackston, 24) notes that, “…scribes of
Shiraz mostly follow Anisi’s style.”
wayfarers to the valley of the end [i.e., the other world] acknowledged for the finesse of their pens. Although they were contemporaries of Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad, in matters having to do with ability and talent they became his adversaries. Mawlana Anisi also wrote pleasant verses. The following verse is one of his riches.\footnote{A couplet in Persian follows.}

However, ʿAbd al-Karim Padishah, losing his senses, sometimes identified himself as “Padishah,” and sometimes inscribed “the Giraffe” on his work and began [to display] lion-like insolence and elephant-like strength to [persons] high and low. At still other times, throwing off the cape (kirīban) of contentment, he [neither] deigned to write [nor] submitted to being a slave of people. At last, he started to produce two-layered and polished papers, fine pen-sharpeners, and reed pens. And people began to say, “You are a padishah! Your treasury must include splendid qitʿas! Surely you must write!” Thus manipulating him, people gained possession of his calligraphic works and succeeded in laying hold of and collecting the qitʿas that he wrote. Nonetheless, he was (68a) a mature master.\footnote{ʿÂli’s account of ʿAbd al-Karim is similar to but more extensive than that of Sam Mirza’s. The latter’s account (Tuḥfā, 246) reads “…He got the name ‘Padishah’ owing to mental derangement, he styled himself as Padishah, or the King, and gave strange orders to the people. However, he was a fakir and did not do harm to anybody. He wrote beautiful nastaʿliq in the style of his brother. In the end, he began to write on his qitaʾ’s ‘Written by God,’ or ‘Written by the Sustained [i.e., God]’ but usually he wrote ‘Written by Padishah, or the King.’” The Qadiʾs account (Minorsky, 101) of ʿAbd al-Karim is taken almost verbatim from the Tuḥfā.} And every now and then, he had a penchant for rhymed chattering of this sort.\footnote{Followed by a couplet in Persian.}

Story has it that Mawlana Anisi was excessively preoccupied with amending his work. The said ʿAbd al-Karim, on the other hand, was distinguished for his concern in
writing from the tip of the pen [i.e., without making any amendments].

Now, one day, each of them brought a qit‘a [and] presented it to His Excellency the abovementioned Sultan Ya‘qub. No doubt, when [that] Ya‘qub of Joseph–like qualities welcomed Anisi with delight and [great] kindness, and bestowed [upon him] still more rewards, favor, and zeal, Mawlana ʿAbd (al-Karim) was finally riled. And saying, “The qit‘as that we brought are unclean,” he instantly dipped both [qit‘as] into a pool under the gaze of Sultan Ya‘qub. When [Sultan Ya‘qub] looked carefully, [he] found Anisi’s writing here and there to be obliterated, but saw [ʿAbd al-Karim’s] qit‘a, like the golden marks on a steel sword, devoid of [any] decay, [and] he applauded. Anisi was struck with confusion and shame, (68b) and ʿAbd al-Karim, with his gift in writing from the pen’s tip, attained the utmost fame.

Mawlana Anisi had well-versed and much-celebrated disciples who were quite close to him in rank. Among them was Mir ʿAzd of Bukhara. It was well known to Persians of acute perception of the time that in [the art of] illuminating he was renowned like Yari, who is mentioned below, and that, with a conscientiousness that exceeded [Yari’s] by several degrees, he was perhaps his superior. Verily, he was a distinguished hero among the scribes who [wrote] in the style of Anisi. If he was master among the

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746 A passage from Sultan ʿAli of Mashhad’s epistle (Minorsky, 121) is valuable for the insight it provides us into the peropd’s attitude toward making corrections on calligraphic works.

    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 pen.
    But in doing so refrain from insistence (or additions?)
    Do not make the corrections with a penknife,
    Calligraphers are not surgeons.

747 janābat, a state of canonical uncleanness, arising from physical fluxes or emissions; impurity.

748 gusl, a total ablation of the body, canonically required under certain defilements.

749 See folios 48a and 78a.
few, he was [also] an exemplar among the many. In short, he was a person whose style was not surpassed and whose agreeable execution was coveted.

Another in this group whose training under Anisi bears witness to the finesse of his reed pen was Monla ‘Ali Sultan. Some time ago, during the joy-giving reign of the late Sultan Sulayman Khan—may God’s mercy and pardon be upon him—at a time when the hearts of men of knowledge were joyful and happy like a fully quenched garden of roses, and, when, thanks to the bounteous fountain of his favors, the reed pens of calligraphers were always blissful and dignified like a reed marsh of Wasit, the aforesaid scribe came to the land of Rum. (69a) He took up residence in the Exalted Capital City [Istanbul], specifically settling in the noble district of His Excellency Abi Ayyub Ansari. Due to the exalted imperial post [he attained], he was a personage whose eminence was established among scribes.

[Others were] Mawlana Asadullah of Kirman, the master of the sword, gallant among the penmen, and Mawlana Muhammad of Kirman, the fine calligraphers’ sharp saber of praiseworthy qualities. Both were superior calligraphers [and], having enjoyed the honor of studying under him, they were, so to speak, companions (enīs) of Monla Anisi. Though according to some Muhammad of Kirman was brought up by ‘Abd al-Karim Padishah, since he writes in the style of Anisi, he [should be] duly [regarded] as a sincere pupil of [Anisi] as well.

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750 See n. 343 above.
751 A prayer in Arabic follows. Abu Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd b. Kulayb al-Najjār al-Anṣārī (d. 49/669) (known in Turkey as Eyüp Sultan), companion of the Prophet in whose Madina house Muhammad stayed upon arrival to that city in 622, before his own house and mosque were built. Al-Anṣārī took part in all the expeditions and battles during the early years of Islam and was later appointed the governor of Madina. During the expedition against the Byzantine Constantinople he died of dysentery and was buried in that city (in the Golden Horn neighborhood known today as Eyüp). Like other companions of Muhammad he, too, recorded several of the Prophet’s sayings; see EI, vol. 1, 108-09.
Another Rumi who became a calligrapher by practicing and learning from Mawlana Anisi’s qit‘as was Monla Nuwisi.\(^{752}\) He lived in repose in Noble Damascus and toward the end of his life, with a tax collector’s salary\(^{753}\) that paid one hundred aspers a day, he retired in comfort and remained in seclusion. He lived in the environs of the mosque of Bani Umayya\(^{754}\) [and was] one of the pious men who was seen [there] performing worship at the five canonical times with the congregation. [He was] a writer whose word was esteemed in the opinion of connoisseurs. (69b) In addition, he was [as] upright in his penmanship (as) he was in his dervishhood, and his knowledge in other [fields] was regarded to be of same quality [as his calligraphy]. When some sort of annoyance arose between Monla Nuwisi and Mawlana Halimi of Shirvan, who was one of the poets of perfect artistry and eloquent men who created beautiful sayings, [Mawlana Halimi] composed the following qit‘a in the form of delightful satire in order to restore his hurt feeling[s].\(^{755}\) He probably passed away in the year nine hundred seventy-five [1567-68].

Another was Mir Mustafa, a pupil of Monla ʿAli-i Sultan. He was known as the Brother of ʿAwwad,\(^{756}\) ʿAwwad being his younger brother. Like [the Prophet] Muhammad, he was endowed with the noble name of Mustafa. Although [the two brothers] were both fine calligraphers, Miri [Mustafa]’s calligraphy was superior, (70a) while his brother, when [his skills were] rated, proved more competent at playing the lute, which made him [better] known as a lute player. In spite of that, the reason why

\(^{752}\) Nuwīšī, “the Writer.” Vn (53b:10) erroneously notes the name as “Monla Anisi.”

\(^{753}\) Jawāli, literally “émigrés.” As a fiscal term, jawāli came to mean the poll-tax levied on non-Muslims.

\(^{754}\) Bani Umayya, the Great Mosque of Damascus.

\(^{755}\) A satirical poem in Persian follow.

\(^{756}\) ʿAwwad, “Lute player.”
Miri [Mustafa]’s reputation was attached to [the name of] his younger brother was because ʿAwwad started studying the art [of calligraphy] earlier [than Mustafa]. Cultivated and well versed as they were, they [nonetheless] lived a vagabond life because of bad luck and misfortune. [So much so that], the said Miri [Mustafa] even participated in the conquest of Shirvan, ⁷⁵⁷ [and] remained in the service of the renowned general and exalted field marshal ʿUthman Pasha, who conquered [many] {lands}, and passed away as a finance minister of fiefs (timār defterdārī). And according to some, he was martyred in the ghaza against Daghistan. ⁷⁵⁸ Although they say that the forenamed Miri [Mustafa] was a pupil of a scribe by the name of Qasim ʿAli, a follower of Mir ʿAli, it is not known who [that] Qasim ʿAli was or whether a scribe of that name did [in fact] come to the land of Rum. ⁷⁵⁹ It seems that, because his pen name was Miri [“of Mir”], wise men thought it to be likely that he studied with a scribe who came from the line of the Mir. But, this is not correct.

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⁷⁵⁷ Reference here is to Sultan Murad’s conquest of Shirvan in 1578.
⁷⁵⁸ From the sixteenth century onwards three powers, Persia, Otoman Empire, and Russia claimed possession of Dāghistān. The contest was terminated in the nineteenth century, to Russia’s advantage.
⁷⁵⁹ Below on folio 84a ʿĀli mentions one Qasim ʿAli who came to Rum and befriended master Walijan at the time of the composition of the Deeds.
Now chapter four (70b) is on renowned masters who wrote in the *chap* hand, \(^{760}\) on Persian and Rumi \(^{761}\) calligraphers who practiced *diwani*, and on the skilled [penmen] who[se names], like their reed pens, were distinguished for the registrar’s hand (*üslüb-i defter*).

The first among this group and, in terms of writing beautifully, their best was

Mawlana Khwaja Shihab al-Din \(^{\text{6}2}\) \(\text{A}b\text{dullah Murwarid,}\) \(^{765}\) *munshi* \(^{763}\) to Sultan Husayn Bajjara—may God illumine his grave. He was the good [and] righteous heir of Khwaja Shams al-Din Muhammad Murwarid \(^{764}\) —one of the notables of Kirman and noble viziers of that period—and the lord of the highborn in the time of that sultanate of consummate feats, the extent of whose good fortune is known [to all]. Though his skill in all scripts and his brilliant eloquence in the written exposition of deeds and writs of appointment \(^{765}\) were acknowledged, in rareness and excellence, his prowess and expertise in the domain of the *chap* hand was his foremost [quality]. In all, his prose was close to a level that would perhaps obliterate the style of Yaqut, while his soul-nurturing verse [was] food or sustenance for the souls of men of knowledge. \(^{71a}\) Moreover, it was stated in *Tazkira-*’i *Dawlatshahi* and noted as well in *Majalis al-naissance* and *Tuhfa-*’i

\(^{760}\) The word *chap*, the left side, also means the “obverse,” the inside out. Hence *chap* is writing done in reverse, as on seals.

\(^{761}\) I.e., Ottoman.

\(^{762}\) Also mentioned on folio 63a above.

\(^{763}\) *munshi*, or more correctly *munshi*’, in the Persian and Indo-Muslim worlds, a secretary in the ruler’s chancellery, an exponent of the high-flown epistolary style in general in mediaeval Islamic chanceries from the second/eighth century onwards known as *insihā’*; see EI, vol. 7, 580.

\(^{764}\) Shihab al-Din Muhammad Murwarid served the last Timurid ruler Sultan Husayn Mirza as vizier before he retired to become a dervish, and the sultan appointed him custodian of the shrine of Khwaja ‘Abdullah al-Ansar at Gazurgaz, where he made some renovations. For his biography, see Khwândamîr, *Dastur al-wuzur*, ed. Sa’îd Nafisî (Tehran: Iqbal, 1317/1938-39), 394-97.

\(^{765}\) *barawat*, plural of *barāt*, a type of order issued by the sultan. In its more limited sense *barāt* meant also “a deed of grant,” “a writ for the appointment to hold an office.”
Sami that his every diwani line, fashioned in color and gilt, pleased the soul with [its] iridescent embellishments resembling a peacock’s tail. And his writings in the Six Styles, [which were] marked by wisdom’s profound-luminosity, with the white of the pages [on which they were inscribed] like a glass lamp-shade, would illumine literary salons (mecālis) [in which they were] approved and recognized. The following verse is one of his riches.

Other [calligraphers renowned for the chap style were] the world-famous Monla Khudadad [“Given by God”), a master of gifted disposition and sage of men of invention; Munshi Khwaja Ikhtiyar, the renowned munshi and exalted writer of literary prose (inṣā-ger); Munshi Monla Idris, the eminent friend of articulate communication and well versed companion of eloquent speech (belāgat); the renowned Khwaja Dervish, a noble man possessed of every excellence and master of the art of eloquent speech; above all, the incomparable Munshi ʿAbd al-Hayy, leader of the chancery scribes (mūnšīs) and chief of emissaries (mūnšiyyān) of eloquent discourse; and Munshi Mawlama Nasir, the writer of literary prose, who befriended (71b) erudition, and the captain of the matchless writers in the chap hand.

In addition to these, [there were] Mawlama Muhammad Qasim and Mawlama Ibrahim the munshi; the Mawlana Nafi of Sabzawar, one of the chancery scribes who preceded them [i.e., Muhammad Qasim and Mawlama Ibrahim], who was

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766 janāḥ, wing.
767 A couplet in Persian follows.
768 The Qadi (Minorsky, 91) notes the following on Khwaja Ikhtiyar. “...[He] was a native of the capital, Herat. He wrote very finely, purely, and with good taste. He left many samples of his work. For thirty years he was engaged in Herat in carrying on te correspondence of His Majesty...Shah Sultan Muhammad [son of Shah Tahmasp] of eternal memory, who in those days was the Mirza [Khuda-banda] of Khorasan. The mawlana never set foot outside Herat and never traveled anywhere.”
distinguished among renowned orthographists for his innate genius (ṣāhib-i ṭāb’), and wrote in diwani; Khwaja Fakhr al-Din Hakim, a man of sound mind and the pride of men of innate genius; Mirza Mirak-i Gur, the chancery scribe of agreeable letters and a choice orthographist of rare lines; [and] certainly, Khwaja ‘Abd al-Qadir, the vizier of Shah Tahmasp, the exemplar [and model] chancery scribe for future generations. [And there were] from among [Khwaja ‘Abd al-Qadir’s] disciples Qasim Beg Munshi and [several] other chap writers on par with the [abovementioned calligraphers]. In their art, [they all] followed the right path and devoted [themselves] to the realization of erudition and excellence. Also among this glorious group [was] Mawlana Idris, father of the late Abu’l-Fazl, (who passed away) as a retired finance minister (defterdār). He came (to Rum) during the reign of the benevolent padishah Sultan Bayazid Khan [II] son of Muhammad Khan and achieved high esteem.

(72a) After resigning from his post as a vizier, the abovementioned Mawlana Khwaja ‘Abd al-Qadir traveled to the noble [object of] the pilgrimage [i.e., Mecca] and having attained his wish [to make the pilgrimage], passed away in the paradise-resembling abode of the caliphate, Baghdad. In addition to being skilled in writing in the chap hand, he was peerless in the world and, among master penmen, was held in high esteem and [considered] in all ways unrivaled for [his] siyāqat769 and registrar’s hand. Furthermore, it is known that he was renowned and celebrated in the land of Persia for his account-book style (ūslūb-i hesāb), his main registers (defter-i ser-defter), and his knowledge of grammar and epistolary art.

769 siyāqat, a special and very complicated undotted style of writing used in treasury accounts and documents; the finance cipher. As late as the nineteenth century bookkeeping in Persia included the compulsory learning of siyāqat. On the system, see Hinz, Der Islam, vol. 29, 1-20 and 115-141.
Now, the calligraphers of diwani script in the land of Rum modified the Persian style in its entirety and transformed [it] into an admirable [style] with easy-to-read forms and characters. The leader of that group [of calligraphers], that is to say, their foremost exemplar, was Matraqchi Nasuh, the inventor of that style [i.e., diwani] and the illustrious master of the matraq-baz.  

Then, there were those who used a hand derived from maktubi qırma and diwani. Their {exemplar} was a shaykh by the name of Bali Yusuf, who lived near the fortresses of Kilid al-Bahr.  

Another among this group was Katib Taj, who was a fine calligrapher, an agreeable writer, and a fine penman, [known] among (72b) scribes for his [stylistic] inventions and [artistic] embellishments.  

His renowned pupil and righteous, talented son was Tajzada Muhammad Chalabi. He was [Katib Taj’s] elder son and, up to now, was the master and leader of the [Ottoman] court scribes who appeared in the time of the late Sultan Sulayman Khan. And he twice attained happiness with the illustrious honor of the post of the chief scribes (reîs-i küttâb).

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770 Nasûh al-Silâhî was an outstanding knight and the inventor of some new forms of the game of matrâq, a contest with a stick, cudgel, or rapier for training and knight-errantry. A mâtrâq-bâz was the person participating in the game of matrâq. For a biography of Matraçî Nasuh, see Hûseyin G. Yurdâydın “Matraçî Nasuh,” in Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten (1965, 3), 329-55.
771 mektûbî qırma, a cramped style of writing.
772 In other versions the name reads Baba Yusuf.
773 Kilid al-Bahr, Çanakkale Boghazi, the name given in Turkish to the Dardanelles, a narrow channel that unites the Marmara and the Aegean Seas.
774 Tâj, “the Crown.”
[There was] also Isma‘il Chalabi, the said Tajzada Muhammad Chalabi’s brother and the aforesaid Taj’s younger son. He too was a wrestler with his art, and [his] reed pen was especially celebrated for its minuscule diwani.

The aforesaid Tajzada Muhammad Chalabi had many disciples, many of whom were court scribes, clerks of the lofty offices of the sultanate, and articulate penmen. One of them was Saf Musalli Chalabi; another was ‘Ayn ‘Ali Chalabi; and [a third] was Hadhad ‘Ali Chalabi, who was one of the scribes at the royal kitchens (‘amāyir-i sulṭāniyye küttābi). All of them were fine calligraphers. In sum, just as Taj-begzade Ja‘far [sic Ahmad] Chalabi,775 who came [to Rum] (73a) during the time of Sultan Salim Khan, the conqueror of Egypt776 became renowned with [his] skill and [aptitude in] composing letters, so did the said Tajzade Muhammad Chalabi flourish with [his] excellence and [competence in] grammar [and], especially, [with his] benevolence, goodwill, and generosity. In short, he was a scribe who met expectations, [and], with [his] beautiful writing, he outdid the majority of calligraphers.

The writers of the daftar style and siyaqat also have their distinguished ones. Among them, the inventor and originator [of the style] was Katib Husam of Rum, the scribe of the pious endowments (evqāf) of the late Sultan Muhammad Khan Ghazi.

Then, among those who attained the rank of book-keeper (muḥāṣib) or keeper of accounts (defterdār), the first was Baynizade Muhammad Chalabi; the second, Oglan Memi (Chalabi); the third, Sulisi Ahmad Chalabi; and the fourth, Sunbul Memi

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775 Vn (56a:14), EH 1231 (61a:13), and Ark 1302 (25a:13) all give the name as Ja‘far.
776 A prayer in Arabic follows.
Chalabi Effendi. All of them are known to the persons of high stations. And there was also Kuchuk Nasuh, who was admired and well-regarded among that group.

Now chapter five investigates the sundry group of talented masters of decoupage (qāṭ‘ān), renowned figural-painters (muṣavvirān), gilders (müzehibān) of discerning eye, limners (ṭarrāḥān) of rare works, binders (mücellidān) of artistry, and gold sprinklers (zer-efyāniyān), rulers (cedvel-keşān), and repairers (vaşşālān) of beautifully embellished works. (73b) [And it gives an] account of and examines the related group of gifted instructors of wizardry [i.e., painters], and provides detailed commentaries and remarks on the most famous and acclaimed among them.

Now, let it not be hidden that the foremost, that is to say, the most excellent among the group of masters of decoupage was ˣ Abdullah Qat‘ī [the Cutter]. His mastery was an indisputable testimony (naṣṣ) to the extent of his talent and his every decoupage line resembled an immaculate sword. He flourished in Herat and it was in that blissful province that he became famous. In truth, he was matchless in his art, and, because of his [marvelously] cut out lines, Mawlana Mir ˣ Ali wept with the agony of regret [over the fact that he could not rival Qat‘ī’s skill]. Unquestionably, he was a prince among the masters of the art of decoupage [and], with [his] sword, he was possibly their celebrated captain.

[^777]: I.e., those who made the initial outline.
[^778]: Specialist in ruling the frames encompassing the text.
Then, [there] was Shaykh Muhammad Dost Qat‘i, the aforesaid [‘Abdullah Qat‘i]’s talented son and pupil, a pillar of the arts.\footnote{Also known as Dost-i Diwana or Dost Musawwir. The Qadi (Minorsky, 180) mentions Dost-i Diwana as one of the incomparable pupils of Bihzad, and notes that he “spent some time in the service of the monarch equal in dignity to Jamshid [i.e., Shah Tahmasp], [and] went to India and made much progress there.” For scholar’s confusion over the identity of Dost Muhammad of Herat (the calligrapher) and Dost Musawwir, see n. 532 above.} He was a man of decorum, [close in rank to his master, and his ability] approached to that of his talented father. Everyone agreed with the maxim “A child bears the secret of his father,” and [they] had a penchant for his decoupage, just as they had for his father’s.

[There was] also Sangi ćAli of Badakhshan, a pupil of the figural-painter Dost Muhammad. He was a world master and his decoupage was prized and considered unrivaled in all lands. (74a) The finesse of his cutout lines surpasses what the reed pen [can] produce, and the elegance of his outlines cannot be created with traces of ink.\footnote{An album that contains decoupage works in ta‘liq by Badakhsi is found at Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H. 2138.}

There was also Mawlana Muhammad Baqir, the righteous son and talented and blessed offspring of Mir ćAli. His decoupage, lustrous [lacquer], and choice creations in the ćaks style\footnote{Refers to the covering of the background in stencil work with contours (of plants, flowers, animals, etc.), which in fact was a technique superior to the mere “gold sprinkling.”} are, like his renowned father’s work, all excellent. And among the masters of pen, he is deservedly well acclaimed.

Among the masters of Rum [there was] Fahri of Bursa. He was peerless in the world for [his] decoupage. And his beautiful artistry in contriving [decoupage] gardens and cutting various flowers and blooms was highly praised and unrivaled throughout [the world].\footnote{One of the most eminent decoupage artists of the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century. In her Türk Sanatında İnce Kâğıt Oymacılığı (12-13), Gülbün Mesara mentions an album in the National Library of}
There are many masters of decoupage other than these, but these are the most
talented and distinguished.

The foremost leader of eminent and world-famous figural-painters (muṣavvir),
and the endless treasure of the decorators (naqqāṣ) was Master [Kamāl al-Din]
Bihzad,⁷⁸³ who was from Herat. His art became manifest, with perfect esteem, first
during the reign of Sultan Husayn Bayqara, and then during the time of Shah Ismaʿil
son of Haydar. Like the artists of China,⁷⁸⁴ he was renowned in lands far and wide for
his painted images (naqṣ ī nigār). Though he was a choice apprentice of (74b) Pir
Sayyid Ahmad of Tabriz, who is mentioned below, the [main] reason for his
recognition, popularity, and excellence in decoration and portraiture was his special
connection to the lofty favors of the aforesaid padishahs.⁷⁸⁵

Another was Pir Sayyid Ahmad of Tabriz, the mentor of the said [Bihzad] and a
pupil of the pillar of portraitists, Master Jihangir of Bukhara. Jihangir was a talented
apprentice of the choice writer Master Gun.

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⁷⁸³ Bihzād, “the Best-born.”
⁷⁸⁴ In the Islamic world, Chinese artists were thought of as possessed of unequaled skill and ability.
⁷⁸⁵ The only other source that mentions this tutelage is Qutb al-Din’s treatise. Dost Muhammad
(Thackston, 15) mentions Bihzad as the son and pupil of Amir Ruhullah (known as Agha Mirak or Mirak
Naqqash of Isfahan, see folio 75b below) and describes him as the “pride of the ancients in illumination and
outlining, the rarity of the age…beyond description.” The Bahram Mirza album to which Dost Muhammad
wrote a preface in 951/1544-45, included specimens by Bihzad. In his preface Dost Muhammad notes that
Bihzad “bade farewell to life” at the court of Shah Tahmasp and “was buried next to the grave of the great
poet Shaykh Kamal in Tabriz.” The chronogram for his death, “Cast a glance at the dust of Bihzad’s
grave,” composed by Amir Dost Hashimi, gives the year 942/1535-36. The Qadi (Minorsky, 180)
mistakenly notes that Bihzad’s death occurred in Herat. For further discussion on controversial information
on Bihzad’s burial place, see Minorsky, 180, note 630.
[Other] renowned [figural-painters] were Shaykhzada Musawwir [the Figural-painter], a native of Khorasan [and] a pupil of Master Bihzad,\(^786\) the designer (ressām) and figural-painter\(^787\) Agha Mirak of Tabriz; and Mir Musawwir,\(^788\) who was from Sultaniyya.

Again among the figural-painters, there was Mir Zayn al-\(^5\)Abidin, a native of Isfahan and the talented apprentice of Mir Musawwir.\(^789\) Another was \(^6\)Abdullah Musawwir of Khorasan, who was a pupil of the abovementioned Shaykhzada [Musawwir]. And [there was] Kamal Musawwir, a native of Tabriz. He was a pupil of the renowned master and the exalted decorator (naqqāṣ) Mirza \(^4\)Ali. The art of outline-drawing (tārrāḥīṭ) was his and his master’s choice specialty.

In addition (75a) to these, [there was] Master Muhammad of Herat, the master of confounding innovations and an apprentice of Mihrab, who is mentioned below. And [there was] Master Siyawush of Georgia.\(^790\) He was a pupil of Master Hasan, and,

\(^786\) Shaykhzada Musawwir’s discipleship under Bihzad is not attested in other treatises and Dickson and Welch (53) note that there is no mention of him in mainstream Safavid sources either, at least not under this name. Dickson and Welch do mention, however, a signed work by Shaykhzada Musawwir in the Fogg Hańź.

\(^787\) Here \(^4\)Ali mentions Agha Mirak as both a decoral and a figural painter. Further down, on folio 75b, he refers to him as “Mir Naqqāṣ” and thus distinguishes him from “Mir Musawwir.”

\(^788\) The Qadi (Minorsky, 185), states that Mir Musawwir was a native of Badakhshan, an Eastern province, and mentions him to be a portraitist who worked neatly and “made very pleasant and pretty images.” A Dickson and Welch (I: 87) note that a number of Mughal accounts place the family seat specifically at Tirmiz, now an Afghan-Uzbek town. A well-known story about the Mir is that when Humayun visited Iran in 1548, he sought the services of Mir Musawwir offering him “one thousand tāmāns [a coin issued by the Qajars of Persia] as a present.” The offer was immediately accepted by the Mir’s son, Sayyid \(^4\)Ali, and Mir Musawwir later followed his son to India where the two died. Minorsky (185, note 653) mentions that one of the copies of Qadi Ahmad’s text records Mir Musawwir’s real name as Mansur. For more on the artist, see Dickson and Welch, I: 87-94.

\(^789\) According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 187), Zayn al-\(^5\)Abidin was from Tabriz and he was a grandson and pupil of Mawlaana Sulhan Muhammad of Tabriz (see folio 75a). He adds that Zayn al-\(^5\)Abidin was not inferior to others with regard to portraiture, gilding, and painting and that all his life he practiced art at the royal workshop.

\(^790\) The Qadi (Minorsky, 191) has this additional information: “Siyawush Beg was a slave (mamlāk) of Shah Tahmasp. He came from Georgia and, while he was still a child, the Shah assigned him to the
after learning [the art of] illumination from him, he perfected his portrait painting by skillfully imitating and improving on the works of several [other] masters. And Master Mihrab Musawwir, his brother and pupil of praiseworthy deeds, was day and night his companion in the workshop of arts and crafts.

In addition to these [there were] Sultan Muhammad of Tabriz, a pupil of Agha Mirak, and Muhammedi Beg, the son [sic?] and talented pupil of Sultan Muhammad distinguished worldwide for his varnished bookbinding designs and for his various group portraits. And among [Sultan Muhammad’s] pupils [there was] the figural-painter Burji ʻAli of Ardabil. {Among the pupils of Master Muhammad of Herat} [there were] Muhammad Muʻmin of Khorasan, Mirza ʻAli of Tabriz, the

naqqash-khana. He studied under Mawlana Muzaffar ʻAli and excelled in portraiture. In this work he is a rare phenomenon, in view of the expressive force of his pen and his power of design. Now he has abandoned that occupation and does not work any more. As one of the royal ghulams, together with his [Georgian] countrymen, he is now in Shiraz and is employed on [various] commissions, but he is a good artist.”

According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 180-81), at the time when Bihzad arrived in Iraq-i Ajam from Herat, Sultan Muhammad was in the library of Shah Tahmasp to whom he was giving lessons in pictorial arts. The Qadi adds that Sultan Muhammad died in Tabriz.

According to the information found in the Qadi (Minorsky, 92) and Sakisian (111), Sultan Mahmud’s son (also his pupil) was Mirza ʻAli, not Muhammedi Beg. The Qadi notes that Muhammedi Beg followed Khwaja Mirak of Kirman as the munshi to Shah Tahmasp and he was a grandson of Mir Zakaria Gauharji, who was appointed vizier in 907/1501-02 when Shah Isma‘īl seized Tabriz. Qadi adds that Muhammedi Beg, who died in Qazvin, wrote excellent taʻliq and was twice entrusted with the correspondence of the Diwan.

Conventional types were banquet scenes, battle scenes, and hunting scenes. For a discussion of group portraits and scènes de genre see Porter, 107.

Burji ʻAli of Ardabil is not mentioned in other treatises. In an attempt to identify this pupil, whose name is not accounted for in Safavid sources, Dickson and Welch (53) mention a miniature from a scattered Shahnamah of the early post-Tahmasp period. According to the authors, the date might confirm that the artist was indeed a pupil of Sultan Muhammad’s later years. This places Burji ʻAli alongside Zayn al-ʻAbidin, who according to the Qadi, was the grandson and pupil of Sultan Muhammad (but who ʻAli mentions as being a pupil of Mir Musawwir). Dickson and Welch draw attention to the same Shahnahamah that also contains a work ascribed to Zayn al-Din, suggesting a synchronicity of discipleship of Burji ʻAli and Zayn al-Din under Sultan Muhammad.

ʻAli does not seem to be aware that Muhammad Muʻmin was the eldest son of ʻAbdullah Bayani, whose other son, Muhammad Taqyy-i Murwarid, he earlier discussed at length. Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 9) mentions Khwaja Nur al-Din Muhammad Muʻmin as a calligrapher and calls him “the first of the age” in the basic scripts. Sam Mirza (Tuhfat, 244) who received training from Muhammad Muʻmin writes the
mentor of outliners (tarrāhān) who could assess talent (hūner-bīz); and Master Qasim of Iraq, again a designer, whose eminence reached to the heavens. [There was] also Master Husayn of Tabriz, a pupil of the abovementioned Sultan Muhammad and one of the agreeable artisans who served as (75b) chief painter in the studio of the aforesaid Shah Isma‘īl. And [there was] Mir Naqqash of Isfahan [i.e., Agha Mirak] the head (re‘is) of Shah Tahmasp’s studio and the master par excellence of the Sultan’s decoral-painters. [There was also] Shah Quli Naqqash, who came to the land of Rum during the auspicious reign of Sultan Sulayman Khan—may God’s pardon and mercy be upon him. He was given a private workshop in the Imperial Palace (Sarāy-ı ʿĀmire), and His Excellency the felicitous padshah, conqueror of lands with Alexander-following on him: “He is the son of Khwaja ʿAbdullah Murwarid. He is the Ya‘qut and the Sayrafi [of his age] and an annuier of the writings of the ancient and the modern masters [of calligraphy]. He is a master of thuluth and naskh styles of writing...If I narrate only a fraction of his many excellences, it would cover a whole volume. I have taken lessons from him and the little that I know is through his kindness. He was in my company at Herat and Shiraz and held the office of Sadr. Subsequently, he began to live with [Shah Tahmasp], but, later on, went away to India where he died in 948 [1541/42].” Thackston (9, note 23) notes that Muhammad Mu‘min’s works range from 924/1518-19 (İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, F. 1422, fol. 56a) to 947/1540-41 (İstanbul, TSM, H. 2151, fol. 8a).

769 According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 186) and Sakisian (111), Mirza ʿAli was the son of Sultan Muhammad of Tabriz (folio 75a). Qadi Ahmad praises Mirza ʿAli, who, in other treatises does not seem be acknowledged with great enthusiasm, with the words, “In the art of painting, he had no equals.”

790 Šan, (58a:18), Ark 1302 (27a:7), and EH 1231 (63b:5) all note the name as “Master Husayn of Qazvin.” In the copy text, further down on 75a, where the name is listed among binders, it is recorded as Master Husayn of Qazvin. In the index to the copy text, the name is recorded as Master Husayn of Qazvin.

791 Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 241) mentions Mir Naqqash as the head librarian of Shah Tahmasp “at the present moment,” that is in 957/1550-51. Dost Muhammad mentions Husayn Mirza and Shah Tahmasp as patrons of the Mir and notes Mir Naqqash as the head librarian of Husayn Mirza. Dost’s account (Thackston, 15) of Mir Naqqash is as follows: “Then there is Amir Ruhullah, known as Mirak Naqqash, originally from Herat and one of the bowmaker sayyids. At first he was engaged in memorizing the Qur’an and practicing writing, but after his father’s death he was inclined to be a copyst. Since he was of the bowmaking sayyids, he also practiced that trade. Later he entered the service of Mawlama Waliullah and took up outlining and illumination, but he gave that up too and took a fancy to depiction, in which craft he became without equal or peer. In the time of the late Sultan Husayn Mirza he was shown favor and, among other things, was given the post of royal librarian.” The Qadi (Minorsky, 185), on the other hand, notes that Agha Mirak spent most of his life in Tabriz but he was originally from the sayyids of Isfahan. He does not mention him as the head librarian but rather as a procurement-aide and intimate of Shah Tahmasp.

792 Sam Mirza (Tuhfa, 242), without a mention of Shah Quli’s transfer to Rum, notes the following on him. “He comes from the town of Qum. He knows painting and geomancy. He considers himself unrivalled as a poet, and writes under the pen-name of Alwanı.”
like zeal, arranged numerous favors and kindnesses for him many times to enjoy as he wished. He was distinguished with a choice position [that paid] one hundred aspers a day and was rightfully entitled to leadership of the masters of beautiful creations. He was a pupil of Agha Mir [i.e., Agha Mirak]. In fact, he commendably realized in himself the adage, “A [true] designer (naqqāṣ) is the one whose final design supersedes his first one.” Had he possessed morals as [excellent as] his art, Bihzad in his day could not have achieved the fame he did. And had he, in accordance with his conscientious nature, become a wayfarer on the path of divine observance, people would not in his time have talked about the art, reputation, and works of Mani, the pillar (ḥāk-ṭīz) [of the art of painting].

Among this group, there were also Khwaja ʾAbd al-ʿAziz [son of ʾAbd al-Wahhab] of Isfahan, a master of outstanding [stylistic] innovation[s], (76a) who, moreover, tutored Shah Tahmasp in the art that is being discussed; and Monla ʾAli-ʿi Asghar, [the former’s] recognized pupil and a legend of the studio of the aforesaid shah. Though it was acknowledged that both of them were world masters, like the aforementioned Shah Quli, they also had morals of similarly venomous quality.

It is recounted that the aforesaid Shah Tahmasp had in his palace (ḥarem) a handsome slave, Mirza Muhammad son of Khwaja Qabahat, in whom he took delight and for whom he had affection. He was the shah’s favorite and beloved. And during visits to his workshop, [the shah] always sat beside him. Now, [one day,] the aforesaid

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800 According to Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky, 186) the artist was born in Kashan. With a desire to praise Shah Tahmasp, the author notes that the Shah was a tutor to ʾAbd al-ʿAziz, rather than other way around.
801 The Qadi (Minorsky, 188) notes that ʾAli Asghar, from whom he took lessons, was a native of Kashan, and was also among the artists of the library of Prince Ibrahim Mirza, a courtier, and recipient of a regular salary.
Khwaja ʿAbd al-ʿAziz and ʿAli Asghar, conceiving in the valley of ungratefulness a series of stratagems and tricks, deceived the said Mirza Muhammad. United in hypocrisy and adding new distances to the edifice of separation, they left [the palace] and headed toward the darkness of India. Soon after they arrived in the capital city, Shiraz, eager to reach to the seaport of Hormuz\(^802\) and (76b) to filch those pearls of Hormuz,\(^803\) they presented forged letters patent to the governor with the intention of collecting necessities for their departure.

Surely, in great sorrow, smitten by the pain and grief of separation, afflicted with bleeding teardrops, wailing, and suffering regret, Shah Tahmasp dispatched messengers after the abovementioned [fugitives]. As the three were about to cross the frontier, they were captured and, struggling and fighting, they were brought to [the shah’s] court. At first, in order to take revenge, [the shah] considered sentencing the young man and the [two] painters to death. But, since Khwaja ʿAbd al-ʿAziz was his master and, with [his] outstanding creations, a rarity among the decoral-painters, he refrained from executing him. [Instead the shah], gave [the two painters] a light punishment, severing with his own hands ʿAbd al-ʿAziz’s nose and ʿAli Asghar’s two ears. And overcome by his love for the aforesaid young man, and with the desire of his heart and soul to contemplate the beauty of his face, [the Shah] betrayed [his initial decision] and [punished] him [with but] a brief imprisonment. In [this] way, noting [the story of] imprisonment, he sought to

\(^{802}\) Hormuz or Ormuz, island in Southern Iran, in the Strait of Hormuz, between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. Known, in the past, to be an extremely prosperous seaport, occupied by the Portuguese fleet under the great Albuquerque and later by the Iranian shahs.

\(^{803}\) Reference is to the famous riches of the seaport.
suggest and imply that [the young man] was a second Joseph\textsuperscript{804} of his own time. When a few days went by and the steed of his wrath abandoned the abode (ser-menzīl) of affection, resolving that the shame of the one who ruled over a beloved (77a) became the eye of wisdom, the sultan of divine love renounced his wrongdoing. In his felicitous leisure moments, as in the old days, he drank the wine and limpid water of friendship. And, full of regret for having severed his master’s nose, he offered consolation with [the following] verse fragment and suggested that that punishment was executed by the decree of a sultan of love.\textsuperscript{805}

It was indisputable that the aforesaid artists had been extremely offensive and their deeds were utterly wicked. Yet, the benevolence and munificence that the Shah [displayed in the face of all this] confirmed his [reputation for] all-embracing compassion and clemency. Indeed, it is necessary and incumbent upon sovereigns of wisdom to bestow upon men of knowledge that kind of kindness. For men of high rank and position, [it is an act of] complete generosity and accomplished goodwill to choose discretion over imprudence at times of reckless fury and resentment.

In short, Shah Tahmasp son of Shah Isma‘īl, owing to his apprenticeship under the abovementioned ʿAbd al-ʿAziz [and], savoring, especially his fine connoisseurship of painting and decoration, became a master (77b) decorator and portraitist of Bihzad-like creativity.\textsuperscript{806} Similarly, one of his princes, Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, with training from Siyawush, became a miracle-working decorator and a painter of distinguished fine

\textsuperscript{804} For legends on pre-Islamic prophets, see Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā in EI, vol. 5, 180. For a mention of Joseph’s beauty see Qur’an 12, and Genesis 39:6.
\textsuperscript{805} Followed by a Persian poem of two-couplets.
\textsuperscript{806} The Qadi (Minorsky, 182) mentions the group pictures (majlis) by the Shah painted on the pavilion of the Chihil Sutun in Qazvin.
Indeed, he was highly regarded and gained esteem for his fine artistry as did Sultan Uways [I] Bahadir, the choice sovereign of the past and the worthy heir of the glorious line of the Jalayrid padishahs, and Mirza Baysunghur, a prince from the line of Timur Gürkan. In truth, each of them [was] unsurpassed in the world, and with [their] acuity in learning and art, they were distinguished and considered incomparable.

Among the disciples of Siyawush [there was] a person named Master Waliyan, one of the new enthusiasts and young [faces] among [the artists] of Tabriz origin. During [the time this treatise] was being penned, he too came to Rum and became one of the [regularly] paid painters in the Exalted Capital City, [Istanbul]. Truly, his work is marked by finesse, just as his wonder-working reed pen, like the reed pens of the masters of the past, is marked by precision and grace. However, his youthfulness and the praises of the fools who inhabit the house of stupidity, as well as [the praises of people who proclaim] his oeuvre as absolute confirmation [of the saying], “This is a marvel!” have (78a) devastated the black core of his heart with the darkness of vanity. And it is known

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807 Ibrāhīm Mirzā Abu’l Fath b. Bahrām Mirzā (951-985/1543-1577), Safavid prince, a noted calligrapher and artist. The prince was the patron of Qadi Ahmad, who dedicated ten pages (155-64) to his account in the Rose-garden of Art. In his long account of Ibrahim Mirza, the Qadi praises the prince as a great patron of art as well as an artist. He touches on his various talents in arts ranging from calligraphy to cooking and archery. The Qadi mentions that in his matchless library, which held some three thousand volumes and treatises, the Prince employed many famous calligraphers, painters, artists, gilders, and bookbinders and celebrates the prince’s artistic talents with these words: “By his sketches [in black] and his paintings, he called to mind the image of Mani and the master Bihzad of Herat.” Concerning the prince’s training in calligraphy, the Qadi notes that “He took instruction from Mawlana Malik for a few days, but as...[he] possessed intelligence and innate talent, he imitated the writings and specimens of Mawlana Mir ‘Ali,” and does not mention Siyawush as a tutor to the prince. Following a series of imperial struggles over the throne, Ibrahim Mirza was murdered on the fifth of the month of Dhul-Hijja / 23 February 1577 in Qazvin and his remains were buried in Mashhad.
808 Shaykh Uways (I) b. Hasan-i Buzurg (r. 757-76/1356-74) was the greatest of the Jalāyirid rulers, both as a military commander and as an enthusiastic patron of literature and the arts, being himself a poet, calligrapher, and painter.
809 Jalāyirids, a dynasty of Mongol origin that succeeded to the heritage of the Ilkhānids in Iraq and Azerbaijan.
810 See n. 511 above.
811 Qur’an, 38:5.
to the young and old that [manipulated in this way], his pride became a great obstacle for him in the learning [of that] art. May God whose lauds I recite, and who be extolled bless him with a long life, make him perfect, and substitute the merits of proficiency and meekness for his vanity and pride.

In addition to these, there are also gilders (müzehibler). Among them, the most renowned [were] the pride of the calligraphers, Mir ‘Azd of Bukhara, one of Anisi’s pupils, who was mentioned above, and Monla Yari of Shiraz, eminent among the celebrated ones. Moreover [there was] also the gilder Qara Memi, the most honorable pupil of the decoral-painter and the esteemed master of Sultan Sulayman Khan’s studio, Shah Quli; Master Hasan of Baghdad, the master of the abovementioned Siyawush, the head of Shah Tahmasp’s studio, [and] the originator of much-admired [stylistic] innovations; Muhammad ‘Ali of Tabriz, the said [Master Hasan]’s pupil of distinguished talent; Hasan [sic Husayn] Beg of Tabriz, the said [Muhammad ‘Ali]’s pupil [and] a connoisseur (şan‘at-bíz) of art; and Monla Sharaf of Yazd, the brother of the calligrapher Qutb [al-Din of Yazd], [and] a person of talent among the masters of gilding. In illumination as well as design, [Monla Sharaf of Yazd] was his time’s [outstanding] master of excellent refinement.

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812 Gilders came next in prestige to the high-ranking calligraphers.
813 In his preface, Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) refers Yari as a native of Herat.
814 The Qadi (Minorsky, 189) writes this on Master Hasan: “[He] was a native of Baghdad but was educated in Tabriz. In his time, he was inimitable in the art of [ornamental] gilding. He decorated the holy mausoleum of Imam Abu-‘Abdullah al-Husayn, and truly in this work showed the hand of Moses. Till the end of time, he will remain an object of consideration for men.”
815 Vn (60b:12) and EH 1231 (66a:5) give the name as “Hasan Beg of Tabriz.”
816 Sharaf al-Din Yazdi is the compiler of the last of the three versions of the official history of Timūr, Zafarnāma (1628-29), written twenty years after the death of Timur.
(78b) [There were] also Muhibb ʿAli of Tabriz,817 a miraculous creation (eşer) of the abovementioned Hasan of Baghdad; the artistically endowed Mirza Mudhahhib [the Gilder] of Tabriz, a pupil of the aforesaid [Muhibb ʿAli]; and, among the disciples of the abovementioned Shah Quli, the skillful gilder ʿAlījan of Tabriz. Each of them was well versed in his art and equipped [to produce] memorable works of art and craft.

{In addition to these, there was (Master Qudrat). Unique in the world for [his] hālkārī,818 he was a wonder among fine artists, a master of Mani-like qualities and Bihzad-like artistry}. And among these [mentioned above], the aforesaid Hasan [sic Husayn] was the brother of the aforesaid figural-painter Walījan. He was one of the acclaimed and talented masters employed in the Ottoman royal workshop (ʾatabe-ʾi ʿulyā naqqāṣ-ḫānesi). And Master ʿAlījan, who resided in Aleppo, was a person whose [high] standing was acknowledged among the gilders.

Next, among the figural-painters of Rum, [there was] Musawwir Sinan Beg, who appeared at the paradise-resembling palace (harem) of Sultan Muhammad Khan, the conqueror of Constantinople, an exalted [and] lauded [ruler] among the ghazi Ottoman sultans—mercy and blessings be upon him! He was a pupil of a Frankish master named Mastori Pawli,819 who flourished in Venice and became a most exalted artist in his field.

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817 Ark 1302 (28a:13) gives the name as “Rajab ʿAli of Tabriz.”
818 ḥālkārī, illumination in gold.
819 The identity of this Italian painter is uncertain. For proposed identifications, see Stchoukine, 15. Among the other Italian painters who worked at the Ottoman court were Bartolomeo di San Marco, Gentili Bellini, Costanzo da Ferrara, Matteo de Pasti, Paolo da Pistoja, Paolo da Ragusa, Paolo Uccello, and Pinturichio.
And the said (79a) Pawli was an agreeable apprentice of a talented painter named Damyan.  

And there was also Shibilizade Ahmad, a pupil of the aforesaid Sinan Beg [and] a native of Bursa. He was the best of the artists of Rum in human portraiture (ṣebīḥ yazma).

And [there were] also Taj al-Din Girihband of Aleppo, who Sultan Salim Khan, the conqueror of Egypt—may God illuminate his grave with the light of faith!—ordered sent to Rum; his talented son, the gifted artist known as Husayn Bali; the illustrious portraitist named Qinci Mahmud, who came [to Rum] during the early years [of the reign] of the late Sultan Sulayman; and Master Hasan of Egypt, the peerless gilder of the century.  

Among [Master Hasan’s] pupils, [there were] Master Ibrahim Chalabi, a figural-painter of refined disposition and Master Sha‘ban, unique in today’s Rum, a [painter] of wondrous [and] flawless images and epigraphic ornament (müzehib-i ruqūm). In addition to these [there were] Memi Chalabi of Galata; Master ‘Uthman, a figural-painter of discerning eye; the aforesaid ‘Uthman’s pupil Muhammad Beg, who was (superior) to most of artists of girih;  

Ali, the aforesaid ‘Uthman’s brother-in-law [and] his wondrous [and] (79b) choice pupil; and Hasan of Kefe, the apprentice of the abovementioned Kamal [Musawwir], who was without peer in human portraiture. There was also the talented artist Re’is Haydar. During the reign of Salim Khan [II] son of Sulayman Khan [III], he was privileged with [the post of] chief (re’īs) of the

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820 The master’s identity is uncertain as well. Meredyth-Ovens suggests him to be Damiano da Parma. See, Stchoukine, 15.
821 A master of girih.
822 Also a painter.
823 Geometric interlace design.
naval arsenal. And while [Salim] was [still] a prince, he was, from time to time, given
the honor of participating in [the prince’s] exalted social gatherings. Known as Naqqash
Haydar, he was a person whose artistry and talent in human portraiture especially in
depicting the portrait of the late Sultan Salim, were acknowledged—God’s pardon be
upon him!

After that, from among gilders and artists with legacies [i.e., pupils] there came
many masters, [and] it was acknowledged that each of them was a rarity of [his] time and
[a creator of] wondrous, magical works. However, since details of their biographies
would necessitate the expansion of this abridged [treatise], it [has been deemed]
unsuitable [to include them].

[However], among them all, one who is worthy [of mention], a consummate
master and an artist of matchless wonders, who must be honored with a historical
account, is the Chinese artist Mani. [He was] the master of the Chinese workshop, the
discriminating sultan of the Artang, master of masters, (80a) hunter of disciples, [and
the painter] of beautiful creations. To this day, no one has equaled him in pencil
drawing, and in painting and design no one like him has appeared. In his art, he was an

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824 Artang or Arjang, Middle Persian Ardahang, an extra-canonical work of Mani that included drawings
and paintings to illustrate the most important aspects of the Manichaean dualistic doctrine. In later Islamic
tradition, Mani is remembered not so much as a great religious personality, but as a painter of unsurpassed
skill, and the paintings of the Ardahang are described as having been unequaled in the subtlety of their art;
see Encyclopedia Iranica, vol. 3, 689–90. Dost Muhammad’s account of Artang (Thackston, 12) is as
follows: “When the sun of the celest of prophecy, the fourth of the determinator apostles, Jesus son of
Mary, became a neighbor of the great luminary [i.e., the sun], Mani began to pretend to prophesy and made
this claim acceptable in the eyes of the people by cloaking it in portraiture. Since the people expected a
miracle of him, he took a span of silk, went into a cave and ordered the entrance closed. When one year
had passed from the time of his withdrawal, he emerged and showed the silk. On it he had painted and
portrayed the likeness of humans, animals, trees, birds, and various shapes that occur only in the mirror of
mind through the eye of imagination and that sit on the page of possibility in the visible world only with
fantastic shapes. The short-sighted ones whose turbid hearts could not reflect the light of Islam, duped by
this game, took his painted silk, which was known as the Artangi Tablet, as their copybook for disbelief
and refractoriness and, strangest of all, held that silk up as an equal to the Picture Gallery of China…”
innovator, and among artists, he was illustrious. His every work was applauded by distinguished [masters] and his every choice painting stirred envy among stubborn designers. In fact, any living being that he painted was depicted [in a manner so life-like that] but for its living spirit, all of its qualities were apparent. It was only the soul that was concealed, but even that appeared as if in motion. And certain things, such as a blowing wind or a boisterous, rushing storm, that were impossible to represent as matter and [to which it was impossible to] give a visible form, he would render in different ways, so that their depiction would be veiled. The said master Mani possessed such artistry and creativity that when he illustrated flowing water, he would make it visible in crystal-like form, and when he depicted a blowing wind, he would make it manifest like an abundant stream.\(^{825}\)

Story has it that among the artists of the past, three salaried masters, (80b) putting talent to the test, took aim at the arrows of other masters’ pens. With great clamor, they announced all over the world their intention to embellish with various decorations and images like the highest heavenly sphere the sublime new pavilion of the padishah, the ruler of lands to whom they served. In order to belittle [the other] artists of the world in the valley of experience and judgment with the [most] beautiful images of the current time, and make each of them admit privately [his inferiority], they went out to a royal garden on the outskirts of the city. In the meantime, they painted [an illusionistic] image of an abundant stream and a fountain that gushed sweet waters. Playing a trick, they sent forth those who claimed to be artists to the non-existent stream by that fountainhead [from whence they] brought back no water. As a result of that ploy, each of the masters

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\(^{825}\) A passage that is inserted here in versions Vn and EH 1231 gives an account of Mani’s execution.
who arrived at that fountain broke his jug while attempting to collect its water, and out of embarrassment, instead of returning to the [three cunning] masters, they chose to flee [that] land. In the end, (81a) no artist was discovered to join those three masters as a fourth, and in [all] the inhabited quarters of the world and six directions, no [other] wonder-working painter was found to decorate the four walls of the imperial pavilion. Knotting the ties of their friendship and union with that stratagem, the three artists (naqs-peyrwend) drove away from [their] city the land’s renowned masters. And each of them, averring, “It’s me [alone], there is no other!” remained [there] and saw through the lens of adornment and glossy [illusionism] and in the mirror of magic spell and expertise only himself.

At length, [Mani] heard of that clamor and noise [and] became a sea boiling with a desire to [see] the place of trial. Though he did not have much of a reputation, his self-confidence was beyond what others imagined. Thus, Mani of the refined pen crossed wilderness and the desert and, with resolution and determination to receive promotion to a higher rank, reached the place of trial. He entered the mansion of the aforesaid three masters and, at (81b) their direction, obtained and was delivered of the task of filling a jug from the fountainhead of expertise. However, [when he arrived] at the place of trial, [upon seeing] the pieces of jars left by those whose offering cups had been broken and whose dignity and honor had been humiliated, the sweet waters of his nature became disturbed.826

Instantly, he grabbed his wonder-working reed pen, the pillar of the workshop of Artang, whose sable-tip (tāc-i semmūr) was of the same quality and color as [the robes

826 Followed by a poem in Ottoman composed by the author.
of] the descendents of Jangiz Khan, and which, in [adorning the pages of] Chang (?), was a noncorroding weapon like the sword of Pashang\footnote{In Firdawsi’s Shahnme two men bear this name; one is a king of Turan and the father of Afrasyab (Alp Ertonga), the other is a Persian, the nephew of Feraydun and the father of Manuchehr.} on the field of battle. That fine-sketching pen, rendering a dog’s carcass with assurance, brought forth an esoteric creation and made manifest a flawless magic painting. So much so that the worms on the corpse were visible, and furthermore, they all [appeared to be] moving and quivering. In every respect, it [was] unmistakably a beast’s carcass. It was evident that, but for the missing smell, it had no defect. And, it (was) clear as day that each one of the moving and writhing worms completely made up for that shortcoming.\footnote{Followed by a couplet.}

\(82a\) With that, having made manifest [his] prowess and might, [Mani] went back to the masters with his empty jug. “There fell a dog’s carcass in the basin of the fountain to which you sent me,” he announced. That is, that was the excuse for why he came back with an empty jug. When the artists went out to inspect it, they knew from [the carcass’] fine rendering that [the artist] was Mani, and they honored and applauded [him]. “Nevertheless,” [they said], “What’s the use! In this land, there is no appreciation for accomplished master[s] and, our padishah, in particular, makes no great efforts to guard and protect wonder-working artist[s] like yourself.” Saying this, they cautioned him, and [made him] change his mind [and caused him to] leave. [Soon] however, their obstruction and greed came out in the open. That week, the world sovereign who owned the pavilion and the orchard was viewing [his] garden [and] enjoying a day out. Upon seeing the dog’s carcass in the fountain of trial, he found out from the words of the gardener who had painted it and how, by the jealousy and deceit of the [three] artists,
[Mani] had been driven from the city. [Then] he sent out men after him, and upon [Mani’s] return, [he bestowed upon him] abundant favors and perfect gifts, and ordered (82b) him to design and decorate the fourth wall. After that, the said four masters dedicated themselves completely to the [decoration of the] four walls of the workshop of artistry and creativity. Behind a veil, they each set about to manifest their ability with wondrous adornments and fine images, which they hid from their opponents. Because they exerted themselves, demonstrating in concealment [their] art and expertise, the services that they rendered soon came to light. And with talent’s spell, their customary devotion [to the sultan] was materialized.829

(83a) Prose

In other words, that peerless master gave the wall such a burnishing that [even] pure water has never been so transparent. And he gave his every image such a bright appearance that the world-illuminating mirror has never furbished plants and flowers in that tone.830

(83b) The padishah of China, [his] discriminating ministers, and the auspicious masters applauded Mani’s creativeness, and praised and [showed their] approval [of it] with many favors and kindesses.]831

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829 The story continues with an account of the display of Mani’s paintings for the rulers and government officials of China.
830 Followed by a two-couplet poem in Ottoman.
831 A Prayer in Arabic follows.
There is also a group of talented binders, whose beautiful works ought to be mentioned as well, [and it is deemed appropriate] to end the book with accounts [of them in order to] append and perfect its conclusion.

Now, the superior master of this group and the celebrated and eminent name at the beginning of the register [of binders] was Muhammad Chalabi, the chief binder of the late Sultan Sulayman Khan. [There were also] Husayn Chalabi and Mustafa Chalabi, his younger brothers, and Sulayman Chalabi, the quintessence of the century and the only son and matchless offspring of the late chief binder. Fine bindings and elegance in [executing] culs-de-lampes,⁸³² medallions (taranca) in gilt, color (mülemmä‘), and in multi hues (mülevven) were their specialty. It is acknowledged that, in terms of finesse, (84a) the masters of Persia are inferior to them.

And, among the Persian binders, [are] Mir Husayn of Qazvin; Sahhaf Qasim Beg of Tabriz,⁸³³ his apprentice; Mirza Beg of Tabriz, the pupil of Qasim Beg; Mirza Beg’s renowned creation (eşer) and celebrated son Muhammad Zaman of Tabriz,⁸³⁴ and, Monla Qasim ‘Ali, another pupil of [Mirza Beg]. As this [treatise] is being penned, [Monla Qasim ‘Ali] came to the Exalted Capital City, [Istanbul], and at feasts

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⁸³² shamsa, a decorative, illuminated medallion, used mostly on the binding, but also on engravings, illuminated manuscripts, ceramics, glass, and carpet design.

⁸³³ Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky, 193) devotes this praiseworthy passage to him: “[He] 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 leveled the days of Destiny; his work in the corner pieces was similar to stars, and that in medallions (turunj) like the sun. He had [the nature] of a dervish and was self-effacing (fāmi). Owing to the disorders caused by the evil Ottomans and the ruin of Tabriz he came to [Persian] Iraq and settled in Qazvin where he worked as a bookbinder. Finally, he adopted Ardabil as his residence, but fate did not favor him, in confirmation of the saying, ‘What dost thou know where thou shalt die?’ and he died during the epidemic of plague in the year 1000 [1591-92] in Qazvin…”

⁸³⁴ The Qadi (Minorsky, 166) lists Muhammad Zaman among calligraphers and notes the following on him: “Although his family came from the City of Faith, Kirman, he was born and brought up in the capital, Tabriz, and became a calligrapher there. He writes in the ‘Tabrizi’ hand with great delicacy, maturiry, and good taste. His writing is not inferior to that of the masters and he may even be their equal.”
and drinking assemblies, he became a companion of the aforesaid Husayn Beg, the gilder, and of Walijan, the figural-painter.

Though there is no arguing against the talent of Persian binders in diluting gold (ṭilā halli) and decorating cut lines of poetry (mu qaṭṭa), in expertise and prowess, the binders of Rum exceed them in ruling (cedvel), in chain stitching (zencīrek), and in beautifying bindings with elegance and finesse. The words of those who dispute this are mere arrogance, and the meaningless talk of those who do not agree with this assertion is, likewise, [mere] contention and wrangling.
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293


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APPENDIX*
Artistic lineage

* The following lineage is constructed based on T 9757, the copy text of *Epic Deeds of Artists*. At the beginning of the manuscript, there is an index of names in which artists are grouped according to their profession and listed in the order in which their names appear in the text. This index incorporates multiple entries. There are, for example, two entries for Agha Mirak, one as Agha Mirak and another as Mir Naqqash of Isfahan, which might lead one to mistakenly think that these are two different individuals. Since the index, as the text itself, is arranged mainly according to professions, multiple entries occur also in cases where one artist worked, for instance, both as painter and gilder. To eliminate repetitions in this artistic lineage, therefore, each index entry (including multiple entries) is assigned a number, and multiple entries are noted in parenthesis. Names that are mentioned in the text, but not recorded in the index are numbered as *NI 1, NI 2, N3*, and so on. Names that are recorded in the index, but not mentioned in the text—of which there are only two cases—are enumerated with the numbers that are assigned to these entries preceded by letters *NM*, namely, *NM 179* and *NM 244*. In versions Vienna (*Vn*) and the Topkapı Sarayi Emanet Hazinesi 1231 (*EH 1231*) there are eight additional names that are not mentioned in T 9757. These names are also included in this lineage for these two mss. are believed to be copies from a lost postulated version which was re-worked by ʿĀli himself. They are numbered as *VnEH 1, VnEH 2*, and so on.

In cases where chronological information is not available, names are listed according to the order in which they appear in the text. This lineage is constructed based on biographical information found in ʿĀli’s text alone. Conflicting or complementary information regarding artistic lineage found in other original or secondary resources are noted in the endnotes to this appendix. Conflicting or complementary information regarding artists’ lives or work found in other original or secondary resources are noted in footnotes to the translation. Repetitive information found in other sources, unless it is key to an elusive issue, is omitted.

**Origins of Writing**

*NI 1*. Prophet Idris
*NI 2*. Danyal

**Copyists of the Qur’an**

1. Abu Bakr-i Sudiq
2. ʿUmar son of al-Hattab
3. ʿUthman son of ʿAffan
4. ʿAli son of Abi Talib
5. Zūbayr son of ʿAwwām
6. ʿAmir son of Fahr
7. Halid son of ʿAs
8. Aban son of ʿAs

300
9. Sa‘id son of As
10. ‘Abdullah Arqam
11. Hanzala son of Rabî‘
12. Ubayy son of Ka‘b
13. Sabit son of Qays son of Shammas
14. Sharhâbil son of Hasana
15. Mughira son of Shu‘ba
16. ‘Abdullah son of Zayd
17. Jahim son of Salt
18. Hâlid son of Walid
19. ‘Ala‘ son of Hazrami
20. ‘Amr son of As
21. ‘Abdullah son of Râwa‘ha
22. Muhammad son of Muslimah
23. ‘Abdullah son of ‘Abdullah son of Ubayy
24. Ibn-i Mas‘ud
25. Mu‘ayyifib son of Abi Fatima
26. Zayd son of Sabit
27. Mu‘awiya son of Abi Sufyan

Writers of the Kufic hand

‘Ali son of Abi Talib (see 4 above)
29. Husayn son of ‘Ali son of Abi Talib

Masters of the “Six Styles”

30. Ibn Muqla
31. ‘Ali son of Hilal (Ibn al-Bawwab)
   “Seven Masters”
32. (1st master) Jamal al-Din Yaqut Musta‘ simi
33. (2nd master) Mawlana Arghun Kamil
34. (3rd master) Mawlana ‘Abdullah of Sayraf (indirect pupil)
35. (4th master) Mawlana Yahya Sufi
36. (5th master) Mubarakshah Suyufi
37. (6th master) Mubarakshah Qutb (“Zarin-qalam”)
38. (7th master) Mawlana Shaykh Ahmad Suhrawardi (indirect pupil)

Masters of Persia

54. Muhy al-Din of Amasya son of Jalal (“Jalal”. See also under Masters of Rum below.)
55. Mawlana Jamal of Amasya (brother of Jalal, 54 above. See also under Masters of Rum below.)
57. ‘Abdullah of Amasya (nephew of Jalal and Jamal, 54 and 55 above. See also under Masters of Rum below.)
40. Mawlana Mahmud Siyawushi of Shiraz
41. Ibrahim Shah Tayyib
Mawlana Asadullah of Kirman (See under writers of nasta‘ liq, 187 below.)
56. Ahmad Qarahisari (See also under Masters of Rum below.)
63. Monla Hasan Qarahisari (adopted son of Ahmad Qarahisari)
44. Mawlana Sharaf al-Din of Damascus
45. Monla ‘Ali Beg of Tabriz
46. Monla ‘Abdullah (brother of Monla Agha)
48. Monla ʿAla Beg of Tabriz
47. Monla Yusuf of Georgia (?)
49. Baqi Muhammad of Bukhara
50. Monla Haji Maqsud
51. Mawlana Ahmad of Rum
73. Ibrahim Sultan son of Shah Rukh Khan
74. Shams al-Din Zahir
72. Mawlana Jamal al-Din Husayn Fakhkhar of Shiraz

**Seven Masters of Rum**

52. (1st master) Mawlana Shaykh Hamdullah of Amasya
53. (2nd master) Mawlana Dede Chapabi, “Shaykhzada” (son of Shaykh Hamdullah of Amasya)

**VNEH 1.** Shukrullah Khalifa (“pupil of Shaykhzada,” meaning either Dede Chapabi or Dervish Chapabi below)

61. Dervish Chapabi, “Shaykhzada” (son of Mawlana Dede Chapabi, 53 above)
60. Mawlana ʿAbdullah of Crimea, “Tatar” (in naskh pupil of Dede Chapabi, 53 above)
64. Rawani Muslih al-Din (?)
71. Dervish ʿAbdullah Chapabi

(3rd master) Muhy al-Din of Amasya son of Jalal (See under ʿAbdulah Ashpaz, 39 above.)
(4th master) Mawlana Jamal of Amasya (brother of Muhy al-Din. See under ʿAbdulah Ashpaz, 39 above.)
(5th master) ʿAbdulah Chapabi (See under ʿAbdulah Ashpaz, 39 above)

(5th master) Monla Ahmad Qaraqishari (See under Mawlana Asadullah of Kirman, 187 below.)
58. (7th master) Shurbachti-zade Mawlana Ibrahim

**Other masters of Rum**

62. Mawlana Katip Husam of Gallipoli
65. Dawud of Skopje
66. Katib Hayr al-Din of Marash
67. Mahmud Chapabi of Edirne
68. Monla ʿAbd al-Rahman of Serajevo
69. Monla Nuri

**NI 3.** Husam Zarin-qalam
70. Diwane Memi of Manisa

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**Masters of the nastaʿliq hand**

75. Mawlana MirʿAli of Tabriz

**Indirect or direct pupils**

78. Mawlana Hafiz ʿAli of Herat
79. Shams al-Din Muhammad of Kashan, “Nawawi”
80. Mawlana Muhammad son of Sultan Muhammad of Astarabad
81. Mir Sunʿi
82. Mawlana Shawqi of Yazd
83. Hafiz Babajan [Udi] of Turbat
84. Monla Fayzi (brother of Hafiz Babajan of Turbat)
85. Monla Shihabi
86. Mawlana ʿAbdullah of Qazvin
87. Mawlana Ashiqi of Tabriz
88. Monla Ayati-i Maktabdar
89. Monla Naziki of Tabriz Shiʿar
90. Monla Ibrahim of Tabriz
91. Monla Ibrahim of Astarabad
92. Monla Ismaʿil Najati
93. Dost Muhammad of Gushwan
94. Muhibb ʿAli-yi Nayi of Herat

302
NI 4. Mawlana Khwaja Mahmud of Astarabad\textsuperscript{xiii}
95. Monla Jan of Kashan
96. Mawlana Shir 'Ali
97. Mawlana Katibi Muhammad Tarshizi
98. Monla Simi of Nishapur
197. Mawlana 'Abd al-Hayy\textsuperscript{xiii}
99. Amir Shahi of Sabzawar
100. Mawlana Sayyid Jalal son of 'Azul
101. Khwaja Mahmud of Sabzawar
102. Mawlana Yahya-i Sibak of Nishapur

Direct pupils
76. Monla 'Abdullah (son of Mir 'Ali)\textsuperscript{xiv}
77. Mawlana Ja'far of Tabriz\textsuperscript{xv}
103. Mawlana Azhar\textsuperscript{vi}
106. Sultan 'Ali of Mashhad\textsuperscript{vii}

Direct pupils
107. Mawlana Muhammad Ibrishimi
108. Sultan Muhammad Khandan
126. Mawlana Yari of Shiraz (Also listed as gilder, 249)\textsuperscript{viii}
109. Sultan Muhammad Nur\textsuperscript{ix}
110. 'Ala al-Din Muhammad Razawi
111. Mawlana 'Abdi of Nishapur
112. Mawlana Shah Mahmud Nijad of Nishapur (Nephew of 'Abdi of Nishapur, 111 above.)\textsuperscript{xx}
127. Mawlana Salim of Nishapur
128. Mawlana Haji Muhammad of Tabriz
129. Monla Muhammad Husayn of Bakharz (Also studied under Qasim son of Shadishah, 113 below.)
113. Mawlana Muhammad Qasim son of Shadishah\textsuperscript{xii}
130. Mawlana 'Aysh (Also listed as a pupil of Malik of Daylam, as 166.)\textsuperscript{xii}
131. Mawlana Muhyi\textsuperscript{xii}
132. Sultan Mahmud of Turbat (or a pupil of Shah Mahmud of Nishapur)
114. Mir Hihatullah of Kashan\textsuperscript{xv}
133. Amir Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad
169. Mawlana Muhammad Taqyy-i Murwarid (son of Khwaja Shihab al-Din 'Abdallah Bayani "Murwarid," 192 below)
170. Monla Muzaffar 'Ali
171. Monla Hidayatullah of Isfahan
172. Katib Mahdi Quli
173. Iliche Ibrahim Khan
115. Monla Rustam 'Ali of Khorasan\textsuperscript{xv}
134. Muhibb 'Ali (son of Rustam 'Ali of Khorasan)
116. Monla Ghiyath al-Din Mudahhib
117. Monla Muhammad Bostani of Merv
118. Monla Maqsud 'Ali the Turk
119. Monla Jalal al-Din Mahmud
120. Mawlana Zayn al-Din Mahmud
135. Mir 'Ali of Herat (Also said to have studied with Sultan 'Ali of Mashhad in person.)

Direct pupils
136. Mir Muhammad Baqir son of Mir 'Ali (Also listed as 221 under decoupage artists)
137. Khwaja Mahmud [son of] Ishaq Shihabi\textsuperscript{xvi}
159. Shah Husayn Shihabi
VnEH 7. Monla Muhammad Salih Bakharati
160. Mawlana Muhammad Husayn
138. Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad
158. Mawlana Baba Shah of Isfahan
161. Monla Hasan ‘Ali
162. Muhammad Rahim of Mashhad
163. Mawlana Qumi’i
178. Dervish Husam “Bosnawi”
NM 179. Monla Ya’yi/Ya’ya
180. Monla Qasim (?)
181. Kole Qasim (?)
139. Mir Husayn Kulangi of Bukhara
140. Mawlana ‘Abd al-Khaliq of Bukharz
141. Mir Haydar al-Husayni of Bukhara
“Tabrizi”
142. Mawlana Malik of Daylam (indirect pupil)
164. Mawlana Muhammad Husayn of Tabriz
174. Mawlana Muhammad Sharif
175. Bih-bud-i Shahinshahi
176. Monla Muhammad Rida (?)
165. Mawlana Shah Muhammad of Mashhad
Monla ‘Ayshi (See under Qasim Shadishah, 113 above, as number 130)
167. Qutb al-Din Muhammad of Yazd
(Brother of the gilder Monla Sharaf of Yazd below. Also studied under Turk Maqzud
168. Mir Mustafa of Baghdad
143. Mawlana Mu’in al-Din Muhammad Sharifi
144. Mir Muhammad Ma’sum Husayni of Bukhara
145. Mir Muhammad of Samarqand
146. Monla Haji Mirak of Bukhara (“Muhammad Amin”)”
147. Mir Duri
148 [also sic 177]. Mawlana Muhammad Husayn of Kashmir
177. Dervish Husayn [sic Muhammad] of Kashmir
149. Sultan Mahmud of Bukhara
150. Khwaja Mahmud Siyawushani
151. Mawlana Hamdullah Khalikhali (indirect pupil?)
152. Monla Qasim ‘Ali”
153. Mawlana Pir Muhammad
154. Mawlana Isma’il
155. Mir Chalama of Bukhara (“Mir Iskandar”)
157 [also sic 42]. Mir Shaykh the First of Kirman (?)

NI 5. Monla Muhy al-Din (son of Kirmani) (?)
156. Mir Shaykh the Second of Kirman (Son of Monla Muhy al-Din above.)

121. Monla Pir ‘Ali-i Jami
122. Mir Shaykh Nur al-Din Purani (son of ‘Ali of Mashhad)
123. Mawlana ‘Abd al-Wahid of Mashhad
124. Subz ‘Ali of Mashhad

Indirect pupils whose direct masters are not known
125. Mir Khubi-i Husayni

VnEH 5. Monla ‘Ali Rida

VnEH 6. Mirza Mahmud Katib

NI 14. ‘Abd al-Samad (a contemporary of Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad)
104. Mawlana Sultan ‘Ali of Qayin
105. Shaykhzada of Purani (son of Shaykh Abu Sa’id Purani)

VnEH 2. Monla Hafiz Futa

VnEH 3. Monla Mir Husayn Husayni

VnEH 4. Muhammad Nasir of Bukhara
182. Mawlana ‘Abd al-Rahman of Kharazm
183. Mawlana ‘Abd al-Rahim Anisi (son of Abd al-Rahman of Kharazm)
185. Mir ‘Azd of Bukhara (Also listed as gilder, 248.)
186. Monla ‘Ali Sultan
190. Mir Mustafa (Brother of ‘Awwad below)
191. ‘Awwad
187. Mawlana Asadullah of Kirman (Also listed among masters of Persia as 42, repeated as sic 157)
189. Monla Nuwis of Rum
184. Mawlana ‘Abd al-Karim Padishah (son of Abd al-Rahman of Kharazm)
188. Mawlana Shams al-Din Muhammad of Kirman (also considered to be a pupil of Anisi)

Masters of the chap, diwani, daftar, and siyaqat hands

Masters of chap

192. Mawlana Khwaja Shihab al-Din ‘Abdullah Bayani “Marwarid” (son of Shams al-Din Muhammad of Kirman, 188 above)
193. Monla Khudadad
195. Munshi Khwaja Ikhtiyar
194. Munshi Monla Idris
196. Munshi Khwaja Dervish
198. Munshi Mawlana Nasir
201. Mawlana Nafi Sabzawari
199. Mawlana Munshi Muhammad Qasim
200. Mawlana Munshi Ibrahim
202. Khwaja Fakhr al-Din Hakim
203. Mirza Mirak-i Gur
204. Khwaja ‘Abd al-Qadir, Vizier
205. Qasim Beg Munshi

NI 6. Mawlana Idris (father of Abu al-Fazl)
Masters of diwani in Rum

206. Matraqchi Nasuh
207. Bali (Baba?) Yusuf
208. Katib Taj

NI 7. Taj-begzada Ja‘far [sic Ahmad] Chalabi (?)
209. Tajzada Muhammad Chalabi (son of Katib Taj) (also listed under binders from Rum, as 279)
   Sulayman Chalabi (son of Muhammad Chalabi) (see under binders from Rum, 282, below)
211. Saf Musalli Chalabi
212. ‘Ayn ‘Ali Chalabi
213. Hadhad ‘Ali Chalabi
210. Isma‘il Chalabi (son of Katib Taj) (?)

Masters of daftar and siyaqat

214. Katib Husam of Rum

Finance officers (daftardar)

215. Baynizada Muhammad Chalabi defterdar
216. Oglan Memi Chalabi
217. Sulusi Ahmad Chalabi defterdar
NI 8. Sunbul Memi Chalabi Effendi
NI 9. Kuchuk Nasuh

Masters of decoupage, painters, gilders, designers, binders, gold sprinklers, rulers, and repairers

Decoupage artists, painters, and gilders

NI 10. Mani
218. ‘Abdullah Qat‘i
219. Dost Muhammad Musawwir (Shaykh Muhammad Dost Qat‘i son of ‘Abdullah Qat‘i)\textsuperscript{xli}
220. Sangi ‘Ali of Badakhshan
221. Mawlana Muhammad Baqir (Son of Mir ‘Ali of Herat. Also listed as 136, under pupils of Mir ‘Ali of Herat.)

VnEH 8. Munla Muhammad Amin
222. Fakhri of Bursa
226. Master Gun
225. Master Jihangir of Bukhara
224. Pir Sayyid Ahmad of Tabriz
223. Master Bihzad (Kemal al-Din Bihzad)\textsuperscript{xlii}
227. Shaykhzada Musawwir
231. ‘Abdullah Musawwir of Khorasan
228. Agha Mirak [sic Agha Mirak of Tabriz] (repeated as 243. Mir Naqsh of Isfahan)\textsuperscript{xliii}
236. Sultan Muhammad of Tabriz
237. Muhammadi Beg (sic? son of Sultan Muhammad of Tabriz)
242 Master Husayn of Qazvin [sic Tabriz] (also listed as 283 under binders)\textsuperscript{xlv}
238. Burji ‘Ali of Ardabil

NI 12. Shah Quli Naqsh
250. Qara Memi (listed under gilders)
257. ‘Alijan of Tabriz (listed under gilders)
229. Mir Musawwir
230. Mir Zayn al-‘Abidin\textsuperscript{xlv}
235. Master Mihrab Musawwir (brother of Master Siyawush of Georgia, 234 below)
233. Master Muhammad of Herat
239. Muhammad Mu‘min of Khorasan\textsuperscript{xlvi}
240. Mirza ‘Ali of Tabriz\textsuperscript{xlvii}
232. Kamal Musawwir of Tabriz
277. Hasan of Kefe
241. Master Qasim of Iraq
251. Master Hasan of Baghdad (listed under gilders)
   234. Master Siyawush of Georgia (brother of Master Mihrab Musawwir, 235 above) \textsuperscript{LVII}
   247. Master Walijan of Tabriz (brother of Husayn Beg of Tabriz?)
   262. Sultan Ibrahim Mirza \textsuperscript{LXV}
252. Muhammad ‘Ali of Tabriz (listed under gilders)
253. Husayn (Hasan?) Beg of Tabriz (brother of Master Walijan?) (Listed under gilders) \textsuperscript{IV}
255. Muhibb ‘Ali of Tabriz (listed under gilders) \textsuperscript{V}
256. Mirza Mudhalhib of Tabriz (listed under gilders)

NM 244. Master ‘Ali Quli
   263. Shah Tahmasp (also see under sultans and princes) \textsuperscript{LVI}
   246. Monla ‘Ali-yi Asghar
254. Monla Sharaf of Yazd (brother of Qub al-Din of Yazd) (listed under gilders)

NI 13. Master Qudrat (listed under gilders)

\textit{Painters of Rum}

266. Damyan (Italian)
   265. Masteri Pawli (Italian)
   264. Musawwir Sinan Beg
   267. Shibizade Ahmad
268. Taj al-Din Girihband
   269. Husayn Bali (son of Taj al-Din Girihband)
270. Qinci Mahmud
271. Master Hasan of Egypt (listed as gilder)
   272. Master Ibrahim Chalabi
   259. Master Sha‘ban
273. Memi Chalabi ofGalata
274. Master ‘Uthman
   275. Muhammad Beg, girihband
   276. ‘Ali (brother-in-law of Master ‘Uthman)
278. Re‘is Haydar Musawwir

\textit{Binders of Rum}

Tajzada Muhammad Chalabi, \textit{mücellid bashi} (see above as 209, under Katip Taj, Masters of diwani in Rum)
   282. Sula이man Chalabi (son of Muhammad Chalabi)
280. Husayn Chalabi (younger brother of Muhammad Cahalabi)
281. Mustafa Chalabi (younger brother of Muhammad Cahalabi)

\textit{Binders of Persia}

Mir Husayn of Qazvin \textit{(see under Sultan Muhammad of Tabriz, 236 above.)}
   284. Sahhaf Qasim Beg of Tabriz
   285. Mirza Beg of Tabriz, sahhaf
   286. Muhammad Zaman of Tabriz (son of Mirza Beg) (listed as binder)
   287. Monla Qasim ‘Ali

\textit{Sultans and Princes who practiced calligraphy and/or painting}

260. Sultan Uways Bahadir
261. Sultan Baybars
Sultan Ibrahim Mirza \textit{(see under Master Siyawush of Georgia, 234 above)}
Shah Tahmasp \textit{(see under Khwaja ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, 245 above)}

307
GLOSSARY*

* For words of Arabic or Persian origin, transcriptions in paranthesis reflect the Turkish phonology if different from the original language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'aks</td>
<td>Painting in stencil work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amir</td>
<td>Commander, governor, prince.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beğ, bey, beg</td>
<td>A title, “lord”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chap (çep)</td>
<td>Literally the left side; the obverse, the inside out; hence writing done in reverse, as on seals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culs-de-lamps</td>
<td>See shamsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diwani (divani)</td>
<td>A smaller and compact style of writing invented by the Ottomans based on tawqi' and ta‘liq hands. It was used in official decrees and documents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jali (celi)</td>
<td>Any large type of script, used especially for the large type of thuluth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghulam (gulam)</td>
<td>A young man or boy; slave; servant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halkari</td>
<td>Illumination in gold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insha (insha)</td>
<td>Epistolography.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jadval (cedvel)</td>
<td>Ruling; framework of the pages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khwaja (hoca)</td>
<td>A master; a magistrate, a superior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufic</td>
<td>The oldest formally devised script of Arabic writing having an angular character.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mathnawi (mesnevi)</td>
<td>A poem written in rhyming couplets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawlânâ or monla</td>
<td>Title of respect applied to great personages of religious hierarcho, as in “His Holiness.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mektup qirmasi</td>
<td>A cramped style of writing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mir</td>
<td>A title applied to princes, but also used by poets and other men of letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudhahhib (müzehhib)</td>
<td>The illuminator who works with gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhaqqaq</td>
<td>Literally “well-established,” or “ideal;” one of the Six Scripts where the left corners of the letters are angled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulavvan (mülevven)</td>
<td>Painted in multi hues; a type of shamse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musawwir</td>
<td>Painter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulamma (müлемma)</td>
<td>Colored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naqqash-khana</td>
<td>Ottoman royal painting atelier.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naskh</td>
<td>The most commonly used of the Six Scripts having an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nastaʿliq
A script that is a combination of naskh and taʿliq.
qalam (qalem)
Pen or brush; also script, style, hand.
qita'
Four lines of poetry; also, single-sheet specimens of calligraphy.
rayhānī
Literally “the aromatic plant basil,” “having a fragrance;” a smaller version of muhaqqaq.
renge-amīz
The art of coloring.
renge-nūvis
Writer in colored script.
riqa'
A stout, thick type of script commonly used by the Ottomans. It is also characterized by rounded hooks at the tail or the head of the letter.
sayyid
A master, a lord, or a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad.
shabīh (şebih)
Human portrait.
shamsa (şemse)
Literally the sun; a decorative, illuminated medallion, used mostly on the front of a binding, but also on engravings, illuminated manuscripts, ceramics, glass, and carpets.
shaykh al-Islam (şeyhülislam)
The Ottoman religious leader who had the exclusive right to issue an opinion on a point of law.
shikasta
A broken type of writing.
Six Scripts or Six Styles
The six Arabic writing styles known as aqlam-i šitta in Arabic or shah qalam in Persian: naskh, muhaqqaq, rayhānī, thulūth, riqa', and tawqī'.
siyāqat
A complicated, undotted, coded style of writing used in confidential treasury accounts and documents; the finance cipher.
taʿliq
Literally “hanging;” a calligraphic style that is characterized by letters that are extended to the left.
tarrāḥ
The sketch maker, who makes the initial outline (tarh).
thulūth
Literally “one-third.” Generally said to have derived its name from being based on the principle of a third of each letter being sloping.
toranj (taranca)
An oval, decorative medallion.
ūslūb-ı ḫesāb
The writing style used by the keepers of account.
ūslūb-ı defter
The writing style used by the registrar’s.
vassallıq
Book repair, patchwork.
zarafşān (zer-efṣan)
Gold-flecked paper.

1 For a discussion on traditions that connect Ibn Bawwāb’s line to Ibn Muqla, through the latter’s daughter or two sons, see n. 427 above.
2 This group that ʿAlī, like Qub al-Din, calls the “Seven Masters” is referred to as the “Six Masters” by Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 7) and as “the masters of the Six Styles” by Qadi Ahmad (Minorsky, 60) referring to only the pupils of Yaḥṣūb and mentioning Yaḥṣūb as the master of the six. In calling the group “Seven Masters,” Qub al-Din and ʿAlī bring to mind the Album of Seven Masters prepared for Baysunḥur Mirza (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayi, H. 2310), the earliest (690/1291-92) calligraphic album of which anything is known. However, while the names on ʿAlī’s list include six out of the Seven Masters of the album (replacing Muhammad son of Haydar al-Ḥusaynī’s name with that of
Mubarakshah Suyufi), Qutb al-Din’s list, which ‘Āli says is incorrect, includes only four of these calligraphers, namely Jamal al-Din Yaqt, Arghun Kamil, Mawlana Mubarakshah, and Ahmad Suhrawardi. The three additional names on Qutb al-Din’s list (see, folio 31b of the text) are Mir Haydar Kunda-nuwis (NI 14), Monla Nasr al-Din Mutatabbib (NI 15), and Monla Yusuf of Khorasan (NI 16). Interestingly enough, Dost Muhammad’s, Mir Sayyid Ahmad’s (Thackston, 24), and Qazi Ahmad’s lists are all identical to that of Qutb al-Din except that Nasr al-Din Mutatabbib appears in their list as Nasrullah Tabib, and Monla Yusuf of Khorasan is called Yusuf of Mashhad. Thackston (8, note 13) notes that of Yusuf of Mashhad’s work, there are no examples in the Istanbul albums and suggests that Yusuf of Mashhad may be the person whom ‘Āli calls Yusuf of Khorasan. In *Tuhfa-i Hattatin*, Mustaqimzada follows ‘Āli’s list. In Fatih Devri Hattatlar ve Hat Sanati (Istanbul, 1953), Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi (9, n. 8) also calls the group “Seven Masters.” For alternative lists of the Six Masters as recorded in album prefaces, see Roxborough, appendix three.

According to Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 8) Sayrafi was a pupil of Sayyid Haydar Kunda-nuwis. According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 61), however, he was a pupil of Mashhad (Khorasan?). As for his pupils, Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 8) notes that Sayrafi instructed his nephew Shaykh Muhammad Bandig, who instructed Mawlana Sa’d al-Din of Tabriz, who instructed Mawlana Shams al-Din Qattabi (inscribed himself as Shams Sufi), who instructed Farid al-Din Ja’far of Tabriz. The Qadi (Minorsky, 62-64) notes Sayrafi to be the son of Khwaja Mahmud Sarraf of Tabriz and a pupil of Sayyid Haydar Kunda-nuwis. Mir Sayyid Ahmad (Thackston, 24), in confirmation of Dost Muhammad and Qazi Ahmad, also notes Sayrafi as a pupil of Sayyid Haydar. Dost Muhammad, Sayyid Ahmad, and the Qadi all note Haji Muhammad Band-duz (‘Bandig’ in Dost and in Sayyid Ahmad) of Tabriz as a pupil of Sayrafi. Dost and the Qadi also add master Mu’ in al-Din Haji Muhammad among the pupils of Sayrafi.

Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 8), Sayyid Ahmad (Thackston, 24), and the Qadi (Minorsky, 62) all record Yahya-yi Sufi as a pupil of Khwaja Mubarakshah Zarim-qalam, that is, Mubarakshah Qutb (although, Dost Muhammad mentions him to be an indirect student). According to Huart (92-93), Yahya-yi Sufi was a pupil of ‘Abdullah of Sayrafi. Thackston (8, note 15), on the other hand, states that he was a pupil of Ahmad al-Rumi and also studied with Mubarakshah Zarim-qalam. Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 9) mentions a Mawlana Sa’d al-Din of Iraq as a pupil of Yahya Sufi, and a certain Mawlana Ma’ruf is noted to be the former’s pupil.

According to Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 9) and Sayyid Ahmad (Thackston, 24) ‘Abdullah Ashqaz studied under Mawlana Farid al-Din Ja’far (i.e., Ja’far of Tabriz, 77 below). Dost adds that he instructed Khwaja Shihab al-Din ‘Abdallah Bayani, 192 below, in the basic scripts. As a pupil of Ashqaz, the Qadi (Minorsky, 72) mentions Mawlana ‘Abd al-Haqq of Sabzawar.

Huart (103) notes that ‘Ala Beg of Tabriz bore the title Jamal al-Mulk and was a pupil of Shams al-Din Muhammad of Tabriz. His pupils were ‘Abd al-Baqi Danismand, ‘Ali Rida-yi ‘Abbas, and Khwaja Maqsud. The Qadi notes Monla ‘Ali Rida of Tabriz as a pupil of ‘Ala Beg.

According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 79), Monla Haji Maqsud was the son of the sister of Mir Maf tulband of Tabriz.

The Qadi (Minorsky, 85) mentions ‘Abdullah Chalabi as a contemporary of Khwaja ‘Abd al-Hayy, 197 below.

The following is a list of pupils whose direct training under Mir ‘Ali is uncertain. It is established, however, that they did learn indirectly from Mir ‘Ali by practicing from his calligraphic samples.

According to Malik of Daylam, Babajan was a pupil of Rustam ‘Ali, master of Dost Muhammad.

The identity of this Monla Shihabi, a pupil of Mir ‘Ali of Tabriz, is uncertain and his name is not attested in other treatises. It can be that ‘Ali confused the name with that of either Khwaja Mahmud [son of] Ishaq Shihabi (137 below) or his pupil Shah Husayn Shihabi (159 below) although he does note them as being pupils of a different master, namely Mir ‘Ali of Herat.

According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 90) Mahmud of Astarabd was the son of Ibrahim of Astarabd, 91 above. Another son of Ibrahim was Mawlana Isma’il who wrote in ta’liq.

According to Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 9) one pupil of ‘Abd al-Hayy was Mawlana Mu’ in Isfizari. The Qadi names two pupils, Shaykh Muhammad Tamimi (84 above) and Mawlana Mir Muhammad of Qum, *munshi* (87 above).

Elsewhere called ‘Ubaydullah (see the Qadi, 100 and Sayyid Ahmad’s preface in Thackston, 23). In version H of the Qadi’s text, the name reads “‘Abdullah.”

Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 10) notes the name as Farid al-Din Ja’far and mentions two pupils of him: Mawlana Azhar, whom he calls Zahir al-Din Azhar, and Mawlana Ja’far Khalifa, Mawlana Ja’far’s eldest son. The Qadi (Minorsky, 64) mentions one Mawlana Ja’far of Tabriz whom he identifies as a pupil of Mawlana Shams al-Din Mashriqi Qatta’i. Later, on page 100, he mentions another Mawlana Ja’far and identifies him as a pupil of ‘Ubaydullah, son of Mir ‘Ali of Tabriz, and Mawlana Azhar. Sayyid Ahmad (Thackston, 24) also records Mawlana Ja’far to be a pupil of Shams al-Din Qatta’i (spelled Qattabi). Huart (210), thinks it possible to identify this second Ja’far as Hekim Ja’far of Herat, head of the library of Baysunghur. In ‘Ali, there is no mention of a Mawlana Shams al-Din Mashriqi Qatta’i or a Ja’far of Herat and the head librarian of Baysunghur is noted to be Ja’far of Tabriz, number 77 in this appendix. Sayyid Ahmad (Thackston, 24) says that Ja’far of Tabriz was the teacher of ‘Abdullah Tabbakh (Ashqaz, 39 above) “and all the other calligraphers of Khorasan.”

Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 10) mentions Mawlana Azhar, whom he calls Zahir al-Din Azhar, as a pupil of Mawlana Ja’far as well. According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 100), however, Master Azhar was one of the masters of
Mawlana Ja’far. Huart calls Master Azhar in one place (208) pupil of ‘Abdullah son of Mir ‘Ali, 76 above, and in another (215) a pupil of Hekim Ja’far of Tabriz, 77 above. As Azhar’s pupils, Dost Muhammad mentions one Mawlana Miraki as the son of Mawlana Azhar. Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) notes Sultan ‘Ali of Qain (104 below), Sultan ‘Ali Sabz of Mashhad (124 below), and one Shaykh Muhammad Imami as well as his brother Ghayullah Imami.

**viii** In his preface to the Amir Husayn Beg Album, Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) says that ‘Ali of Mashhad did not actually study with Mawlana Azhar, but his line of tutelage goes back to him, because he practiced from his writings and specimens.

**xiii** Probably due to a clerical error by either Ḍali or Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) masters of ‘Yari and ‘Ayshi are switched in their texts. Malik of Daylam notes Yari to be student of Qasim Shadishah, 113 below. As a pupil of Muhammad Khandan he names ‘Ayshi, 130 below.

**xix** According to Dost Muhammad, Muhammad Nur was a pupil of Mawlana Mu‘in al-Din Wa‘iz and one Khwaja Ibrahim (a single dated work found in Istanbul, TSM H. 2154, fol. 144a, dated 933/1527-28) was his pupil.

**xx** Ḍali mentions Shah Mahmud twice; first, with uncertain relation to ‘Abdi of Nishapur (folio 45a) saying “Mawlana ‘Abdi of Nishapur, [was]...according to some, the noble master of Shah Mahmud.” Then, further down (folio 48b), probably to be on the safe side, he lists Shah Mahmud among the pupils of Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad. Sam Mirza (246) also mentions the calligrapher as a pupil of ‘Abdi of Nishapur, who was a direct pupil of Sultan ‘Ali. Malik of Daylam records Shah Mahmud as a contemporary of Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad and pupil of Ja’far of Tabriz, 77 above. Shah Mahmud was one of the masters with whom the Qadi practiced calligraphy, and the latter refers to him (135-38), as Mawlana Nizam al-Din Shah Mahmud Zarin-qalam. The Qadi, who practiced calligraphy with Shah Mahmud, seems to be a reliable source in this case, and he also mentions his master as a pupil of ‘Abdi of Nishapur. Huart (239) mistakenly notes Shah Mahmud as a pupil of Mir ‘Ali and Sultan ‘Ali.

**xix** According to Donald Muhammad (Thackston, 11) Qasim son of Shadishah was a pupil of Mawlana Sultan Muhammad Nur, 109 above and also received instruction from Mawlana Sultan Muhammad Khandan, 108 above.

**xxi** Probably due to a clerical error by either Ḍali or Malik of Daylam texts (Thackston, 21) masters of ‘Ayshi and ‘Yari are switched in their texts. Malik of Daylam notes ‘Ayshi as a pupil of Sultan Muhammad Khandan, 108 above. As a pupil of Qasim Shadishah, he mentions Yari, 126 above. Huart (220) notes ‘Ayshi as a pupil of Qasim Shadishah and as a protégé of Malik of Daylam, and writes that Ayshi was employed at the court of Shah Isma’il as a garde du corps.

**xxi** The Qadi (Minorsky, 75-76) notes a Mawlana Muhammad Husayn, known as Bagh-Dashi to be the son of Mawlana Muhlai and as “one of the later calligraphers of the resident of Herat” who wrote extremely well in thuluth, riqa‘, and naskh.

**xxiv** Version Ark 1302 (21a:1) records the name as “Mir Hibatullah of Tabriz.” In other versions of the text, Hibatullah is consistently mentioned to be of Kashmiri origin.

**xxv** In Jawahir al-akhbar (f. 110), Bugaq Munshi of Qazvin notes that Rustam Ḍali taught Bahram Mirza.

**xxvi** Probably with an attempt to trace the line of tutelage back to Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad, Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) mentions Ishaq Shihabi to be one of two most famous students of Sultan ‘Ali (the other, he notes, was Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad, 138 above).

**xxvii** The Qadi (Minorsky, 99) mentions Muhammad Husayn as the son of Mirza Shukurlah of Isfahan. According to Huart (230), Muhammad Husayn was the son of Mawlana ‘Inayatullah of Tabriz and a pupil of Mir Sayyid Ahmad. Versions Ark 1302 (20a:6) and EH 1231 (50b:4) erroneously note the name as “Muhsin.”

**xxviii** Sayyid Ahmad was the master of Qadi Ahmad. Probably with an attempt to trace the line of tutelage back to Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad, Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) mentions Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad to be one of two most famous students of Sultan ‘Ali (the other, he notes, was Ishaq Shihabi, 137 above).

**xxix** In his preface to the Amir Husayn Beg Album, Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21), with reference to Rustam Ḍali, 115 above, notes that the latter was the intermediary through whom Hafiz Babajan Udi (83, under masters of nesta‘liq), Malik of Daylam himself, and Master Muzaffar Ḍali (170 below) all derived their training from Sultan ‘Ali [of Mashhad]. According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 75), in the early days of his career, Malik of Daylam practiced thuluth and naskh with his father Mawlana Shahra-Mir of Qazvin.

**xxx** For another Muhammad Amin, see pupil of Mawlana Muhammad Baqir, 221 below.

**xxxi** Versions Vn (50b:5), Ark 1302 (22b:3), and EH 1231 (54a:13) all note the name as “Dervish Husayn of Kashmir.”

**xxxi** This Qasim Ḍali might be the same person as Qasim ‘Ali the binder, 287 below, although while mentioning him among binders, Ḍali does note that he was a pupil of Mirza Beg of Tabriz.

**xxxi** The Qadi (Minorsky, 73-74) mentions a Hafiz Qanbar Sharafi as a pupil of Mawlana Pir Muhammad and Mir Maqbul of Qum and Mawlana Haydar of Qum as pupils of Sharafi.

**xxxi** In a marginal note, T 9757 notes that Mir Shykh the Second learned the naskh hand from his father and nesta‘liq from Mir ‘Ali. According to Vn (44b:9-13) and EH 1231 (48b:13-49a:10), however, he learned the nesta‘liq from Mir Sayyid Ahmad of Mashhad, 138 above.

**xxxi** Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) notes Sabz ‘Ali to be a pupil of Mawlana Azhar, 103 above.

**xxxi** Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) notes him to be a pupil of Mawlana Azhar, 103 above.

311
Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 10) records his full name as Mawlana Nizam al-Din Abd al-Rahim of Kharazm and notes that he was a contemporary of Sultan ‘Ali of Mashhad. Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 21) mentions Anisi as a pupil of Mawlana Azhar, 103 above. He also says that Mawlana ‘Abd al-Karim Padishah, 184 below, was a pupil of Anisi, his brother.

According to Malik of Daylam, he was a pupil of his brother, Anisi, 183 above.

According to Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 9), Shihab al-Din ‘Abdullah Bayani learned the basic scripts from ‘Abdullah Ashpaz, 39 above and practiced the ta’liq hand from Khwaja Taj al-Din Salmani.

Vn (56a:14), EH 1231 (61a:13), and Ark 1302 (25a:13) all give the name as Ja’far.

The Qadi and Huart were also unclear about the single identity of Dost Muhammad of Herat and Dost-i Diwana (or Shaykh Muhammad Dost Qat’i). The Qadi (Minorsky, 146) notes that Dost Muhammad of Herat was a pupil of Qasim Shadishah, and Dost-i Diwana (180), a pupil of of Bihzad. Huart (211) writes of Dost Muhammad of Gushwan that he was a pupil of Mir ‘Ali died in 871/1466-67, and of Dost Muhammad of Herat (220, 235) that he was the son of ‘Abdullah and a pupil of Qasim Shadishah.

‘Ali appears to be the only author who records Pir Sayyid Ahmad as the master of Bihzad. In Tārīkh-i rashidi (Arnold, 189-91), Muhammad Haydar Dughlat names Mirak Naqqash (228, below) as Bihzad’s father and master, and gives a detailed account of him. Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 15) also agrees that Bihzad was the pupil and son of Amir Ruhullah (known as Aqha Mirak or Mir Naqqash of Isfahan). The Qadi (Minorsky, 180) treats ‘Amir Ruhullah and Mirak Naqqash as two different individuals, and notes that “The master had lost his father and mother in his childhood and was brought up by Master Mirak Naqqash, who was librarian to the late sovereign, Sultan Husayn Mirza.” Authors do not seem to agree on Bihzad’s pupils; Haydar Dughlat names Qasim ‘Ali Chihragushay and a second Qasim ‘Ali (the calligrapher Qasim ‘Ali, 152 or the binder Qasim ‘Ali, 287?), the Qadi names Dost-i Diwana (the painter), and Malik of Daylam (Thackston, 20) mentions one Master Muzaffar ‘Ali as both a direct pupil and relative of Bihzad. ‘Ali, on the other hand, names Shaykhzada Musawwir as a pupil of Bihzad.

Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 15) gives the name as “Amir Ruhiullah, known as Mirak Naqqash,” and notes that Bihzad was his son and pupil.

On f. 75a:15, the copyist of T 9757 mistakenly notes the name of the head painter of Shah Isma‘îl as “Master Husayn of Tabriz.” The second time where his name is listed among binders, it is given as Master Husayn of Qazvin. In the index to T 9757, the name is recorded only as Master Husayn of Qazvin. In versions Vn (58a:18), Ark 1302 (27a:7), and EH 1231 (63b:5) too the name is recorded as “Master Husayn of Qazvin.”

According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 187), he was a grandson and pupil of Sultan Muhammad of Tabriz, 236 above.

According to Sam Mirza (244) and Dost Muhammad (Thackston, 9) Muhammad Mu‘min of Khorasan (noted as Khwaja Nur al-Din Muhammad Mu‘min by the latter) was the eldest son of Khwaja ‘Abdullah Bayani (Murwarid). For Bayani’s other son, see, Mawlana Muhammad Taqyy-i Murwarid, n. 712 above.

According to the accounts of Sakisian (111) and the Qadi (Minorsky, 181, 186), Mirza ‘Ali of Tabriz was the son of Sultan Muhammad of Tabriz, 236 above. For evidence that appears to be supportive of this statement, see note 806 above.

The Qadi (Minorsky, 191) notes that he studied under Mawlana Muzaffar ‘Ali.

The Qadi (Minorsky, 155) notes that Ibrahim Mirza took lessons “for a few days” from Mawlana Malik and then practiced from the calligraphic samples of Mir ‘Ali.

Vn (60b:12) and EH 1231 (66a:5) give the name as “Hasan Beg of Tabriz.”

Ark. 1302 (28a:13) gives the name as “Rajab ‘Ali of Tabriz.”

According to the Qadi (Minorsky, 186) Shah Tahmasp was the master, and not a pupil of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz.