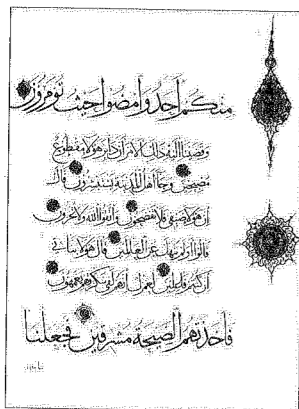


74

**Probably Baghdad**

First quarter of the 14th century
38.5 x 31.5cm
A fragmentary thirty-part Qur'an

LINES TO A PAGE: 7, 5 of medium
Rayhān and 2 of large *Rayhān*

SCRIBE: unknown. The Topkapı
pages have an attribution at the end
to Arghūn al-Kāmīlī

ILLUMINATOR: unknown

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Karatay (1962), i,
42, no.135; 57, no.194; Arberry
(1967), no.66, Sotheby's (1975a),
illustrated; Bamborough (1976), 36;
James (1980b), no.35

LOCATION: Chester Beatty Library,
1494. Many pages from ii, 4 to lxvi,
2; Topkapı Sarayı, R.69, EH 222;
Pierpont Morgan Library, New
York, M.840. Four folios
Ex-Sotheby's, Lot 185, 7.4.75

Not illustrated

75

**Iran**

714/1315
31 x 23cm
Single volume

FOLIOS: 322

LINES TO A PAGE: 13
SCRIPT: *Naskh*

SCRIBE: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad
al-Khabbāz

ILLUMINATOR: unknown

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Robinson (1976),
288

LOCATION: London, Keir Collection
vii, 8

Not illustrated

76

**Iran or Anatolia**

Shawwāl 716/December 1316
46 x 33cm
Single volume

FOLIOS: 473

LINES TO A PAGE: 15, 2 of *Thulth*
and 13 of *Naskh*

SCRIBE: Tūqtamūr ibn 'Abd
al-Razzāq al-Shihābī al-Shāwī

ILLUMINATOR: unknown

UNPUBLISHED

LOCATION: TIEM K 261

Not illustrated

Notes

Preface

1. al-Zabīdī (1954), 86-87. He claims that the tradition of calligraphy in Egypt goes back to Yāqūt al-Mawṣilī, who died in Mosul in 1221. Yāqūt was the master of Abū'l-Ḥasan ibn Zankī, called "al-Walī al-'Ajāmī", who was in turn the master of 'Aff al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, also called "al-Shūrāzī". The latter had a son 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was his pupil and a leading grammarian and calligrapher. 'Imād al-Dīn taught Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Raqbah (or Ruqaybah), the *muḥtasib* of Fuṣṭāṭ. He was the master of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ziftāwī al-Mukattib who composed a treatise on calligraphy *Minhāj al-Iṣābah*, and was the teacher of the well-known scholar Ibn Ḥajar. A contemporary of al-Ziftāwī, and a pupil of the same masters, was Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī, whose own pupil was Nūr al-Dīn al-Wasīmī. The famous 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūsūf, called "Ibn al-Ṣā'igh" (1367-1441) was taught by al-Wasīmī. Qalqashandī mentions another pupil of al-Ziftāwī, Zayn al-Dīn Sha'bān ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd al-Āthārī, the *muḥtasib* of Cairo, who wrote a treatise on calligraphy entitled *al-'Ināyah al-Rabbāniyyah fi'l-Ṭarīqah al-Sha'bāniyyah*. Zayn al-Dīn left Cairo and went to Mekka and then on to India, returning to Mekka where he died.

2. If we are to interpret this information correctly, it would seem to imply that the tradition of calligraphy in Egypt descended from Ibn al-Bawwāb through Yāqūt al-Mawṣilī, and not through Yāqūt al-Musta'īmī and his pupil Ibn al-Wahīd. However, as Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Wasīmī (also called Shams al-Dīn) was taught by 'Abdallāh Ṣayrafi, the pupil of Sayyid Ḥaydar, *Gandah Navīs*, there was in fact a link with Yāqūt al-Musta'īmī.

3. Lane-Poole (1886).

4. Bourgoin (1892).

5. Mousa (1939).

6. Cairo (1969).

7. al-Azhar Mosque contains a number of interesting Qur'āns which circumstances beyond our control prevented us from examining in November 1977.

8. Lings & Safadi (1976).

9. London (1976).

10. James (1980b).

11. Atıl (1981), 24-47.

12. Bayānī (1949).

13. Faḍā'ilī (1971).

14. Ettinghausen (1939), 1954-59.

15. Bayānī (1949).

16. Akimushkin & Ivanov (1979).

Chapter One

1. Rice (1955).

2. Ms. VII 3-4; Robinson (1976), 287.

3. In the Library of the University of Leiden (inv.no.Cod.437 Warn.) there is a manuscript which was copied in the city of Ghaznah around 1050. It uses the same *naskh* as a portion of a Qur'an copied in Mashhad in 1195, and now in the Chester Beatty Library (Ms. 1435). Although primarily associated with areas east of Baghdad, this type of *naskh* was not the only one in use there. A Qur'an copied in the Iranian town of Bust in 1111-12, (Bib. Nat. Ms. Arabe 6041), uses a large *naskh*-like hand, with many of the characteristics of *thulth*, while one copied in Ḥamadān in 1164, (Univ. Mus. Philadelphia, N.E.P.27), employs an entirely different type of script. There is also a small group of early eleventh-century Qur'āns identified by Ettinghausen and Rice forty years ago, some of which employ a small, tight, cursive script, distinct from all others.

4. Ms. VII, 3-4; Robinson (1976), 287.

5. This comes from a Qur'anic commentary, a loose volume numbered 507, in Cairo National Library.

6. See below, Chapter Four, note 17.

7. Ms. 144; Lings & Safadi (1976), no.60.

8. Chester Beatty, Ms. 1438; Arberry (1967), no.43, pl.27; James (1980b), no.20.

9. Chester Beatty, Ms. 1481; Arberry (1967), no.56; James (1980b), no.28.

10. Chester Beatty, Ms. 1448; Arberry (1967), no.53, pl.34; James (1980b), no.22; Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Ms. Arabe 5949; Archaeological Museum, Bursa, Koran 19. The latter consists of *Juz' 1* and contained a fine dedicatory inscription, now, alas, totally erased. Ex-Sotheby Ms. Lot 271, Sotheby's (1981).

11. Suppl. persan 1610; Séguy (1973), no.170.

12. There are several examples from Iran in manuscripts dating from the 11th and 12th centuries. This use of the *abjad* system occurs in both *kufic* and cursive Qur'āns.

13. *Kufic* script continued in use until the twelfth century in Iran. The manuscript reproduced in Lings (1976), no.21, which is closely related to a page in the Chester Beatty Library, James (1980b), no.17, is said to be dated 620/1223. However, the colophon page, which is reproduced in the Catalogue of the Astan-i Quds Library, Ma'ānī (1928), no.43, suggests that the date has been altered to make it appear later.

14. Lings & Safadi (1976), no.1a.

15. James (1980b), no.1.

16. Kuwait (1985); Von Bothmer (1986).

17. Chester Beatty, Ms. 1434: Arberry (1967), no. 35, pl. 23; James (1980b), no. 13-14.
 18. British Library Add. 7214; Rice (1955), pl. 13a-b; Lings & Safadi (1976), Cat. 54.
 19. Rice (1955), 15, note 1.
 20. British Library Add. 11,735; Rice (1955), 30.
 21. The colophon of Ms. 10, National Library, Cairo, incorporates a verse-count in the colophon, though most of the "facts" are purely fanciful.
 22. Partly reproduced in Arberry (1967), pl. 31.

Chapter Two

1. For literature on the Mamlūks see Atıl (1981), and the *Muqarnas* volume devoted to the art of the Mamlūks, ii, (1984).
 2. E.I.², s.v. "al-Bahriyya", though the author of the entry is not in favour of the term being applied to the Mamlūks of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
 3. Āshūr (1976), 188-89; Rogers (1973).
 4. al-Hajji (1978), Chapter 4.
 5. Stowasser (1984); Ayalon (1977), i.
 6. Ayalon (1977), ii.
 7. Ayalon (1977), i.
 8. Humphreys (1977), 119.
 9. Williams (1984), 40.
 10. Fernandes (1983), Conclusion.
 11. For the use of Qur'ānic *āyāt* on buildings, see Dodd & Khairallah (1981). For Mamlūk inscriptions on metalwork, see Wiet (1932); and for glass, see Wiet (1929). For the general matter of the meaning and symbolism of *āyāt* used on architecture, see also Tabaa (1985).
 12. For *kursi* see Amīn (1980); 199, for the use of textiles bags see Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 252.
 13. Atıl (1981), 86-87. See also Ibn Baṭūṭṭah's reference to a multi-part Qur'ān kept in a container being read publicly, Ibn Baṭūṭṭah (1958-71), i, 153 and note 318.
 14. *Wa yaqra'ūna mā tayāsara 'alā mā yarāhu shaykhu-hum min rab'ah sharīfah*, Amīn (1980), 211.
 15. Fernandes (1983), 133. This complete recitation, with different readers for each part, was known as a *khatmah*.
 16. Ibn Baṭūṭṭah (1958-71), i, 44.
 17. Amīn (1980), 211-13; Fernandes (1983), 135-36, 138.
 18. Amīn (1980), 198-99. Quoting the *waqfiyyah* of Qāṣūh al-Ghawrī which mentions a sum of money allocated for three Qur'ān-readers of a large Qur'ān... endowed by the donor... which is placed on a large reading-stand.

Chapter Three

1. Cat. 1-7, 11-12, 14 & 19. Closely related to this group are:

- British Library Ms. Or 3025; *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīyyah*, dated 712/1312, see Elbeheiry (1968); and Aya Sofia Ms. 4823, *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīyyah*, dated 719/1320, now in the Süleymaniye Library.
 2. There are manuscripts which may be earlier Mamlūk Qur'āns. For example, Cairo National Library Ms. 70, see Cairo (1969), no. 280, and Atıl (1981), 24, where it is wrongly described as thirty-part; Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. S/L 220, which bears a note saying that it was made for Qalā'ūn (1279-90), but this lacks any contemporary documentation. Déroche (1985), no. 352, pl. v & xii.
 3. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 277. For Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāshnagīr al-Mansūrī, see al-Şafadī (1949-82), no. 4843; Maqrīzī (1934-), 2, i, 45-71; Ibn Iyās (1961-75), i, i, 423-35; al-Hajji (1978).
 4. Cureton & Rieu (1846-71), Pars ii, 535-37.
 5. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 56.
 6. Creswell (1952-60), ii, 249-50.
 7. Qalqashandī (1963), 2, 487, where Baghdadi-size paper is described. According to the author, such paper was used almost exclusively for Qur'āns.
 8. Ibn Iyās (1961-75), i, i, 418-19.
 9. Ibn Hajar (1966-67), no. 3740.
 10. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 276-78; Ibn Iyās (1961-75), i, i, 418-19.
 11. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 277.
 12. Ibn al-Suqā'ī (1974), no. 256; Ibn al-Wahīd (1968), 7-11.
 13. al-Şafadī (1949-82), no. 1104.
 14. Ibn Hajar (1966-67), no. 3740.
 15. The *nisbah al-Zar'ī*, must mean that Ibn al-Wahīd had connections with Zar'ah, a village in the Hawran area of southern Syria.
 16. Ibn al-Suqā'ī (1974), no. 305.
 17. Ibn Hajar (1966-67), no. 3740.
 18. al-Şafadī (1949-82), no. 1104; and Ibn al-Wahīd (1968), 7-12.
 19. al-Ṭībī (1962), 18, s.v. *ash'ār*.
 20. See the Mamlūk Qur'āns mentioned in the Khedival Catalogue, *Fihrist* (1891), where the script of a manuscript is described as *maktūbah bi'l-dhahab musha'arah bi'l-madād al-aswad*, "written in gold 'outlined' in black." Also London (1931), no. 717A.
 21. Atıl (1981), 24.
 22. al-Şafadī (1949-82), no. 4843.
 23. al-Khazrajī (1891), i, 380.
 24. Rogers (1973).
 25. Identical decoration occurs on much metalwork of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Several other pieces of decoration by Ibn Mubādir can be paralleled in metalwork.
 26. Ms. 4033.
 27. Ms. A.125 inf: Haldane (1978), 76.
 28. British Library Ms. Or 1327.
 29. al-Şafadī (1949-82), no. 4843.
 30. See Ibn Taghrī-Birdī (1954-63), xvi, 19: Personal names.
 31. According to information kindly supplied by the

Kunstabibliothek der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, no date or name of a calligrapher occurs on the pages.

32. *al-Badrī* is the usual abbreviation for Badr al-Dīn, meaning that Aydughdī had been in the service, or was a Mamlūk, of someone with this name.

33. Charles Rieu, Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts at the British Museum.

34. Lane-Poole (1886), 256.

35. Chester Beatty, Ms. 1439: Arberry (1967), no. 45, pls. 2 and 31; James (1980b), no. 23.

36. al-Şafadī (1949-82), no. 4843.

37. "Après la formule Au nom de Dieu et une ligne de la khotbah, on commençait par la toghra, qui était tracée en or incrusté *dhahab muzammak* et qui contenait, comme tous les toghras, les titres de notre soultan."

38. Le verbe *zammak* signifie imprégner, incruster. On lit dans l'ouvrage dont je donne ici l'extrait *maktūbah bi'l-dhahab bi'l-qalam al-muḥaqqaq yuzammak bi'l-sawād*, 'écrit en or avec un kalam bien taillé et imprégné de noir...' Dans le *Fākihāt al-Khulafā'*, *zummiyat bi'l-dhahab*, 'elle fut incrustée d'or'. Dans le *Manhal al-Şāfi*, *wa mā a'taqid tuktab mithlu-hā wa lā mithla tazmīki-hā*, 'je ne crois que personne puisse tracer une pareille écriture, ni imiter son encrustation.' Quatremère (1842), 2, pt. 1, 307.

39. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 98.

40. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 102.

41. Ibn Taghrī-Birdī (1932), no. 1159; Quatremère (1842), 2, pt. 1, 58, note 56; Ibn Taghrī-Birdī *al-Manhal*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Arabe 2065, fol. 131r. For his genealogy, Humphreys (1977), Table III.

42. Ibn Hajar (1966-67), no. 1921.

43. Probably at the court of al-Nāşir Muḥammad. It is interesting that in 690/1296 a candlestick was made for the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn by one Shādhī ibn Shirkūh, who was probably a distant relative of Shādhī ibn Muḥammad and a descendant of al-Malik al-Awḥad Shādhī ibn al-Zāhir Dā'ūd who ruled briefly in Damascus. He died in 705/1305. For the candlestick see Wiet (1932), no. 128.

44. cf. Rice (1953), 63.

45. For example, John Rylands Library, Ms. Arabic 21 (788), dated 794/1391. See note of fol. 543r, stating that the vocalization of the text has been done by someone other than the scribe.

46. *Muqri'* means someone fully acquainted with the rules of *tajwīd*, or perfect pronunciation of the Qur'ān.

47. From Bahnasa, the ancient city of Egypt near the modern Beni Mazar, south of Cairo. Visited by Ibn Baṭūṭṭah. See article in E.I.², s.v. "Bahnasa".

48. Humphreys (1977).

49. British Library Ms. Or. 3025.

50. Aya Sofia Ms. 4823.

51. E.I.², s.v. "Abū'l-Fidā'". In 1320 Abū'l-Fidā' made the Ḥajj with al-Nāşir Muḥammad, and on his return was given the title *al-malik al-mu'ayyad*, and invested with the insignia of the sultanate. From then on his hold over Ḥamā was assured.

52. Elbeheiry (1968), pls. iii and v.

53. When Elbeheiry edited the correspondence of al-Nāşir Dā'ūd

some years ago, he concluded that the British Library manuscript dated 1312 was later than the Istanbul one dated 1320. He argued that after the death of the original compiler al-Amjad al-Ḥasan, the work was completed by Shādhī ibn Muḥammad, but that Aydughdī ibn 'Abdallāh wished to claim authorship and so predated the British Library manuscript. Elbeheiry concluded, partly on the basis of the colophons, that the British Library copy was in effect a forgery. However, the phrase used by Aydughdī was standard scribal practice and there is no evidence that he claimed credit to anything other than copying out the manuscript. In fact, Shādhī ibn Muḥammad himself was probably only acting as a copyist, and there is no proof that he is the completer of the second part of "Letters". In any case, Elbeheiry was unaware of the connections between Shādhī and Aydughdī for he states that he had been unable to find a reference to either copyist.

Chapter Four

1. The names given here and the order in which they appear is that of *Risālah-yi Quṭbiyyah*, of Quṭb al-Dīn Yazdī quoted in the *Khaṭṭ u Khaṭṭān*. The *Gulzar-i Şawāb* of Nefes-zādeh gives the pupils as follows: 1. 'Abdallāh Şayrafi, master of *naskh*; 2. Mubārak Shāh Quṭb; 3. 'Abdallāh Āshpaz (*al-Ṭabbākh*); 4. Yaḥyā Şūfi; 5. Aḥmad Suhrawardī; 6. Aḥmad Ṭayyib Shāh. Mustaqīm-zādeh gives another version in his *Silsilat al-Khaṭṭān*: 1. 'Abdallāh Şayrafi, master of *naskh*; 2. 'Abdallāh Arghūn, master of *muḥaqqaq*; 3. Yaḥyā Şūfi, master of *thulth*; 4. Mubārak Shāh Quṭb; 5. Mubārak Shāh Şuyūfi, master of *rayḥān*; 6. Shaykh Aḥmad Suhrawardī, master of *riqā'*. These are all quoted in Huart (1908), 86-87. Qādī Aḥmad gives the same pupils as Quṭb al-Dīn but puts Suhrawardī first, otherwise the order is identical, Qādī Aḥmad (1959), 60-61. Ms. H.2310 in the Topkapı Saray which was apparently composed for Baysonqur gives the names and order in the following way: 1. Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī; 2. Mubārak Shāh Sulṭānī; 3. Arghūn al-Kāmilī; 4. Aḥmad Suhrawardī; 5. 'Abdallāh al-Şayrafi; 6. Yaḥyā al-Şūfi; 7. Muḥammad ibn Ḥaydar al-Ḥusaynī. On fol. 17v the name of Mubārak Shāh ibn 'Abdallāh is given and on fol. 25v that of Mubārak Shāh Quṭb. These appear to be two separate persons confused as Mubārak Shāh Sulṭānī. Sheila Blair's investigation of Aḥmad Shāh is an interesting case in point of the confusion surrounding the "pupils of Yāqūt", Blair (1985). Aḥmad Shāh, presumably, the same person mentioned by Nefes-zādeh, Aḥmad Ṭayyib Shāh, could hardly have been a pupil of Yāqūt and have produced the work which he is unquestionably known to have done in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. She is probably correct in suggesting that Qādī Aḥmad (1959) confused Aḥmad Shāh, who was given the nickname *Zarīn-Qalam*, "Golden Pen", with one of the Mubārak Shāhs—she thinks Mubārak Shāh ibn Quṭb. Her investigation, which incorporates information given by Melikian Chirvani (1982), 152, indicates yet again how important it is to examine the surviving works of the early calligraphers, rather than relying entirely on the meagre historical sources.

2. Of course an illuminator may have been given a Qur'ān to work on without knowing whether it was genuine or not.

3. Rashīd al-Dīn (1940), 117. In 1297 the tomb, *qubbah-yi 'ālī* was

begun at Sham. Pope (1938-39), ii, 1054, for the completion of the building.

4. For the Suhrawardī order in general, Schimmel (1975), 244-47; Tringham (1971), 33-37; Nasr (1969), Chapter 2.

5. E.I.¹, s.v. "al-Suhrawardī"

6. Huart (1908), 89.

7. Shāfi' (1974), 236-37.

8. Huart (1908), 89-90.

9. Faḍā'ilī (1971), 318.

10. There whereabouts of the *juz'* from which the Metropolitan page (Rogers 55.44) was removed are unknown.

11. Kāshānī (1969), 47-48 for the building of the tomb; Pope (1938-39), ii, 111, note 2.

12. Blair (1987) on the basis of her own research and that of others discounts the possibility that Öljaytü ever intended to transfer the remains of 'Alī and Ḥusayn to Sulṭāniyyah. Howorth (1888), iii, 559.

13. The evidence for Ghāzān's return to orthodoxy is that in the latter part of his reign coins bearing the names of the Twelve Imāms were minted but this practice was not continued in the reign of his son Abū Sa'īd. The inference drawn from this is that Öljaytü rejected Shī'ism at the end of his life, too late for the date of his coins to be altered, Sims (1982); Blair (1983).

14. Could this Qur'ān have been the one seen by the ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein in 1637? On visiting the tomb at Sulṭāniyyah, the author of the *Travels* remarks: "Our author 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 paraphrase upon the Koran called the 'Candle of the Heart' and these are to be seen in the Duke of Holstein's library." Olearius (1662), 250-01. At the time of the mission, the Duke of Holstein was also the King of Denmark.

15. Lings (1976), 102, no. 46.

16. In fact the *abjad*, occasionally used as a system of numbering the *āyāt*.

17. Respectively, Sotheby's (1977a), and Sotheby's (1977b), 331; Iran-Bastan Museum Ms. 4277; Lings (1976), no. 23; Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Arabe 6716; Blochet (1923), 262-78; Lings & Safadi (1976), no. 59; Déroche (1985), no. 523; Topkapı Ms. EH 74; Lings (1976), nos. 26-27.

18. *al-Sulṭān al-Sa'īd* means "the late Sultan". The formula implies that they were Muslims, though this is patently untrue. This colophon is reproduced in Browne (1920), iii, pl. v.

19. In other colophons he abbreviates his name considerably and gives the *nisbah* al-Ḥusaynī. In Ms. 4768 in the Chester Beatty Library, al-Baghawī's *Sharḥ al-Sunnah*, there are a number of certificates recording the reading of the text in Mosul in 1278, mentioning the people present at each session, among whom we find Ismā'il ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd ibn 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥusaynī, who may well be the son of the calligrapher of Cat. 42.

20. The Cairo page is a further development of the Baghdad one, as another hexagon has been added to the centre. This page cannot be a copy as it is slightly earlier in date. But there can be little doubt that it is based on the same design.

21. Keir Collection MS VII (4); Robinson (1976) vii, 3, 4; Lings & Safadi (1976), no. 55. Another *juz'* from the manuscript, which is a thirty-part Qur'ān, was lot 79 sold in 1985 by Christies, Christies (1985). This *juz'* had the same frontispiece as the one under discussion.

22. Lot number 234, Sotheby's (1977a). This Qur'ān is currently the property of the Sultan of Oman.

23. He is supposed to have copied out the Qur'ān once every two weeks. Qāḍī Aḥmad (1959), 59.

Chapter Five

1. Le Strange (1905), 194.

2. Ettinghausen (1935).

3. Rogers (1973), 389; Cairo (1969), 298.

4. But see our comments at the end of Chapter 4 on Cat. 73.

5. Wiet (1933), 69.

6. Wiet (1933), 70.

7. Lings & Safadi (1976), no. 100.

8. It is quite clear that these inscriptions have been altered. In *Juz'* 21 the final *rā'* of *al-nāṣir* is actually a *nūn*, and must have been the final letter of *Öljaytü-Sultan*.

9. Rogers (1973), goes into some detail to explain the prayer, which he seems to think appears in every *juz'*. It is found only in *Juz'* 28, and the explanation for that would seem to be that it was missed at the time of endowment and not obliterated.

10. According to uncorroborated information, the library of the Great Mosque of Medīna possesses a Qur'ān section by the same calligrapher/illuminator. This section, which is of a slightly smaller format, bears the date 710/1310-11. If the information is correct, it may affect our views on the length of time taken to complete the 713/1313 Qur'ān, and make us wonder whether the calligrapher could have been working on two manuscripts at the same time.

11. Coins struck during the reign of Öljaytü bear the Sultan's name and titles inside a similar poly-lobed medallion, Blair (1983).

12. Notes made in 1976 for the organizers of the Qur'ān exhibition at the British Library. Kindly loaned by Dr. Rogers.

13. Wiet (1933), 71-72. It is strange that there should be such a gap in the dates of endowment. Perhaps the manuscript came to Baktamur from its previous owner in several loads.

14. Lings & Safadi (1976), no. 100, quoting Baktamur's *waqfiyyah*.

15. Rogers (1973), 388. There are several accounts of Baktamur, the fullest being Ibn Ḥajar (1966-67), no. 1308; Ibn Iyās (1961-75), I, i, 464; Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 287; Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, *al-Manhal*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Arabe 2069, fols. 78v-80r; al-Hajji (1978), 91-95; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (1958-71), ii, 411; Zetersteēn (1919), 186.

16. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 287-89; al-Hajji (1978), 91-95.

17. Maqrīzī (1907), loc. cit.

18. Abū'l-Fidā' (1907), iv, 94.

19. Abū'l-Fidā' (1907), iv, 93. Abū'l-Fidā' mentions the arrival of Abū Sa'īd's ambassador at the court of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1321, on which occasion magnificent gifts were given. In 1324 he refers to the arrival of the ambassadors of Abū Sa'īd and Amir Chūpān. Holt (1983), 81, 84.

20. Rogers (1973); Wiet (1933); Pope (1938-39), 1954-59; Cairo (1969), no. 281; London (1976), no. 528; Lings & Safadi (1976), nos. 100-05.

21. Quatremère (1836), i, Preface.

22. Edinburgh University Library Ms. A 20; Ex-Royal Asiatic Soc. Ms. A 27; and Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Arabe 2324; Talbot Rice & Gray (1976).

23. Arabic *suḥra*, passive of *saḥara*: to draw lines, write, compose. An unusual verb in this context. The normal one was *kutiba/kataba*. From this verb is derived *miṣṭarah*, a device used by the scribe to rule lines.

24. According to Rashīd al-Dīn (1978), 58, 251, the library was part of the *khizānah* or treasury.

25. According to Rashīd al-Dīn (1978), 58, 251-53, the Qur'āns were kept in the domed central area.

26. The small number of manuscripts by Yāqūt and Ibn Muqlah sound right, given their desirability as collector's items. However, if Ibn al-Suhrawardī produced only thirty-three copies in his lifetime, Rashīd al-Dīn must have owned practically all of them.

27. Shāfi' (1974), 236-37; Browne (1920), iii, 84.

28. E.I.¹, s.v. "Rūdhrāvar"; Le Strange (1905), 197.

29. Arabic *al-Tuvīyyu*. For Tuvī, Le Strange (1905). Not "al-Tivī", as it is written in the Topkapı catalogue, Karatay (1962), no. 137.

30. *al-Ḥamadhānī* is the *nisbah* of the scribe of the Ḥamadān Qur'ān, and we know that the manuscript was copied in that city. Similarly British Library Ms. Add 7222, copied in Sabzavar; Lings & Safadi (1976), no. 108. But when the scribe of the Topkapı manuscript uses the district as well as the town in his *nisbah*, this probably indicates that he had left the area.

31. Rashīd al-Dīn (1978), 84.

32. Pope (1938-39), pl. 936B; London (1976), no. 529.

33. Rashīd al-Dīn (1978), 57, 168-69.

Chapter Six

1. Lane (1863), s.v. *taṭabbaba*: he applied himself to the science of physic, or applied himself to the science of physic but did not know it well.

2. The fourth manuscript, in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, MS lxvii, is Part Two of the *Qānūn fi'l-Ṭibb* of Ibn Sina.

3. Atıl (1981), no. 3.

4. Cairo (1969), no. 284.

5. Cairo (1969), 51-52; Rogers (1973).

6. E.I.², s.v. "Kātib". In Mamlūk times this meant secretary rather than scribe.

7. Although the preposition *min* is omitted, we must assume that

the relationship implied by this word was intended here. It expressed a master-slave association, or sometimes a filial one.

8. His full name was Sayf al-Din Arghūn Shāh al-Malikī al-Nāṣirī, and Asbughāy must have been one of his *mamlūks*. Arghūn Shāh was originally a *mamlūk* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but under al-Muzaffar Ḥājji he became *ustādār*, and in 1346-47 he was appointed governor of Ṣafad. The following year he was made vice-regent of the province, where he remained until his death in 1349. It is to him that the famous Qur'ān of Arghūn Shāh (Cat. 31), is sometimes wrongly attributed. For Arghūn Shāh, Maqrīzī (1934-), 2, iii, 812. According to Maqrīzī, Arghūn was of Mongol, *Ṣimī*, origin and was owned at one stage by Abū Sa'īd, and then by Dimashq-Khojā, but was later given as a gift to the Mamlūks, presumably to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He was appointed governor of Ṣafad in 1348 and in the same year was made governor of Damascus, where he was eventually murdered in 1349; Ibn Iyās (1961-75), I, ii, 534; and al-Ḥalabī (1923-26), 2, 422.

9. Bayānī (1949), 28, no. 57. The inscription of Shāh Ismā'il on the cover is given together with the date. London (1931), no. 717, gives an incorrect date of 738/1338; full details are given, but the manuscript is regarded as Iranian. At the time of the exhibition the Qur'ān was in the Ardabil shrine. Bahramī (1949), 25, no. 59.

10. Pope (1938-39), pl. 966A. For Abū'l-Faḥr Bahrām Mīrzā, himself a well-known calligrapher; Zambaur (1927), 62, Table 249; 'Abdal Muḥammad (1907-08), 148; and see Index of Qāḍī Aḥmad (1959).

11. In 917/1511 Qānṣūh received a messenger for Shāh Ismā'il, who brought him the head of Uzbek Khān, whose territory he had taken, and there is a reference to a Qur'ān being presented to the Mamlūk Sultan from Ismā'il; Ibn Iyās (1961-75), 4, 219.

12. The *nisbah*, *al-muḥsinī*, is also shared by the scribe of Cat. 12, Muḥammad ibn Bilbek al-Muḥsinī. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī, Bilbek al-Muḥsinī was brought from Antioch after its capture in 1268, when he fell into the hands of some Mamlūks of the *ṭawāshī*, eunuch, Muḥsin. His son, who was governor of Cairo, is often referred to as "Ibn al-Muḥsinī"; Ibn al-Dawādārī (1960-72), ix, 354.

13. Bayānī (1949), 23, no. 57.

14. Cairo (1969), no. 283.

15. *Sub'* 4 of the Baybars Qur'ān (Cat. 1) employs a kind of strapwork with squares. This is an isolated example in early Mamlūk work and does not occur in the work of Ṣandal or Aydughdī.

16. Cairo (1969), no. 61, and the references quoted there. Similar ones have recently been discovered in Topkapı Sarayı, Tezcan (1979); Çig (1978).

17. Rogers (1973).

18. Unless we include the blossoms in the frontispieces of *Juz'* 8 which are possibly peonies.

19. *Asbā'* 3, 5, 7.

20. Lings (1976), nos. 54 & 59.

21. Lings (1976), nos. 66-67 and 73-74.

22. Simaika Pāshā (1939), pls. xviii-xx; Cramer (1964), 40, pls. 26-27; Cairo (1969), no. 285.

23. Cramer (1964); Leroy (1974), 178-80, pls. 5 & 9. Ms. 196 in the

- Coptic Patriarchate, dated 1291, Ms. 91 Coptic Museum, dated 1272; Simaika Pāshā (1939), pl.xxiv.
24. Another point of similarity between this and later manuscripts is the concave shape of the cartouches.
25. Simaika Pāshā (1939), 10-11. See also the finely illuminated copy of the Gospels in Topkapı, Ms. Ahmet III 3519, Leroy (1967).
26. *Ashr*: a month consists of three ten-day and three ten-night periods, each one called an *'ashr*, Lane (1863), v, 2502.
27. See above, Chapter Four, footnote 1, and Huart (1908), 92.
28. "...fut unique dans l'écriture rayhāni: il était aussi habile à manier le sabre que la plume. Il prit part à nombreuses guerres. Souyoufi tire son surnom ethnique d'un village des environs de Nichapour, dans le Khorasan; il vécut à Basora... mort 735 [1334-45]." Huart (1908), 92.
29. Mustaqīm-Zāde (1928), 371.
30. Faḍā'ilī (1971), 317.
31. Faḍā'ilī (1971), 317.
32. This is mentioned in the Khedival Catalogue *Fihrist* (1891), vol. I, 8, but must have been missed by all other writers who have mentioned it.
33. Topkapı Library, Ms. H.2310.
34. Chester Beatty, Ms. 1471: Lings (1976), no.41.
35. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 256-58; Van Berchem (1894), 240-41.
36. *al-Manhal*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Arabe 2070, fol.156v; Maqrīzī (1934-), 3, i, 44; Ibn Ḥajar (1966-67), no.1978.

Chapter Seven

1. There is apparently another manuscript in the National Library, Cairo, which it has not been possible to examine, Ms. Timūriyyah 366. Faḍā'ilī (1971), 316, mentions other manuscripts in India and Tehran, Mustaqīm-Zāde (1928), 288; Habīb Efendi (1889), no.16, 54; no.54, 274; Qāḍī Aḥmad (1959), 61.
2. Mustaqīm-Zāde (1928), 288.
3. E.I.² s.v. "Baghdad"; the *madrasah* was begun under Ḥasan-i Buzurg (d.1356) and finished under his successor Shaykh Uways. Khojā Mirjān ibn 'Abdallāh was a former Mamlūk of Öljaytū, and governor of Baghdad. The main calligrapher and designer of inscriptions appears to have been Aḥmad Shāh, Blair (1985), 54. See the literature cited there for the inscriptions, also Salman (1975), 88-91.
4. *Naqqāsh*, Lane (1863), viii, 2840, originally meant anyone who engraved or did sculpted work. James (1980a). Melikian-Chirvani advocates the term "designer", which seems apt given the fact that artists bearing the title *naqqāsh* are known to have worked in various different media; Melikian-Chirvani (1982).
5. Atl (1981), 28, note 6.
6. Ms. Or. 1339; Lings & Safadi (1976), no.106.
7. Boyle (1977), xxxii, 39.
8. Le Strange (1905), 223.
9. Cambridge History of Iran 1968, vol.5, pp.409-10.
10. i.e., *Jihah*; cđ-Dāhiry (1894), *Bāb* 7.
11. al-Akwa' (1979), no.121.
12. Bahrūzī (1947), 115.
13. According to Faḍā'ilī (1971), 320, on his visit to the Pars Museum in 1927 he saw 30 parts (*sī pārah-yi Qur'an*) of this manuscript.
14. Bahramī (1949) is the only person to mention the name of the illuminator, but there is no reason to doubt him. The *nisbah al-'alawī* suggests that, like the copier of the Mosul Qur'an for Öljaytū, he claimed descent from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.
15. Laudatory phraseology of this type in normal Islamic usage would be reserved for God Himself.
16. Moṣṭafavī (1978), 42-43; also al-Shīrāzī (1910), 291-92, note 5.
17. The important note on Tāshī-Khātūn and her devotion to the Shāh-i Chirāgh Shrine is in Ibn Baḥṭūṭah (1958-71), ii, 313-14 and note 135. For Tāshī-Khātūn in Shīrāz see Ibn Baḥṭūṭah (1958-71), ii, 307 and note 121.
18. Ibn Baḥṭūṭah (1958-71), i, 153, note 318.
19. Qāḍī Aḥmad (1959), 28, 62; Faḍā'ilī (1971), 319-21. Earlier writers often confuse this calligrapher with the Ottoman Yaḥyā al-Šūff of Edirne.
20. Ibn Baḥṭūṭah (1958-71), ii, 306, note 118.
21. al-Shīrāzī (1910), 65. Shaykh Saḍr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kartānī who preached in the Jāmi' al-'Atīq (d.1302) could recite the Qur'an backwards.
22. Unpublished, but mentioned by Faḍā'ilī (1971), 320.
23. Moṣṭafavī (1978), 226.
24. Moṣṭafavī (1978), 44; Wilber (1975), for an account of this edifice.
25. al-Shīrāzī (1910), 288.
26. Although this division of the page occurred in earlier *kufic* Qur'āns, it is rare to find it in Qur'āns in cursive scripts. The only Mamlūk example is the multi-part Qur'an perhaps produced by Ibn al-Wahīd and Šandal (Cat.2).
27. Chester Beatty, Ms. 1458, and Freer Gallery Ms. 40.16.
28. Chester Beatty, Ms. 4176, dated 694/1295.
29. This manuscript, which is very large, 48 x 33 cm., bears a certificate of commissioning on fol.2r in the name of the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I (1389-1403). This has been painted over the original certificate. Perhaps this manuscript was sent as a gift to Bāyazīd by the Mamlūk Sultan Barqūq, after he had acquired it in Syria in the 1390's while putting down a rebellion there. Bāyazīd and Barqūq were in contact after the appearance of Tīmūr in Asia Minor in 1393.
30. Eckmann (1976), 16.
31. Although Turkish was the spoken language of the Mamlūk upper classes, there are few examples of its being used in written forms before the fifteenth century; Flemming (1977).
32. It is unclear whether it reads al-Ābārī or Ibn Ābār.
33. *Sayyid al-khaṭṭāfīn* would be more usual, but the Arabic of the colophon is defective.
34. This Qur'an, Ms. 12 from the Mevlana Museum, Konya, was made for Khalīl ibn Maḥmūd while he was still a prince. It was

- copied in 714/1314-15 by Ismā'il ibn Yūsuf and illuminated by Ya'qūb ibn Ghāzī al-Qūnawī in Konya. I have revised my previous opinion, James (1980b), no.46, that the Rylands Qur'an could have been produced somewhere in Iran.
35. Ankara (1983), no.D177.
36. The inscription reads: *Waqafa'l-maqarr al-sharīf al-sayfī[?]. . . tamur. . .* The Los Angeles County Museum of Art has some much cruder, but undoubtedly related folios from a Qur'an which may also belong to this group, Ms. 73.5.57-58. These also have Mamlūk *waqfiyyahs*, in the names of Mankūtamur and al-Nāšir Muḥammad.

Chapter Eight

1. Cat.24, 26 & 28-35.
2. *Tabbānah*, Arabic for "straw-sellers"; Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 250.
3. Maqrīzī (1934-), iii, 1, 210; 'Alī Pāshā (1888-89), ii, 102.
4. Van Berchem (1894), 278-84, does not include this inscription.
5. Van Berchem (1894), 282.
6. 'Alī Pāshā (1888-89), ii, 104.
7. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 252; Salīm (1962-75), iii, 53.
8. London (1976), no.536.
9. See Chapter Four, footnote 18.
10. By this time, the term *shahīd* was used to refer to a Muslim who had died, equivalent to "the late" in English.
11. Amīn (1980), 257.
12. The date of its *waqfiyyah* indicates that Cat.28 was finished first. Cat.29 is technically a little more advanced than the Arghūn Shāh Qur'an (Cat.30), and so is probably the latest. The chances are that two, or perhaps all three, were being illuminated at the same time. This would be even more likely if two calligraphers were involved. However, this also means that we cannot be certain of the time taken to illuminate the manuscripts. We should beware of accepting this as the time between the dates of the *waqfiyyahs* of Cat.28 and 29, since we do not know when the text of Cat.28 was completed.
13. *al-Manhal*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Arabe 2068, fol.159r. Maqrīzī (1934-), iii, 1, gives some details of the career of Arghūn Shāh. In 770/1369 he was made *amīr ṭablkhānah*, 177; in *Muḥarram* 771/August 1369 he became *amīr majlis*, 181, and in *Sha'bān* of the same year, March 1370 *ra's nawbat al-nawāb*, 183. In *Muḥarram* 775/July 1373 he became *amīr kabīr*, 215.
14. Only the Iran-Bastan Museum manuscript (Cat.20) and TIEM 434, c.1330, use it. Examination shows that these borders were painted after the text had been completed, but before other decoration was added.
15. We find lotuses used in exactly the same manner in the illumination of the Topkapı Ms. Ahmet III 3519, fols.10v-11r. Leroy (1967), pl.xl, 1.
16. Baybars Qur'an *Sub'* 7: Chester Beatty Ms. 1479; Keir Ms. vii, 9; TIEM Ms. 434; British Library Ms. Or 848.
17. Ridley (1977) and Medley (1964).
18. Ridley (1977), 107; Li (1959).
19. Ridley (1977), 107, shown with the lotuses.
20. To my knowledge this was first pointed out by Martin Lings, although he did not put it in print.
21. *Mukarram* is sometimes used as an adjective to describe the Qur'an, but rarely stands for the manuscript itself; it means "venerated object".
22. Lane (1863), vii, 2591, *muktib*, quoting the *Šihāh*. Cairo (1969) gives *maktab*, which must be an error. Atl (1981), 40, *mukattib*. The other known manuscript by this calligrapher is a Qur'an in Istanbul (Cat.33). The text is unsigned and undated, but the hand of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad is so distinctive that we have no hesitation in naming him as the calligrapher. The illumination is much simpler than any of the decoration in Cat.32, with a greatly restricted palette. The final folio originally bore a *waqfiyyah* in gold with several attestations by religious authorities. Unfortunately, this has been almost obliterated, with little or nothing of it now legible.
23. This is the number of *āyāt* in the Qur'an according to the Kufan numeration. The total number of *āyāt* given in the colophon amounts to 5,660 not 6,666.
24. Chester Beatty, Ms. 1627-28 and Ms. Arab 42, respectively. For the John Rylands manuscript see Lings (1976), no.61. Described there as Īl-Khānid. But see James (1977). There is another page in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Ms. 09.335.
25. Rogers (1973).
26. E.I.² s.v. "Āmid".
27. E.I.² s.v. "Artuqids".
28. E.I.² s.v. "Aḳ Koyunlu".
29. Önder (1977), 212-15.
30. *Dhahaba-hu wa raṣa'a-hu*.
31. According to Zambaur (1927), 'Alā' al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Maḥmūd reigned from 1352 until 1358.
32. Presumably a native of Sāveh, the town in Iran between Ḥamadān and Rayy; Le Strange (1905), 211-12.
33. Önder (1971), 332; James (1980b), no.69; James (1981), no.30.
34. The *waqfiyyah* is identical to that in Pars Museum Ms. 417, *Juz'* 26, Lings (1976), no.60; Moṣṭafavī (1978), 39. The illumination of this *juz'* differs from that in 1, 12, and 13. That of *Juz'* 26 heralds later Tīmūrid illumination, while that of the others resembles work done earlier in the fourteenth century.
35. Atl (1981), no.5.
36. Bourgoin (1892), iv, pls.9-13.
37. Önder (1977), 212-15.
38. *al-Manhal*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Arabe 2070, fol.194r.
39. The *waqfiyyah* is in Ms. Or. 848 in the British Library, Lings & Safadi (1976), no.75, but, as they point out, the manuscript must be earlier than the time of Faraj. Atl (1981), 30-31, is inclined to attribute it to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, but this is much too early. It bears no resemblance to any of the dated manuscripts of that period, nor indeed to any manuscript made during the reign of al-Nāšir Muḥammad.
40. Reigned briefly as al-Šāliḥ Šalāḥ al-Dīn, in 1382 and again in 1389-90.

41. The fact that the large size of the manuscripts is mentioned means that they probably came from our two Groups, whose size is particularly noticeable.

42. *Khuṭūṭ mansūbah*, which must mean manuscripts copied in fine calligraphic hands, after the tradition of Ibn al-Bawwāb.

43. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 252; Eche (1967), 258.

44. 'Alī Pāshā (1888-89), 2, 104; Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 263.

45. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 253-54; Eche (1967), 258.

46. Maqrīzī (1907), iv, 254.

Glossary

Abjad (Ar.), the term for the letters of the Arabic alphabet when used to indicate numerical values.

Alif, nūn, lam, kaf, qaf etc., letters of the Arabic alphabet, also used to write Persian and Ottoman Turkish.

Amir (Ar.), a military commander.

Āq Qoyūnlū, a confederation of Turkoman tribes which controlled eastern Anatolia and western Iran from 1378 until 1508.

'Asharah (Ar.), an ornament, usually circular, placed in the margin of a Qur'ān page to mark the end of each tenth *āyah*.

Atābak al-jaysh (Turk, Ar.), commander-in-chief of the Mamlūk army.

Awlād al-nās (Ar.), the children of the people, i.e., of the Mamlūk amirs.

Āyah (Ar.), a verse of the Holy Qur'ān.

Āyat al-Kūrsī, Qur'ān II, 255. Muslims make no distinction among the verses of the Qur'ān, but certain *āyat*, in particular *Āyat al-Kūrsī*, are believed to ward off evil. It was favoured above all other *āyat* for use on buildings and portable objects.

Āyat al-Nūr, Qur'ān XXIV, 35. This verse begins as follows: "God is the light of the heavens and earth..." It has been commonly used by artists on *mihṛābs* and mosque lamps.

Bahrī (Ar.), literally, "of the sea", but in Egypt it had the meaning of "of the Nile", and was applied to the Mamlūk regiment whose barracks were on Roda (*al-ruḍā*) Island in the Nile.

Basmalah (Ar.), the Arabic phrase, "*bismillah al-rahmān al-rahīm*", "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful".

Beylik (Turk.), the territory ruled by a bey. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Turkish emirates of Asia Minor were known as Beyliks.

Bihārī (Ar.), an angular form of *naskh* used in Indian Qur'āns of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century.

Calamus (Lat.), pen. *qalam* (Ar.), a reed pen.

Chagatay, a Central Asian dialect of Turkish.

Chūpānids, one of the leading Mongol families of Īl-Khānid Iran. The most prominent member was Amir Chūpān who died in 1327.

Dār al-maṣāḥif (Ar.), one of the buildings in the complex built by the Īl-Khānid statesman and scholar, Rashīd al-Dīn, near Tabrīz. It was the house (*dār*) in which Qur'āns (*maṣāḥif*) were copied.

Diacriticals, the dots and dashes placed under and over certain characters of the Arabic alphabet which are otherwise indistinguishable, to indicate their pronunciation.

Dīnār (Ar.), the gold unit of Islamic coinage. The silver unit was the *dirham*.

Faqīh (Ar.), legislator, jurist, expert on *fiqh* (jurisprudence).

Gandah-Navīs (Pers.), meaning "The one who writes in large characters".

Ḥadīth (Ar.), a tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad. Second only to the Holy Qur'ān as a source of Islamic Law.

Hasp, a semi-circular piece of decoration projecting outwards into the vertical border of a page.

Hilālīyyah (Ar.), lunar; referring to the Muslim calendar, which is a lunar one.

Ibn (Ar.), son of.

Imām (Ar.), this means both the spiritual head of the Islamic Community, i.e., the Caliph, and the appointed prayer-leader in the mosque.

Inflected, when Arabic is written with its grammatical case-endings it is said to be *mu'rab*, inflected. When it is provided with diacritical points it is *mu'jam*.

Inshā' (Ar.), the niceties of diplomatic and civil-service protocol required by a scribe or secretary for the composition of official letters and documents.

Iqtā' (Ar.), a non-hereditary grant of land.

Jāmi' (Ar.), congregational mosque where the Friday prayers are performed, as well as daily prayers.

Jāshmagīr (Pers.), taster. A prominent post at the Mamlūk court in Cairo.

Juz', pl. *azjā'* (Ar.), a thirtieth section of the Holy Qur'ān.

Ka'bah (Ar.), the cube-shaped Holy Sanctuary of Mekka to which all Muslims turn in prayer and which is the focus of the *Ḥājj*, or pilgrimage.

Kātib (Ar.), secretary or clerk. It also had the meaning of scribe.