or end of a letter. Here, the term is clearly juxtaposed to _tashmir_ and refers to flattening or opening up the end of the letter.

Clearly, these terms could be used at different times for different effects. They are metaphors created to express the inexpressible.

14. The modern Iranian scholar and expert on calligraphy, Mahdi Rayani, _Avval wa dath-i khushnavisian: nasta'iq nivisian_ 2nd edn (Tehran, 1365/1986), 123-33, enumerates twenty-seven examples of Yaqut’s work, compiled mainly from Iranian and Turkish collections. Other works are in Western collections and are slowly being brought to public attention. One piece in the Art and History Trust Collection, for example, was recently published by Absalá Soudavar, _Art of the Persian Calligrapher: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection_ (New York, 1992), no. 169. This collection is on loan to the Freer and Sackler Galleries in Washington, DC, which also has a collection of verses by the Persian poet al-Hadira signed by Yaqut (1378) see David J. Roxburgh, “Our Works Point to Us: Album Making, Collecting, and Art 1427-1565 Under the Timurids and Safavids” [Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996], fig. 20.

15. D. S. Rice, _The Unique Ibn al-Bawwab Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library_ (Dublin, 1955), Blair, “Yaqut and his Followers.”

16. David James made a stab at distinguishing Koran codices in Yaqut’s hand from fifteenth-century copies in a short essay, “The Problem of Yaqut al-Musta’ simi,” _The Master Scribes: Qur’ans of the 10th to the 16th Centuries_ 40, ed. Julian Raby, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (London, 1993), 58-60. His attribution of TRS EH 74, a manuscript dated 693/1294 [Martin Lings, _The Qur’anic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination_ (London, 1976), pls. 36-7], as a fifteenth-century copy makes sense, for the script has particularly long, sweeping tails; they are not found in other _naskh_ manuscripts associated with Yaqut, but are characteristic of fifteenth-century work [see below, p. 264 and Figure 7.10].

Scholars working on Western manuscripts have devised other methods as well. The Codex Vaticano, one of three early codices of the Bible, for example, is ascribed to two hands. Trained in the same scripatorium, their letter forms are virtually indistinguishable, but their work is recognizable by the patterns of the decorative talpiece, or coronis, that they drew at the end of each book of the Bible. Once identified by their art, it is then possible to distinguish individual methods of filling the line and punctuation. The same methodology can be applied to the Codex Sinaiticus to distinguish four hands. See Thomas S. Pottie, _The Creation of the Great Codexes_, in _The Bible and the Book: The Manuscript Tradition_, ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly van Kampen (London, 1998), 61-72.

17. One of the Persian manuscripts in Yaqut’s hands is a copy of Salid’s _Giliban_ dated at the end of Ramadan 668/May 1270 in the Gulistan Library, Tehran, illustrated in Sif, _Calligraphy_, p. 39. According to the article, Badri Atabai prepared a facsimile of this manuscript, published in Tehran in 1346/1967, but that work was unavailable to me. Later copies of Yaqut’s work, such as a manuscript of _A’zgī_ (Abd al-Azīz Kashi’s _Rawzat al-nazir_ wa ‘uzbat al-khatir) (Paris, BN, ms. or. arab 3166), Richard, _Splendeurs_, no. 31, also show that Yaqut knew both languages, see Blair, “Yaqut and his Followers.”


19. Colophons in later manuscripts by Yaqut’s followers indicate that he took a month and a half to pen a _juz’_, see below, p. 253.

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30. The medium-sized manuscript (24 × 17 cm) with five lines of _muhaqqaq_ script per page and the date 681/1293–4 has survived in Istanbul (KRS EH186 and EH137). Dublin [CBL 1452], and London [Khalili QUR593]. See James, _Master Scribes_, no. 11.

31. Koran manuscripts signed by Yaqut in _naskh_ include one in the shrine library at Mashhad (no. 108) with a colophon whose date of _rajab_ 605 (January–February 1208) seems most improbable, although the manuscript has a long endowment by the Qajar ruler Fath ‘Ali Shah (Ahmad Gulchin-i Mā’āni, Rāmānī-yi ganjī-yi qu’ān [Mashhad, 1347], no. 44, an entry that includes a list of fifteen other Koran manuscripts by Yaqut). Two manuscripts in the Topkapi Library (EH 74 and 76 dated 669/1370-1 and 693/1393-4) are illustrated in color in Lings, _Qur’anic Art_, pls. 24–7, though the former may be a fifteenth-century copy (see above, note 16). Another dated 690/1391 in Istanbul University Library is illustrated in M. Ugar Dermer, _The Art of Calligraphy in the Islamic Heritage_, trans. Mohamed Zakariya and Mohamed Asfour (Istanbul, 1998), no. 23. The best published manuscript by Yaqut is a Koran codex in _naskh_ (BN, ms. arab 6716) dated Maharram 688/February 1290, for which see Martin Lings and Yasin Safadi, The Qur’an (London, 1976), no. 59. François Déroche, _Les Manuscrits du coran, du Maghreb à l’Insulinde, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes_ (Paris, 1984), no. 525, splendid and majesté: _Corans de la Bibliothèque Nationale_ (Paris, 1987), no. 30.

A copy in the Shrine library at Mashhad (no. 120), dated 686/1387–8 is done in _rayhan_, Gulchin-i Mā’āni, Rāmānī, no. 46, Lings, _Qur’anic Art_, no. 18. Another dated 685/1386 in Istanbul (TIEM 307) is illustrated in Dermer, _Art of Calligraphy_, nos. 35–6.

32. No surviving Koran manuscript by Yaqut bears an indication of the person who commissioned or first owned it. To judge from the large number, the small size, and the single-volume format, we can suggest that they were made for a broad audience of private connoisseurs, but such a supposition needs confirmation.


34. The pages in the copy in Mashhad in _rayhan_ (no. 120) also measure 35 × 35 cm, whereas those in the dispersed multi-volume manuscript are larger (25 × 16 cm). The pages in the Paris manuscript are smaller, measuring 19 × 15 cm.

35. Even an odd number is not standard, for the manuscript in Paris has sixteen lines per page. The dispersed copy in large _muhaqqaq_ script has, correspondingly, fewer lines per page (five) and therefore required much more paper: each of the thirty parts has fifty-eight folios ([making a total of 1,740 folios]).

36. This _vor huk_ was used since the tenth century for various letters, including _ra_ and _sa_, and therefore became standard for _ra_ and _sa_. From the eighteenth century, it was often sprinkled on the page as a space filler. See Dermer, _Art of Calligraphy_, nos. 8–11.

37. Y. H. Safadi, _Islamic Calligraphy_(Boulder, CO, 1978), 30, says that _rayhan_ was written with a pen half as wide as the one used for _muhaqqaq_. He cites no sources, but such a calculation could be made by measuring extant examples. According to Faza’i, the renowned
expert on Iranian calligraphy, muhaqqaq, and rayhan have similarly shaped letters but different proportions: alif is eight dots high in muhaqqaq, but only five dots high in rayhan. See Pazi, Ift, Tafriti Khat, 213-33; also reproduced as fig. 38 in Youssef's article on 'Calligraphy' in BfR.

20. Ruba'i, no 48, translated by Annemarie Schimmel, 'The Book of Life: Metaphors Connected with the Book in Islamic Literatures,' in The Book in the Islamic World and Contemporary East, ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany, 1987), 73. The image must refer to a colored page, in which the ground was pink and the writing dark green. The image calls to mind the cut-out gardens known from later Ottoman albums (see Chapter 11), in which case the script must have been done in cut-out.


22. Vlad Aranasiu, 'Hypercalligraphie: le phénomène calligraphique à l'époque du sultanat Mamlouk' (Paris, 2003), 100-5, was one of the first to discuss these differences in the serifs used by Yaqut. For a general survey of the serif in Arabic scripts, see Adam Gacek, 'The Head Serif [Tarwa] and the Typology of Arabic Script: Preliminary Observations,' Manuscrits orientaux 9, no. 3 [September 2003], 27-33.

23. These unauthorized connections can be exaggerated. In the word wall, for example, the final ya' can be written in the assimilated (muta') form when it precedes a word beginning with the definite article al- and the alif connected to it. See Yaqut's calligraphic specimen in large alif (alif maqdis) in Youssef's illustration, p. 22.

24. This feature happens regularly in the gold headings in the Paris manuscript, in which the heads of letters like jin, sad, and ta' are filled with black.

25. See, for example, the page from the Tehran manuscript illustrated in Lings, Qur'anic Art, pl. 23. A page from a similar manuscript in Istanbul dated 685/1286-7 [TIEM 607] shows the same exploitation of the margin, with the last letter of the final word in the line written in the margin; illustrated in Ayman Fuad Sayyid, al-Khâb al-gazalî bi-makhtât wa 'lim al-makhtâtât (Cairo: Al-Dâr Al-Misriyya al-Lubnânîyya, 1997), pl. 11; Derman, Art of Calligraphy, no. 26.

26. Ibn al-Bawwab made even bigger mistakes. In one place (fol. 20a) where he had repeated several words in manuscripts by Yaqut, at the bottom of the verso, he covered the redundant lines with an opaque ornament. In another place (fol. 137b) where he had omitted a verse, he added the text in the margin, surrounding it with a tabula ensata. To show the ready - where the missing words, he replaced a ten marker in the text with a rosette. These corrections were done in the same inks, pigments, and style as the text itself, so, as Rice argued, they must have been the work of Ibn al-Bawwab himself.

27. It is likely, though not yet proven, that another person added the illumination. Yaqut is not known to have been an illuminator, and the illumination differs in the various manuscripts in his hand, suggesting the work of various individuals. Nevertheless, we still need a detailed examination of pigments and inks used in manuscripts by Yaqut, that is, the script that Rice did for the Ibn al-Bawwab manuscript in Dublin.

28. These rosettes might also be a means of distinguishing Koran codices by Yaqut from later copies. The rosettes in EH 74, judged to be a later copy on the basis of its script, are sometimes filled with floral design.

29. Istanbul, TKS, H3130; see Roxburgh, 'Our Works Point to Us,' Chapter.
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Iraq and Iran and eventually to India, leadership in the Baghdad hospice passed down through his family. After Abu Haš' Umār died in 1334, his son 'Imad al-Dīn Muhammad (d. 1357), our scribe's grandfather, took over as leader of the Bihār al-Ma'muniyya in Baghdad. Muhammad was succeeded in turn by his son ʿAbd al-Rahman, perhaps the Yahya mentioned as Ahmad's father. Ahmad, as a fourth-generation member of the Suhrawardi family descended from the order's founder Abu Haš' Umār, was therefore called shaykhzadā, literally 'son' or 'descendant of the shaykh.' Ahmad's descent in the Suhrawardi line is confirmed by the further epitaph at Bakri, used in the colophon here. This was the epitaph borne by the twelfth-century originator of the Suhrawardi ī'tiqā, Abu'l-Ḥajī.


Galistan-i Husār, 125; Calligraphers and Painters, 60-1. Ahmad is said to have designed the 12th-century inscription of Sura 18 (al-Kāfīr, the Cave) that masons reproduced in baked brick on the congregational mosque in Baghdad.

46. The single-volume manuscript of the Koran dated 703/1302-3 in CBL 1467, see James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, no. 37, who expresses some doubt about its authenticity. The calligraphic specimen dated 702/1303-4 in TKS, H1156, fol. 93a. The Šufi treatise dated 732/1332-3 in TKS, Ahmed III 1543.

47. For the Koran manuscripts, see James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, nos. 37, 39, and 48.

48. This slant is most clearly visible when one can see the inked letters from the opposite side of the sheet, as on the page reproduced in James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, fig. 59, where the two strokes from opposite sides fall at the same spot to form a V-shape with a 10° angle between them.

49. See, for example, the kafs in the third and fifth line of the page reproduced in Lings, Quranic Art, pl. 48 and the colophon to Ḥanṣ 13 illustrated in James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, 235.

50. James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, 78-93. Derman, Art of Calligraphy, nos. 29-30.


52. James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, no. 40.

53. The dispersed thirty-volume Koran manuscript by Yaqūt is copied on paper one-eighth baghdadi size, as are other illustrated manuscripts made there, such as copies of the Rasa'il Ikhwan al-asfa ḍ dated 686/1287-8 (Istanbul, Suleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 366; Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, 98-101) and the Marzubānīnai dated 699/1299 (Istanbul, Archeology Museum Library, ms. 216; Simpson, The Role of Baghdad).

54. The manuscript [James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, no. 49] bears several certificates of commissioning in the sultan's name at the front of several volumes. It was then endowed to his tomb at Sultanayn, for two of its sheets contain certificates of endowment to his noble tomb (al-trwah al-shafī'ī) in the pious foundation (abwāb al-bīṭ) that the sultan had founded there.

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The manuscript was probably commissioned soon after the outset of construction. According to Ulijaw's official biographer, Abu'l-Qasim al-Kashani (Abu'l-Qasim 'Abdallah Muhammad Rashādī, Tārīkh-i Ulijawī, ed. Mahbūba Ḥanbī [Tehran, 1348/1969], 47-8), the sultan visited the site on New Year's Day I Muharram 705/24 July 1303, and construction started soon thereafter. Folio 54a of the first jiʿār in Leipzig (Gereon Sieverich and Hendrik Budde [eds], Europa und der Orient [Berlin, 1989], fig. 31) bears a small inscription beneath the illumination saying that it was written at Baghdad in 706/1306-7. The use of gold also connects this manuscript to the Mongol patronage; for the Mongols considered gold an imperial color (see Thomas T. Allsen, Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization [Cambridge, 1997], 60-3). Once endowed to the tomb at Sultanayn, the manuscript seems to have remained there intact until the twelfth century. Adam Oleaci, one of the ambassadors to Persia from the Duke of Holstein, probably saw it there in 1657. According to his account (Travels, 1665: 250-1, cited in James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, 254, n. 14) 'our author [Oleaci himself] observed several books half an ell square, written in Arabic characters the length of a man's finger with black and gold lines alternately, he even procured some leaves of them which contain a paragraph upon the Koran called the "Candle of the Heart" and these are to be seen in the Duke of Holstein's library.' Oleaci may be referring to jiʿār 24 of this behemoth Koran, part of it is now in Copenhagen (Royal Library, Nr) and may have been brought back by Oleaci to the Duke of Holstein, who was also the King of Denmark.

55. The Mamluk sultans ordered similar multi-part manuscripts of the Koran, such as the one copied by Yaqūt's follower Ibn al-Wahid for Baybars al-Jahnicī (Figure 3.1).


57. James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, Chapters 4 and 5 calls them 'the imperial Korans of Iran and Iraq.'


59. Likewise, the illumination in several of the single-volume manuscripts of the Koran penned by Aqrab al-Kamili is signed by Muhammad ibn Sayf al-Dīn al-naghib (the designer), and the same style of illumination in other manuscripts signed by Aqrab al-Kamili suggests that the same illuminator was responsible for all of them.


61. Volumes in a Koran manuscript made for Toshi Khatun at Shiraz (James, Qur'ān of the Mamluks, no. 69), for example, were not transcribed in chronological order.

62. By way of comparison, the great Japanese calligrapher Fujisawa Sadanobu (1068-1156) is said to have taken twenty-three years to transcribe the entire Buddhist canon of 5,048 scrolls. He used a semi-cursive script on elaborately decorated paper that was dyed gray or blue and mica-stamped with pagodas. See Miyoço Murao, The Written Image: Japanese Calligraphy and Painting from the Sylvan Barnett and William Barto Collection (New York, 2002), 32 and nos. 3-6.

63. Just as Ahmad al-Suhrawardi was one of three calligraphers canonized
as the followers of Yaqt in Iraq. Haydar was one of three in Iran; the other two were Muharrashkah and Yusuf Mashadhi. See Blair, *Yaqt and His Followers*.


65. No calligraphic specimens signed by Haydar are known, but the three earliest albums compiled under the Timurids (TKS: B11, D3310, and D3353) all contain specimens signed by Muhammad ibn Haydar al-Husayni dated in the eight-month window between Shawwal 716 and Rabi' II 718 (December 1316–June 1318). Could he be the son of the calligrapher, known from architecture and texts, as Haydar?


The earlier of Haydar's two signatures occurs at the end of a band dated 709/1309–10 across the northern iwan of the mosque in the shrine complex at Natanz. For the Suhrawardi-shaykh 'Abd al-Samad. See Sheila S. Blair, *The Ilkhânid Shrine Complex at Natanz, Iran* (Cambridge, MA, 1986). The magnificent inscription in *thuluth* has tall letters with elaborate curls at the top of the stems, the whole set on a scrolling double arabesque decorated with flowers. The spaces between the letters are filled with knots. The signature, squeezed at the end of the inscription, gives Haydar and his father's kunya. Illegible, it might be read as *Asil-i-Din*.


68. The same eulogies are used in several calligraphic specimens signed by Muhammad ibn Haydar [see above, note 67], suggesting that the two personalities might be connected.

69. In addition to these bands in *thuluth*, the mihrab also contains an inscription in stylized *kafl* with knotted stems in a horizontal band above the inner arched niche. It contains the Shi'i profession of faith that there is no god but God, that Muhammad is His prophet; *Ali is His friend. The rectilinear style of the script stands out in juxtaposition to the *thuluth* used elsewhere in the mihrab and shows how by this period *kafl* was relegated to short and familiar texts, particularly religious ones.

70. On the role of paper designs, see Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper: The Transformative Medium in Ilkhânid Art*, *Beyond the Legacy of Geoghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff [forthcoming]. Haydar was only one of several calligraphers active in Iraq and Iran in the early fourteenth century whose designs were executed in stucco. Another is Muhammad Shah *naqshab* (the designer). Muhammad Shah's name occurs at the end of a magnificent Koranic inscription in *thuluth* that was executed in cut-plaster around the iwan of the shrine for *Fār-i Bakran* at Liran near Isfahan, for which see Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, pl. 397, Entezam Combe, Jean Sauvageau, and Gaston Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'epigraphie arabe* [Cairo, 1931], no. 5314; Sheila S. Blair, *Artists and Patronage in Late Fourteenth-Century Iran in Light of Two Catalogues of Islamic Metalwork*, *Bull. of the Sch. of Oriental and African Studies* 48, no. 1 (1985), 53–9. Muhammad Shah was a well-known Calligrapher: he transcribed a poetic anthology in *nasîh* dated 699/1300 [CIIH, ms. pers. 105] as well as a copy of Juwayni's *Târikh-i jahângush* penned the year before; see Arthur J. Arberry, *M. Minovi, and E. Bloch*, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin, 1959–61), 6–7. The authors there suggest that Muhammad Shah may also have transcribed the first [at least, first known] illuminated copy of Bal'ami's Persian translation of Tabari's Annals in the Freer Gallery of Art, for which see Priscilla P. Soucek, *The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions*, in *Contest and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek [University Park, PA, and London, 1986], 193–218; Teresa Fitzherbert, *Bal'ami’s ‘Tabari’*: An Illustrated Manuscript of Bal'ami’s *Tarjaman-yi Târikh-i Tabari* in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (1997), 67–109 and 30.31; Ph.D. dissertation [University of Edinburgh, 2001].


72. This page was published most recently in Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni [eds], *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Architecture in Western Asia, 1226–1333* (New Haven, 2003), no. 37.


74. The treatise, *Risâla-yi adab-i khatt or adab-i mushq*, has been published recently by Najib Mayil Haravi, *Risâla-yi adab-i khatt-i 'Abdallah Sayrafi Tabrizi*, *Wafq Martyh-i āvâdân* 4 [Winter 1372/1994], 128–36, on the basis of three Iranian copies dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The introduction has three sections describing the science [ilm] of writing, how to make ink, and how to cut the pen. The first section of the treatise lists the scripts and their names, first the rectilinear *muqâl* and *kafl* and then the six round scripts used since the time of Ibn Muqla. A second section describes the principles of writing, each letter following the next. The last section describes how to join two letters, the second how to join more than two letters, and the third how to begin and end letters. Clearly and elegantly composed, the treatise confirms the canonization of Yaqt's methods in Iran by the fourteenth century.

75. Elt, *Abdallah Sayrafi.*
76. According to both Dust Muhammad and Qadi Ahmad, "Abdallah Sayrafi studied with Haydar, beginning as a master of inscriptions intended to be executed in glazed tiles. Abdallah Sayrafi is said to have designed the inscriptions for many buildings in and around Tabriz, including two commissioned by descendants of Amir Chupan. One was the Dimashqiyah Madrasa, commissioned by his daughter Baghdad Khanum and the burial place of her brother Dimashq Khwaja, killed on the orders of the Ilkhanid Sultan Abu Sa'id in 737/1337. The other was the "Building of the Master and Pupil" (Tumat-i istad wa shugarî), so-called to commemorate the work of Abdallah Sayrafi and his pupil [according to Dust Muhammad, also his nephew], Hajji Muhammad bandir]. Also known as the "Ala 'ibard or Musharghaniyya, the building was constructed between 741-3/1340-1 in the name of the Ilkhanid ruler Sulayman ibn Yusufshah and financed by Chupan's grandson Hasan-i Kuchik.

77. Abdallah Sayrafi's earliest dated work to survive is an album page dated 710/310-1 (TKS 811, fol. 70b). His latest is a Koran manuscript dated 744/1343-4 (ITEM, no. 178).

78. CRL, ms. 1468; Arthur J. Arberry, The Koran Illuminated: A Handbook of Korans in the Chester Beatty Library (Dublin, 1967), no. 136; James Quins, 'The Manuscripts of the Ma'malik, no. 53. Each page measures 38 x 18 cm. This was clearly an expensive copy, probably destined for a royal foundation, perhaps the contemporary Dimashqiyah Madrasa.

79. Astani, Quis no. 279; Gulcin-i Mâ'ând, Rahnama, no. 47; Soudavar, 'Abu-Sa'idnam', figs. 54-5.

80. This skill is particularly clear from the colophon [illustrated in Gulcin-i Mâ'ând, Rahnama, 106, and Soudavar, 'Abu-Sa'idnam', figs. 14-15], written in thuluth, the script most frequently used for architectural inscriptions. In the penultimate line of the colophon, Abdallah Sayrafi ingeniously elaborated his signature by repeating the word above the line: the first first is the last syllable of his name al- Sayrafi, the second first is the first word of the date. He extended the tail of the final ya' backwards to the right in a long line. This mannered ya' with a long tail extending to the right, which serves here to separate colophon from text, became a hallmark of architectural inscriptions, where the tail serves as the baseline for a second line of script inserted above the first.

81. Extra headings in the ju' from Abdallah Sayrafi's Koran manuscript in Dublin [illustrated in Pope and Ackerman, Survey, pl. 938b; Arberry, Koran Illuminated, pl. 49] are done in a stylized kufic on a scroll ground. The scroll-like ground recalls architectural inscriptions, and the stylized kufic recalls the title over at least one illustration from the Shahnama manuscript, a scene of Nushirvan the Just (Cleveland Museum of Art 59.3350; Grabar and Blair, Epic Images, no. 54).

Based on his analysis of the first volume of the Great Mongol Shahnama, Soudavar enumerated several further characteristics of Abdallah Sayrafi's hand. He was one of the calligraphers of the many involved in the manuscript to use the old-fashioned dotted dal. He often wrote medial ba' in a graceful V-shape and occasionally piled three dots under sin as an upright pyramid. He also connected several letters. He used a compact and controlled curve for the so-called S-shaped connection, linking ra' and dal with final ha'. He also connected di' and dal. This ligature is typical of thuluth, as is his typical ra' with an upturned hook at the end, usually in the syllables far and ba'.

82. The same seems to be true of the three-volume copy of the Khati Samak 'Ayyar [Book of the Paladin Samak], done at Shiraz in the early fourteenth century [Brodie Ouseley, 379-91; B. W. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1938), 2-7], which also has different rulings in the third volume.

83. TKS 811, fol. 78b signed by Muhammad ibn Muhammad al- Prari in 748/1348-9. See Roxburgh, 'Our Works Point to Us', 666.

84. Robert Hillenbrand suggested to me that the term may have been used to indicate the varied cargo in these albums.

85. Four of the fancier albums [H2152, H2153, H3154, and H2160] were the subject of a conference held in London in June 1980. The conference papers, published as the first volume of Islamic Art (1981), dealt mainly with the illustrations, but two articles by Felix Canman, 'On the Contents of Four Istanbul Albums, H. 2152, 2153, 2154 and 2160,' Islamic Art 1 (1981): 31-6, and Zeren Tanrudi, 'Some Problems of Two Istanbul Albums, H. 2153 and 2160,' Islamic Art 1 (1981): 37-41, discuss the calligraphic specimens. More recently, Roxburgh, 'Our Works Point to Us' has painstakingly analyzed the contents of the three earliest albums [H2110, H2111, and H3152], which have frequently been pillaged, restored, and rebound. Between 1786 and 1790, for example, Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, Prussian ambassador to the Sublime Porte, removed folios from these albums in Istanbul, using the materials to make five more albums, which are now preserved in Berlin [Staatliche Bibliothek, Diez A]; see also David J. Roxburgh, 'Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and his Eponymous Albums: Ms. Diez A. Folos. 70-74,' Magnanska 12 (1995): 112-15. David J. Roxburgh, 'Bahrâm Mirzá and His Collections,' in Safavid Art and Architecture, ed. Sheila R. Canby [London, 2002], 37-42, has recently called attention to another, newly discovered album in Istanbul [TKS 8410] compiled for the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza with calligraphies by Yaqt and his followers.

86. Roxburgh, 'Our Works Point to Us', 582-3 and fig. 13. For details of the album and its composition in the early fifteenth century, see below, p. 261.

For a discussion of the tughra, see Chapter 8. To judge from the dates that Hajji Muhammad carried this epigraph, he must have worked in the Jalayirid chancery.

87. The Arabic root sh-r-i means to join, as in put or set together bricks; see Edward William Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1864), 1529. The epithet bandjir seems to be the equivalent of the modern bandjâli, someone who points between cement blocks. E. Steinigass, A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature [Beirut, 1973 [1893]], 205, defines bandjir as a fine cement made of chalk, with oil and cotton or on hair, employed in the construction of baths. Dehkhoda's multi-volume dictionary gives much the same definition: bandjir (also known as pabî, pabû), a compound made up of lime, animal fat, cotton, and hair that is used in battlements or small pools to prevent water from leaking. [thank Ali Banuazizi for this citation.] The noun band also refers to a joint in pottery; see Hans E. Wulff, The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations (Cambridge, MA, 1946), 165-6.

The same epithet bandjir turns up in the inscription on the stupendous stucco mihrab added to the mosque at Marand in 731/1330 with the name of the artisan Nizam al-Tarihizî, Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet, RCEA, no. 4615. The mihrab is illustrated and discussed in Pope and Ackerman, Survey, pl. 398 and 1097, n. 4, where the translation
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with blue, gold, and black rulings, were pasted on the page both horizontally and vertically without any border. The incomplete album contains runs by a single calligrapher, including specimens by Yaqut and at least eight other calligraphers active in the early fourteenth century. It also contains many works by Hajji Muhammad bandghr al-Tbrazi and Musharriff as well as copies of his works by two of his students and his son Shaykh Muhammad. Roxburgh suggested that this incomplete album represented the collection of family papers preserved by Hajji Muhammad Bandghr, his son Shaykh Muhammad. From signed works, we know that Shaykh Muhammad worked at the Timurid court, first for Timur and Khalil Sultan at Samarkand and then for Baysungur and Shahrukh at Herat, and the family collection of specimens may have been made into an album at a Timurid scripatorium in the early fifteenth century.

The first part of Bitt [fol. 1-71b], also incomplete, is more complex organized than the second part of the volume. In this part the individual calligraphy were attached to pre-existent folios made of crisp, polished paper and set within a paper border. The complex method of assembling the folios is matched by an equally deliberate method of arranging the calligraphies, with long runs of calligraphies by Yaqut and three of his followers, as well as works by the Timurid calligraphers Shams and Jaafar Bayanqur [the last were detached from the album by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and are now in Berlin]. This first part of album Bitt was largely assembled shortly after 837/1433, the date of the last dated work [fol. 56b], probably at Herat in the scripatorium sponsored by Shahrukh.

96. One of the best known compiled at this time was Muhammad ibn Hindushah Nakhshvar, Dasturt al-khath fi ta‘ir al-maratib [Moscow, 1964].

97. The number six was surely chosen to accord with the six scripts, on the problems of identifying the pupils, see, Bitt and his Followers.


99. See Bitt, ‘Our Works Point to Us,’ 644-771, for the contents.

100. See Bitt, ‘Our Works Point to Us,’ 644-771, for the contents.

101. The collection on the right in descending order, Muhammad ibn Mahmud Shah Khayyam, Na‘umi, Mansur ibn al-Quti al-Ruchbani, Yusuf al-Anvari, al-Waqaqish, Ma‘ruf al-Fallaq, Hajji Muhammad, and on the left side in descending order Hajji Muhammad, Ja‘far, Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn Ja‘far, Payandar Davarsh, and al-Anvari. One set on the left side may represent the work of three generations of the same family: Ja‘far, Mahmud ibn Ja‘far, Mahmud ibn Mahmud ibn Ja‘far.

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pointers’ is suggested, perhaps on analogy with the modern Persian band-kashi kardan [to point]. [I thank Robert Hillenbrand for this reference.]

88. According to the Turkoman historian Hafiz Husayn Karbalai (d. 988/1582), the author of a guide to the tombs of famous religious figures buried in Tabriz and its environs [308, cited in Muhammad Jav[ Mashku, Tarkhi-i tabri tayyeb-i qarn-i mubin-i hiri (Tabriz, 1352), 308], Hajji Muhammad bandghr designed the inscriptions for the Madrasa Qadhyana in the Chahar Matar quarter of Tabriz. He is also said to have assisted his master ‘Abb[alab Sayr[ in designing the inscriptions for the Madrasa of the Master and Pupil in Tabriz; see above, note 76.

89. According to ‘Ali Yazdi’s Zafarnama written c. 1435 [2:448, cited in Roxburgh, ‘Our Works Point to Us,” 63], Hajji Muhammad bandghr’s son Shaykh Muhammad is said to have written an enormous epistle [kitab] to the sultan of Egypt. The document measured three cubic [gaz] wide and seventy cubic [dhar] long. This story gets somewhat jumbled in at least one version of Qadi Ahmad’s treatise [Gusitan-i Husain, 35, Calligraphers and Painters, 65, n. 170], where it is confused whether Hajji Muhammad or his son was responsible. Qadi Ahmad also added that the letter was written in 788/1386 in gold ink [dhar]. Based on the gaz used by Yazdi’s contemporary, Hafiz-i Ahmad which measured 42 cm [see Sheila S. Blair, ‘The Mongol Capital of Sultaniyya, “The Imperial,”’ Iran 24 [1986]: 143], then this letter would have measured 136 cm wide. Such a document might well have been written in a large script like this one.

90. For example, in the revised version of his treatise [Gusitan-i Husain, 17, Calligraphers and Painters, 56, n. 155], Qadi Ahmad, after enumerating the Six Pens invented by Ibn Muq[i, added that ‘if you wished to write with a larger pen, the writing is tumar, and if the pen is finer the writing is ghubar. Thus the number of styles become eight, but the basic styles for which the inventor [Ibn Muq[i] has set canons are six. Both of these names, tumar and ghubar, were also used in Momak titles [see Chapter 8].

91. Golchini, 55.

92. The same thing happened to the Chinese calligrapher Wang Xi, whose work was canonized in the seventh century; he became the most famous calligrapher of all times thanks to the efforts of the Tang emperor Taizong (r. 626-49), who saw Wang's calligraphy, which was closely associated with the aristocracy of south China, as a symbol of national unification. See Robert E. Harrist and Wen C. Feng, The Embodied Image: Chinese Calligraphy from the John R. Elliot Collection (Princeton, 1999), 96. The Tang emperor apparently intruded from the canon all of Wang's works that did not fit in with the image of scholarly tranquility, see Wang, 'Taming of the Shrew.'


94. Soudavar, Art of the Persian Courts, no. 22.

95. Bitt is a composite of three separate parts, two of them themselves separate calligraphic albums [part three, an incomplete anthology made for the Timurid prince Iskandar Sultan at Isfahan, is not considered here], Roxburgh, ‘Our Works Point to Us,’ 60-9, speculated that the second part of Bitt [fol. 72a-71b and 16a-16b], the simplest, may be the oldest album to survive. In order to maximize the text, the individual specimens, which are backed with rough paper and framed
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103. Berin, Staatbibliothek Petermann I, 386, according to the colophon on folio 155r (reproduced in Soucek, 'Calligraphy,' fig. 5), his full name was Ahmad ibn 'Umar, known as al-Rumi.

104. Shirazi was already the center of a distinctive style of manuscript painting in the fourteenth century under the patronage of the Iranid dynasty. Manuscripts produced there show an exuberant, slabdash script marked by similar swooping curves. See, for example, Komaroff and Carboni, Legacy, figs. 181, 264, and 365. For Ibrahim Sultan's works and his atelier, which was directed by the illuminator Nasir al-Din Muhammad, see Francis Richard, 'Nasir al-soltani,' Nasir al-din Mozahheb et la bibliothèque d'Ibrahim Sultan à Shiraz,' Studia Iranica 30, no. 1 (2000): 87-104.

105. The small manuscript (38 × 11 cm) originally comprised two-volume (Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, Timur and the Princely Vision [Los Angeles, 1989], no. 25). The first volume (MMA 17.328.1) is dated 4 Ramadan 830/29 June 1427. Other examples of small Koran manuscripts from the Timurid period are illustrated in Linge, Qur'anic Art, pls. 86-88.

106. Eleanor Sims, 'Ibrahim-Sultan's Illustrated Zafar-Nama of 839/1436,' Islamic Art 4 (1990-1): 175-188; Eleanor Sims, 'Ibrahim-Sultan's Illustrated Zafar-nama of 1436 and its Impact in the Muslim East,' in Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, Supplements to Muqarnas (Leiden, 1995), 133-143. The calligrapher, whose full name was Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad ibn Shergi, was a native of Shiraz and a disciple of the mystic Sadr al-Din Ruhbani Shirazi. A well-known calligrapher in service to Ibrahim Sultan, he also wrote a treatise on calligraphy, Tubhit al-muhabbin (Gift of the Lovers), compiled at Bihar in India in 839/1434, see Richard, 'Nasir al-soltani,' Nasir al-din Mozahheb et la bibliothèque d'Ibrahim Sultan à Shiraz,' Studia Iranica 30, no. 1 (2000): 87-104, p. 90. See also Linge, Qur'anic Art, pls. 175-188.

107. A similar script is used, for example, in a copy of Ahmad's Iskandar-nama, recently attributed to Anotaria c. 1450 but with paintings modeled on the early fifteenth-century Shirazi style (Venice, Marciana Library XC, Ernst J. Grube, 'The Date of the Venice Iskandar-Nama,' Islamic Art 2 (1997): 187-203). Similarly, an illustrated copy of the Nizamnama made at Mamluk around the turn of the sixteenth century is copied in a similar style (Figure 9.10) and has illustrations in the Turkoman style associated with Shiraz. The origin of this style and its development in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts is discussed in Sims, 'Ibrahim-Sultan's Illustrated Zafar-Nama of 839/1436,' n. 10. To be explored further, but Richard's identification of the calligrapher Siraj al-Husayni as the author of the treatise Tubhit al-muhabbin, written at Muhammadabad in Bihar in 839/1434, shows one possible mode of transmission. The calligrapher not only made the pilgrimage to Arabia, but journeyed as far as India, where he wrote his treatise on calligraphy. However, the maps were made possible in part by the network of Sufi hospices that existed throughout the Islamic lands. The barma was popular for centuries, and it was in this milieu that the art of calligraphy flourished. The works of Siraj al-Husayni's calligraphy was strong, and his influence extended to the later Mamluk period.

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108. The Khurasan style of naskh can be seen in a manuscript of astronomical tables made for the Timurid prince Ulugh Beg, probably at Samarqand c. 1440 (Soudavar, Art of the Persian Courts, no. 25). Similarly, when the copy of the Zafar-nama made for Ibrahim Sultan was later taken to Herat, the calligrapher Darwish Muhammad ibn 'Ali added a 72-olio introduction dated Muhamm 885/March 1480 using the more fluid style of naskh.

109. Conversely, these diagonal bands also help scholars trying to reconstruct dispersed manuscripts, as the presence of a line with diagonal lines signals a missing page with an illustration. This was similar to a folio 2324, an entire page with diagonal bands, must have followed an illustrated folio, now missing, but whose paint has been offset on folio 2323.

110. Full text of this manuscript in Soudavar, Art of the Persian Courts, no. 30, and James, Master Scribes, 18-33 and nos. 3-4.

111. Gulistan-i Humar, 25, Calligraphers and Painters, 64. According to Qadi Ahmad, 'Umar 'Aqa was provoked into writing this enormous Koran manuscript because he had first produced a tiny one in ghubar script so small that it could be fitted under the socket of a signet ring. His patron, the warlord Timur, was not amused and did not reward the calligrapher, who returned to give him a huge manuscript. This part of the anecdote must be apocryphal, for such a large manuscript could not have been made without royal underwriting: the paper alone was prodigiously expensive.


113. The Koran stand, which measures 2.3 × 2 m, is illustrated in Lentz and Lowry, Timur, fig. 26 and Soudavar, Art of the Persian Courts, 59, fig. 3.

114. The seven-line arrangement was used, however, for the copy bequeathed by the Mamluk sultan Sha'ban to his mother's madrasa in Cairo (Cairo, DK 9; James, Qur'ans of the Mamluks, no. 31). The Mamluk manuscript, though one of the most magnificent and largest copies of its time, was transcribed on bifolios of full-boghidadi size, less than one-half the area of a single page in the Baysunghur Koran.

115. Such borders are necessary so that the reader can turn the pages without soiling the text. This reconstruction assumes borders of 3 cm on a side.


117. James, Master Scribes, 33-34, discussed the varied number of laid lines in the entire hundred pages of that have been examined by a paper conservator. Three pages have 4-5 laid lines per cm running vertically along the axis of the page, one other has 11 lines per cm. James concluded that the different papers were the result of different moments of production, the former belonging to the original manuscript and the later a nineteenth-century replacement.

Such a scenario is unconvincing for several reasons. First, it presupposes technical uniformity that is unlikely in such a mode of production. Given the need for so many molds to produce the 1,600 sheets

required for this manuscript, it is not surprising that they varied. Second, it ignores the technical proficiency (or lack thereof) of papermaking in Iran and Central Asia in the nineteenth century. In the mid-nineteenth century when papermakers wanted to reproduce the 'Great Mongol Shahname,' the only papers available were crumby Russian sheets so small that they had to be pieced together to make borders. Third, James' hypothesis of two periods of production ignores the uniformity of calligraphy found on all the pages. When nineteenth-century calligraphers copied replacement pages for the Great Mongol Shahname, the replacements are readily detectable. See Bloom, 'Great Mongol Shahname'; Blair, 'Rewriting.'

118. This page in the Art and History Trust Collection and on loan to the Sackler Gallery in Washington, DC (LTS 995.3.16.1), which comprises seven strips pasted together, was also published in Lenzi and Lowry, Timur, no. 6C; Soudavar, Art of the Persian Courts, no. 30; Blair and Bloom, The Art and Architecture of Iran, 1250-1600, no. 75. Other pages in the Khalili Collection (QUR 564) are made of four sheets patched together.

119. Some pages, such as one sold at Sotheby’s in 1988 [for which, see David James, ‘A Leaf from Baysunqur’s Great Qur’an,’ in Art at Auction, 1988-89 (London, 1989),] were redecorated in the Qur'an period.

120. One dated 827/1424, with pages measuring 82 x 62 cm, is in the Shrine Library at Mashhad [no. 414; see Gulchin-i Ma’ani, Rahnama, no. 61; Lings, Quranic Art, no. 81; The Arts of Islam, exhibition catalogue, Hayward Gallery (London, 1976), no. 534; Qadi Ahmad [Gulain-i Imam, 31, Calligraphers and Painters, 71] describes a large Koran manuscript measuring 3 cubits (shar) high by 1 1/2 cubits wide. The Timurid prince Ibrahim Sultan and endorsed to the shrine (masar) of Baha Lu’lu’ al-Din, was presumably made for Abu’l-Fath Musa’aiyar al-Din Hasan Bahadar Khan, presumably meaning the Agpoonsala ruler Usman Hasan [r. 1457-78], although his khan is usually Abu’l-Nasr Jamsh, Qura’i and Bindings, 75.] James, Master Scripts, 18, attributes this multi-part manuscript to the patronage of Usman Hasan’s son Ya’qub Beg.

Zayn al-‘Abidin is probably also responsible for a copy of the hundred aphorisms of ‘Ali collected by Rashidi-I Vatvat (Arberry, Master Scripts, 18, and Blochet, The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures, no. 126) dated by Arberry c. 860/1456."

121. E.g., TIEM 564, with pages 54 x 40 cm, Lenzi and Lowry, Timur, no. 19.

122. One part of a Koran code penned by Haji Muhammad’s son Shaykh Muhammad Dughra in 899/1496-97, now in the Shrine Library at Mashhad [no. 145], is entirely in gold; see Gulchin-i Ma’ani, Rahnama, no. 58.

123. Using kufic was a conscious archaism. It was revived occasionally for inscriptions. The manuscript of the genre is the foundation inscription dated 889/1435-6 from the minarets of the mosque of Gawhar Shad at Herat, for which see Bernard O’Kane, Timurid Architecture in Khorasan (Costa Mesa, CA, 1987), 73-4 and pls. 14-7. The designs plaited the stems to form a decorative middle bar between the small-letter bodies and the decorative terminals. This script, however, was rare, perhaps because it was difficult to read and still is: the photograph in Lenzi and Lowry, Timur, fig. 75, is upside down.

124. Dublin, CBL, 1499; Arberry, Kuran Illuminated, nos. 130 and pl. 1. The manuscript has a colophon with the name of the calligrapher Abdallah Haravi and the date 834/1430. He is probably to be identified as Shihab al-Din ‘Abdallah Haravi, one of the calligraphers who worked in the atelier of prince Baybars at Herat. Known as the cook [Arabic: tabbakh; Persian: ushabfi] ‘Abdallah is said to have studied calligraphy with Ja’far Baysunqur, the head of Baysunqur’s scriptorium, from whom he also learned the hanging nastaliq style [Thackston, Album Prefaces, 6, n. 20]. ‘Abdallah Haravi’s works range in date from 833/1430-30 [an album page in Tehran] to Rabi’ 1 1873/October 1467 [a Koran manuscript now in Nasib, CBR, 1571; Arberry, Kuran Illuminated, no. 141]. From Qadi Ahmad (Gulain-i Imam, 27, Calligraphers and Painters, 66), ‘Abdallah Tabbakh was a master of gold) sprinkling (alshar) and preparing the sheets for binding (vassaliy) on this work. See Yves Portejon, Painters, Paintings and Books: An Essay on Indo-Persian Technical Literature, 12-17th Centuries, 18-19th, in S. Butani [New Delhi, 1994], 118-19; he also designed inscriptions, including those for the shrine at Goharshad outside Herat and the Agaeche Mosque at Mashhad. David James, Qur’ans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library: A Facsimile Exhibition, exhibition catalogue (n.p., 1980), no. 61, thinks that the colophon is a fake but that the manuscript is nonetheless a fine example of sixteenth-century work but does not explain why he thinks so. Another similar Koran manuscript in Istanbul [TKS HS 4] is signed by Muhammad ibn Sultanah al-Haravi and dated 10-10-Ara 890/11-22 November 1485 [Derman, Art of Calligraphy, 46-47].

125. Two sections with juz’ 3 and 26 survive in Dublin [CBL, 1450-1500; see Arberry, Kuran Illuminated, nos. 147-8; Sousek, ‘Calligraphy,’ 12-13; James, Qur’ans and Bindings, no. 53.] James also mentions that a fine page of this manuscript was sold at Sotheby’s in July 1980.

The same scribe calligraphed another small Koran manuscript with interlinear translation Persian that was finished in Jumada I 876/October 1476 and endorsed by the Mughal emperor Jazanghi to the shrine library at Mashhad [no. 137; Gulchin-i Ma’ani, Rahnama, 64].}

Dedications on the first and last pages [one partly published by Fazl‘Ali, Abul Fathi ‘Ali b. Ghazi Musa’aiyar al-Din Hasan Bahadar Khan, presumably meaning the Agpoonsala ruler Usman Hasan [r. 1457-78], although his khan is usually Abu’l-Nasr Jamsh, Qura’i and Bindings, 75; James, Master Scripts, 38, attributes this multi-part manuscript to the patronage of Usman Hasan’s son Ya’qub Beg.


126. One page is illustrated in Sousek, ‘Calligraphy,’ fig. 3. There is an unauthorized connection between n and wa in yanzaru, the last word of verse 89 in the third line.

127. This is the case with the colophon to juz’ 3, reproduced in Fazl‘Ali, Atlas-I khatt, 133.

128. See, for example, the dismissive comments by Lings, Quranic Art, 171, n. 73.

129. This is the case, for example, with Dust Muhammad, writing in 911/1504 [Thackston, Album Prefaces, 8-9]; Mir Sayyid Ahmad Mashahi, writing in 973/1564-5 [Thackston, Album Prefaces, 24-5]; Qu’b al-Din Yazdi, writing in 964/1556-7 [Qu’b al-din Muhammad Qisaa-khwan, ‘Risali dar turk-ikh khatt,’ Sa‘han 17 (1566-1567): 680]; and Qadi Ahmad, writing c. 1015/1606 [Gulain-i Imam, 42 and 57; Calligraphers and Painters, 64 and 101].

A native of Isfahan, Taj al-Din became, according to Ibn Arabshah (cited in Sousek, ‘Calligraphy,’ 18 and n. 46), one of Timur’s court scribes.
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He earned the epithet 'qibla of calligraphers,' and later calligraphers copied his work. In 897/1492 Wali Bilani, for example, copied a calligraphic specimen that the Taj al-Din Salamir had penned in 831/1428-9 (cited in Baydari, 1285). No examples of Taj al-Din Salamir's hand are known. For Mir Ali, see below.

On this point, see Vlad Matisas, De la frequenc des lettres et de son influence en calligraphie arabe, preface by Francois Bodoche (Paris, 1910).

For the rare manuscripts, see Richard, *Naissance du nasta‘i‘iq.*

*Elz,* ‘Khatt ii.’ The longest discussion of this script is Fata‘ili, *Atlas du khatt,* 353-219. See also Elz, 393-46.


Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts,* no. 9; Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy,* no. 68.

The Ilkhanids often issued documents written in Mongolian, including two letters that Aghun and Uliyuyu sent to Philip le Bel in 1289 and 1301. See the color illustration in Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusaders: Islamic Perspectives (Edinburgh, 1999), pl. 4. For other examples in Tehran, see Paul Pelliot, *Les documents mongols du Musee de Teheran,* Athb-8 Iran 1, no. 1 (1916): 37-44.

James Boisson, *Texts and Literacy in the Mongol World,* in *Mongolia: The Legacy of Chinggis Khan,* ed. Patricia Berger and Terese Tse Bartholomew [New York, 1995], 88-95. Since it was so cumbersome, this script set into a square box was used mainly for inscriptions and seals alongside the regular Uighur script adopted by the Mongols to write Mongolian.

A decree issued in dual-Qa‘da 733/1327 by the Jalayirid sultan Ahmad concerning the hokseh (zawiyah) of Shaykh Sani at Ardabil [BN, supp. pers. 1650, Sourouk, *Calligraphy,* fig. 6], for example, is sealed with a large square box with the protection of faith, quotations from the Koran, and other pious phrases in Arabic. Arabic written in square kufic resembles Mongolian written in phagspha, so some authors erroneously call square kufic seal script and derive its origins from Chinese seals. Square kufic, however, was used in Iranian in the twelfth century, long before the introduction of phagspha for seals. Seals in square kufic were apparently adopted by others in the Ilkhanid realm. A small bronze seal with the name of the Sufi shaykh Abu Isma‘il written in retrograde [Copenhagen, David Collection, 7/1996; Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy,* no. 167] was probably used to stamp documents connected with his shrine complex at Kazuran in south-western Iran.

According to Qadi Ahmad (Golustan-i Human, 43, *Calligraphers and Painters,* 83) and his contemporaries [see also Thackston, *Album Prefaces,* 9, 35, and 33], ‘Abd al-Hayy was a native of Astaraahad who became world-renowned for writing the sultan’s correspondence, the Sultanih, and his genealogy. After the disastrous defeat of the Ilkhanids and the death of Abu Sa‘id at the hands of Uzbek Hasan near Qarabagh in Azerbaijan in 873/February 1469, ‘Abd al-Hayy went to work at the Akquyunlu court in Tabriz. He stayed there until the end of his life. Qadi Ahmad reported that ‘Abd al-Hayy lived until the beginning of the reign of Shah Isma‘il [r. 1501-24], founder of the Safavids dynasty. Having abandoned his court position and lived in seclusion, ‘Abd

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al-Hayy died in Tabriz in 907/1501-2, where he was buried in the funerary enclosure (hazrat) that he had built there.

From these biographical details, it is clear that the calligrapher and chronicler ‘Abd al-Hayy is, therefore, not to be confused with the painter Khwaja ‘Abd al-Hayy who worked for the Jalayirid Sultan Uways in Baghdad, was taken by Timur to Samarqand, and died there [Elz, *‘Abd al-Hayy*] nor with the amir Nizam al-Din ‘Abd al-Hayy Astarabad, a teacher and judge who belonged to a learned family from Jurjan, taught at ‘Ali Shir Nava’s madrasa in Herat, worked in the chancery during the reign of the Shibanid Muhammad Khan [r. 1500-10], and retired to Astarabad in 930/1523-4 (Khwandamir, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyyār,* ed. Muhammad Dahir-Siyyar [Tehran, 1353/1975], 461a and 673; Khwandamir, *Habibu ‘s-Sīrār Tiwān Tere,* trans. and ed. W. M. Thackston, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures [Cambridge, MA, 1994], 619-30).

According to Qadi Ahmad, the eastern style of ta‘liq was characterized by two features. The first was ratubah. The term literally means lush greenery and verdure. Minorsky translated it as lusciousness; in relation to calligraphy, it means softness. The adjective *marattab,* literally meaning wet and figuratively meaning round or plump, is the opposite of *yabis,* literally dry and figuratively sharp-edged. Of the scripts known as the Six Pros, *thuluth* was always *wet,* whereas *muhaqaq* was *dry.* The second characteristic of the eastern style of ta‘liq was *harakat.* Minorsky translated it as vocalization marks, such as *fathu, damma, kasra, sukun,* and *tawwun.*

The Safavid chronicler distinguished this eastern type of ta‘liq from a second variety used in the chanceries of western Iran and Iraq. It was distinguished by four characteristics, designated by two Arabic and two Persian nouns: *istikhān,* *pukhtu,* *usul,* and *chashni.* The first, *istikhān,* is an Arabic noun meaning intensification or strengthening. Minorsky translated it as firmness, meaning everything in tip-top shape. The second characteristic, *pukhtu,* is a Persian noun derived from the verb *pukhtan,* to cook or ripen. Minorsky translated it as maturity, in the sense that something is done really right with absolute mastery, like a concert pianist. It refers to the clear formation of the letters. The third was *usul,* translated by Minorsky as solidary, referring to the fundamentals or principles. It was one of the four terms used by Ibn Muqla and Yaquq. The final term, *chashni,* another Persian term translated by Minorsky as taste, also means relish, in the sense of leaving a good taste in the mouth.

Dust Mohammad [Thackston, *Album Prefaces,* 9] mentions that one of ‘Abd al-Hayy’s best students was Mawlana Mu’in in Isfahari [c. 1446-1510]. In addition to his skill at calligraphy, he was also a minor poet [writing under the pen name Nami] and a master of the epistolary art during the reign of the Timurid ruler Sultan Husayn [Elz, *Efsarrai.*] A specimen in his hand is preserved in one of the albums in Istanbul [TKS, Hā 161, fol. 183b]. According to the various sources, other practitioners of the eastern style of ta‘liq include Mawlama Darvish Abdallah Balkhi, Mir Mansur, and Khwaja Jan Dibril. An example of Darvish ‘Abdallah’s calligraphy dated 917/1511-12 is also preserved in one of the Istanbul albums [TKS, Hā 161, fol. 183b]. Qadi Ahmad’s list of calligraphers who followed ‘Abd al-Hayy includes Shaykh Muhammad Tamimi, son of Khwaja Jan Tughravay and head of the correspondence (hassbay) of the Turkman chancery, and Mawlama Idris, who wrote the
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correspondence of the Aqquyunlu rulers Hasan (r. 1357–88), Rustam (r. 1394–7), and Alvand (r. 1397–1400).

140. For the documents, see the list in Richard, "Divani or ta’liq," n. 10. The publication by L. Fekete and G. Hazai, Einführung in die Persische Paläographie, 101 Persische Dokumente (Budapest, 1971) of more than one hundred Persian documents, with text, transcription and translation, contains several issued by the Aqquyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1397–78).

141. The top of the document is missing, but probably contained an introductory title or prayer (du`a), like the one that the Aqquyunlu leader sent to Ishaq Pasha in 873/1468 with the typical titles of God, his Attributes, and his Alphabets. The opening three lines of Uzun Hasan's letter to his Ottoman contemporary and rival give the titles of the recipient, ending with his name Sultan Bayazid Bek at the end of line three. The titles are often in rhyming pairs, emphasized by the swooping tails of the last letters in the words, which are sometimes piled up on top of each other. The elongated strokes of the ba' and ka'f in bek single out the recipient's name. The first half of line four contains benedictions for the sultan, and the text proper begins after a short space. The right margin between lines five and six contains a typical elevatii, with God's epithets 'the giver, the beneficient' (waswib manun). The two-word phrase is to be read in the middle of line six after the word hazna, its place is marked by the two curved strokes below the line. Similar epithets of God written down in the margin, elevatii and shabnam, tala'ik shanah, are to be read in the middle of lines eleven and sixteen, but their place is marked either by a space or a curved arc above the line.

The ta'liq script resembles that used in the Ilkhaniid document but has even more stylized conventions, as, for example, the hook or squiggle at the end of lines four and five; it stands for the conjunction kha (that). Spaces are used to set off important names, as in line nine with Amir Timur, and six with ibn al-husayn, not only connecting them with ta'liq, but also piling up at the end of a line, as in line ten, with a second line next, opening with an important name or phrase. The last letter of the last word in a line is often extended. The scribe wrote each word on a slope, often without lifting the pen, so that there are many unauthorized connections, particularly with alif and final ha, which is regularly connected with dal in a circle, as in karda at the end of line ten. Alif has a hook to the left.

142. By studying these signed works, Bayani, Aḥval va athar-i khusna, 1367–75, was able to begin compiling a list of practitioners of the ta'liq style. His posthumously edited list includes the names of sixty-seven of the most important, though some of these entries seem to have been lost (it begins with the letter mim), and other names are known.

143. A fine poetic specimen penned by him is preserved in the Awar Museum in Istanbul, see Bayani, Aḥval va athar-i khusna, 1385.

144. Naim al-Din is not mentioned in the standard works on calligraphy but the Safavid historian Khwandamir included a note about the visier in his section on Sultan Ya'qub's reign (484; Khwandamir, Ḩabibiyya Siyar ʿArab-i Thoms, 583). According to Khwandamir, Naim al-Din had permission to sign and seal all Aqquyunlu edicts beside the royal seal. Of good character and conduct, he had a poetic nature and keen mind and was beloved by all. Examples of his work are preserved in two albums in Istanbul (r. 1375–87) and (r. 1385–96). Bayani [Aḥval va athar-i khusna, 1282–3, no. 58] considered them the finest examples of large and small ta'liq to survive.

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145. Since he gives his epithet as Bukhari, he is presumably not the same person as the `Abd al-Hayy from Astarabad who perfected the two varieties of ta'liq. Signed specimens do suggest that this `Abd al-Hayy was the father of the renowned Aqquyunlu scribe Sultan `Ali Qasim, for Sultan `Ali Qasim signed another calligraphic specimen in the same album (TK, Hs35, fol. 88b) as the son of Shaykh `Abd al-Hayy. Sultan `Ali Qasim came from Khurasan to work at the Aqquyunlu court at the same time as his father. Their life there was not easy, for Sultan `Ali Qasim had to entreat the ruler to pay him the seven thousand dinars outstanding from his back pay (the letter is preserved in Hs33, fol. 98b, Thackston, Album Prefaces, 48).


147. In particular, the two traits she identified are: (1) Slant. Although the letters alif, ka', and lam can stand straight in both scripts, in naskh they are often pitched slightly to the left, whereas in nastaʿlīq they are pitched slightly to the right. (2) Height. In nastaʿlīq, alif and the upright of ka' are proportionately shorter. (3) Sweeping cap. In nastaʿlīq, the horizontal stroke of ka' is longer and more sweeping, reaching closer to the line of script above. (4) Curve of the tail. In naskh, ta' and we are usually have a curved tail, whereas in nastaʿlīq these letters are shorter, straighter, and more sketchily drawn. (5) Joined forms. In naskh, connected dal has a tail that curves upward, but in nastaʿlīq, it is a straight line. (6) Separate form. In naskh, independent dal consists of two strokes, a horizontal one that sits on the baseline and another joined at a 45° angle to it, whereas in nastaʿlīq, this letter is less clearly defined and a 90° curve often replaces the sharp angle. (7) Teeth. In naskh, the teeth of ba', its sisters, and small shapes pointed, whereas in nastaʿlīq they are less sharply defined, shorter, and often rounded like bumps. (8) and (9) Elongation of letters and thickness of the line or penstroke. In nastaʿlīq, letters are often elongated and extended, and there is greater variation in penstroke caused by greater movement of the pen. Neither of these features is found in naskh. (10) Filling up of the word/adherence to the baseline. In naskh, the letters are set on the baseline to create a sense of horizontality, whereas in nastaʿlīq letters and words are piled up to create a hanging quality. (11) Combined effect of traits. In naskh, these features combine to create an overall impression of height and vertical axes, whereas in nastaʿlīq these traits combine to show a definite slant from upper right to lower left. (12) General impression of precision and control. Naskh is precise and controlled, often conveying lightness and rigidity. In comparison, nastaʿlīq is more casual, with greater freedom and expressiveness on the part of the scribe. Naskh gives a sense of being written slowly, with a definite consciousness of each letter's form, whereas nastaʿlīq gives a sense of being written quickly, with greater bravado.

In addition, Wright identified three letters that are peculiar to one or other of the two scripts. In naskh, medial ka' is often written with long parallel strokes that emphasize the horizontality of the script. In nastaʿlīq, both medial and final ka' are frequently written like a V. These letter shapes did not figure in her analyses of individual manuscripts.
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148. St. Petersburg, Salytkov-Schedrin State Public Library, Dom 406, Oleg F. Akimushkin and Anatolii A. Ivanov, *The Art of Illumination*, in The Arts of the Book in Central Asia 14th–16th Centuries, ed. Basil Gray [Boulder, CO, 1979], pl. VII. The author Khwa' i Imam al-Din 'Ali Falqi al-Kirmani (d. 1372) was a poet and mystic who directed a Suhrawardi khanqah in his native town of Kirman. He had close links to the contemporary rulers of Shiraz, the Injuids and the Muzaffarids [Elif: 'Emād al-Dīn 'Ali Falqī']. The manuscript was presented by the author to the vizier Amir Rukan al-Din Hasan at Shiraz. It also bears the same style of heading used in another manuscript of the poet's works (Bn, supp., pers. 743) copied by Mansur ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Husayn al-Tusi al-Rashtī for his son Rukan al-Din Abu Sa'id Muhammad at the capital (dar al-mulk) Shiraz and finished on 2 Muharram 786/25 February 1384 [Richard, *Splendours*, no. 27].

The document, discovered in the Sena Library in Tehran (no. 1672), was published by Fazā'ili, *Tārikh-i Khātīb*, 265 and translated by Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 37. For more on Ja'far, see below, p. 379ff.

150. I have modified the translation slightly from that given by Wright, *Calligraphers of Shiraz*, 24, only for readability.


154. Robert Hillenbrand has pointed out to me that the development of Western inlaid scripts has something of the same struggle between the desire to stick to the rules and the desire to tweak them, progressively from one generation to the next, and the desire to write a recognizably individual hand within these parameters.


156. The origin and development of the ghazal are as controversial as those of nasta'liq script. For a balanced overview of the various theories, see Elif, *Gazal*. Whatever its origins, the ghazal became the dominant form of love poetry in Shiraz during the lifetimes of its two undisputed masters, Sa'di [d. c. 1293] and Hafiz [d. c. 1350], the same period that saw the development of nasta'liq.


160. Mehnent Aga-Ogulu, *The Khusrav Wa Shirin Manuscript in the Freer Gallery*, *Ars Islamica* 4 (1973): 479–81; Soucek, *Calligraphy*, pl. I. This manuscript is one of the earliest to survive with goldlecked margins, but it is not known whether those margins were added when the manuscript was copied or when the manuscript was reworked in the Safavid period, see Sheila S. Blair, *Color and Gold*: *The Decorated Papers Used in Manuscripts in Later Islamic Times*, *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 79–90.

161. The latest addition to a long literature on Nizami is Kamran Talatad and Jerome W. Clinton [eds.], *The Poetry of Nizami Ganjavi: Knowledge, Love, and Rhetoric* [New York, 2000].

162. For a short biography of Amir Chasir, see Elif, *Amir Chasir Dablat*.


165. To add variety to the page, Mir 'Ali ibn Hasan used other scripts for headings and subheadings in the manuscript of Khusrav and Shirin. He penned headings in a stylized kufic, with very thin strokes, small letter bodies, elongated verticals, and floral decoration at the top of the stems. He penned subheadings in a script whose letters resemble those found in thuluth, but with unathorized verticals and typological riq'ī, as in the way that connects to the ی of ta'dī in the last word in the cartouche. At least one manuscript in the hand of 'Ubayyidallah (sometimes misspelled as 'Abdalallah, see Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, no. 37) has survived: a copy of the collected poems (diwan) of Ahmad Jalayir dated 809/1406–7 (TKS H909). The calligrapher twice signed the manuscript 'Ubayyidallah ibn 'Ali al-kathib al-sultanī (the royal scribe), thus confirming the correct spelling of his name. Once again, signatures in manuscripts help correct mistakes made in manuscript transmission.

This text was, naturally, a favorite of the sultan, and at least two other fine copies were made at the time. One manuscript completed at Baghdad in Ramadan 809/June 1406 (TEI 2046, Lenz and Lowry, *Timur*, no. 15) has wonderful double-page illumination with headings in stylized kufic, like those found in 'Ali ibn Hasan's copy of Khusrav and Shirin. Another copy of Sultan Ahmad's poems [*I.A. A. The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* [Washington, DC, 1978], nos. 1–7] has extraordinary marginal drawings. Its colophon is lost, but two notes added on the last page give the date Ramadan 508, perhaps a misreading for Ramadan 805/ March–April 1403, and the name 'Mir 'Ali. The nasta'liq handwriting resembles the more spacy style used by Mir 'Ali ibn Ilyas.

167. Ja'far signed a calligraphic specimen in Istanbul [TKS H5160, fol. 152r] with the epithet Tabrizi. He trained there, learning not only the hanging nasta'liq style but also the traditional round hands. According to the Safavid chronicler Dust Muhammad (Thackston, *Album Prefaces*, 8), Ja'far learned the classic six scripts from Shams al-Din Qattabi, whose line of tutelage goes back to the fourteenth-century master 'Abdallah Saryati. Examples of thuluth, naskh, and ihqan signed by Ja'far in one of the albums in Istanbul [TKS, H5153, fols. 378v, 58b and 160b] bear out this assertion.
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Signed and dated works by Ja'far, whose title was Mawlama Farid al-Din, range over a decade from a manuscript of the collected poems of Hassan Diblavi copied in 835/1432-3 [Tehran, Majlis Library] to a miscellany copied in 835/1432-3 [CBL 1232]; see Bayani, Avval wa athar-i khatamhvisat 114-23.

168. Three of the most famous are: (1) a copy of Sadi's Gulistan dated 830/1426-7 [CBL, ms. 119, see Arberry, Minov, and Blochet, The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures, no. 119], Lentz and Lowry, Timur, no. 41; (2) a copy of Firdawsi's epic Shahnama dated 833/1429-30 [Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 61, facsimile edition], The Art of the Book in Central Asia: 14th-16th Centuries [Boulder, CO, 1979, fig. 92 and pls. 47 and 49].

169. H153, fol. 98b; Thackston, Album Prefaces, 43-6; Serge Tourain, ‘Another Look on the Petition ‘Arzadat’ by Ja’far Baysungur Addressed to his Patron Baysungur b. Sahnub b. Timur,’ Manuscripta Orientalia 9, no. 3 (September 2003): 34-8. The document is a progress report from Ja’far to his patron Baysungur and can be dated c. 1430 as it describes several manuscripts in progress. For example, it opens by mentioning a copy of the Gulistan, presumably the one discussed here [F37b, 71v] as being illustrated by Mir Khalil, head painter in the atelier, and described by several other people. The document also mentions that Ja’far had finished transcribing three and a half sections of a Shahnama manuscript, presumably the one dated 833/1429-30. The report also emphasizes that the royal painters and calligraphers were housed in a special building within the palace precinct and shows the range of work these artists were expected to do. Calligraphers, not surprisingly, designed inscriptions. More unusual are the references to decorated sandals, wall paintings, and tents for which the painters were also responsible.


172. Ja’far’s other pupils included his eldest son Ja’far Khalifa, Shakh Muhammad nicknamed zarin qalam (golden pen), and Abdullab Tabakhi (also a master of the classic scripts; see above, note 127). For Azhar’s biography and a list of his works, see Bayani, Avval wa athar-i khatamhvisat, 68-74, no. 111.

173. One of Azhar’s first works to survive is a manuscript of ‘Imad Faqih’s collected works penned for Rysungur in Dhu’l-Hijja 834/August-September 1431. Azhar’s career may have started even earlier, although the manuscript of Nizami’s Khazrav and Shirin [Manchester, Rylands Pers. 6, B. W. Robinson, Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library: A Descriptive Catalogue [London, 1986], no. 54-5] dated 34 Rabi’I 824/28 April 1421 is probably not his hand. The script does not resemble Azhar’s work, the dates seem to have been altered, and the paintings clearly belong to the early sixteenth century. Azhar had an extremely long career and left many signed specimens of calligraphy and manuscripts. His last known work is a manuscript containing the Khamshen of Nizami and Khusrav Diblavi done at Isfahan in 871/1467-8 [Lahore, Punjab University].

174. Thackston, Album Prefaces, 10.

175. Lentz and Lowry, Timur, no. 63.


177. Ahmad, Gulistan-i Humur, 64-78; Qazi Ahmad, Calligraphers and Painters, 106-35.

178. Other manuscripts penned by Sultan ‘Ali include a copy of Sadi’s Gulistan transcribed in 851/1446 [Art and History Trust Collection on loan to the Freer and Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution; see Lentz and Lowry, Timur, no. 137]; Souladar, Art of the Persian Courts, no. 36; and one of the companion work, Sadi’s Bustan [Orchard], completed in 893/1488, the only manuscript with illustrations undoubtedly by Bihzad, the master of Persian painting [Cairo, DK, 14093, Lentz and Lowry, Timur, no. 146]. The Manqti al-Toyr is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art [63.210], its paintings have been removed and are often discussed separately. See, for example, the issue of the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 35, May 1967, with articles by Marie Lukens Swieckotowski on the fifteenth-century miniatures and Ernst Grube on the seventeenth-century ones. See also Marie Lukens Swieckotowski, ‘The Historical Background and Illustrative Character of the Metropolitan Museum’s Manqti al-Toyr of 1483,’ in Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, ed. Richard Ettinghausen [New York, 1972], 39-77. For the concordant date of the manuscript, see Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, ‘Khwaju Minak Naqqash,’ Journal Asiatique 376 (1988): 97-146. The manuscript itself has not often been described, although pages from it are often reproduced, as on the covers and no. 43 of Annenmarie Schimmel, ‘Islamic Calligraphy,’ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 30, no. 1 (Summer 1952).

179. See list in Swieckotowski, Manqti al-Toyr.

180. These four paintings can be dated c. 1600 on the basis of their style and the signature of the artist Habiballah al-Mashhadi on the one showing the conference of the birds (fol. 11b). The paintings in the manuscript were not necessarily sequential; the last four are contemporary with transcription, but the first four were added later. We do not know why.


182. On Anisi, whose real name is ‘Abd al-Rahim ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman Khorvazmi, see Bayani, Avval wa athar-i khatamhvisat, 54-6, no. 533. Dated examples of ‘Abd al-Rahim’s work range from a copy of the collected poems of Hafiz dated 864/March-April 1460 to a copy of the calligrapher’s own collected poetry dated 899/1493-4, both formerly in Bihzad’s private collection.

183. Bayani, Avval wa athar-i khatamhvisat, 75-81, no. 539. He was a contemporary of Azhar and Sultan ‘Ali Mashhadi. Dated manuscripts in
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'Abd al-Rahman Khwarazmi's nasta'liq hand range over thirty years, from a copy of Nizami's Khamsa finished in 839/1435-6 [BL, Or. 12856, fol. 3r]: Soucek, ‘Calligraphy,’ fig. 13 to a copy of a tanzih band (strophic poem with a refrain) finished on 10 Dhu'l-Qa'da 886/14 August 1466.

'Abd al-Rahman Khwarazmi's copy of Nizami's Khamsa contains 368 small folios, with eight paintings, all but one of them practically the full size of the page. To judge from the style of the paintings, the manuscript was produced in Shiraz. The illumination is quite distinctive as well. Akimushkin and Ivanov ('Illumination,' 36) noted, for example, that this is the first known manuscript in which the wide outer border is bisected by a triangular medallion, sometimes with a scalloped edge, in the center of the vertical part of the border.

Compared to the eastern standard established by Ja'far, the nasta'liq penned by 'Abd al-Rahman Khwarazmi is sharper and more impulsive, with some letters crowded together and others exaggerated. Exaggerated and uneven strokes had already been a feature of Shirazi calligraphy in earlier times, as, for example, in the copy of the Shahnama transcribed at Shiraz in 772/1371 under the Muzaffarids [Istanbul, TS, H296, Ralf Cay, The School of Shiraz from 1360 to 1453,' in The Arts of the Book in Central Asia 14th-16th Centuries, ed. Ralf Cay [Boulder, CO, 1979], fig. 71. The variation between thick and thin can be traced even further back to the sloppy hand used under the Injuids in the early fourteenth century.

184. Anisi's bride was 'Abd al-Karim; for a biography, see Bayani, Ablade wa uthar-i khusnivasan, 409-11, no. 569.

185. In addition to a few pieces by Yaqut (e.g., H2860, fol. 5 and 82a dated 694/1295 and 695/1295-6) and other early fourteenth-century calligraphers such as 'Abdallah Sayrafi, these two albums contain many samples penned by calligraphers who worked for both the Qaraqyunlu and Aqquyunlu, especially 'Abd al-Rahman Khwarazmi's sons 'Abd al-Rahim and 'Abd al-Karim. Many are dedicated to the Turcoman sultans, such as the epigraphy written for the Aqquyunlu Sultan Ya'qub (H292, fol. 137v). The latest piece of calligraphy is dated 917/1511-12 (H2960, fol. 51v), and so the albums must have been assembled after that date. Like H2952, these two albums may have been acquired by the Ottomans after the battle of Chaldiran, for they too bear the seal of Selim I. Hence, these two were first called the Fatih [conqueror] albums, but were then renamed the Ya'qub Beg albums because of the many pieces associated with him in them. On the problems of these albums, their names, and their contents, see the various papers from the tenth Colloquium on Art and Archeology held by the Percival David Foundation in London in June 1980 and published as the first volume of Islamic Art (1981), especially Çagman, 'Four Istanbul Albums,' Tanudi, 'Two Istanbul Albums.' Confusingly, the name 'Fatih' was also applied to H2952, as well as to another album in the Topkapi Palace (H2954) that was clearly made for the Safavids in 951/1544. Hence, it seems clearer, if duller, to cite these albums by number.

186. E.g., a page of quatrains, H2931, fol. 33a; Soucek, ‘Calligraphy,’ fig. 14.


188. H2931, fol. 137v; Thackston, Album Prefaces, 43-8.

189. Qadi Ahmad, Gullistan-i Husa, 26 and 38; Qadi Ahmad, Calligraphers and Painters, 65 and 125.