MORE QUR'ĀNS OF THE MAMLĀKṢĪ [1]

It is nearly twenty years since Qur'āns of the Mamlūkīs was published by the Alexandria Press, and almost ten since the second edition appeared, with a rather more ponderous title, under the auspices of the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, Riyadh. In the course of preparing the second edition it was possible to make a small number of corrections and alterations. However, it was not possible to draw attention to new manuscripts which had come to light by 1999. Since that date more have appeared, both Mamlūkī and Ilkhanid, so it seems a worthwhile exercise to mention their existence and bring the Catalogue section of the book up to date. I include some manuscripts of which I was not aware when the first edition went to press.

The majority are items which have passed through the rooms of Sotheby's, Christie's and Bonhain's auction houses. Some of the items described, I have been able to examine [2]. But for others I have had to rely upon the descriptions given by the cataloguers. In some cases it has not been possible to give proper names as accurately as I would have liked to, since sale catalogues rarely give dialecticals. Almost every item mentioned here is illustrated in the bibliographical reference to each. In many cases the reproductions are in full colour.

I have numbered the items according to where I think they belong, chronologically in the Catalogue section of the 1988 and 1999 editions of Qur'āns of the Mamlūkīs/Manuscripts of the Holy Qur'ān from the Mamlūkī Era. The numbering system is the same in both cases. Items which are not so numbered are not copies of the Holy Qur'ān, but are included because they may be relevant, from the points of script, illumination, scribe or patron. In general I have confined myself to dated manuscripts, though some undated items of exceptional quality have been included. All the sale rooms and manuscript dealers referred to below are in London. Where manuscripts have been fully catalogued, I have kept the information to the bare essentials, unless I think there is more information worth adding to what is already known, for example, 1a below.

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painter Muhammad b. Muhādir, who illuminated several manuscripts, including some of the volumes of the Qur'an of Bābūyār al-Jīnāghī of 703/1305–06, now in the British Library (MS Add. 22409). Fraser's argument is based largely on the use by both Ibn Muhādir and the artist of the Sam Fogg manuscript of the same underlying geometrical patterns and constructions. Despite Frazer's well-argued case, I am not convinced that Ibn Muhādir is the painter; I have made my case elsewhere, but I will sum it up in here [4]. It is difficult to associate two styles of illumination with a particular artist on the basis of the use of identical patterns, because there are only seventeen forms of two-dimensional pattern (it's a fact, whether the artist is Manūlīk or Aṭṭār [5]). Nevertheless, there are some motifs forming patterns that Ibn Muhādir uses in all his known works, like the interlocking "Y" motif, to which he seems to have been especially attached. I have looked at all the known works of Ibn Muhādir (I accept that there is not very much of them) and none of the distinctive decorative motifs he uses in all his known works occurs in the Sam Fogg manuscript, though some of underlying geometrical constructions are the same, as Fraser makes clear. Some features in the illumination of the Sam Fogg Qūrān do not appear in any known 14th-century Manūlīk manuscript (plate 1). Moreover, the style of painting, is generally much finer and looser than the known work of Ibn Muhādir. The colophon page is missing from the final section, but one day it may appear, hopefully to solve, once and for all, the question of the date of this superb example of Qur'ānic calligraphy and illumination. The calligrapher (and illuminator?) seems to be the same scribe who copied another double-volume Qur'ān in the al-Qāhirah National Library, No. 112 which the late Martin Ling visited dated to the early 13th century in his catalogue to the 1976 Qur'ān exhibition [6]. Ling examines the manuscript in the Qāhirah, but according to a conversation I had with him, some months before his death, it was never sent to London by the authorities of the National Library. All my efforts to obtain photographs of this manuscript from the al-Qāhirah National Library have so far failed.


No. 1b.
Origin: Manūlīk, Shīm.
Date: Second half of the 15th century.
Contents: Part 14 from a thirty-part copy of the Qur'an.
Size: 22.9 x 16.0 cm.
Folios: 21.
Lines per page: 9.
Script: muḥāqqaq, headings in gold thulūth.
Scribe: Fatima bint Ḥassan.
Comments: A rare example of a Qur'an copied by a female scribe, bound in what appear to be the original covers. If the colophon is genuine, the manuscript is an early example of Manūlīk book art from Shīm, and the earliest recorded copy of a Qur'an from Manūlīk Dirāshah. According to the sale catalogue, the scribe was born in Dimişa in 619/1223 and died in 700/1300, and is mentioned by Ibn Khālīkhūlā, though she does not appear to be included in his Wilāyāt al-yāma ("Obitaries of the Famous") nor is she mentioned in the Taḥṣīlī-yā ṣaḥāḥī ("The Gift of Calligraphers") by the 18th century historian, Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Ḫālidī, who wrote that she was born in 680/1282, and who works confines itself to mentioning only 80 famous people from all preceding centuries as well as his own, Fatima bint Ḥassan must have achieved outstanding status by the latter date. But the fairly hand of this manuscript does not look like the work of a major calligrapher, rather a relatively competent one. The catalogue reproduces the binding of the manuscript.

Bibliography: Sotheby's, 19 October 1994, Lot 25 [7].

No. 1c.
Origin: Manūlīk, al-Qāhirah, the Mosque of Šīq al-Dīqā (the Goldsmiths Market).
Date: Ramadān 701 / May 1302.
Size: 39.0 x 37.0 cm.
Folios: 485.
Lines per page: 11.
Script: muḥāqqaq.
Scribe: Muḥammad b. {Name not visible} b. Qāsim al-Maṭyāriṃī.
Comments: This is the earliest known, dated Manūlīk Qur'an. The style of illumination differs from the next earliest, the Qur'an of Bābūyār and from all others produced in al-Qāhirah by the group of scribes and artists associated with that manuscript [8]. This style does not reappear in any other Manūlīk Qur'ān known at present, though we must accept that others may exist, or have existed. Nevertheless it is the styles of the illuminators Ali b. ʿAlā al-Sulṭān and Muhammad b. Muhādir that prevail in al-Qāhirah-produced manuscripts of the first quarter of the 14th century. The Bābūyār Qur'ān was probably produced in the Mosque of al-Ḫilāl in al-Qāhirah. This copy of the Qur'ān (7a) was produced in the Mosque of the Goldsmiths Market, which was an appropriate location given the amount of gold used in "luxury" manuscripts, such as these large and lavishly produced Qur'āns. Some scribes and illuminators were from families with gold smith connections, for example, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Sulṭān, "the son of the goldsmith" [9]. The scribe of this ancestor came from al-Maṭyāriṃī, a town in the Fayyūm, which was also the origin of the copyist of a Qur'ān in the Kāthā Collection, Qur'ān 317: Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maṭyāriṃī [10]. The two may have been distant relations.

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Script: excellent gold kasāb. 

Bibliography: Christie's, 2 October 1992, lot 261.

No. 36. 
Origin: Mamlūk, Dimashq. 
Date: 707/1311. 
Contents: single volume copy of the Qurʾān. 
Size: 33.5 × 24.0 cm. 
Folio: 246. 
Lines per page: 13. 
Script: kasāb. 
Scribe: Mālik b. Ḥaṣan b. Ḥarrūs. 
Illuminator: the same.

Comments: If this manuscript is genuine, it would appear to be so, it may be necessary to reconsider the question of illuminated manuscripts produced in Dimashq in the first half of the 14th century. Manuscripts associated with Dimashq which are illuminated in the same style as that of opening pages of the text of 21a bear dates in the third quarter of the 14th century. I have clearly described this style elsewhere, and there is no need to repeat it here [20]. The decoration of the opening pages of text in a Qurʾān in the Khalili collection, are virtually identical and must be from the same workshop as 21a [21]. The latter manuscript is not dated, but it is clearly related to one that is: a Qurʾān dated 739/1338—39 and now in the Barranes Museum, Tehran [22]. If the decoration on the opening folios of 21a was not added a few decades after its completion, — to embellish a manuscript by a famous calligrapher — (and this needs to be established) it means that in Dimashq, unlike al-Qahirah, some manuscripts continued to be decorated in a style which hardly changed for 30 years.

Bibliography: James, Manuscripts of the Holy Qurʾān, cat. No. 2; Christie's, 15 Oct 2002, lot 43.

No. 9a. 
Origin: Mamlūk. 
Date: 721/1321. 
Contents: single volume Qurʾān. 
Size: 17.4 × 12.0 cm. 
Folio: 238. 
Lines per page: 15. 
Script: kasāb. 
Comments: This manuscript produced a copy of the Kitāb al-muḫāṣṣab (“The Abroidgement”) of al-Qudurī [23], for a Mamlūk amīr, Sayf al-Dīn al-Khayyat, nāʾib al-malāzir al-Manṣūr, who was probably al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Abī Bakr (749—41/1340—41), though could have been al-Manṣūr Lājīn (696—98/1297—99). There are close parallels between this manuscript and a very fine Qurʾān dated 713/1313 [24].

Bibliography: Sotheby's, 27 April 1994, lot 15.

No. 12. 
Origin: al-Qahirah. 
Date: 730/1330. 
Contents: single volume Qurʾān. 
Comments: When I examined and then described this manuscript in the Keir Collection, I followed B. W. Robinson who gave the scribe's name as Bilbik (with a question mark) [25]. But having looked at the inscription in the Ḥāshī madāhara of sulṭān ʿIṣām al-Qurʾān in al-Qurʾān, at Doris Behrens-Abouseif's suggestion, I think it most probable that the scribe of the Keir manuscript and the building superintendent (gāhib al-ʿimāra) of the sulṭān ʿIṣāmah masqūd-ḥudūd are the same person. The archellogist ʿIṣāmah ʿAbd al-Wahhāb who first published the inscription in 1944, read the name as Muḥammad b. Ḥūlī b. Bilbik al-Mashhūrī. [26] But the superb stucco inscription is in ǧāfīf, without diacritical points, so this reading of the name is still not absolutely certain. When we come to examine the written sources for the period, it is evident that there was some confusion. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb who first published the inscription in 1944, read the name as Muḥammad b. Ḥūlī b. Bilbik al-Mashhūrī. [26] But the superb stucco inscription is in ǧafīf, without diacritical points, so this reading of the name is still not absolutely certain.


Origin: Mamlūk. 
Date: 709/1309. 
Contents: prayer book.
was probably intended as a gift for the sultan from his grateful official. Thus the copyst of the Keir manuscript was not a professional scribe, but like many officials, he wrote a fair hand. He may have had some interest in manuscripts and illumination, because as Aboueif points out in her forthcoming book on the Mamluk architecture of al-Qahirah, some of the surface decoration of salād Harun’s complex whose construction he supervised is clearly based on manuscript illumination [28].


No.: 16a.
Origin: Mamluk, al-Qahirah.
Date: 732/1332.
Contents: a copy of the Qur’an in two volumes.
Illuminator: the same.
Binder: the same.
Present location: al-Qahirah National Library.

Comments: This is the only published reference to what must be a fine large-format manuscript. Al-Kurdi does not give the measurements or other details, merely noting that the two volumes are kāhiriyāt al-qāmyi “of large size”. Unfortunately no acquisition number is given for the manuscript. But the other information which the author gives is of importance. He says that the manuscript was completed by the scribe, who was also the illuminator and binder “in sixty days”. According to al-Kurdi, he completed all tasks within that time; not merely the act of copying. The “patron” is given as al-Maqriz al-Ashraf. This is probably a conventional term of address, the “Most Honourable Abode” similar to al-Maqriz al-Ajam, the “Most Glorious Abode” [29]. It probably refers to salād al-Nasir Muhammad (708—40 / 1309—40, third reign), or one of his emirs. But, if al-Ashraf is taken to be the throne name (taqab) of a Mamluk salād it may refer to al-Ashraf ‘Ali al-Dīn Kūkūk (741/1341) or al-Ashraf Nasir al-Dīn Sha‘bīn II (764—77 / 1363—76). The latter endowed several earlier manuscripts to both his mother’s and his own mawdū‘as. In this case he would be the donor and not the patron. Al-Kurdi does not make this clear. Large-format double volume copies of the Qur’an are rare and Sha‘bīn’s endowment to his mother’s mawdū‘a in 770/1369. This manuscript, al-Qahirah National Library 9, is unsigned and undated, so it cannot be the one mentioned by al-Kurdi [30]. Theoretically, the manuscript could have been delivered by a qur’ān detective al-Qahirah National Library. But as readers are probably aware, such queries usually lead to naught.


No.: 22a.
Origin: Mamluk, the Umayyad Mosque, Dimashq.
Date: ca. 730—41 / 1330—40.
Contents: single volume copy of the Qur’an.
Size: 32.5 x 22.5 cm.
Folios: 396.
Lines per page: 15.
Script: muhaqqaq.
Present location: Khurshadīnī Collection, London, Qur 807.

Comments: An important manuscript because the scribe says exactly where he copied the Qur’an, the Umayyad Mosque, Dimashq. Many Qur’ans were unquestionably copied in mosques, but in only a few instances is this stated. Furthermore, the scribe was of Iranian origin though whether he or his ancestors came from Khurshadīnī is, as present, unknown.


No.: 23a.
Origin: Mamluk.
Date: ca. 741—61 / 1340—60.
Contents: single volume copy of the Qur’an.
Size: 45.0 x 38.5 cm.
Folios: 279.
Lines per page: 13.
Script: muhaqqaq.
Present location: the al-Aqṣā Mosque Library, Jerusalem, MS No. 16.

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Comments: The manuscript was endowed to the al-Aqṣā Mosque, Jerusalem by qādī Shams al-Dīn Mūsā b. Tāj al-Dīn Abū Iskandar al-Makhzūmī (d. 770/1369). According to Salama he was adhar of Dimashq in 771/1368.


Origin: Mamluk, al-Qahirah or Dimashq.
Date: 741/1340.
Contents: al-Kurdi’s ‘anāf al-taṣālīl (“The Unveiling of the Meaning of the Revelation”) of Abī al-Qāsim Mahmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamānī; Sharī‘a

Comments: The illumination of this manuscript is related to that found in later Qur’āns of the “star-polygon” group. Although the quality is not of the same level of the copy of Ibn Khādir’s Bālāyka wa al-nahda, listed below, its early date makes it worthy of further study.

Bibliography: Sotheby’s, 27 April 2005, lot 10.

No.: 25a.
Origin: Mamluk.
Date: 762/1360—61.
Contents: single volume copy of the Qur’an.
Size: 24.0 x 18.0 cm.
Folios: 398.
Lines per page: 11.
Script: at the top middle and bottom: muqattā‘ (7), in between: a smaller script (7)

Comments: The illumination reproduced in the sale catalogue is typical of that found in manuscripts of 741—61 / 1340—60 [31]; a style which may have originated in Dimashq, and later became typical of Qur’ans made in the 760s / 1360s, the so-called “star-polygon” style. The scribe, or his ancestors (as his nīsha‘ shows) originally came from al-Maswīlī. We know that scribes and illuminators moved to the Mamluk sultanate from ‘Ifrīqī throughout the 14th century.


No.: 28a.
Origin: Mamluk, al-Qahirah.
Date: ca. 761—81 / 1360—80.
Contents: single volume copy of the Qur’an.
Size: 30.0 x 38.7 cm.
Folios: 279 of pink paper.
Lines per page: 5.
Script: muhaqqaq.
Comments: Qur’ans written on pink paper are among the finest Mamluk examples made during the reign of Shams al-Sabī‘īn II. This is a very good example of a Qur’an in the “star-polygon” style.


Origin: Mamluk, al-Qahirah.
Date: Rajab 767 / March 1366.
Patron: Yalbughā al-Athākhī.
Comments: Another manuscript from the time of Sha‘bīn II, important for being fully documented. The name of the patron of this manuscript can be read in the central panel on the opening folio. He was the adhar of ‘Umar Sha‘bīn and was involved in the defence of al-Iṣkanidaryya against the Lusignan “crusaders” of Cyprus who launched an assault against the city in 767/1366. Yalbughā was murdered soon afterwards on the order of the sultan [32].

Bibliography: Christie’s, 13 June 1983, lot 63.
Supplementary Manuscripts from 'Iraq, Iran and Anatolia in the Same Period

People involved in manuscript production travelled between the Manilkul sultanate and other areas of the Near East throughout the fourteenth century. Most of the traffic seems to have been into the areas controlled by the Manilkul, rather than out of them. Thus, scribes, artists and craftsmen trained in the traditions of Iran and Anatolia came to work in al-Qhira and Dimasaq. Manuscripts from those areas also found their way there. I include here some important manuscripts which supplement the non-Manilkul part of the 1999 edition.

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same patron. Ten sections of this manuscript survive. All were probably taken to Istanbul after the Ottoman capture of Tabriz in the 16th century but several found their way to Germany and Denmark in the subsequent centuries, probably as gifts or by purchase. The interest of these fragments is that they come from a lost section, and are quite possibly all that survive from this section which would originally have had between 65 and 70 folios. The fragments bear the final part of visā 4, minus the two final words and the first eight of visā 5. There would have been a large marker separating the two visā that means the intersecting missing words would have made up at least two lines of text and more probably three. As each page has only five lines of text, the two fragments cannot have been on the same page surface. The catalogue entry says the fragments are "lined down on conservation paper", which implies that originally there was one fragment which has been split. The fragments seem to be of identical shape and size, apart from some damage to the right-hand lower corner of one, which probably happened in the course of splitting. There are, therefore, three lines missing from the lower half of each side, one of which would also have had a fine marginalia to indicate the beginning of the fifth visā.

Bibliography: James, Manuscripts of the Holy Qur'ān, cat. No. 40, Sotheby's, 15 October 1988, lot 18.

No. 45a.
Origin: Eshqâbâd, Hamadân.
Date: 718/1313.
Contents: part 7 from a thirty-part copy of the Qur'ān.
Size: 39.0 x 38.5 cm.
Folio: 382 unnumbered.
Lines per page: 5.
Script: gold rayhân.
Present location: Malîk 'Abd al-Azîz Library, Madîna.
Comments: At first glance these pages look as if they are part of the famous copy of the multi-part Qur'ān made in Hamadân in 712/1313 and probably sent as gift to sultan al-Nâsir Muhammad, who in turn gave it to his then favourite, Bâzîmîr al-Sâqî for his tomb and mausoleum, and which is now in the al-Qâhirâ National Library [39]. This is understandable as the Madîna manuscript was copied and illuminated by the same scribe-illuminator, whose name is found on most of the thirty sections of the al-Qâhirâ manuscript [40]. The main difference is that all lines of text (also written in gold with black vocalisation), in the latter manuscript are placed within gold and blue panels on every folio, including the opening ones to every section. In the Madîna manuscript there are no such panels. The al-Qâhirâ manuscript is slightly larger, measuring 56.0 x 41.0 cm, but the pages of the Madîna manuscript may have been trimmed when being rebound. The number of folios is not given in the Rayhân catalogue, but more appear in the catalogue illustration, beyond the page reproduced. The colophon is not reproduced in the Rayhân catalogue, merely the scribe's name: 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Mahmûd Bade al-Hamadânî [41]. But the name "Badr al-Hamadânî" directly after the name "Ibn Mahmûdî" is contrary to normal scribal practice unless, perhaps, the word "itive" has been omitted before the name Bade by the author of this entry in the catalogue. A possible explanation may be that the manuscript actually has the same colophon as the al-Qâhirâ copy, namely: khitabu wa gharbâhul... 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Mahmûd Bade al-Hamadânî bi-Hamadânî "'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Mahmûd wrote it and illuminated it in the Dir al-Khayrî in Hamadân," the Dir al-Khayrî being the foundation established there by the famous waźâlî and historian Râghî b. Dhâbih. Either due to damage, or perhaps a misreading by the author of the catalogue entry, bi-dir al-Khayrî bi-Hamadânî has become bâbûk al-Hamadânî bî-Hamadânî [42]. I am in the process of obtaining more some information on these pages [42].


No. 45b.
Origin: Eshqâbâd, Bagîdîd.
Date: 713/1313.
Contents: single volume copy of the Qur'ān.
Size: 24.0 x 17.5 cm.
Folio: 295.
Lines per page: 13.
Script: mahâqqaq.
Comments: If this is not a misunderstanding of the name of the scribe of 45b (or vice versa), then I suggest that Sayf al-Dîn al-Bagîdîtâb may be the father of Muhammad b. Sayf al-Dîn al-Nâqâhî, who illuminated several manuscripts by the famous Bagîdîtâb calligrapher 'Arqîn al-Kâmînî under the Jâlîyîdîs, between 735/1335 and 741/1341. There are known [43].

Bibliography: Christie's, 13 October 1998, lot 22.

No. 45c.
Origin: Eshqâbâd, Bagîdîd.
Date: 713/1313.
Contents: single volume copy of the Qur'ān.
Size: 23.5 x 17.5 cm.
Folio: 295.
Lines per page: 13.
Script: mahâqqaq.
Scribe: Sayf al-Dîn al-Qâhirî (7) al-Bagîdîtâb.
Comments: An important manuscript because it gives scribe, date and location. If a manuscript has previously passed through a safe room, its subsequent re-appearance in a sale is always noted in the catalogue description. As there is no mention here of any earlier appearance in the Christie's sale of October 1988, we must assume that 45a and 45b are two separate manuscripts, despite almost identical codicological details and the similarity of the names of the scribes.

Bibliography: Christie's, 29 April 2003, lot 14.

Origin: probably Bagîdîtâb.
Script: Gharbâhî [b. 'Abd Allah al-Kâmînî].
Comments: The manuscript looks genuine and can be added to the corpus of material by this famous calligrapher.

Bibliography: Christie's, 15 October 2006, lot 62.

Origin: probably Bagîdîtâb.
Script: Gharbâhî [b. 'Abd Allah al-Kâmînî].
Comments: The manuscript bears a note by Ahmad Kâmînî (1278—1359/1862—1941), rûîr al-khâjîyâlînî, Chief scribe of the Ottoman Court, declaring it to be authentic. There were enough manuscripts passed through by al-Kâmînî, genuine and otherwise, for him to compare the hand, if he was not already familiar with it [44].

Bibliography: Bonham's, 14 October 1999, lot 520.

Origin: Iran.
Date: 745—46/1344/45.
Author and scribe: Hâfiz Allah b. Yahâyâ b. Muhammad called "Imâd al-Khâliî".
Comments: An interesting example of mid-fourteenth century, probably İraqî, book art. The scribe was also the owner and his name is contained in a six-pointed star medallion on the opening folio.


Origin: İraqî, Şîrîz.
Date: Rabî' 753/ May 1352.
Comments: A manuscript of İraqîs called "Qâhirî al-Shîrîzî".

Bibliography: Christie's, 13 October 2004, lot 11; R. Femand, Islamic Calligraphy (London, s. a.), No. 30.
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No. 71.
Origin: Injīd al-Saj′ī; Ģị́ţrāz.
Date: ca. 736—85 / 1336—57.
Contents: parts 10 and 14 from a copy of the Qur'ān.
Patron: Evidently begun for Fārs Malīkh Kāhtān, daughter of Mshhīdī-Jalīhā Injīd (738/1338 and 740/1340) and sister of Abī 'Iyābha Injīd (742—58 / 1342—57) ca. 736/1336 and completed for the Mshshīfīr wa-l Šūrī Tārīn-Shāh after 738/1337.
Present location: Khalili Collection, London, Qey 182.
Comments: Two more parts from a manuscript, most of which is the Fārs Museum, Šīrāz. There was some doubt over the exact provenance of this manuscript when I published it in 1989 in Qur'ān's of the Mamluks, but by the time the second edition appeared it had been possible to examine, clean and read the painted-over inscriptions in these aţā'ī, which consist of a waqfīya in the name of Fārs Malīkh Kāhtān who seems to have ordered the Qur'ān after 736/1336 [46].


No. 71a.
Origin: 'Irāq or Irān.
Date: 780/1378.
Contents: a miniature copy of the Qur'ān.
Size: 5.7 x 4.1 cm.
Folio: 23.
Lines per page: 21.
Script: naskh.
Scribe: Abū-Hasan b. 'All called “Ibn al-Sa'yād al-Bāni al-Baghdādī”.
Bibliography: Sotheby's, 3 May 2001, lot 16.

Origin: probābly Erezincan, Anatolia.
Date: 769—770 / 1370—71.
Present location: Mevlāna Museum, Konya, 68.

It is interesting to see the similarities between Anatolian and contemporary Mamluk illumination in the 760s—1360s and 770s, though there are differences. The knots which are extensively used in Anatolian manuscripts are not so common in Mamluk work. Binders also worked as illuminators. In a Qur'ān dated 714/1314 [47] the binder, also a Suyūtī, "Abū Aḥmad al-Salawat al-Halabī, was the illuminator. We do not know if this was the case here. The fact that the binder came from Hamadī indicates that some craftsmen involved in manuscript production moved between Anatolia and the Mamluk sultanate. Būhtānī al-Amrīdī is the best known example in the 770s—1370s. But more work needs to be done on this connection along the lines already initiated [48].

Bibliography: Z. Tanrıönder, “Semtin an Mervev'in Kitabıdan," M. Uğur Durmuş 65 Yıar Armakaza 165th Birthday Fest-
schrift, ed. by J. C. Schick (Istanbul, 2008), pp. 513—36, fig. 3; Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600—1600, ed. by D. Rosborough (London, 2005), No. 92.

Notes
2. My thanks to Sam Fogg and Will Kwiatkowski for showing me Nos. 1a and 3a, and to Gemma Allen and Bernad O'Kane for their help.
5. F. Holroyd, Just Seventeen—The Geometry of Patterns (London, x. a.)
6. M. Lingis, Y. H. Safadi, The Qur'ān, a British Library Exhibition (London, 1976), No. 62. The small reproduction in this catalogue is the only picture of the manuscript available. Apart from the script and aţā'ī markers, which (to me at least) look very similar to those of the San Fogg manuscript, the al-Qur'ān Kāhtān is also copied in two volumes which was very rare, and both are manuscripts of the Holy Qur'ān, cat. No. 69 and idem, The Master Scribes, No. 30.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

THE LIFE OF THE TEXT AND THE FATE OF TRADITION. VIII:
CRITERIA OF LANGUAGE NORM IN THE ASSESSMENT OF MASTERS
OF PERSIAN GHAZAL OF THE 11TH — EARLY 18TH CENTURIES

The study of a literary language of a former era can be conducted in several directions. As this involves linguistic facts of a certain era recorded in written monuments, it is possible to make a linguistic description of the information contained in them. A traditional philological and purely literary description of the same body of written texts will also be just as appropriate. In our case, the object of research is poetic texts in New Persian (dast, farsiye dast), which began to form as a unified literary language in the 9th—10th centuries, and the area of research can be characterized as philological in the wide sense of this word.

The process of the formation of New Persian as a language of refined literature has been studied in Iranian studies at all stages of its development, and so we can limit ourselves to references to authoritative studies of previous decades [1]. The task of the present work is much more modest and narrow: to trace the evolution of ideas about a normative (standard, modern) language in one of the most productive forms of Persian classical lyric — ghazal — on the material of statements by the masters of ghazal of the 11th—17th centuries themselves.

Any poetic tradition developing within a traditional type of artistic conscious forms a list of rules for dealing with language, which is a general guide for everyone who writes in the literary language. This kind of precept exists in the form of theoretical works addressed to the participants of the literary process and directed towards developing skills of poietical “development” of a common language. Besides theoretical and literary-critical means of reflecting ideas about the norm of the poetic language, the opinions of the poets themselves are strengthened in the tradition, as they express directly in the work with the use of figurative speech. We will restrict our investigations in this direction to ghazal, in which the corresponding motifs have quite strict localization and can be easily singled out in the text.

In the Persian classical ghazal, starting from the 11th century, the circle of motifs for describing modern poetic creation gradually forms. By the 13th century, the motifs of authorial self-awareness are fully established in the canon of ghazal and occupy a certain position in its structure, as they are connected with the signature of the poet (naghvahu), which traditionally marks the end of each poem of this form. Genetically in the ghazal these motifs, which are one of the components of the self-praise of the poet (fatih) and grouped around the author’s “signature”, come from the corresponding motifs of the panegyric qasida, where they frequently overshadowed the request for reward for the poems, which was masterfully inserted into the text. The adaptation of motifs of self-praise to the standard structure of the ghazal, which was originally a form of love lyric and retained love themes for centuries, required their transformation in accordance with the new thematic and stylistic environment.

In court poetic culture, the ghazal was primarily a genre designed to delight, and so in the poetry itself and the theoretical judgments of ghazal, it is ascribed qualities which enable a harmonisation of human nature. The renowned poetry theorist of the 13th century Shams-i Qays al-Rūz writes:

“As the aim of ghazal is to calm the thoughts and delight the soul, it should be supported by a pleasant, euphonious metre, smooth sweet words and transparent settled meanings. When composing it, one should avoid ugly words and discordant sounds” [2].

The performance of ghazal to the accompaniment of musical instruments, among which poets mention the barbat, chung, rubâh, tanbûr, ‘âd and others, was a stable tradition throughout the classical Middle Ages. This practice was also one of the reasons for a demand in musicality and smoothness in the poetic language of the
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