smaller script, an arrangement popular in Iran at least since the twelfth century [Figure 6.13]. In Indian manuscripts in bhārī script, however, all the lines are written in the same style and differ merely in size and color, whereas manuscripts from Iran juxtapose different styles as well as different sizes of script.

The pitched bhārī script used in these fifteenth-century Indian manuscripts is notable for the strong wide horizontals of its wedge-shaped curves that open at the left. Written in black ink, these curves dominate the page and jump out from the red pentaline markings and gold rosettes separating the verses. The word allāh is often written in a different color, either gold or red. The barazma is stylized, with the initial ba’ heightened so that it is as tall as a dīal or dīm. The words cluster on the line, and the tail of mīn is usually shown but in at least one manuscript with an interlinear Persian translation, it descends in a sweeping curve like that used in the group of Koran manuscripts attributed to Anatoia [Figure 9.2] or possibly Central Asia.52 In bhārī script, the short vowels fatha and kasra are typically marked with a horizontal stroke, rather than the one set at 45° used in other styles. These markings add to the feeling of hesitancy and flatness.

Although none of these Koran manuscripts in bhārī script includes a site of production in the colophon, Jeremiah Losty suggested that they may be associated with Jawnpur by comparison with an anthology of Persian verse compiled c. 1400 for Sultan al-Sharq Mubarakshah of Jawnpur.53 Under the patronage of the Sharqi sultans [r. 1394–1481], the city became a bustling center of culture; known as the Shiraz of Hind, it was home to a particularly fine school of Indo-Muslim architecture.54 Both script and illumination in the anthology recall those of the Koran manuscripts in bhārī. Though transcribed in nastīk, the calligraphy used in the anthology has the same generous spacing between words found in bhārī script and many of the same letter forms, such as large dal, sweeping tail to iyon, and kaf with a hooked bar. An illuminated verbal phrase shares the loose thuluth script used for headings in the Bijapur Koran manuscript. The stylized words in the whirling phrase also have the same combination of thick and thin strokes with wedge-shaped terminals characteristic of bhārī.

Koran manuscripts in bhārī script had a wide currency and were exported from India to south Arabia. Three leaves from a large (55 × 33 cm) copy, for example, were recently discovered in the ruins of a mosque or madrasa at Dawran in the northern Yemen.55 They were part of a group of fragmentary Koran manuscripts found on the ground after an earthquake had devastated the town. Like the rumbled and torn pages from Koran manuscripts uncovered in the roof of the mosque at San’a [see Chapter 4], this hoard may have secreted for safekeeping. Layout and script in the three leaves from this manuscript, probably the oldest in the group, show it to be a fifteenth-century Indian copy: each page has seventeen lines of bhārī script, the first, middle, and last lines sandwiching lines of smaller script of the same style. It is not surprising that Indian manuscripts were imported to the Yemen, for trade links between the two areas were strong and artistic forms and motifs transferred in other media. The ‘Amiriyya Madrasa, erected in Rada’ under the ‘Abadars in Rabi’ I 910/August-September 1504, for example, shares many formal and decorative elements ranging from architectural elements like small pavilions (chattris) and horseshoe arches to floral designs—with buildings in India.56 Many of these elements were introduced through trade in luxury objects, especially textiles, and the talents of traveling craftsmen. Koran manuscripts were included in this Indian Ocean trade, and the distinctive style of bhārī script, in turn, affected the development of Koranic calligraphy in the Yemen.

Along with the Koran manuscript in bhārī script, the hoard at Dawran contained leaves from thirty-three other Koran manuscripts, which range in size, style, and date. Most, if not all, seem to be local copies of Indian work, often done on watermarked paper in various hands notable for their strong horizontality and thick, wedge-shaped terminals. Other Koran manuscripts may well have been made in the region, but many libraries there remain uncatalogued, and few such manuscripts are published.57 One of the few that is [Figure 9.9] comprises the fourth volume of a ten-part Koran.58 It contains thirty-eight folios of medium-size (26 × 30 cm) coarse paper. Each page has eleven lines of thick round script. The occasional word or syllable is squeezed in vertically at the end of the line (as here on lines one and seven), the sign of an inexperienced calligrapher who did not know how to space out his text. The most remarkable feature of the script is the elongated and broad terminals that often encircle the following word. As a result, the baseline changes from one word to the next, creating a jarring effect for the reader. Dal is large [Figure 9.9a]. Alif has a sizeable terminal on the right and tapers downward [Figure 9.9b]. Kia is serpentine [Figure 9.9c] and sometimes broken-backed. The beginning of the new chapter is marked by a plain braided band set against a red ground and the chapter heading, which has plain characters outlined in black set against a blue ground. The name of the chapter (Yusuf) and the number of verses [111] are written in thuluth with flat diacritics, a feature typical of bhārī script. To draw attention to the chapter heading, the scribe added a marginal decoration of a six-pointed rosette set against a blue ground.59

A note recording the death of a woman in Dhul-Qa‘da 953/December 1546-January 1547 added on folio 37b provides a testinatus ad quern for this Yemeni Koran manuscript, and it can be attributed to the second half of the fifteenth century on the basis of its similarities to a group of Hebrew manuscripts copied at San’a in the 1460s and 1470s.60 All these manuscripts are executed in primary colors without gold. Both materials and scripts are mediocre, and both are related to contemporary developments in India.
Despite the use of bihari for transcribing Koran manuscripts, naskh remained the main script for fine copies of other texts made in India, as elsewhere. It was used, for example, in several manuscripts copied at Mandu c. 1500. The most famous [Figure 9.10] is a copy of the Ni'matnama, a cookbook with recipes for delicacies, aphrodisiacs, and other epicurean delights begun for the Khalji sultan of Malwa, Ghiyath Shah (r. 1469-1500), and expanded for his son, Nasir Shah (r. 1500-1508). Each page is transcribed in ten lines of large black naskh, with red for palatal markings. Like the naskh used for the Koran transcribed some two centuries earlier in Afghanistan, the script in the cookbook is marked by a kaf with an unusually elongated body and final ya [and mun] with long, angled tails that curve forward to encompass the following word [Figure 9.10a]. The tail of jimm is a large open bowl that swoops in the opposite direction, and

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Figure 9.10 Page showing a prince enthroned from a copy of the Ni'matnama, a cookbook with recipes of delicacies, aphrodisiacs, and other epicurean delights transcribed at Mandu, c. 1500. To transcribe his cookbook, the scribe used a clear and readable naskh with an elongated kaf and long open curves. Alif is marked by a hook, often smudged, to the left.
the up-and-downstrokes of letters like dal, lam, and kaf are often separated. Alif is pitched slightly to the left, as in bibari. It is sometimes connected to the previous letter and marked with a right hook that sometimes smudges (Figure 9.10b). The combination of fathaj with sukun is marked with a single stroke that resembles a reversed and flat comma, as in bi-andazan and an ogival medallion to mark the division into thirtieths (juz). Within the text, a pyramid of three gold balls marks the end of a verse, a gold tear-shaped ha marks a group of verses, and a large gold circle marks a group of ten verses. In the latter manuscript, however, the gold markers do not always accord with the actual number of verses. Rather, they seem to have been sprinkled on the page as much for visual effect as for actual counting. If anything, the scripts used in this manuscript are even more mannered than those used a century earlier, and the total effect of the page more static.

Despite the continued use of parchment, paper – which had been used earlier in the Maghrib for illustrated manuscripts – gradually became standard for Koran manuscripts. The paper was often colored, as in a twenty-volume Koran manuscript in the Ben Yusuf Madrasa in Marrakesh, attributed on stylistic grounds to the thirteenth century. The large text (there are only five lines per page) is transcribed on good-quality peach-colored paper known as al-shabi, as it came from the town of Játiva (in Arabic, al-Shatiba). Located southwest of Valencia, the city was already famous for its paper in the twelfth century. The Sicilian Muslim geographer al-Idrisi, for example, praised Játiva for its magnificent paper, said to be of a quality found nowhere else and exported to both East and West.

Colored paper was used in the Maghrib not only for manuscripts but also for documents. We know this from an extraordinary group of 162 letters written between 1396 and 1418 by Muslim rulers of Spain and North Africa to the kings of Aragon-Catalonia. Preserved in four containers in the archive of the Crown of Aragon (now in Barcelona), these letters mainly deal with political problems or wars. Most are written on sheets of local paper, distinguished by a row of zig-zags visible near the right margin when the paper is held up to the light. The sheets are white, but some are colored, ranging from red or vermilion to purple or pale pink. These colored papers are sometimes known by the generic term of nasri, as they were first produced during the period when the Nasrids ruled Granada (1232–1492).

This letter (Figure 9.11) is typical. Written by Yusuf I, Nasrid ruler of Granada, to Peter IV [the Ceremonious] of Aragon, it is dated to Shaban 745/1344 and demands the return of a certain amount of wheat. A copy stolen from Yusuf’s subjects by Valencian thieves. Peter was apparently not in any rush to solve the problem, as this is Yusuf’s second letter on the subject. A few weeks later on 2 October, the two rulers signed a peace treaty, but we do not know what happened to the stolen wheat. Like many contemporary letters in this archive, this one is written on a sheet of
continues upside down around the right side of the page and across the top.

The scribe used extenders between letters (mashiq) to call attention to important parts of the text. The basmala at the beginning is marked by a large-toothed ba’ at the beginning of the word, which is juxtaposed to the long curving tail of mim (Figure 9.11a). The phrase is extended by a long connector between the sin and mim of bismi, curiously the asymmetrical place typical of Koran manuscripts made in the east, but different from the central one used in the Maghrib, in which the connector between ba’ and mim of al-ra’ma is extended (Figure 6.16). The rest of the opening line in the letter contains a prayer to the Prophet Muhammad. Yusuf’s titles occupy the next seven lines. The opening word sultan has a long extender (Figure 9.11b), parallel to that of the basmala in the line above. Similarly, in line eight a long extender in the word ana in the phrase ana ba’d (literally, and so) marks the beginning of the text proper and visually distinguished titles from text. The letter ends in the upper-left corner with the date and the phrase salah hadha (this is correct), added with a different pen in a larger script. Such validation would be recognizable even to someone who did not read Arabic and was also included at the end of letters written in Castilian.

Yusuf I’s letter is written in the distinctive maghribi script. Many letters have looped, descending tails. Alif has a barb to the left and, in its final form, a point below the baseline. Mim has a long swooping tail whose shape varies depending on context. Ta’/za’ has a diagonal stroke (Figure 9.11b), and sad a flat body. Fa’ is pointed with one dot below the letter and qaf with one dot above. The text is clear and easily readable. Legibility was important, for many kings of Aragon had trouble reading these letters: when Peter IV received seven letters in Arabic at Perpignan, his staff had to send them all the way to Barcelona for translation.

The Nasrids continued to rule a besieged Granada until the very end of the fifteenth century, but few signed and dated manuscripts made there in later years have been preserved, perhaps because the Christian conquerors purposefully destroyed the Nasrid royal library. We are better informed about works produced then by the Nasrids’ contemporaries, the Hafsids, rulers of what is now Tunisia and eastern Algeria from 1229 to 1574. Their manuscripts show that by this date paper had become the standard format for Koran manuscripts in the Maghrib, as elsewhere, and that the small version of maghribi script was often replaced by its larger and more spacious counterpart.

The most famous Koran manuscript made for the Hafsids is a small (24 x 16 cm) codex transcribed on paper that is dyed in shades ranging from brown to purple (Figure 9.12). The opening volume bears two notices that the Hafsid sultan Abu Faris ‘Abd al-*Aziz al-Mutawakkil ibn Ahmad II (r. 1394-1434) endowed the manuscript to the Mosque of the Qasba in Tunis in Ramadan 807/March 1405. The extraordinary purplish brown color of this paper is matched by its special
silver ink, used on each page for thirteen lines of text and vocalization. Often, though not always, the change from parchment to paper was accompanied in the Maghribi, as it had been in the eastern Islamic lands (see Chapter 3), by a change from brown to black ink. For deluxe manuscripts from this period, calligraphers used different colors of ink not only to transcribe the text, but also to outline the letters. Another Koran manuscript in Paris, for example, has gold letters outlined in black for the text and sura headings in blue outlined in gold.

In the five-volume Hafsid Koran manuscript, colored markers are used to indicate variant readings. A note on the opening folios of the first volume explains the various signs used to mark the seven variant readings and alternative divisions into verses. Pyramids of gold balls decorated with blue and red dots and outlined in white mark the end of individual verses, a similar gold tear-drop marks the end of five verses, and a rosette within a circle marks the end of ten verses. The verse markers are sometimes added in the margin as the calligrapher, when transcribing the text, apparently forgot to leave sufficient space between the verses.

The gold rubrics in the Hafsid manuscript are unusual, for they are not headers, but footers that record information about the preceding sura. They open with the phrase jumlatu surati alattahi yadhkara fiha [here finishes the sura in which was mentioned . . . ], followed by the key word used as the title of the preceding sura. Thus, the gold line in the middle of the left page here mentions al-hajj (the pilgrimage), the name of the preceding sura (2:215). The five lines below the footer contain the opening verses of the following sura (2:231). Believers, beginning with the basmala. These gold footers were clearly inserted into the already written text. In some cases, as on the page illustrated here, the last words of the line are fitted in vertically at the end of the line. In other cases, the last words of the footer are squeezed into the line below the basmala opening the next sura.

As with the Koran manuscripts copied in Andalusia in preceding centuries, the Hafsid copy shows a great concern for balance and symmetry that often outweights readability. Again, the basmala just below the middle of the left-hand page is elongated between the ha' and mim of al-ra'oon so that it fills the line. The long horizontal stroke provided a convenient seat for any extra words from the preceding footer. Despite the attention paid to variants and precision, the verse markings do not correspond with the numbers given in the footers. Thus, the footer at the end of Surat al-Hajj (2:231) on the left page states that the chapter contains seventy-seven verses, though the verse markers reach only seventy-six and both the Standard Egyptian and Fügel editions of the text give seventy-eight. This divergence in numbering occurs elsewhere in the manuscript as well.

Like the decoration, the script in the Hafsid Koran manuscript shows a deliberate pacing and balance. The tails of final mim are curved in a semicircle to face the tail of ta' or final nun in the preceding word or syllable. This is particularly clear in the opening verses of Sura 3:3, at the bottom of the left page (Figure 9.12a), in which four verses open with the same word (wa alda'hdindin). Similarly, the letters in the footer naming the preceding sura, al-hajj, have been piled up in a zig-zag formation, with the initial lam curved to match the final tail of jinn (Figure 9.12b). The word looks like a piece of ribbon candy. The curved letters of the script are countered by the flat baseline ruled with a mustara. Letters not only sit on this line, they also connect on it without benefit of the supra- or sublinear bump used in other round hands.

Stylistic or historical evidence allows us to attribute other undated Koran manuscripts to North Africa in the late fifteenth century. One
example is another fine manuscript in Paris [Figure 9.13]. The eight volumes of quinions are transcribed on paper watermarked with a crescent surmounted by a cross. Chanceries in the Maghribi had used European paper at least since the mid-fourteenth century, and the fifteenth-century Italian papers had entirely replaced local production in such cities as Tlemcen and Fez. The Christian symbols must have enraged some Muslim users, but according to a fatwa or legal decision, issued by Ibn Marzuq in Tlemcen on 9 Rabii’ II 812/3 August 1409 and later recorded by the noted jurist al-Wansharisi, writing in Arabic over the idolatrous designs rendered them invisible. God’s word [and message] written on such paper, argued al-Wansharisi, replaced falsehood with truth.

For this eight-part Koran manuscript, the anonymous calligrapher first ruled the large page with a marzana and then transcribed eight lines in black ink. He added vocalization in red, marking hamza with a yellow dot and wasla with a green one. Shadda and sukun are in blue. The script is similar to but more stylized than that used in the purplish brown manuscript endowed by the Hafsid sultan at the beginning of the century [Figure 9.12]. The use of a nastata encouraged a flat baseline to the letters, emphasized here by the flat bottom of sad and the elongated bodies of ta’ [Figure 9.13a] and kaf. In most cases, however, the calligrapher exaggerated the curvilinear elements. Curves are deeper and more stylized than in the earlier manuscript, with the large bowl of final nun [Figure 9.13b] and related letters sometimes tapering to a point. The tail of ra’ returns upward with a hook that reaches the baseline [Figure 9.13c], evident in the basmala. Independent ha’ or ta’ marbuta takes two forms. In some cases, the calligrapher penned a circle in a clockwise direction, ending with the tail spinning off to the upper right, as in al-salat in the bottom line of the right page [Figure 9.13d] and al-zakat in the first line of the left page. In other cases he moved in the opposite direction, penning a counterclockwise circle and extending the tail with a backwards flourish, as in the word al-akhira in the middle of line two and the end of lines three and seven [Figure 9.13e] on the left page. Lam-alif looks like a pair of dancers [Figure 9.13f]. This is a mature stylized hand that bespeaks a long tradition. It was used for a fine manuscript whose pages were decorated with large gold headings in which the kufic display text is squeezed in the center of an unusual strapwork panel. The folios were then gathered in quinions, and the sections bound in fine gold-stamped Moroccan leather.

Copies of the Koran were often the fanciest manuscripts produced, with lavish use of gold and many folios [the large eight-part Hafsid manuscript had close to 1,000 folios] due to the large script and wide spacing. Calligraphers used the same script, nevertheless, for other fine manuscripts, such as a two-volume copy of Aristotle’s politics translated under the name al-Siyasa fi tadbit al-riyasa or Sir al-asrar transcribed in 894/1488–9. Each small page [35 × 23 cm] has seventeen lines of fine maghribi script in brown ink, with diacriticals and vocalization added in the same ink. Titles and headings are written in larger letters, and diagrams are painted in gold. The script is very similar to that used in the eight-volume Koran, with large curving tails, ra’ with returning hook, and counter-clockwise final ha’. It shows the same contrast between flat baseline and large curves. These traits will continue to mark the calligraphy used in North Africa in succeeding centuries as the region became increasingly isolated from developments elsewhere and the script remained remarkably static (see Chapter 12).

Notes
EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL STYLES IN THE LATER MIDDLE PERIOD

Abdallah al-Quqayyi at the Madrasa of Sa'id al-Din Kubak in Konya at the end of Rabi' II 677/September 1278. David James reports [The Master Scribes: Qu'rans of the 13th to the 14th Century, 1992, ed. Julian Raby, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art [London, 1992], 194] that there are other Anatolian Koran manuscripts in the Mevlana Museum in Konya, but they are not yet published. In the thirteenth century Saliq patrons had established many madrasas in the region, and such manuscripts would have met the demand for copies of the Koran and other religious texts needed by students in these institutions.

2. In addition to Arabic, the language of religion, and Persian, the language of literature, Turkish was the vernacular language in the area. Most people spoke Western Turkish, the dialect spoken by the Turkomans, rather than Chaghatai, or Eastern Turkish, a type of Western Uighur spoken mainly in Central Asia but also written by the Khans of the Golden Horde and the Crimans and the Kazans Tartars. See The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition, ed. H. A. R. Gibb and others [Leiden, 1960], Chaghatai.


4. Florence, National Library, Ms. Cl. III 244; A. M. Piccone, 'Nuova lettura di fibula,' Istitutum d'Arte 6:11/12 (1913), 18-32, 191-4, 215, and V. Schiavon, Gli Arabi in Italia: Cultura, Contatti e Tradizioni, [Milan, 1989] (1979), pl. 73. The manuscript is attributable to Konya in part because of the Turkish glosses on the Persian text on God.

5. Konya, Mevlana Museum, no. 151; Zeren Tanudi, '1278 Tarihini Eski Mevlevi'nin Tecihleri,' Kât'îrî ve Sanat 2, no. 8 (1956), 13-31; James, Master Scribes, 194; Julian Raby and Zeren Tanudi, Turkish Bookbinding of the 15th Century: The Foundations of an Islamic Court Style, ed. T. Stanley [London, 1993], 3-4; Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, Islamic Art and Architecture, 650-1250 [New Haven and London, 2001], 258 and pl. 439. The date of the manuscript is sometimes confused, James, Master Scribes, 194 and n. 1, reported that the date 677 was a mistake for 676/1278-9, a date repeated in Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, IAA, 650-1250, 258. As Zeren Tanudi has kindly informed me, the colophon page is published in Abdîhaâki Colpinâr's edition of the Mathnavi, Mevlevi seccanesi ve Sefî [Istanbul, 1981], and the reproduction shows that the date clearly reads 677. This date is accepted by all Rumi scholars (see Franklin D. Lewis, Rumi: Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teaching and Poetic of Jalâl al-Din Rumi [Oxford, 2000], 307-9).


7. Geneva, Bodmer Collection, cod. 574; Leila Benoumiche, Le Kâlia et Diana de Genève, Université de Genève, no. 350 (Geneva, 1993). Its colophon states that Mahmut ibn Mahmud ibn 'Umar nicknamed al-mulaqqab bi-al-Jalal and known as al-mu'arruf bi-llah al-Kamal the calligrapher al-khattâb finished transcription on Friday 11 Safar 661/31 December 1262. A note in red added to the left of the colophon states that the scribe finished reading and correcting the text on Sunday 29 Jumâda II 661/31 April 1663, some four months after he had finished transcription. The illustrations, however, were not added until much later – c. 1560, to judge from stylistic evidence.


9. The order is home to the whirling dervishes.

10. The vizier (d. 1277) was a prolific patron of architecture, commissioning the wooden Sahih Aha/Lordine Mosque [1258] and the Ince Minareli Madrasa (c. 1360) in Konya, the Gök Madrasa [1271] in Sivas, and the Sahihîye Madrasa [1267-8] in Kayseri.

11. Lewis, Rumi, esp. 307-10, has shown that textual authenticity was already a source of concern in early manuscripts of Rumi's work, for much of it was performed orally as part of the Sufi practice of sanctum, auditions or spiritual concerts that involved the use of poems and music in performance.

12. Though the first to survive, this copy of Rumi's Mathnavi was probably not the first manuscript copied on such large sheets, for it is unlikely that such paper was produced in Konya. As Jonathan Bloom suggested to me, the Ilkhanid vizier Tabriz was the likely site where the paper was made, and it must have been exported from there. Such large sheets were probably used for other manuscripts and documents that have not survived because they were not preserved in a shrine context.

13. The Rumi manuscript has twenty-nine lines per page in a written area 35 cm high, yielding an average of about 1.2 cm per line; the Yaqut Koran has thirteen lines in a written area 23.5 cm high, or about 1.8 cm per line.

14. In the pocket-size Koran, the first four and the last eight pages are illuminated in color in illustrated in black and white in James, Qu'rans and Bindings, 89. One such carpet page from the Rumi manuscript is illustrated in color in Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, IAA, 650-1250, fig. 429.

15. To my knowledge, no works by Yaqut bear a mark of commissioning. See above, Chapter 7, note 23.

16. The Mawlawi order continued to patronize de luxe books for centuries. The illuminated manuscripts they produced in Ottoman Baghdad are discussed in Rachel Milestein, Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad [Costa Mesa, CA, 1990].
17. One of the oldest surviving examples of Sultan Valad’s work is a manuscript of the *Intisarana* transcribed by ‘Uthman ibn ‘Abdallah, the freedman of Sultan Valad [‘a’iq al-valad] in Shiraz 748/1347 (NovemberDecember 1314) [BNE, supp. pers. 1579.] Richard, *Spendeurs*, no. 17]. The same calligrapher also copied a manuscript of Rumî’s *Mathnavî* in 733/1333, which is preserved in the shrine museum at Konya. A group of manuscripts notable for their large size and fine illumination is located in the Mevlana Museum in Konya (see Zeren Tanun, ‘Sekûn bir Mevlevînin Techilî Kitapları,’ in M. Uğur Denman 65 Yas Armaqas, ed. Irvin Cemil Schick [Istanbul, 2000], 131–36. The National Library in Vienna (Cod. pers. Duda, *Islamische Handschriften* 3 Persische Handschriften, *in Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*). According to the colophon, Hasan ibn ‘Uthman al-Mawlawî completed the manuscript at the end of Jumada II 767/medMarch 1366. The frontispiece bears a dedication to the minister Abu ‘Ali Ma’âli Amir Sari al-Mawlawî ibn Husam al-Din Hasan on 10 Dhu’l-Hijja 767/15 August 1366, who can be identified as the ruler of Erzurum in 1386. The same scribe and patron are named on a fine manuscript of Rumî’s *Dîvân* [Konya, Mevlana Museum no. 69], whose original binding is signed on the back doublure by the binder Abu Bakr, identified as a Mawlawî Sull from Hama [al-mawlawî al-hamawi]. The scribe of these two manuscripts, Hasan ibn ‘Uthman, may have been the son of the ‘Uthman ibn ‘Abdallah who had transcribed manuscripts for the Mawlavi order in the 1310s and 1320s. Many of the features remain the same. These, however, are written in a regular, legible, and *naskh* script, in this case with thirty-three lines on each large page, a script similar to the one used in the first clean copy of Rumî’s *Mathnavî*. Many details of the illumination in this copy of Sultan Valad’s work are also part of the standard repertoire used at Konya since the thirteenth century, including multiple pages with quatrefoils or four-pointed stars, gold-knot borders, and delicate blue rulings with finials and rosettes or dots. The illumination of this manuscript was not named, but he was a contemporary of Ibrahim al-Amidi, the artist who illuminated Kinn manuscripts made for the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Sha’un between 1369 and 1376 (Figure 8.3). 18. New York Public Library, Spencer, Arab no. 3, Barbara Schmidt, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* [New York and Oxford, 1992], no. 8, Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800*, The Pelican History of Art [London and New Haven, 1994], fig. 187. The scribe’s name and epithet shows that he belonged to the Mawlawî order, which was concentrated in Anatolia and had only a few outposts elsewhere. In addition to stylistic evidence, the attribution to Anatolia is strengthened by a later owner’s marks in Turkish saying that the volume belonged to a member of a Turkish school. Each regular page [33 × 26 cm] has five lines of large *muhakkak*, with vowelings added in thinner strokes that are about half as wide. Chapter headings are written in white *thuluth* against a gold ground. Small eight-petalled rosettes in gold float above the text and mark divisions into verses, and larger medallions and rosettes protrude in the margin to mark divisions into five and ten verses. The opening lines of the section are surrounded by contour panels set against a red crosshatched ground with four exuberant vine scrolls with large palmettes and sinuous arabesque leaves. The format of thirty volumes with five lines of muhakkak per page fits the standard established in the imperial Koran manuscripts of Iraq and Iran [David James, *Qur’ans of the Mamluks* [London, 1988], nos. 39, 43, 44, and 45], but the Anatolian manuscript is half the size and the script is more compact, requiring only fewer folios per juz’ (the imperial manuscripts typically have just over fifty folios). The Anatolian manuscript is the same size but less compact than another one dated Shiraz 710/January 1311 and attributed by James to Tabriz [PIK, fol. 502]. James, *Qur’ans of the Mamluks*, no. 44]. The text script of large muhakkak and display script of white batibih also match the text used in Koran manuscripts from Iran. They can be compared, for example, to the scripts used in the Koran made at Rashid al-Din’s pious foundation in Hamadan [DK 79]. James, *Qur’ans of the Mamluks*, no. 45, esp. figs. 80–1]. Similarly, the decoration of the rubrics into a large central compartment flanked by squares decorated with floral motifs is also part of the Elkanah tradition known from manuscripts made for Rashid al-Din. See, for example, the copy of his *Compendium of Chronicles* dated 714/1314–15 divided between the Khalili Collection and University Library [David Talbot Rice, *The Illustrations to the ‘World History’ of Rashid al-Din*, ed. Basil Gray [Edinburgh, 1976], Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al Din’s Illustrated History of the World* [London, 1993]]]. The red-hatched ground with arabesque scrolls and the ruling with a thin blue lines with corner finials, however, relate to the type used in Koran manuscripts copied by Ahmad al-Mutatabib in Cairo in the 1320s (Figure 8.1]. 19. BNE, supp. Pers. 1610, Richard, *Spendeurs*, no. 2. The last of the Atagâb line were local rulers of Azerbaijan and eastern Transcaucasia who championed Islam against the resurgent Bagratid Georgian kings. See Edwa, *Iberitizidz or Eldidzitiz*; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater [London and New York, 1985], Artakhân-e Abršâd. The Persian translation of al-Tabarî’s commentary, *Tarjama-ye ta‘ṣri- tabarî*, made in the second half of the tenth century, is the oldest and most renowned Persian work on the Koran. 20. The first dated 737/1337 in the Astarâ-ı Quds in Mashhad [ms. no. 593, Ahmad Gulchini-i Ma’âni, *Rahnama-ye ganiyta-yi qur’ân* [Mashhad, 1347], no. 48]. James, *Qur’ans of the Mamluks*, no. 58. The second dated 764/1363 is in the Sîlyamîye Library in Istanbul [Habibkhâna, Ali Pâşâ Cam., no. 2, mentioned in Hüsü Eckmann, *Middle Turkish Gloses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation* [Budapest, 1976], 71–78, no. 4, but not published]. 21. James, *Qur’ans of the Mamluks*, no. 59. Parts from fifteen sections of the manuscript (4–6, 9–10, 12–3, 16, 20, 22–6 and 28) have been rebound in fourteen volumes in the John Rylands Library [ms. 760–73]. A few single frontispieces to the individual sections have been detached (the opening to juz’ 4 is LACMA 73.5490, the opening pages to sections 6 and 20 are CRL 1606 and 1650]. A fifth Koran manuscript in this group is a dispersed manuscript with a Persian interlinear translation and distinct borders with strapwork and kufic inscriptions containing hadith added to pages in juz’ six [James, *Qur’ans of the Mamluks*, no. 61]. Other manuscripts in the Khalili Collection (QUR387 and QUR383; James, *Master Scribes*, nos. 5 and 50] can be related by script, though they do not have an interlinear translation. A single-volume manuscript with Turkish interlinear
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translation [TIEM 71, James, Qur’a n of the Mamluks, no. 54] transcribed and gilded by Muhammad ibn al-Hajj Dawlatshah al-Shirazi has a more typical inscriptional style. However, the date wrongly as 733/1333–34. Abdüllâhid İnan, Kur’an’ın Türkçeye Terimleri Üzerinde Bir İnceleme [Ankara, 1961] published a facsimile of some 31 pages from it. According to Eckmann, ‘Eastern Turkic Translations of the Koran,’ in Studia Turcica, ed. L. Ligeti [Budapest, 1971], 149–59, Middle Turkish Gloses, 13–14, the translation in this manuscript transcribed in Shiraz is the oldest extant and can be dated to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries on the basis of the archaic language used. Eckmann also mentions a further incomplete manuscript with a Persian and Turkish translation in the Library of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences in Tashkent that A. A. Senemov assigned to the thirteenth century (ms. 2008, A. A. Senemov, Sobrnie Vostochnykh Rukopisi Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR [Tashkent, 1957], IV, no. 284A).

2. The dispersed copy, as well as one in the Khalili Collection [QR85] without interlinear translation, also has three lines to the page in thirty volumes. The other in the Khalili Collection [QR83] without interlinear translation is also thirty volumes, but has five lines to the page. The manuscript in the Bn is a seven-part manuscript with five lines to the page; the volume in Mashhad is the last of a four-part manuscript with seven lines to the page.

3. The one made for the Atabeg vizier in the 1220s [40 × 33 cm] is very close in size to one in the Khalili Collection without interlinear translation [30 × 32 cm]. The one in Mashhad is smaller [30 × 23 cm] as is the other in the Khalili Collection without interlinear translation (QR83).

4. As in the Mashhad codex [James, Master Scribes, figs. 134] and the Paris codex [Splendeur et majesté: Coran de la Bibliothèque Nationale [Paris, 1987], 61].

5. As in the dispersed copy, James, Qur’a n of the Mamluks, 244, no. 60.

6. This detail is taken from the dispersed manuscript with borders in nos. 6, James, Qur’a n of the Mamluks, fig. 119.

7. See above, note 18.

8. For the stripwork, see particularly the copy of Rumi’s Mathnawi transcribed in 677/1278.


10. Eckmann, Middle Turkish Gloses, 16, compared innovations introduced by the copyist such as rounded endings to those attested in the Khwarazmian gloses of a manuscript of the Müqaddimât al-âlîf Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Yezid no. 596] dated 635/1237.

11. Elî, ‘Chaghatai.’

12. James compared the decoration in the Rylands Koran manuscript to that in an unpublished Koran manuscript copied by Isma’il ibn Yusuf and illuminated by Ye’qub ibn Ghazi al-Qumyari at Konya in 714/1314–15 for the Qazanid prince Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman [Konya: Mevlana Museum, Konya ms. 31, cited in James, Qur’a n of the Mamluks, 176 n. 341]. Along with the lords of Erivan, the Qazamids became the most important patrons of art in the fourteenth century. On the Qazamids in general, see Elî, ‘Karaman’-oghulları,’ on their patronage of art, see Raby and Tannad, Turkish Bookbinding, 4–6.

33. A contemporary painting probably detached from a copy of Rashid al-Din’s G chuẩnim of Chronicles and now mounted in an album in Berlin, Dibner A., fol. 70, S. 8, M. Ipligüö, Savar-Alben: Dizie’sche Klebebinde aus den Berliner Sammlungen [Wiesbaden, 1964], no. 30, pl. 8 upper) shows two scholars seated on a carpet inside a huge tent reading books propped up on such stands.


35. The single-volume Koran manuscript in Mashhad is signed by Muhammad ibn Shaykh Yusuf al-Abari known among the followers (ashab) as the sayyid of calligraphers (sayyid al-khatatt). In the Chaghatai section of the colophon, he is called Yignei-oghlu [the son of the needle-seller or needle-maker] who James suggested may be interpreted as someone who worked with a needle. That this manuscript was made in a provincial center is clear from the awkward Arabic of the colophon, in which the calligrapher is called sayyid al-khatatt rather than the more usual sayyid al-khattatin.

36. On the role of Sulifs in central Asia, see Devin A. DeWeese, Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükbi and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition [University Park, PA, 1994]. The shrine over the grave of the Sufi Shaykh Ahmad Yasavi (d. 1166) in an oasis north of Tashkent became a major focus of pilgrimage for the Turks of central Asia and the Volga at this time and was substantially rebuilt by Timur using the booty he had gained from defeating the Golden Horde; see Blair and Bloom, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800, 37–9, with references.

37. Maniheh Bayani, Anna Contadini, and Tim Stanley, The Decorated Word: Qur’an of the 17th to 19th Centuries, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art [London, 1999], no. 1. The city was renamed Beijing in 1327 when it became the northern capital of the Ming, the present mosque is the 1660s [287–90; Eckmann, Middle Turkish Gloses, 16–17].
belonged to the Maliki school of law, Sheila S. Blair, Islamic Inscriptions [Edinburgh, 1998], 35. The use of this phrase here remains to be explained.

42. A 'juz' attributed to eighteenth-century China and now in the Chester Beatty Library (ms. 1603; Arberry, Koran Illuminated, no. 343 and pl. 701, for example, shares the same format, script, and illumination.

43. For some of the many fine buildings constructed in Bursa in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, see Blair and Bloom, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250-1800, 134-45. At least one building there shows the close connection between central Asia and Anatolia in this period. The decorator (nogaz) Ali ibn Ilyas was taken from Bursa to Transoxania, but later returned to his home town, where he was in charge of decorating the so-called Yegil Cami, or Green Mosque, part of the magnificent tomb complex erected by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed (Muhammad) the Conqueror in the 1420s, see, with references to earlier works, Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding, 23-35.

44. One of the major patrons there was the statesman and military commander 'Umar Bey [d. 1461]. His father Timurshah Pasha [d. 1404-5] had amassed a fortune as governor of Koratra and Beylerbey of Anatolia. 'Umar himself served under several Ottoman sultans in Bursa and helped channel their interests toward the arts and sciences. He seems to have been the first to make an inventory of his library and to organize manuscript production during the Ottoman period. See Zeren Tanndu, 'The Fourteenth-Century Ottoman Manuscripts and Bindings in Bursa Libraries.'

45. Bursa, TIE, ms. 307; Tanndu, 'The Fourteenth-Century Ottoman Manuscripts and Bindings in Bursa Libraries,' 148; Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding, 5.

46. The musical treatise is TKS, R1726; Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding, no. 2. It has a magnificent binding but is transcribed in what is described as a poor nasturiq.

47. Several of these in Mashhad (e.g., Astai-i Quds no. 414) and Shiraz (Pars Museum 430) are illustrated in color in Martin Lings, The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination [London, 1976], 81-3 and 89; Martin Lings and Yasin Safadi, The Qur'an [London, 1976], 115 and 119.


49. The three Koran manuscripts comprise one written in Edirne and donated by Mahmud Pasha to the tomb of Rumi and now in the Mevlana Museum there; a second dedicated to Mehmed and now in a private collection in Italy; and a third in Istanbul (TIE, ms. 7445; Ernest J. Grube, The Date of the Venice Iskandar-Nama, Islamic Art 3 [1987]: 187-203, used a copy of Badi' al-Din Minuchir al-Tabrizi’s Dili zamanume made at Edirne in 860/1453-6 [Oxford, Bodleian, Ouseley 131] to identify a group of three illustrated manuscripts produced at Mehmed’s atelier there, including a well-known copy of Ahmad’s Iskandarname [Venice, Marciana Library XCI]. An undated copy in Leningrad [C1330] may be attributed to the same school; see I. E. Petrovsky, ‘An Illustrated Turkish Manuscript of “Iskender-Nâme”’ by Ahmed’i, Manuscripta Orientalia 1, no. 2 [October 1953]: 47-8, 57-61, front and back covers. The paintings in these manuscripts are modeled on the Turkish style used in early fifteenth-century Shiraz, and similarly the calligraphy copies the distinctive Shirazi style with long tails that sweep under the next word.

50. Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding.

51. For the international Timurid style and the role of Baba Nqaghash and his album designs [Istanbul, Fr.431], see Blair and Bloom, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250-1800, 233, with references.


53. It is possible that this calligrapher was responsible only for some of the designs on the scroll, but since his is the only signature on it, I have assumed that he was the sole person involved.

54. Istanbul, TKS, A.1777; Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding, no. 13.


57. See Chapter 7 for details on these albums.

58. The same thing happened after the Ottomans defeated the Safavids at Chaldiran in 1514.


61. Another example is the account by the twelfth-century historian Ibn al-Jawzi of the fathnâmâ that the Ghaznavid sultan Muhammad sent to the Abbasid caliph al-Qadir on 1 Jubada I 430/16 June 1029 after taking Rayy from the Buyids. After the famous battle at Dandanqan in 431/1040, the victorious Saljuqs are even said to have transcribed their fathnâma using the writing materials plundered from the chancery of the routed Ghaznavids.”

62. The texts of many Arabic, Persian and Turkish documents from the time of Mehmed the Conqueror have been gathered by Necati Luglu and Adnan Eren, Mecmâyi-i Münsetâ Müstazzâlık de Devre-Yi Sultan Mehmet Parâsh [Istanbul, 1956], though without illustration.


64. Richard, ‘Divânî or tu’liq’, Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding, 70-1.

65. Sâyîdî Muhammad signed a collection of letters dated Rabi’ 1185/July 1476 in the Keir Collection (Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding, no. 23 as the son of Sadr al-Din al-munshî al-Muhaini and another manuscript in the Suleymaniye Library (ms. Ayasofya 1939) dated Muharram 886/March–April 1481 using the epithet al-sultanî al-shâhi al-shirazi. See Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding, 70-1.

66. Raby and Tanndu, Turkish Bookbinding, 70-1 and n. 116, citing E. Tannâ’s study of Ottoman sources during the time of Mehmed,
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Osmanh Kaynaklari Gazi Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Siyasii ve Askeri Faaliyetleri [Ankara, 1933], 233.

67. Phythar and Tanmir, 'Bookbinding, 71 and n. 119, suggested that Sayyid Muhammad may have been responsible for what they consider the earliest examples of an Ottoman document written in ta'liq, one dated January 1474. They cited an article by Mohammed Mokri, ‘Un formarm de Sultan Husayn Bayqara recommandant la protection d'une ambassade ottomane en Khoresan en 879/1474,’ Turcica 5 (1973): 68-79, but this refers to a Timurid decree issued in Dhul-Qa'dah 879/March-April 1474 in the name of Sultan Husayn Bayqara recommending the protection of an Ottoman embassy in Khurasan. Now preserved in Istanbul [TKS E.1.3100], it is a good example of Timurid ta'liq. Sayyid Muhammad may, however, have penned some of the unsigned documents issued by Mehmed's chancery, see above, note 65. The only one from Mehmed's reign reproduced in the admirable [and accessible] catalogue by Aysegul Nadir, ed., Osmanlı Füdülük Firmansları: Imperial Ottoman Firmans (Istanbul, 1986), no. 5, is a decree in Turkish granting property [mutkama] issued in mid-Safar 873/5-6 August-9 December 1468, written in a rather heavy ta'liq hand.


69. TIEM 3179.

70. TKS A3267; Richard, 'Divani ou ta'liq,' pl. XII; Dermer, Art of Calligraphy, no. 43.

71. A single-volume Koran manuscript dated 667/1268-9 [Khaliqi Collection QUR6:55; James, Master Scribes, no. 18] shows that calligraphers working in eastern Iran and Afghanistan during the 8th century, gen. ed. Jane Dammen McAlpin (Leiden, 2001), 326] suggests that the calligrapher might have fled from Delhi as Timur's army approached and taken refuge in the fort at Qalawar, where he finished his work in mid-spring 1399. In his entry on Koran manuscripts, François Deshayes [Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an, gen. ed. Jane Dammen McAlpin (Leiden, 2001), 326] also mentions a copy in Leiden University Library (Or. 1830) dated 818/1409-10.


73. Museum showing the princes of the house of Timur [see Sheila R. Canby, ed., Hymann's Garden Party: Princes of the House of Timur and Late Mughal Painting [Bombay, 1995]]. In manuscripts like the Hanzanname [for which see John Seyller, The Adventures of Hamza,' in The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India [Washington, DC, 2003]], large paintings on cotton were combined with text pages on paper.

74. NA, ms. pers. 36; 'Divani ou ta'liq,' n. 32. The manuscript is described and illustrated in Richard's admirably complete catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the BN, Richard, Catalogue, 62 and pl. 7A.

75. See Losty, The Art of the Book in India, 38-40.

76. For a brief history of the region, see Eliz, 'Bihar,' Eliz, 'Bihar.'

77. Eliz, 'Bihar.'

78. The Arts of Islam, exhibition catalogue, Hayward Gallery (London, 1976), no. 635; Anthony Welch, Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World [Austin, TX, 1979], no. 75; Losty, The Art of the Book in India, no. 18. This was a time of major upheaval in the subcontinent. That year the great steppe conqueror Timur invaded India and sacked Delhi, but he withdrew in the spring of 1399. Gwalior, a major stronghold south of Agra, was not attacked, but shortly after Timur's departure, Toner Rai put to war the citizen and returned the area briefly to Hindu suzerainty. Anthony Welch, Calligraphy, 178, suggests that the calligrapher might have fled from Delhi as Timur's army approached and taken refuge in the fort at Gwalior, where he finished his work in mid-spring 1399. In his entry on Koran manuscripts, François Deshayes [Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an, gen. ed. Jane Dammen McAlpin (Leiden, 2001), 326] also mentions a copy in Leiden University Library (Or. 1830) dated 818/1409-10.

79. Curiously, the double pages marking the opening of the [illustrated] in each of Losty, The Art of the Book in India, pl. 6] do not have any Persian translation for the center lines in gold.

80. The Bibliographical School (Archeological Museum, MS 912) has been published in Stuart Cary Welch, India: Art and Culture, 1300-1900 [New York and Munich, 1993] [1998]; [New York and Munich, 1993) [1998], no. 75; Blair and Bloom, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800, fig. 305. Losty, The Art of the Book in India, 39 also mentions a Koran manuscript in the Salar Jung Museum whose date has been obscured but which has been read as 936/1530. Its crude script and illumination suggest the end of the period.


82. BL, Add. 5548–51, fol. 110b illustrated in Losty, The Art of the Book in India, 39.


85. Jan Just Wiltam, 'Qur'anic Fragments from Dawrân (Yemen),' Manuscripts of the Middle East 4 (1958): 8, 8.

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87. Wirakam, ‘Qur’an Fragments,’ 135, for example, mentions one in Leiden University Library (Or. 20.530).

88. Khaliqi Collection, QUR25; James, After Timur: ‘Qur’ans of the 15th and 16th Centuries, no. 11.


The Rasulids were active patrons of literature and the arts, especially agriculture, mathematics and astronomy (David A. King, ‘Astronomy in Medieval Yemen,’ in Yemen: 3000 Years of Art and Civilization in Arabia Felix, ed. Werner Daum (Innsbruck and Frankfurt/Main, 1988), 300–8. Daniel Martin Varisco, ‘Medieval Agricultural Texts from Rasulid Yemen,’ Manuscripts of the Middle East 4 (1989): 150–4; Daniel Martin Varisco, Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science, the Almanac of a Yemeni Sultan (Seattle, 1994). The Rasulid sultan al-Asfahal [r. 1295–6] compiled an extensive treatise on the construction of astrological sundials and even made his own astrological dial, dated 690/1291, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Every year, the sultans had their astronomers prepare almanacs and ephemerides containing calendrical and astronomical information and tables of the positions of the sun, moon, and planets for each day of the year. Two of these almanacs survive, one prepared for San’an in 737/1336–7 (Cairo, Dkh, Mqgat 877) and the other for Ta’izz in 808/1405–6. The earliest surviving examples of Islamic ephemerides, these manuscripts are copied in nabkhi with thuluth headings. This combination of scripts is typical of contemporary manuscripts made for the Mamluks (Figure 8.6), but the nabkhi used in the ephemeris made at San’a is remarkable for its long strokes on final kaf, lam, nun, and similar letters, in which the bowl is often extended so that it encircles the following letters.

90. Richard Ettinghausen, ‘Yemenite Bible Manuscripts of the XVth Century,’ Eretz-Israel 7 (1963): 32–9, published a group of five Hebrew manuscripts in the British Library that were transcribed by the same scribe or for the same patron. The texts include the Former and Latter Prophets and a hagiography, but the finest [Or. 2348] is a copy of the Pentateuch. According to the Arabic text on the last two pages of the manuscript, it was finished in Safar 874/August–September 1469 for Ibrahim ibn Yusuf ibn Sa’d ibn Ibrahim al-lari’i. The scribe’s name is not given, but he is probably to be identified with Benayah ben Sa’di ben Zacharia ben Margs, the Jewish scribe who signed two of the other manuscripts. The illuminated pages in this copy of the Pentateuch are clearly modeled on frontispieces and finials in luxury manuscripts made for the Mamluks, but are not as fine. The gold and lapis lazuli pigments used by Mamluk calligraphers were not available to this calligrapher in San’a, who used simpler and cheaper pigments, mainly red, green, and blue. Similarly, his thuluth script is awkward, with unusually anastomosed verticals and extra-long bowls on final letters. The ba ‘in the name ibrahim in the top and bottom lines of the frontispiece is particularly

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strange. One line of text in the frontispiece to one of the other manuscripts [Or. 3311, fol. 1b] is even written upside down, suggesting that the calligrapher did not know Arabic.


92. See above, note 71.

93. Delhi, National Museum, 48.6.4; Lowry, The Art of the Book in India, no. 42.


95. Paris, BN, ms. arabe 385; Lings, Quranic Art, pls. 104–5; François Déroche, Les Manuscrits du coran, du Maghrib à l’Insulada, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes (Paris, 1985), no. 396; Jerrilynn D. Dodds [ed.], Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain (New York, 1992), no. 85; Marie-Geneviève Guédon and Annie Vernay-Nouri [eds.], L’Art du livre arabe: du manuscrit au livre d’artiste (Paris, 2001), no. 62. Much the same can be said about another manuscript [BN, ms. arabe 395], the third part of a four-part copy of the Koran that was conserved to the Mosque at Malaga in 844/1440–1, to judge from materials (parchment) and style, it was probably made in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, see Déroche, Manuscrits du coran I, no. 398.

96. Many manuscripts made in the Maghrib in this period are in the rectangular or landscape format, as distinct from the vertical or portrait format favored in the era.

97. Sometimes there are too few markers, marking only three of the four verses before the marker for the fifth, as in the opening verses of Sura 73 [al-Maghtab] at the top of the page and between the fifteenth and twentieth verses in the middle of the sura. Sometimes there are extra verse markers, as between verses 20 and 25, all found on the page illustrated in Lings, Quranic Art, 104. These extra markers might reflect the varying systems of numbering verses, for the verses at the end of Sura 73 are counted in different ways according to the Fliegel and the Standard Egyptian systems. However, other pages in the manuscript [e.g., Splendeur et majesté, no. 10] are literally sprinkled with extra verse markers where none is required according either to the various standard systems or to the ten and ten markers used in this particular manuscript.

98. The kufic display script used in the sura titles, for example, is decidedly odd. The serifs point to the left, as in the maghribi text script. Ra’ sometimes bends to the right so that it resembles final yun, as in the word sarar (ten) in the verse counts. The calligrapher seems to have used this form of ra’ when he wanted to make a symmetrical arrangement with the left-pointing hook of a preceding letter like final nun, taa’ or waaw. The text script is equally distinct. The bodies of kaf and saad are stretched to add horizontal emphasis and counter the weight of the swooping tails, which often descend and touch the letters of the next line. Medial ba’ resembles a dal with a loop at the end, as in bahim, the second word in the line above the sura heading at the bottom of the page.

99. Bibliothèque Ben Youssouf, no. 431; Dodds, Al-Andalus, no. 81.

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101. They form the ‘Cartas diplomáticas árabes’ (CDA) and have been published with Spanish translations of their texts by Maxiliano A. Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares, Los Documentos árabes diplomáticos del archivo de la corona de Aragón (Madrid, 1949).

103. These zieg-zags are visible in the sheet illustrated in Bloom, Paper before Print, 86, and even more clearly in the larger illustration of the same sheet in Lucien X. Polastron, Le Papiers: 2000 ans d’histoire et de savants-livre (Paris, 1990), 111.


105. Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, Documentos Árabes, no. 60.

106. Other documents have eleven or twelve lines; see Valls i Subirà, History of Paper, figs. 65-4.


108. Paris, BN, ms. arabe 389-92, Déroche, Manuscriptes du coran II, nos. 301–8; Splendeur et, no. 15; Blair and Bloom, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800, fig. 147; Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri, L’Art du livre arabe, no. 25. Colored papers were popular in the Maghrib. Another three- or four-part Koran manuscript attributed to the fifteenth or sixteenth century in Rabat (Bibliothèque Générale Dr304) is copied in silver ink with gold ornament.

109. This remarkable five-volume Koran manuscript had a long and impressive pedigree. Several volumes contain marks of ownership by one Muhammad al-Husayni. By 1632 the manuscript had passed to Europe and entered the collection of the French chancellors Pierre Séguier (1588–1672), Duc de Coislin, a man of great learning and a patron of literature whose library contained some four thousand manuscripts in various languages. After his death, the Séguier-Coislin library was donated to the Abbey of St-Germain des Prés in 1732, and thence to the Bibliothèque Nationale. One volume of the manuscript was also taken to the imperial library in St Petersburg.

110. While common, this change was not ubiquitous, however, for the 703/1304 Koran manuscript on parchment (BN, ms. arabe 385) is transcribed in black ink and the copy of the Koran on peach-colored paper (Rabat, Bibliothèque Ben Youssef, ms. 431) is transcribed in brown ink.

111. BN, Smith-Lesouef 217; Dodds, Al-Andalus, no. 84; Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri, L’Art du livre arabe, no. 61.

112. Déroche, Manuscriptes du coran II, pl. 11f.

113. For example, volume five, fol. 35b contains the end of Surah 57 (al-Hadid), illustrated in Déroche, Manuscriptes du coran II, pl. 11f. The footers states that the sura contains twenty-eight verses. The verse counters, however, reach only twenty-seven, and the Standard Egyptian and Fligel editions of the text have twenty-nine.

114. BN, ms. arabe 439-440, Déroche, Manuscriptes du coran II, nos. 109–111; Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri, L’Art du livre arabe, no. 35. The manuscript was apparently brought from North Africa in 1533, for one of the volumes bears a note in French saying that Charles V, Emperor of the Romans and King of Spain, acquired this copy of the Koran during his expedition to Tunis and Algiers and that Cardinal de Granvelle took it from the Escorial to put in his own library. It then passed to the library of the French chancellor Pierre Séguier, which also housed the purple Hafsid copy [Figure 9.12].

115. Eight-part Koran manuscripts seem to be a feature of the Maghrib. Another example in Paris [BN, ms. arabe 423; Déroche, Manuscriptes du coran II, no. 397; Splendeur et Majesté, no. 12; De l’Empire romain aux villes impériales: 6000 ans d’art au Maroc (Paris, 1990), no. 308] bears an endowment notice in the name of the Marinid sultan Abu’l’Hasan Faris (r. 1348–58).

116. In 1350, for example, the sultan of Tunis, Musa ibn Abi Ya’qub, sent a letter from Tlemcen to Peter IV of Aragon-Catalonia on paper bearing a griffin watermark. Valls i Subirà, Paper and Watermarks, 11–13; Bloom, Paper before Print, 86.

117. The fatwa is described in Bloom, Paper before Print, 86–7, with a further reference to Vincent Lagardière, Histoire et société en occident musulman au moyen âge: analyse du Muyar d’al-Wanshari, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez [Madrid, 1995], 42. For its transmitter, see El/2, ar-Wanshari.

118. Rabat, Bibliothèque, no. 586, De l’Empire romain, no. 512.
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101. They form the 'Cartas diplomáticas árabes' (CDA) and have been published with Spanish translations of their texts by Maximiliano A. Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares, Los Documentos arábes diplomáticos del archivo de la corona de Aragón [Madrid, 1940].

102. These 16-24pp are visible in the sheet illustrated in Bloom, Paper before Print, p. 86, and even more clearly in the larger illustration of the same sheet in Lucien X. Polastron, Le Papiers: 2000 ans d'histoire et de savoir-faire [Paris, 1999], 111.


104. Alarcón y Santón and García de Linares, Documentos Árabes, no. 60.

105. CDA, case 4, folder 180; Valls i Subirà, History of Paper, fig. 67.

106. Other documents have eleven or twelve lines, see Valls i Subirà, History of Paper, figs. 63-4.

107. One of the rare examples of a dated Koran manuscript made in Andalusia in the fifteenth century is the one transcribed by Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Ali ibn Yahya al-Balansi (of Valencia) in 1469 (TKS R33a; F. E. Karatay, Topkapi Sarayi Mützesi Kâtibihanesi. Arapça Yazımları Rotaloğlular [Istanbul], 1962), no. 333.

108. Paris, BN, ms. arabe 389-90, Déroche, Manuscripts of the coran II, nos. 305-8, Splendeur et, no. 14; Blair and Bloom, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250-1800, fig. 147; Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri, L'Art du livre arabe, no. 35. Colored papers were popular in the Maghrib. Another three- or four-part Koran manuscript attributed to the fifteenth or sixteenth century in Rabat (Bibliothèque Générale D130a) is copied in silver ink with gold ornament.

109. This remarkable five-volume Koran manuscript had a long and impressive pedigree. Several volumes contain marks of ownership by one Muhammad al-Husayni. By 1632 the manuscript had passed to Europe and entered the collection of the French chancellor Pierre Séguier (1588-1673), Duc de Coislin, a man of great learning and a patron of literature whose library contained some four thousand manuscripts in various languages. After his death, the Ségur-Cotelin library was donated to the Abbey of St-Germain des Prés in 1732, and thence to the Bibliothèque Nationale. One volume of the manuscript was also taken to the imperial library in St Petersburg.

110. While common, this change was not ubiquitous, however, for the 703/1304 Koran manuscript on parchment (BN, ms. arabe 385) is transcribed in black ink and the copy of the Koran on peach-colored paper (Rabat, Bibliothèque Ben Youssouf, ms. 431) is transcribed in brown ink.

111. BN, Smith-Lesoeuf 2177; Dodds, Al-Andalus, no. 84; Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri, L'Art du livre arabe, no. 61.

112. Déroche, Manuscripts du coran II, pl. 11b.

113. For example, volume five, fol. 25b contains the end of Surâ 57 (al-Hadîd), illustrated in Déroche, Manuscripts du coran II, pl. 11b. The footer states that the sura contains twenty-eight verses. The verse counters, however, reach only twenty-seven, and the Standard Egyptian and Fligel editions of the text have twenty-nine.

114. BN, ms. arabe 438-440, Déroche, Manuscripts du coran II, nos. 309-11; Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri, L'Art du livre arabe, no. 35. The manuscript was apparently brought from North Africa in 1335, for one of the volumes bears a note in French saying that Charles V, Emperor of the Romans and King of Spain, acquired this copy of the Koran during his expedition to Tunis and Algiers and that Cardinal de Granvelle took it from the Escorial to put in his own library. It then passed to the library of the French chancellor Pierre Séguier, which also housed the purple Hafsî copy (Figure 9.12).

115. Eight-part Koran manuscripts seem to be a feature of the Maghrib. Another example in Paris (BN, MS. arabe 432; Déroche, Manuscripts du coran II, no. 397; Splendeur et Majesté, no. 13; De L'Empire romain aux Villes impériales: 6000 ans d'art au Maroc [Paris, 1990], no. 508) bears an endowment notice in the name of the Marinid sultan Abu 'Inan Faris (r. 1348-1358).

116. In 1350, for example, the sultan of Tunis, Musa ibn Abi Ya'qub, sent a letter from Tlemcen to Peter IV of Aragon-Catalonia on paper bearing a griffin watermark. Valls i Subirà, Paper and Watermarks, figs. 11-13; Bloom, Paper before Print, 86.

117. The fatwâ is described in Bloom, Paper before Print, 86-7, with a further reference to Vincent Lagardère, Histoire et società en occident musulmane au moyen-âge: analyse du Muyar d’al-Wanshari, Collection de la Cana de Velâquez [Madrid, 1993], 42. For its transmitter, see El/2, ‘al-Wanshâri.’

118. Rabat, Bibliothèque, no. 586, De l’Empire romain, no. 513.