

ALBUM PREFACES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS ON THE HISTORY
OF CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS

STUDIES AND SOURCES IN ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE

SUPPLEMENTS TO MUQARNAS

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ALBUM PREFACES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS
ON THE HISTORY OF
CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS

BY

WHEELER M. THACKSTON



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PREFACE

In the Persian-speaking world the making of albums to preserve and order paintings and calligraphic specimens is a phenomenon that flourished in the late fifteenth century in Timurid Herat. The tradition was carried on by the successors to the Timurids, the Safavids in Iran and the Mughals in India, in whose workshops splendid albums were produced with highly illuminated borders and sumptuous bindings.¹ Most albums also contain a preface composed in a style appropriate to the lavishness of the decorative elements.

The English word album is derived from the Latin *albus* 'white' because albums are blank pages on which anything may be written, recorded, or pasted. The Persian word for album is *مراققا* *muraqqa*, which means 'patched' or 'patchwork.' It is also the word for a dervish's frock, which was expected to be patched to exhibit the dervish's bond to poverty. The first *muraqqa*'s may well have been no more than blank pages onto which paintings and calligraphic specimens were pasted in a random, patchwork fashion, and this is the format of several presumably early albums now in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul.² The later ones were anything but what we would call patchwork; and the constant comparisons in the prefaces between the patchwork of an album, with its "stellar" paintings and calligraphies, and the dark cloak of the celestial sphere, onto

¹Although many individual pages from albums have been reproduced in art historical studies and exhibition catalogues, few albums have been reproduced in full. Two complete Mughal albums have been published by Stuart Cary Welch et al., *The Emperors' Album: Images of Mughal India* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987) and by Oleg F. Akimushkin, *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa: Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures of the 16th–18th centuries and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy of Imad al-Hasani* (Lugano: Arch Foundation, 1996).

²Such as H.2153, the dated calligraphies of which range from 721/1322 (by Abdullah Sayrafi, fol. 104b) to 892/1487 (by Sultan-Ali al-Ya'qubi, fol. 158a), and H.2160, in which the dated calligraphies range from 691/1292 (by Yaqut, fol. 5a) to 917/1511 (by Shaykh-Muhammad, fol. 55b).

which are sewn "patches" of the sun, moon, and stars, are certainly appropriate to the splendor of the productions.

The earliest calligraphic album of which anything is known is the Album of Seven Masters (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, H.2310), a collection of the works of seven master calligraphers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries assembled for the bibliophile Baysunghur Mirza (1397–1433).³ The earliest albums to have prefaces written specifically for them are both from Timurid Herat: Mir Ali-Sher Nawai's album, for which Khwaja Abdullah Marwarid wrote a preface in 897/1492 (pp. 22f.), and Bihzad's album for which Khwandamir wrote an ornate preface (pp. 41f.).⁴ Neither album is extant, their contents most likely dispersed among other Safavid and Mughal albums, but the prefaces have been preserved elsewhere. A piece of calligraphy now in the Gulshan Album in Tehran written by Bihzad's contemporary, Mir-Ali al-Husayni (fl. 1513–1544), records that he made an album to keep his and other masters' calligraphy (p. 52), but nothing more is known of the album itself. The earliest intact album with a preface is the Shah Tahmasp Album (Istanbul University Library F.1422), with a preface by Shahquli Khalifa Muhrdar. The album is undated, but the latest dated piece in it is from 945/1538–39 (fol. 69b,

³ The album contains calligraphy by Yaqut al-Musta'simi, Mubarakshah, Arghun Kamili, Ahmad Suhrawardi, Abdullah Sayrafi, Pir-Yahya Sufi, and Muhammad b. Haydar al-Husayni (see p. 8 and p. 24). Dated pieces in the album range from 690/1291 (by Yaqut, fol. 102b) to 753/1352 (by Arghun Kamili, fol. 18a).

⁴It is assumed that Khwandamir wrote the preface either while he and Bihzad were together in Herat (prior to 1507) or while they were both in the employ of the Safavids (1510–1528). Khwandamir left Herat with Badi'uzzaman Mirza when the Uzbeks took the city in 1507. He joined the Safavids when they took Khurasan in 1510 and remained in their service until 1528. Both Khwandamir and Bihzad died around 1535. It would make good sense for the preface to have been written around the same time Khwandamir composed a patent of investiture for Bihzad as overseer of the royal library (Qazwini and Bouvat, "Deux documents," pp. 159–61), and it is dated 27 Jumada 1 928 (April 24, 1522).

calligraphy by Rustam-Ali, and the date is spelled out in words).

In 1989, in conjunction with the exhibition “Timur and the Princely Vision,” I published translations of several major album prefaces in *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989). Since that work has long been out of print, and art historians have found it useful, I have taken this opportunity to republish those prefaces, this time with the Persian texts, to revise the translations, and to add several more (Istanbul University Library F.1422; Topkapı Sarayı Museum H.2137, H.2138, H. 2151, H.2154, H.2156, H.2157, and H.2161; the Austrian National Library, Cod. Mixt. 313, which reproduces much of the introduction to H.2156; the preface to Jahangir’s and Shahjahan’s album in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 55.121.10; and Khwandamir’s preface to an album made by the artist Bihzad). The album prefaces with which David Roxburgh deals in the companion volume to this work, *Prefacing the Image* (Muqarnas Supplements, vol. 9), are marked in the table of contents with asterisks.

Translations of the supplementary material, the *Arzadasht* (H.2153, fol. 98a), the miscellaneous documents, Ghiyathuddin Naqqash’s and Kamaluddin Abdul-Razzaq’s travel reports, and the anonymous synoptic account of the Timurid House (Topkapı Sarayı Museum B.411, fol. 159a),

were also published in *A Century of Princes*. They have been revised and republished here along with the Persian texts.

The authors of the prefaces made the most of the opportunity to show off their skill in composing ornate prose, a craft that was highly prized at the time. Needless to say, this type of writing is not much appreciated in English these days, and it is far beyond my ability as a translator to reproduce the prose style favored by the Timurids and Safavids. At best the translations may convey the sense of what is written and, to an extent, the intricacy of the prose, but the reader should be aware that the artistry of the originals is lacking.

Acknowledgment is made with gratitude to Margaret Sevchenko, whose careful editorial pencil has saved me from many an infelicity.

Full bibliographical information for the shortened references in the footnotes may be found in the Works Cited section on pp. 99f. The following abbreviations are used throughout:

AAK = Bayānī, *Aḥwāl u āsār-i khwashniwīsān*.

İÜK = İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (Istanbul University Library).

TİEM = Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (The Turkish and Islamic Museum, Istanbul).

TSM = Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (Topkapı Palace Museum)

مرقع شاه طهماسب دیباجه شاه قلی خلیفه مهرداد

استانبول او نیورسیتیه سی کتبخانه سی ۱۴۲۲/ف

ای نام تو دیباجه دیوان کمال
در کنه کمال نرسد هیچ زوال

در ساحت عزت و جلالت چو قلم
سرگشته جهانیان زهی عز و جلال

حمداً لك يا ذا المجد والمعالي * ولك الشكر صاحب الكبرياء والمعالي
* زهی از رشح کلک گوهر بار در نثارت گلستان جهان تازه * و
از زمزمه اقلام دلپذیرت دبستان دوران پر آوازه * بحسن خط
دلفریب صفحات جمال تو آرائی * و حرف صبر و شکیب از لوح
خواطر اهل حال تو زدائی *

بخط و خصال چون رخ آرائی
از دلم حرف صبر بزدائی

گشته تن را توان و دل را قوت
ناسخ نسخ نسخه یاقوت

[۲] مثلثات اربع که در دفاتر خواطر مثبت است ثلثی از آثار
جود تست * و توقیع نامه مهر سپهر خضرای که زر مرقعات
ضمایر محققست ریحان ریاض وجود تو * خد شاهد دین را از
خط غبار آب روی زیبایی تو دهی * و دیده عین الیقین را بنقط
مردمک آثار سرمه بینایی تو کشی * مرقع سماوات رقعۀ از رفاع
ارقام تست * و مصنف موجودات نسخه از نعیم انعام تو (نظم)

ای موجد این مرقع طرفه رقم
از کلک تو یک رقم بود لوح و قلم

بر صفحه کن کلک تو ننهاده قدم
عالم بوجود ناید از کتم عدم
نامه انشاء انسانی که ﴿خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ * عَلَّمَهُ الْبَيَانَ﴾ از کمالات
اکرامت نشأیست * و ﴿عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ * عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ﴾
از تعلیم خانه اقلامت تعلیقۀ * اگر نه نسخه مهرت علاقه شکیبایی
گردد * نسخ تعلیق نسخه رعنائی شود و اگر کلک تصویرت
[۲ب] بر لوح وجود قدم ننهد * قلم وجود قدم از حیز عدم بر
ندارد

ای ز بود تو عالمی را بود

کیست غیر از تو موجد و موجود

هر کجا بنگرم تویی منظور

هر طرف رو کنم تویی مشهود

هر طرف شاهدهی بجلوه ناز

تو مشاهد شده بچشم شهود

و درود نامعدود بر صدر دیوان رسالت * و بدر آسمان جلالت *
مطلع دیوان هستی * و فهرست مجموعه خدای پرستی * صاحب
المجد والعلی محمد المصطفی و علی المرتضی و برآل و احفاد
امجاد ایشان که سالکان مسالک دین و ذاهبان مذاهب یقین اند
* صلی الله علیه وآله الطیبین * المعصومین الهادین المهدین الی یوم
الدین اما بعد چنین گوید راوی این روایت غرا که آمرترین این
مرقع نامی * و باعث ترتیب این مجموعه سامی * عالیحضرت
سلطنت مآب حشمت مناب شوکب ایاب ایالت و حکومت دثار
[۳] سعادت و اقبال آثار خلیفه الخلفاء الکبار شاه قلی خلیفه
مهرداد * که علی الدوام والاستمرار خاطر آن عالیحضرت متوجه
جمع خطوط که از آثار کلک گوهر بار استادان روزگار باشد
می بود تا آنکه این صورت بر مرآت ضمیر انور و آئینه مهرگستر
عکس انداخته شعشعۀ آفتاب عنایت و لمعه انوار مرحمت شاهی،
ظل الهی، قهرمان الماء والطين، عون الاسلام والمسلمین، ناصب
رایات العدل والاحسان، قانع بنیان الظلم والطغیان، ناصر
الضعفاء والمساکین، ممهّد قواعد ملت سید المرسلین، مرشد

SHAH TAHMASP ALBUM

PREFACE BY SHAHQULĪ KHALIFA MUHRDAR

This album, F.1422 at the Istanbul University Library, was created by Shahquli Khalifa Muhrdar (keeper of the seal) for Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576). The preface contains no date, but the latest dated piece in the album is a calligraphy on folio 69b by Rustam-Ali dated 945 (A.D. 1538). Most of the preface is so replete with puns involving the terminology of calligraphy and writing that a much abridged translation has been resorted to.

Your name is the preface to the divan of perfection;
no eternity can touch the depth of your perfection.

In the expanse of your power and glory, the heads
of everyone in the world spin like the pen. What
majesty and glory!

[Here follows a lengthy prolix section in praise of God.]

O creator of this album of marvelous lines, the
heavenly Tablet and Pen are only one line from
your pen.

Unless your pen places its foot on the page of the
creative fiat, the world does not come into existence
from the hidden recesses of nonexistence.

The book of human creation expressed by the Koranic words, "He created mankind. He taught him expression," is only an iota of your perfect generosity; the Koranic verses, "He taught by the pen; He taught man what he did not know," are only a footnote from the house of instruction of your pens.... If your portrait-painting brush [2b] does not place its foot on the can-

vas of existence, the pen of existence does not step out from the realm of nonexistence.

The existence of the world came from your being.

Other than you, who both exists and creates existence?

Everywhere I look, you are seen; every direction I
turn, you are visible.

Everywhere a beauty is manifested, you are seen by
the witnessing eye.

Unlimited praise to the chief of the bureau of apostlehood, the full moon of the sky of your glory, the first line of the book of existence, the index of all things that worship God, possessor of glory and loftiness, Muhammad the Chosen, Ali the Elect, and their glorious houses and offspring, who traverse the paths of religion, may God pray for him and his house, the pure, the immaculate, who lead and are led aright until the day of resurrection.

Thus says the narrator of this passage, who has commissioned the assembly of this renowned album, ... [3] ... Shahquli Khalifa Muhrdar (keeper of the seal), who continually thought about gathering calligraphies that were products of the marvelous pens of masters of their ages until such a thought was reflected on the illuminated mind of the regal Shadow of God ... Shah

لخلق الی طریق القویم، و مهتدی الی صراط مستقیم، مقوی شریعة
غراء النبوی، و مشید احکام الزهراء المصطفوی، شاه طهماسب کز
نجلی رای رای اوراست رای مهرآرای * مهر در ظل رافتش
مشهور همچو او مشتهر بظل خدای * قهر او آتشیست جان افروز
* [۳] لطفش آب حیات جان افزای * عدل او بادپایی
عالم گرد * حکم او توسن جهان پیمای * مهر از بهر پاس او در
چرخ * چرخ از بهر خدمتش بر پای * سلطان السادات والنقیبا،
مری الفضلاء والاتقیا، خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه وأبد فی الخافقین بره
إحسانه، پرتو عاطفت بر ساحت احوال آن عالیحضرت افکنده
نطعه و تصویری چند بی مانند شفقت نمود و بترتیب آن اشارت
فرمود، لاجرم از توجه رای عالم آرایش مرقعی ترتیب و تزیین
یافت که مصدق مقال هذا شهاب ثاقب است * و مصداق اقوال
﴿وَلَقَدْ زَيَّنَّا السَّمَاءَ الدُّنْيَا بِزِينَةِ الْكَوَاكِبِ﴾ مصباح خلوت سرای
نس لمعه نور اوست و چراغ مجلس فرور قدس از تجلی حضور
و، مخدرات حجره نظم است که بمشاطگی کلک تقدیر آراسته
فلاجرم خوض در تعریف و شروع در توصیف آن متعسر و متعذر
بی نماید [۴] علی الخصوص که ورق اول آن گلشن معنی مجلی
بزیور جمال از خط این پادشاه خطه کمال و این ظل الله عرصه عز
و جلال یافته

رواجی کزو یافت تیغ و قلم

زرستم نیاید، ز یاقوت هم

نکه ایجاد لوح و قلم منوط بوجود کامل اوست و بنیاد این
صحیفه زیبارقم موقوف لطف شامل او (نظم)

حَبِّذا ای قلم طرفه رقم

که زدی در ره اقبال قدم

رقم ظلل بر رخ نور زدی

مشک بر صفحه کافور زدی

بغبار خط مشکین آثار

بردی از خاطر احباب غبار

بر سمن سنبل تزیخته

سنبل و گل بهم آمیخته

دانم این غالیه سائیت از چیست

این همه روح فزائیت از چیست

نامداری تو از نامه کیست

گوهرافشانیت از خامه کیست

این شرف از اثر کلک شهست

کش فلک قبه از بارگهست

[۴] شاه دریا کف والا گهر

در بحر هنر و بحر هنر

شاه بیضا علم عالم رای

رای او رایت گیتی آرای

عدل او سایه اقبال فکن

طایر ظلم از وبال فکن

دست او فاتح ابواب کرام

کف او ضامن ارزاق انام

شهریاری که بود زیر نگین

همچو مهرش همه روی زمین

حد من نیست دعایش گفتن

گوهر مدح و ثنائیش سفتن

لیک از آنجا که بود حرف انام

بر دعا نیک بود ختم کلام

یا رب این شاه سپهر آئین را

شاه با عزت با تمکین را

هست تا بر ورق چرخ رقم

رقم هستی این لوح و قلم

باد در زیر قلم ایامش

ثبت بر لوحه هستی نامش

[۲۱ب]

صد شکر که یافت این مرقع اتمام

وز دولت شاه دین پذیرفت انجام

تا هست مرقع سپهر از مه و مهر

منظور نظر مرقعت باد مدام

Tahmasp—the sun is as renowned in the shadow of his clemency as he is known as the shadow of God, his wrath is a fire that kindles the soul, [3b] his kindness is the water that increases life, his justice is a world-traversing steed, the sun in the celestial sphere is for protecting him, the celestial sphere stands to serve him, sultan of sayyids and deans, patron of the learned and pious, may God make his kingdom last forever—and he cast a ray of favor and bestowed several unparalleled calligraphic specimens and paintings on [Shahquli Khalifa] and commanded him to arrange them. Consequently, by his gracious favor, an album was assembled and adorned that proves true the words “This is a shooting star” and bears witness to the words “We have adorned the sky of the world with the stars.” A lamp in the retreat of divine intimacy is but a ray of its light; the assembly-illuminating lamp of heaven is but one of its manifestations; it contains secluded ladies of the chamber of poetry whose locks have been combed by the pen of destiny. It is difficult and nigh unto impossible to describe it adequately, particularly since the first leaf of this garden has been adorned by the emperor Shadow of God's own writing.

The renown the sword and pen have received from him never came from a Rustam or a Yaquf.

He to whose being the existence of the tablet and pen are tied and upon whose all-encompassing generosity this beautiful page is dependent.

Bravo, O marvel-writing pen, for you have placed your foot on the road of success.
 You have drawn a shadowy line across the cheek of light; you have cast musk on a page of camphor.
 With the dust (*ghubar*) of musky black script you have removed the dust of worry from the minds of your beloveds.
 You have poured lush hyacinths over jasmine; you have mingled hyacinths and roses together.
 I know what this fragrance is from, whence comes all this charm.

I know from whose book your renown comes. I know from whose pen your pearl-scattering comes.

This nobility comes from the pen of the shah, for whom the celestial sphere is but one of the domes of his court. [4b]

The shah's palm is as bounteous as the sea: he is a pearl from the sea of skill; he is the sea of skill itself.

King of white banner with scholarly mind, whose mind is a standard that brightens the world.

His justice is a shadow that casts success. The bird of oppression takes flight from him.

His hand opens the gates of the generous. His palm assures all people of their daily bread.

He is a prince under whose signet the whole world lies like his seal.

I am capable neither of singing his praises nor of piercing the pearl of his eulogy.

However, insofar as human words will go, it is good to end with a prayer for his welfare.

O Lord, this celestial king, this powerful and mighty shah,

As long as the line of existence remains on the folio of the celestial sphere

May his name be inscribed on the tablet of being by the pen of days. [21b]

A hundred thanks that this album was completed, finished through the good fortune of the king of religion.

As long as the patched cloak (*muraqqa'*) of the celestial sphere contains the sun and moon, may this album (*muraqqa'*) be the object of your perpetual gaze.

تعالی الله چه زیبا مرععی یافته اتمام و چه رعنا اوراق مرصعی پذیرفته انجام که اگر رشک طبقات ﴿سُبْحَ سَمَوَاتِ طِبَاقًا﴾ گویمش رواست و اگر غیرت خط جمع فرشته و خیل ملک خوانمش سزا و چون حسب فرمان پادشاه کامکار عالی تبار و خسرو عالیجاه معدلت شعار رافع اعلام عدل و احسان قامع بنیان ظلم و طغیان نتیجه الایمه المعصومین خلاصه اولاد سیّد المرسلین

ای قبله اقبال جهان خاک درت [۲۷ب]

سرمایه مقبلان قبول نظرت

امروز تویی ساقی بزم توحید

فردا بکنار حوض کوثر پدرت

معین دنیا والدین ناصر الاسلام والمسلمین

شاهی که دین و دنیا دارد باد تفاخر

سُلطان ابو المظفر طهماسب خان بهادر

خلد الله تعالی ظلال جلال سلطنته و عدالته و احسانه علی كافة الانام الی یوم القیام جهة کتابخانه ایالت پناه نصفت دستگاه عمده الامرای خلیفه الخلفایی امیر نامدار عالیمقدار شاه قلی خلیفه مهرداد بحد اتمام رسید، امید از نظارگیان این بستان آنست که اگر تقصیری یا ترک تربیتی واقع شده باشد قلم عفو از روی صفا بر صفحه سهو و خطای آن کشند و بشرف قبول موصول گردانند ومن الله الإجابة والتأیید إنه حمیدٌ مجیدٌ

Praise God! What a beautiful album has been achieved!
What fresh, jewel-studded leaves have been completed! If
I called them the object of jealousy of the seven heav-
ens, it would be appropriate; and if I said that the writ-
ings of the hosts of angels were envious, it would be
fitting. Inasmuch as it was produced by royal command
of the Emperor of Exalted Lineage, August Just Chos-
roës, Raiser of the Banners of Justice and Beneficence,
Eliminator of the Roots of Tyranny and Injustice, Off-
spring of the Immaculate Imams, Finest of the Sons of
the Lord of Apostles,

The kiblah of good fortune in the world is the dust
of your threshold; [27b] to be acceptable in your
gaze is the basis of good fortune,

Protector of the World and Religion, Victor of Islam
and the Muslims,

King in whom the world and religion take pride,
Sultan Abu'l-Muzaffar Tahmasp Khan Bahadur

for the library of the renowned ... exalted Amir Shah-
quli Khalifa Muhrdar, it is hoped that if those who gaze
upon this garden see a mistake or lapse of etiquette,
they will draw the pen of forgiveness over the page of
mistake and make it the object of their approval. From
God comes response and assistance: He is praiseworthy
and glorious.

مرقع بهرام میرزا

دیباچه دوست محمد

استانبول، طوپ قپو سرایی کتبخانه سی، شماره
خ/۲۱۵۴

حورا [ن] کرده از مداد شب طرح زلف خوبان بروی روز آرد، و گاهی قلم از خطوط مهر و کؤ [و] س* ماهی از ماه آورده بخون دل عاشقان شکل محبوبان بر لوح حسن و جمال نگارد. سبحان الله چه میگویم؟ آنجا که کمال سرعت تکوین و تقدیرست، چه جای

شریفترین خطی که محرران کارخانه دعوی زینت بخش مرقع انشاء و ابداع نمایند و لطیفترین صورتی که مصوران نگارخانه معنی مجالس ایجاد و اختراع را بدان بیارایند حمد مبدعی است که حروف عالیات و صور متعالیات نگاشته قلم تحریر و افراشته رقم تصویر اوست و بحکم «جف القلم بما هو کاین الی یوم الدین» صور مؤتلف و پیکر مختلف اعیانرا که در خزانه غیب و نهانخانه لاریب بمقتضای «کنت کتراً مخفیاً» مخفی بود بداعیه «فاحببت ان اعرف فخلقت الخلق لاعرف» بانامل تقدیر پرده عدم از چهره وجود درر بود و بدست رحمت و کرم بخامه «اول ما خلق الله القلم» بر تخته هستی از روی طرفه دستی چهره گشایی [۹] فرمود، صانعی که مجموعه صورت انسانی را که از جامعیت صور و معانی عالم ثانی است در کارگاه «خلق الله آدم علی صورته» بر صفحه ایجاد بخوبترین وجهی پرداخت و لوح وجودش را از غبار نابود بصیقل عنایت زدوده در مدارج «تخلقوا باخلاق الله» آینه کردار مظهر اسما و آثار خود ساخت، قادری که طباق سبع آسمانی را که در طریق اعجاز بر طراز سبع المثانی بلکه از ممر تنظیم و تنجیم نمودار صفحات قرآنیست بآیات کواکب بدیع چهر و عشر و خمس ماه و مهر زینت داد و بخطوط شعاعی جدول کشیده از سفیداب صبح و شنجرف شفق بر صفحه لاجوردی سپهر نمونه چهار لوح نهاد، گاه [ب۹] قلم سیاهی از مژگان

THE BAHRAM MIRZA ALBUM PREFACE BY DOST-MUHAMMAD

In 951/1544, Dost-Muhammad (fl. 938–72/1531–64) of Gawashwan, a village near Herat, prepared for Bahram Mirza (1517–1549), brother of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) and patron of the arts, an album of calligraphic specimens and paintings that is now in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (H.2154). In the florid preface he wrote for the album he traces the history of calligraphy, master-pupil relationships in the calligraphic art, and the history of painting and painters, and he inventories the scribes and artists who were employed in Shah Tahmasp's studio.

Dost-Muhammad's "Preface," Qazi Ahmad's *Gulistān-i hunar* (Garden of Art), and Mustafa Âli's *Manāqib-i hunarvaran* (Qualities of Artists) are the main sixteenth-century sources for the history of the arts of the book.¹

The noblest rescript with which the scribes of the workshop of prayer adorn the album of composition and novelty, and the most subtle picture with which the depictees of the gallery of intrinsic meaning decorate the assemblies of creativity and invention, is praise of the Creator, by whose pen are scriben sublime letters and exalted forms. In accordance with the dictum, "The pen

dried up with what would be until Doomsday," the coalesced forms and dispersed shapes of the archetypes were hidden in the recesses of the unseen in accordance with the dictum, "I was a hidden treasure." Then, in accordance with the words, "I wanted to be known, so I created creation in order to be known," he snatched with the fingers of destiny the veil of non-existence from the countenance of being, and with the hand of mercy and the pen, which was "the first thing God created," he painted [them] masterfully on the canvas of being. [9a] [Praise to] the Maker who made the totality of human form, which includes the forms and intrinsic meanings of the next world, in the workshop called "he created Adam in his form" on the page of creation in the most beautiful way, and cleansed from the tablet of his being the dust of nonexistence with the polish of favor; and in the heights indicated by the words, "Assume the characteristics of God," he made the mirror of creation a locus of manifestation for names and traces. [Praise to] the Omnipotent who adorned the layers of the heavenly seven, inimitable in the manner of seven copies—nay, in organization and systematization they are exemplars of Koranic pages—with verses of beautiful stars and the tenth and fifth of the sun and moon, and made rulings with lines of rays, and with the white ink of dawn and the vermilion of sunset placed a prototype of the four tablets on the azure page of the celest. Sometimes [9b] he makes black pens from the eyelashes of the houris and draws the tresses of beauties on the face of day from the inkpot of night, and sometimes he makes a pen of sunrays and moonbeams and draws the shapes of

¹Qāzī Ahmad's *Gulistān-i hunar* has been translated into English by V. Minorsky as *Calligraphers and Painters*, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers (Washington: Smithsonian, 1959); an edition of the Persian text, more recent than the translation, is by Aḥmad Suhaylī-Khwānsārī (Tehran: Zar, 1352). The section in Muṣṭafā 'Âli's *Manāqib-i hunarvarān* on calligraphers of the *nasta'liq* script is on pp. 27–60 of the 1926 Istanbul edition.

صویر قلم و قلم تصویرست؟ و آنجا که کارخانه خلق اجساد و
 سور بر طبق ﴿وَمَا أَمْرُنَا إِلَّا وَاحِدَةٌ كَلِمَةً بِالْبَصَرِ﴾ بر کارگران عالم
 بلوی و سفلی تنگست، چه جای بنای طرح و آمیزش آب
 رنگست؟ عیسی مجرد بی امداد و مدد خامه و قلم بمنشور «ذلك
 بیسی بن مریم» ممتاز گشته در صدف هستی از رطوبت نسیم
 ﴿وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِي﴾ آب حیات خورده، و در وجود آدم صفی
 ی صدف بدستباری ﴿إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً﴾ سر از بحر
 دم بر آورده ﴿إِنَّ مَثَلَ عِيسَىٰ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ كَمَثَلِ آدَمَ خَلَقَهُ مِنْ تُرَابٍ ثُمَّ
 أَلَّهُ لَهُ كُنُفٌ فُيُكُونُ﴾ (مثنوی)

زهی صانع که پوشانید بی عون
 بحکم کُن لباسِ خلق در کون
 نه تقدیرش بود محتاج تدبیر
 نه موقوف قلم در نقش تصویر
 هزاران صورت دلکش برانگیخت
 که نی نیرنگ زد نی رنگ آمیخت
 لباسی داد هر یک را برنگی
 ز رنگ صبغة الله بی درنگی
 یکی را زیب حسن از خال و خط کرد
 جهانی را بحسنش در غلط کرد
 یکی را داد چشم فستنه انگیز
 که ریزد خون بخنجرهای خونریز
 یکی را گرد لب طرحی ز نو کرد
 بآن جان بخش خط جانها گرو کرد
 یکی با قامت رعنا برانگیخت
 بدل از عالم بالا بلا ریخت
 نمود از گلبن قد غنچه تر
 درون غنچه بر عقد گوهر
 بحیرت گرچه صورت نیست درخور
 نکو نبود باو وابستگی پر
 درین صورنگری حیران چه مانی
 چو تغییرات سیرت را بدانی

اگر سیرت نباشد پاک و دلکش
 بمعنی چیست نفع از صورت خوش
 بسیرت کرده رسم مردمی گم
 چه سود از یافت صورت شکل مردم

چو باشد در حقیقت مرد شناس
 ز شکل ناس نتوان خواندندش ناس
 الهی آن کف خاکم کزین پیش
 تهی بودم ز شکل و سیرت خویش

چو شکل آدمم دادی ز آغاز
 بمعنی ز آدمیت بهره ور ساز
 نخست از جرم خاکم پاک گردان
 ولی در راه پاکان خاک گردان

خصوصاً آنکه مقصود از جهان اوست
 مراد کل ز امر کُن فکان اوست
 بصورت حسن یوسف کرده تکمیل
 بسیرت فیض بخش روح جبریل

آن انسان کامل و در طریقه کمال مکمل که اول پیکری که از
 محض نور وجود بر [۱۰] صفحه هستی جلوه نمود طرح شجره
 عالی ثمره او بود و آن نهال بآب رحمت و جمال برآمده از هر
 دوحه اش هزار گل کرامت و هدایت بگشود، جمیلی که در
 مشاهده جمالش نظار گیان لقای یوسف را در وادی و اُسفا حیرت
 و تأسف دامن گیرست، و از آن حیرت انگشت تعجب بدنان و
 سر تحیر در گریبان خجلت و تشویر (بیت)

ز یوسف در نمکدانها نمک ریخت

ولی این حسن شور دیگر انگیخت

سلسله گیسوی مشکبویش زنجیره از شب قدر پیرامن خورشید
 نهاده و چشم خدایینش از روی شفاعت درهای بهشت بر روی
 امت گشاده (بیت)

نقاش ازل کان خط مشکین رقم اوست

یارب چه رقمهای عجب در قلم اوست

امی که بی دستبازی خامه خط نسخ بر هزار نامه نهاد، ناخوانایی

beauties with the blood of lovers on the canvas of loveliness. Praise God! What am I saying? Where the perfect swiftness of creation and destiny is, what room is there for the depiction of the pen or the pen of depiction? Where the workshop of creating bodies and forms according to the words, "and our order is but one, like the twinkling of an eye" [Kor. 54:50] is too narrow for the laborers of the upper and lower worlds, how can there be room for the design or mixing of water and color? Jesus the Abstract, without the aid or help of the pen, was singled out by the words, "That is Jesus, son of Mary" [Kor. 19:34], and in the shell of being, by the limpidity of the breeze of the words, "I breathed into him of my breath" [Kor.15:20, 38:72], drank the water of life. And the pearl of existence, Adam the Pure, without [nurturing] shell, by aid of the words "I am going to place on the earth a vicegerent" [Kor. 2:30], emerged from the ocean of nonexistence: "For God Jesus is like unto Adam: He created him from dust and said to him, 'Be!,' and he was."

Hail to the Creator who, without assistance,
clothed being with existence by the command
"Be!"

Neither is his destining in need of machination
nor is his depiction dependent upon the pen.
He quickened thousands of charming forms: nei-
ther did he use a magic incantation nor did he
mix colors.

He clothed each one in a color, a color of God's
tincture, without hesitation.

He adorned one beautifully with mole and down:
a whole worldful [of people] fell into error on
account of its beauty.

To another he gave a seditious eye that would
shed blood with blood-dripping dagger
[eyelashes]

Around the lips of another he drew a novel
design, by means of which animating down
souls were pawned.

For yet another he innovated a fascinating
stature, casting calamity into the heart from
the world above....

If a form is not worthy of astonishment, it is not
worth a touch of the brush.

Why are you perplexed by this master painting
when you know that it is necessary to amend
your conduct?

If conduct is not pure and charming in essence,
what is the use of a beautiful form?

[If] in life the form of right conduct has been
lost, what use is there for humankind to have
been given a beautiful form?

When a man is ignorant in his being, he cannot
be called human simply because of his form.

O God, I am that handful of dust that previously
was void of my form and conduct.

Since you gave me human form first, make me
share intrinsically in humanity.

Especially he who is the final goal of the world:
the final goal of the creative fiat is he.

In form he perfected Joseph's beauty; in conduct
he quickens Gabriel's soul.

That perfect human, the outline of whose noble-fruited
tree was the first form to appear from the pure light of
existence on [10a] the page of being, and whose sap-
ling was watered by mercy and beauty, from each twig
of which a thousand flowers of saintliness and guidance
blossom, the beautiful one, in witnessing whose beauty
admirers of Joseph's countenance cry out alas and alack
in astonishment and perplexity.

By Joseph was much agony created, but this
beauty has stirred up a different tumult.

The chain of his musk-scented locks has placed shackles
of the Night of Power around the sun, and his God-see-
ing eye has opened the gates of paradise to his commu-
nity through intercession :

The eternal painter who drew that black line, O
Lord, what marvelous shapes are in his pen!

The unlettered one who has drawn, without aid of the
pen, a line of abrogation through a thousand books—

بعد از احترام کلام واجب علام، دست اعتصام در حبل المتین
اقتدای این فرقه لازم الاحترام زدن بر اهل اسلام فرض عین
است، سیما المفاخر البشرية اعنی الائمة الاثنی عشریة که اگر
دست تقدیر فتح باب نبوت فرمودی، آن در جز بر جمال
نبوی مثال ایشان نگشودی

تعالی الله زهی قوم یگانه
که بودند از رسول الله نشانه

بر اوج عدل هر یک آفتابی
کتاب وحی را فصلی و بابی
الهی تا جهان را رنگ و آبست
زمینرا مکت و گردونرا شتابست
جهان بی فیضشان خرم مبادا
تهی ز اولادشان عالم مبادا

خصاصاً ارشد اولاده الطاهره وامجد احفاده الباهره اعنی اعلی
حضرت کیوان رفعت فلک حشمت جمجاه معدلت دستگاه،
قهرمان الماء والطين، عون الاسلام والمسلمین*، ممد قواعد سید
المرسلین، ناصب رایات العدل والاحسان، قاصع بنیان الظلم والظغیان،
السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان والحقان ابن الحقان ابن معز
السلطنة والخلافة والهدایة والدنیا والدین ابو المظفر شاه طهماسب
الصفوی الحسینی (خلد الله ملکه وإحسانه) و برادران کامکار و
فرزندان عالیقدر آنحضرت، سیما ذر صدف خلافت
ومعدلت گستری، گوهر درج ابهت و رعیت پروری، گلدسته
روضه سلطنت و اقبال، شکوفه چمن مکرمت و اجلال،
فریدون حشمت، جمشید جاهی، سکندر شوکتی، دارا پناهی،
المؤید من الله بمقاعد العز والعلایة معز السلطنة والشوكة والحشمة والعز
والجلال ابو الفتح بهرام میرزا (خلد ایام سلطنته وشوکتة وحشمتة
علی رؤس الاعالی فی الایام الی یوم القیام) که اوقات
فرخنده ساعات خودرا بعد از تکمیل امور ملک وملت و مطالعه
تواریخ و حکایت، مصروف بتوجه خطوط خوب استادان و رسایل
مرغوب عدیم المثالان می نمود، و نظر لطف و مرحمتش همگی
بدین طایفه می بود تا آنکه رأی عالی و ضمیر متعالیش مایل

که بی مددکاری مداد و قلم رقوم قواعد واحکام ماتقدم را بشرع
ثابت الاصل رافع الفرع خود تبدیل داد (مثنوی)

بدانش حکم دینهارا بدل کرد
ز فعل خویش دستور العمل کرد

نبودش خط ظاهر گشته ملحوظ
چو سر تعلیمش آمد لوح محفوظ
ولی بودش قلم آئین بر انگشت
ز بهر نسخ دینها تیز در مشتم

بلی نخل رفیعش آن قلم بود
که از کلک قضا اول رقم بود
به بستان جلال از لطف داور
نرست از وی نهال تیزروتر

جهان از میوه احسان او شاد
هنوزش نخل دور از باغ ایجاد
اگر خلعت نکردی از نبوت
نبردی بهر آدم از نبوت

وگراز وی نجستی راحت روح
ببحر نوحه ماندی تا ابد نوح
اگر ابراهم آمد فخر ملت
ولی پوشیید از وی تاج خلعت

بنای خانه گرزو یافت اتمام
ولی پیش از بنا این بست احرام

خاتمی که نگین تمکینش از نقش «كُنْتُ نَبِيًّا وَأَدَمُ بَيْنَ الْمَاءِ
وَالطِّينِ» زینت پذیرست از بدایت حالش درآداست و خبر
ثابت اثر «إِنَّا أَعْطَيْنَاكَ الْكُوثَرَ» که رایحه طالع کواکب عرش مطالع
آل فرشته خصال اوست از نهایت احوالش مژده فزا. اولاد
فدسی نهادش که ولاد و دادشان بر ارباب ایمان وایقان در راه
هدایت و طریق هدی بحکم ﴿قُلْ لَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي
لِقَائِي﴾ فرض عین و عین فرض است شعار شرع را بر عالمیان
[۱۰] متمم اند و بر وفاق مصداق «ترکت فیکم الثقلین کتاب
الله وعترتی».

the unschooled one who, without the assistance of pen and ink, has changed the laws and rules of the past through his legislation of firm root and exalted branch.

Through knowledge he changed the precepts of religions; through his own action he made the law.

He had no script apparent, but he was favored by instruction from the Preserved Tablet.

However, on his finger he had a [fingernail] like a pen, sharpened to abrogate religions.

Yea, his tall stature was the reed that was the first stroke of the pen of fate.

In the garden of majesty, by God's favor, no sapling ever grew more swiftly than he.

The world was gladdened by the fruit of his beneficence while yet his palm was far from the garden of existence.

Had he not been given a prophetic robe of honor, Adam would have had no share of prophecy.

If the peace of the spirit had not issued from him, Noah would have remained forever in the sea of wailing.

If Abraham was the honor of the community, he wore the crown of divine friendship because of him.

If the building of the Ka'ba was completed by [Abraham], [Muhammad] bound the pilgrim's garb before it was built.

Seal [of prophets] whose ring of power is decorated with the legend, "I was a prophet while Adam was between water and clay." From the beginning the words "we have given you Kawthar," which breathe an aroma of his angelic offspring, proclaimed the good news of his end. Divine legislation was completed for the inhabitants of the earth by his holy children, love for whom is incumbent upon all who have faith and certainty in the way of guidance, through the words, "Say I do not ask you a fee for it except affection in kinship" [Kor. 6:90], [10b] and in accordance with the true saying, "I leave among you the people God's book and my family."

After paying respects to the Word of the omniscient necessarily existent [One], it is an obligation upon each individual in Islam to take an immaculate handhold onto the strong rope of following this group, respect for whom is necessary, especially the prides of humanity,

by whom I mean the Twelve Imams, for were the hand of destiny to reopen the gate of prophecy, it would be opened to none other than their prophet-like beauty.

Praise God for such a unique group, who were signs of God's Apostle,

Each one a sun at the zenith of justice, each one a chapter and section of the book of prophetic inspiration.

O God, so long as the world exists, so long as the earth is stable and the celest in motion,

May the world not flourish without their grace, may it never be void of their offspring.

Especially the latest of his pure sons and most glorious of his splendid offspring, by whom I mean His Majesty of Saturnian exaltedness, who is attended by the celestial spheres, the Sultan son of the Sultan son of the Sultan, the Khaqan son of the Khaqan son of the Khaqan, Glory of the Sultanate and Caliphate and Right-guidance and this world, Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp the Safavid the Musavid the Husaynid (may God eternalize his reign and beneficence) and His Majesty's felicitous brothers and noble children—and most especially the pearl of the oyster of the caliphate and justice, the gem of the casket of magnificence and rule, bouquet of the garden of power and good fortune, blossom of the meadow of nobility and splendor, a Faridun in majesty, a Jamshid in rank, an Alexander in splendor, a Dara in reign, the glory of the sultanate, Abu'l-Fath Bahram Mirza (may God cause the days of his power and glory over the heads of the mighty to last until the Day of Resurrection), who, after perfecting the affairs of rule and perusing histories and tales, used to spend his time contemplating the masters' beautiful calligraphic specimens and rare and precious essays, and his gaze of favor and kindness was ever upon this group until his exalted opinion inclined to this, that the scattered folios of past and present masters should be

یکدیگر افتد سواد بر سواد و بیاض بر بیاض است. و خط کوفی تا زمان المقتدر بالله بود و در آن زمان علی بن مقله که به ابن مقله مشهور است حضرت امیر المؤمنین علی را علیه السلام در واقعه دید که خط ثلث و محقق و نسخ را بدو تعلیم فرمودند و اصول این خطوط در آینه ضمیر صافی بدیده بصیرت او نمودند و ابواب این آمال را بر چهره اقبال او گشودند، و این خط را عربی نام نهادند. و مشاراً لیه در بیداری تعلیمهای آنحضرت را بخاطر داشت و همت بر اختراع این خطوط گماشت. و ابن مقله چون وزیر المقتدر بالله بود، او را بخیانته منسوب نمود و فرمود بقلم تراش [۱۱] دو قلم از نخل دست راست او بردند و آن شجره را از سیراب شدن آب حیات که در ظلمات دوات منزل داشت محروم گردانیدند. و بعد از آن، ثمره شجره خود را که دختری بود بسیار بقابلیت، بدست چپ تعلیم فرمود. و استاد علی بن هلال که به ابن یوآب مشهور است شاگرد اوست.

و حضرت شیخ جمال الدین یاقوت (رحمة الله علیه) در زمان المستعصم بالله که آخرین خلفاء عباسی بود تعلیم از ابن یوآب یافت و بارشاد مشاراً لیه از درگاه دوری بحریم قرب و پیشگاه کمال شتافت و وضع قواعد این خط کرد و ضوابط مخفی این علم را از آسمان بزمین آورد و بی شایبه تکلف خامه مشکین شمامه اش در جویبار خطوط بمرتبه ترقی نمود که زبان قلم و قلم دوزبان در تعریف او عاجزست، لاجرم در آن باب شروع نمیرود. و حضرت شیخ را شش نفر شاگرد بود که ایشان را «استادان سته» گویند و هر یک را رخصت داد که اگر خط خوب خود را بنام شیخ کنند، آثم نباشند. و کمال حسن خط سته مذکوره که دینار بضاعت نامدار ایشان بسکه اقبال چنان شیخ صاحب عیار رسیده و برات فضلشان در خزینه سروری آن بزرگوار از خزانه دار عقل توقیع قبول دیده محقق است که رقم نسخ بر خط ماهران این فن کشیده از رتبه تعریف بیرون و از مرتبه توصیف افزون است، فلاجرم شروع در آن ممنوع می نماید (شعر)

در نسخه «بظاعت».

بدان شد که اوراق پریشان استادان ماضی و متأخرین را از حیز پریشانی در سلک جمعیت آورد. درین باب امر عالی و فرمان متعالی باین بنده فقیر و ذره حقیر المستهام المذنب دوست محمد الکاتب شد که در ترتیب و تزئین آن کوشیده کمر خدمت بر میان جان بندد، لاجرم حسب الاشارة عالی [۱۱]

کمر خدمتش بجان بسته
جان کمروار بر میان بسته

برسم کتابخانه آن جمجاه سپهر احترام مرقعی ترتیب نماید. و چون ذکر منشأ خط و استادان علم خط که در دبیرستان «علم بالقلم علم الانسان ما لم يعلم» ممتاز و بی همباز اند در این مرقع لازم بود، بتمهید ایراد آن التزام نمود ومن الله الإعانة والتوفيق.



اما بعد، بدانکه نزد ارباب تواریخ و اصحاب سیر فرخنده اثر و اهالی حدیث خیر البشر علیه السلام آنست که اول کسی که خط نوشت و بادی این امر عظیم و این شغل واجب التکریم شد حضرت ابو البشر آدم صفی الله بود. مداد ساخت و بر پوست پاره دباغی کرده طرح خط نویسی انداخت. و بعد از آن حضرت ادريس علیه السلام. لیکن صورت کتابت معلوم نیست که بر چه اسلوب کتابت می شده، اگرچه مشهورست که کلام بعبارت سریانی عبری بود. و سایر انبیا و حکما نیز وضع قلمها کرده اند، اما در آنها فایده خواندن و حاصل شدن مقاصد کلامی ظاهر نیست و موجب تطویل میشود. عنان قلم بدان صوب معطوف نمیگردد.

بعد از آن، یعرب بن قحطان از اسلوب معقلی بکوفی آورد و واضع خط کوفی یعرب بن قحطان است. اما بدست معجز آثار قدوة الاخيار حضرت بانصرت امیر المؤمنین و امام المتقین و یعسوب الدین اسد الله الغالب و غالب کل غالب و مطلوب کل طالب، علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام تکمیل یافته، انامل نی سوار هیچ آفریدگار چون شهسوار بنان معجز نشان آنحضرت بر میدان کتابت نگذشته. و علامت کتابت آنحضرت بعد صفا و لطافت آنست که در سر الف مکتوب آنحضرت بقدر نیم نقطه شکافی می باشد و در هر جا حرفی که در ظهر و بطن صفحه محاذی

brought out of the region of dispersal into the realm of collectedness. In this regard the exalted command and sublime order was issued to this poor slave, miserable speck of dust, distracted sinner, Dost-Muhammad the Scribe, that, in endeavoring to organize and decorate [the collection], he should cinch the waist of his soul with the belt of servitude. Therefore, in accordance with this exalted command, [11a]

He bound the waist of his soul with the belt of
servitude: he girded himself with his soul as a
belt

in order to arrange an album for His Exalted Majesty's library. Inasmuch as it is necessary to mention in this album the origin of calligraphy and the masters of the science of calligraphy who are so outstanding in the school "taught by the pen, taught mankind what he knew not" [Kor. 96:4f], prefatory remarks shall follow in which all that shall be introduced, God granting assistance and success.



Know that in the opinion of historians and biographers of happy output and specialists in the sayings of the Best of Mankind—upon whom be peace—the first person to write, the founder of this magnificent affair and noble occupation, was Adam, who fashioned a pen and wrote on a tanned hide. After him was Enoch. However, the form of their writing, in what manner they wrote, is not known, even though it is well known that they spoke in the Syriac Hebrew expression. All other prophets and sages also established writing systems, but the manner of reading the same and the purport of their words are not apparent and would take too long to describe.

Thereafter, Ya'rub ibn Qahtan² produced the Kufic style from the Ma'qili,³ and he was the inventor of the Kufic script; nonetheless, it reached perfection at the glorious hand of the Prince of the Faithful and Imam of

²Ya'rub ibn Qahtān, one of the progenitors of the Arabs.

³The Kufic style of writing is named for the city of Kufa in Iraq. It is a "blanket" term applied to the nonrounded styles of Arabic. Ma'qili, named after Nahr al-Ma'qil at Basra in southern Iraq, is the term sometimes used for the highly geometrically stylized script used in brick work.

the Pious, the Conquering Lion of God, Ali ibn Abi-Talib. The reed-riding fingers of no creature have ever passed through the field of writing like the miraculous, cavalier fingers of that majesty. The distinguishing characteristic of that majesty's script, after its clarity and loveliness, is that at the head of the *alif* as written by him is a split in the value of half a dot, and wherever letters are parallel to each other on the front and back of a page, black is on black and white on white.

There was Kufan script until the time of al-Muqtadir-bi'llah,⁴ at which time Ali ibn Muqla, who is known as Ibn Muqla, saw the Prince of the Faithful Ali in a vision, during which he instructed him in the *thuluth*, *muhaqqaq* and *naskh* script, which script was named the "Arabic script".... Ibn Muqla, being al-Muqtadir's vizier, was accused of treason, and al-Muqtadir ordered two fingers of his right hand cut off with a penknife. [11b] Thus that tree was deprived of drawing the water of life that rested in the darkest recesses of the inkpot. Thereafter he instructed his offspring, who was a very talented girl, with his left hand. Master Ali ibn Hilal, known as Ibn Bawwab, was his student.⁵

Shaykh Jamaluddin Yaqut⁶ was instructed by Ibn Bawwab in the time of al-Mustansir-bi'llah,⁷ the last Abbasid caliph, and through his guidance laid down the rules for this script and brought down the cryptic regulations of this science from heaven to earth. Without the least taint of extravagance it may be said that he caused his musk-scented pen to skim through the current of scripts in such a way that the pen's tongue and the two-tongued pen are incapable of describing it.

The shaykh had six students known collectively as the SIX MASTERS. To each of them he gave license to produce their own calligraphy in his name. The perfection of beauty in the script of these six is so established that the calligraphy of [other] experts in this craft has been ruled out, and [their art] is so far beyond descrip-

⁴Abbasid caliph, ruled 295–320/908–32.

⁵"Student" is used in the loosest possible sense and may include a gap of several generations. Ibn Muqla died in 940, and Ibn al-Bawwāb in 1032.

⁶Known as Yāqūt al-Musta'simī. Bayānī (AAK 4:1227), in agreement with Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, places his death in 698/1298–99. The specimen of his calligraphy bearing the latest date (695) appears to be an album page in Istanbul, TSM, H.2160, fol. 82a

⁷al-Mustansir-bi'llāh was caliph from 623/1226 until 640/1242.

وصفِ خورشیدِ ار نگوید هوشمند

فیضِ نورِ او بُود و صفش بسند

ور بمدحِ مشکِ نگشاید نفس

مشک را مدّاحِ بویِ مشک بس

و اسامی شریف ایشان اینست: جناب مولانا نصرالله طیب،

شیخ زاده سهروردی، خواجه ارغون کاملی، خواجه مبارکشاه

زرین قلم، جناب فضایلماآبی سید حیدر، مولانا یوسف مشهدی.

و مولانا عبدالله صیرفی که در ممالک عالم علم اند شاگرد

سید حیدر اند. و سلسله شاگردی خطاطان خراسان بخواجه

عبدالله صیرفی می رسد، و سلسله اهل عراق باستاد پیر یحیی

صوفی انتهی می پذیرد که شاگرد خواجه مبارکشاه است، اما

عطارد خوش رقم شرف شاگردی بی واسطه را بروز نامچه طالع

یشان نیفزوده باوجود که در وقت شیخ نیز بکتابت مشغولی

می نموده اند (مصرع)

این کار دولتست کنون تا کرا رسد

و خواجه عبدالله صیرفی خواهرزاده خود را که شیخ محمد بندگیر

ست تعلیم کرده اند [۱۲] و مشارّ الیه مولانا سعدالدین

تبریزی را. و مومی الیه مولانا شمس الدین قطابی که اسم شریف

خود را شمس صوفی نوشته اند و ایشان استاد و وحید دهر و

بگانه عصر مولانا فریدالدین جعفر تبریزی را. و مشارّ الیه در

یمان حضرت مرحوم بایسنغر میرزا که فرزند ارجمند پادشاه

مرحوم شاهرخ بهادراست حرمت و اعتبار تمام داشتند و بحسن

خط اشتهار لاکلام یافتند، اما بخط نستعلیق مشهورترند.

tion that it is impossible even to begin [to describe it].

If an intelligent man does not describe the sun,
the grace of its light is description enough.
And if one does not speak in praise of musk, its
own scent is a sufficiently eloquent eulogizer.

Their noble names are: (1) Mawlana Nasrullah Tabib,⁸ (2) Shaykhzada Suhrawardi,⁹ (3) Khwaja Arghun Kamili,¹⁰ (4) Khwaja Mubarakshah Zarin-Qalam,¹¹ (5) the excellent Sayyid-Haydar,¹² and (6) Mawlana Yusuf Mashhadi.¹³

⁸Among the surviving works by Naṣrullāh Tabīb are two specimens dated (1) 729/1328–29, Istanbul, TSM, H.2161, fol. 24a; and (2) 735/1334–35, Istanbul, TSM, B.411, fol. 106b. He is said to have died ca. 740/1339 (Bayāni, AAK, 4:1222).

⁹Aḥmad b. al-Suhrawardī of Baghdad, known as Shaykh-zāda. The earliest surviving specimen of his work is in Istanbul, TSM, H.2310, fol. 55b dated 702 (1302–3); the latest, dated 728 (1327–28), is a detached page from a *Nahj al-balāgha* in the Taqwā Collection, Tehran (Bayāni, AAK 4:1025).

¹⁰The earliest surviving specimen is an album page (Istanbul, TSM, H.2156, fol. 92a) by “Arghūn b. ‘Abdullāh” dated 700 (1300–1); the latest is in the same album (fol. 33b) and is dated 753 (1352).

¹¹Mubārakshāh b. Quṭb is said to have executed the epigraphic calligraphy in the shrine of ‘Ali b. Abī-Tālib in Najaf commissioned by Sulṭān-Uways Jalāyir. A single undated specimen by him survives in Istanbul, TSM, H.2310, fol. 25b; another by Mubārakshāh b. ‘Abdullāh (fol. 61a), who may be the same person, is dated 732 (1331–32).

¹²Sayyid-Haydar, known as Gundanawīs (“the majuscule writer”), was the teacher of ‘Abdullāh Ṣayrafi (Mīr Sayyid-Aḥmad in Istanbul, TSM, H.2161, fol. 8a). There are no works by the name Haydar; however, he may be the same as Muḥammad b. Haydar al-Ḥusaynī, specimens of whose work are found in Istanbul, TSM, H. 2160, fol. 29b (dated 717 [1317]), H. 2310, fol. 97b (dated 717), and B.411, fol. 103b (dated 718 [1318]).

¹³Of Yūsuf Mashhadi’s work there are no examples in the Istanbul albums, but he is mentioned by Muṣṭafā ‘Alī (*Manāqib-i hunarwarān*, p. 23), who calls him Mullā Yūsuf Khurāsānī, and Qāḍī Aḥmad (*Gulistān-i hunar*, 22), who says that after serving Yāqūt he left Iraq for Tabriz and that ‘Abdullāh Ṣayrafi studied with him. The “Seven Masters Album” (made for Bāysunghur Mīrzā and now in Istanbul, TSM, H.2310) lists the “seven” as (1) Yāqūt, (2) Mubārakshāh, (3) Arghūn, (4) Aḥmad b. Suhrawardī, (5) ‘Abdullāh

Mawlana Abdullah Sayrafi,¹⁴ whose name shines throughout all realms, was the student of Sayyid-Haydar, and the line of tutelage among the calligraphers of Khurasan goes back to Khwaja Abdullah Sayrafi. The line of tutelage among the calligraphers of Iraq goes back to Master Pir-Yahya Sufi,¹⁵ a student of Khwaja Mubarakshah, who, although he did not have the honor to be his direct pupil during his lifetime, did practice calligraphy during his time.

Such is the working of fate: to whom will [the lot] now fall?

Khwaja Abdullah Sayrafi instructed his nephew Shaykh Muhammad Bandgir, [12a] who instructed Mawlana Sa’duddin Tabrizi, [who instructed] Mawlana Shamsuddin Qattabi,¹⁶ who inscribed himself as Shams Sufi. He [instructed] the Unique Master of the Age, Mawlana Fariduddin Ja’far Tabrizi,¹⁷ who, in the time of his late majesty Baysunghur Mirza,¹⁸ the son of the late emperor Shahrukh Bahadur,¹⁹ was held in the

Sayrafi, (6) Pīr-Yahyā Sūfi, and (7) Muḥammad b. Haydar al-Ḥusaynī. Many examples by Yāqūt and his students are also contained in Istanbul, TSM, B.411.

¹⁴An active epigraphic and architectural calligrapher, particularly during the reign of Öljeitü (1304–17), ‘Abdullāh b. Maḥmūd al-Ṣayrafi ornamented many buildings in and around Tabriz. Examples of his work range from an album page dated 710 (1310–11) in Istanbul, TSM, B.411, fol. 70b to a Koran in Istanbul, TIEM, dated 744 (1343–44).

¹⁵Yahyā b. Jamāl al-Ṣūfi was a pupil of Aḥmad al-Rūmī and also studied with Mubārakshāh Zarin-Qalam. His extant works range from 731 [1330–31] (Bayāni, AAK 4:1233) to 746 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, F.1422, fol. 53a, executed in Shiraz).

¹⁶Qāḍī Aḥmad (*Gulistān-i hunar*, 25) gives his name as Shamsuddin Mashriqi Qattabi and makes him a pupil of Mu’inuddin, a pupil of Ḥājji Muḥammad Banddüz, who was Sayrafi’s student and also teacher of Shaykh Muḥammad Bandgir.

¹⁷Fariduddin Ja’far b. ‘Ali Tabrizi was the supervisor of the library at Herat under Shāhrukh and Bāysunghur. His earliest dated work is a *Diwān* of Ḥasan Dihlawī dated 820 (Tehran, Majlis); the latest work bearing his signature is a *Kalila u Dimna*, dated 835 (Istanbul, TSM, H.362).

¹⁸Bāysunghur Mīrzā, 799–837/1397–1434

¹⁹Shāhrukh (779–850/1377–1447), son of Amir Timūr, ruled in Khurasan 807–50/1404–47.

دیگر مولانا معین اسفزاری از شاگردان نیک مولانا عبدالحی بوده و خط و انشاء مشاراً الیه [۱۲ب] نیز در چشم اعیان روزگار دور از کار نمی نماید. و مولانا درویش عبدالله منشی شاگرد اوست و در اسلوب خط تعلیق بر استاد خود بلکه بر اکثر اهل این خط در روزگار فایق شده.

بیان استادان خط نستعلیق

مخترع خط نستعلیق حضرت استادی وقبله الکتابی خواجه ظهیرالدین میر علی تبریزی بوده اند و انتساب این سلسله را از ایشان تجاوز داده بدیگری نمی توان رسانید.

وحضرت بایسنغر میرزا بخط میل تمام داشتند و خاطر خطیر بر تربیت خوشنویسان می گماشتند^۲ و خود نیز علم قلم در معرکه خوش نویسان می افراشتند.

دیگر جناب مولانا عبدالله طباح طریقه شاگردی بمولانا فریدالدین جعفر دارند و الحق زبان قلم در تعریف آن جناب قاصر و عاجز است و باوجود کمال مهارت مولانا مشاراً الیه بعضی برایشان حسد می بردند و خود را در مقابل ایشان می نمودند، مثل مولانا محمد حسام که به شمس بایسنغری مشهور و بشاگردی مولانا معروف بر السنه مذکور.

ومولانا معروف معاصر مولانا جعفر بوده و در برابر مولانا عبدالله مربی مولانا شمس مذکور بود، اما هرگز خط او رتبه خط مولانا عبدالله نیافت و مولانا معروف شاگرد مولانا سعدالدین عراقی بود، و او شاگرد پیر یحیی صوفی.

عالیجناب افاضل پناه معالی دستگاه معارف انتباه خواجه شهاب الدین عبدالله بیانی خطوط اصول را پیش جناب مولانا عبدالله طباح نوشته اند و خط تعلیق را از خط خواجه تاج الدین سلمانی مشق فرموده اند. زبان قلم در بیان فضایل ایشان قاصر است.

دیگر ولد رشید ایشان حضرت فضایل مآبی کمالات انتسابی غنی الالقابی خواجه نورالدین محمد مؤمن که ایشان نیز در خطوط اصل امروز اول اهل زمانه و ثانی اثنین آن یگانه اند و بشرف بزرگی و سرکاری اصحاب کتابخانه عطارد آشیانه نواب کامیاب اعلی همایون مشرف گشته اند.

وحضرت خواجه تاج الدین سلمانی که واضع اساس خط تعلیق اند تدوین اختراع این وضع فرموده اند و در فن انشاء نیز پسندیده روزگار خود اند.

و بعد از او، مولانا عبدالحی منشی که این فن را تکمیل داده اند و منشی پادشاه سعید سلطان ابوسعید بوده اند و اعزاز و احترام ایشان درجه کمال داشته.

^۲ در نسخه «می نگاشتند».

greatest of respect and, because of his calligraphy, acquired indescribable fame. He is, however, even more famous for his *nasta'liq* script.

His Highness Baysunghur Mirza, who was greatly inclined to calligraphy and patronized calligraphers, himself raised the banner of the pen amidst the fray of calligraphy.

Moreover, Mawlana Abdullah Tabbakh²⁰ studied under Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far and, in truth, the tongue of the pen falls short of doing justice to him. Despite the aforementioned Mawlana's perfect expertise, some were jealous of him and pitted themselves against him, such as Mawlana Muhammad [b.] Husam,²¹ who is known as Shams Baysunghuri and is well known as a student of Mawlana Ma'ruf.²²

Mawlana Ma'ruf was a contemporary of Mawlana Ja'far and, together with Mawlana Abdullah, was the tutor of the aforementioned Mawlana Shams, whose writing never reached the heights of Mawlana Abdullah's. Mawlana Ma'ruf was a student of Mawlana Sa'duddin Iraqi, who was a student of Pir-Yahya Sufi.

The learned and erudite Khwaja Shihabuddin Abdullah Bayani learned the basic scripts from Mawlana Abdullah Tabbakh and practiced the *ta'liq* character from Khwaja Tajuddin Salmani. The pen's tongue is incapable of describing their excellence.

[Abdullah Bayani's] eldest son, the most learned and erudite Khwaja Nuruddin Muhammad-Mu'min,²³ who in the basic scripts is today the first of the age and the second of two after that unique one, has been ennobled

²⁰Shihābuddin 'Abdullāh Harawī, known as Ṭabbākh and Āshpaz (cook), whose known works range in date from 833 (Tehran, Sulṭān al-Qurrā'i Collection, album page) to 866 (*Hifẓ al-āyāt*, Tehran, Bayānī Collection). He also made the inscriptions at Gāzargāh in Herat and in the Āghācha Mosque in Mashhad.

²¹His extant dated works range from 821 (*Humāy u Humāyūn* by Khwājū Kirmānī, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. NF 382) to 833 (*Kalīla u Dimna*, Istanbul, TSM, R.1022).

²²Mawlānā Ma'rūf, a calligrapher formerly in the employ of Iskandar-Sulṭān in Shirāz, brought to Herat by Shāhrukh. See Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* 3:616. A rare specimen of his calligraphy, undated, exists in Tehran; see Badrī Ātābāy, *Fihrist-i diwānhā-yi khaṭṭī-i kitābkhāna-i saltanātī*, 440.

²³Extant dated works range from 924 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi F.1422, fol. 56a) to 947 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2151, fol. 8a).

by the supervision and directorship of the glorious library of his royal majesty.

Khwaja Tajuddin Salmani, who was the founder of the *ta'liq* script and who codified its rules, is admired for his skill in composition. After him Mawlana Abdul-Hayy Munshi, who perfected this craft and was held in great honor and respect as the felicitous emperor Sultan Abu-Sa'id's secretary, reached the pinnacle of perfection.²⁴

Mawlana Mu'in Isfizari was one of Mawlana Abdul-Hayy's best students, and his calligraphy and composition [12b] are not unadmired by the great of the age. Mawlana Darwesh Abdullah Munshi²⁵ was his student, and in *ta'liq* he surpassed not only his own teacher but also most practitioners of this script.

An Exposition of the Masters of Nasta'liq

The inventor of *nasta'liq* script was the master "Qiblat al-Kuttab" Khwaja Zahiruddin Mir-Ali Tabrizi, and the line of discipleship can go no further back than to him.²⁶

²⁴Sulṭān Abū-Sa'id Kürāgān, ruled in Samarqand 855–73/1451–69 and in Herat 863–73/ 1459–69.

²⁵A specimen dated 917 is found in Istanbul, TSM, H.2161, fol. 182b.

²⁶Despite his universal fame as the "originator of *nasta'liq*," no uncontested example of Mir-'Ali Tabrizi's work has been discovered. The nearest thing is a collection of *mathnawīs* by Khwājū Kirmānī (London, BL, Add. 18113) written by one 'Alī b. Ilyās al-Tabrizī al-Bāwurchī in Baghdad in 798/1395–96, which would be approximately the correct time for him, although "the" Mir-'Ali Tabrizī is usually called 'Alī b. Ḥasan. Other attributions to Mir-'Ali Tabrizī, which are legion, are patent forgeries. It is clear from books produced in western Iran and Baghdad around the end of the fourteenth century that copyists' manuscript hands were undergoing a significant change from the horizontally based *naskh* to a diagonally biased proto-*nasta'liq*. It is most unlikely that a Mir-'Ali, or anybody else, "invented" *nasta'liq*, which should be seen as a natural development of scribes and calligraphers at that time. It was also quite natural for later generations to seek out an individual to whom the invention (*wad'*) could be attributed: an identical tendency to eponymize is manifested in practically every field of human endeavor.

بسرانجام و پاکیزگی سرکار کتابت مشار الیه کسی نبوده. همیشه از صغر سن تا بحد شصت و سه سالگی که عمر شریف ایشان بود بروع و تقوی بودند.

دیگر فضایل مآبی محبوب القلوبی المحتاج الی رحمة الله الملك المنان مولانا سلطان محمد خندان بسیار کوچک دل و خوش صحبت بودند و مستحکم و بکیفیت نوشتند و شاگرد حضرت مولانا سلطان علی اند.

دیگر فضایل مآبی مرحومی مولانا محمد ابریشمی شاگرد مولانا سلطان علی است و از جمله استادانست.

دیگر جناب سیادت مآبی کمالات انتسابی نادر العصر فی الزمان مولانا کمال الدین میر جان که به علی الحسینی اشتهار دارند، زبان قلم و قلم دو زبان از تعریف گل گهر بار او عاجز و قاصر است، لاجرم در آن باب شروع نمی رود.

وخواجه عبدالله ولد ارجمند مشار الیه و شاگرد ایشانست و در حسن خط مشار الیه بمتابه ایست که خط او را هنروران زمان از خط والد بزرگوارش فرق نمی توانند کرد. و مولانا فرید الدین جعفر درین خط شاگرد ایشانست.

دیگر مولانا کمال الدین شیخ محمود زرین قلم شاگرد مولانا فرید الدین جعفر اند.

و مولانا ظهیر الدین اظهر نیز شاگرد مولانا جعفر اند، اما بمرتبه خوش نویس بوده اند که خط ایشانرا از خط استاد ایشان استادان این فن بهتر میدانند.

دیگر مولانا جعفر خلیفه که ولد رشید مولانا جعفر بود و مولانا میرکی که فرزند خلف مولانا ظهیر الدین اظهر بود هر دو خوشنویس شدند و مقبول سلاطین گشتند.

و تقوی شعاری حافظ حاجی محمد که استاد حضرت مولانا سلطان علی اند شاگرد مولانا ظهیر الدین اظهر اند، اما شرف شاگردی مولانا جعفر را نیز دریافته اند.

و حضرت مولانا سلطان علی مشهدی باوجود فضایل و اصناف خصایل مثل شعر هموار و فن ادوار و حسن اخلاق و اطوار خط نستعلیق را بسرحدی رسانیدند که تا ابتدای این خط است تا غایت هیچکس بدان فائز نگشته و بقدم سعی بر آن وادی نگذشته و نام نامیش یوماً فیوماً بر صفحه روزگار خواهد بود.

دیگر حضرت افادت پناه افاضت انتباه المحتاج الی رحمة الله الکریم مولانا نظام الدین عبد الرحیم خوارزمی که بمولانا انیسی اشتهار دارند بسیار نازک و صاف و پسندیده نوشته اند و آن روش را هیچکس بایشان نرسانیده و با حضرت مولانا سلطان علی مشهدی معاصر بوده اند.

دیگر جناب فضایل مآب مولانا سلطان علی قایینی در خدمت پادشاه مرحوم سلطان یعقوب بوده و رعایتهای کلی یافته.

دیگر جناب فضایل مآبی تقوی شعاری مولانا سلطان محمد نور شاگرد حضرت افادت پناهی مولانا معین الدین واعظ بوده اند و در خط نستعلیق از جمله سرآمدان دورانند، خصوصاً در کتابت الوان که غالباً از قلم کسی [۱۳] رنگ بآن صفا نیامده و

His son Khwaja Abdullah²⁷ was his pupil; and his calligraphy is of such a degree that the cognoscenti of the age cannot distinguish between his writing and that of his father. Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far was his student in this script.

Then, Mawlana Kamaluddin Shaykh Mahmud Zarin-Qalam²⁸ was a student of Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far.

Mawlana Zahiruddin Azhar²⁹ was also Mawlana Ja'far's student, but he was a calligrapher of such a rank that the masters of this art consider his writing better than his master's.

Mawlana Ja'far Khalifa, who was Mawlana Ja'far's eldest son, and Mawlana Miraki, a son of Mawlana Zahiruddin Azhar, both became calligraphers and were patronized by sultans.

The pious Hafiz Hajji Muhammad, the teacher of Mawlana Sultan-Ali, was a pupil of Mawlana Zahiruddin Azhar, but he also had the honor of being a student of Mawlana Ja'far.

Mawlana Sultan-Ali,³⁰ along with his erudition, excellent qualities in poetry and the skills of the age and good character, has taken *nasta'liq* to such an extremity that no one, from beginning to end, can ever surpass or even approach him, and his glorious name shall endure forever in the annals of the world.

Next, Mawlana Nizamuddin Abdul-Rahim Khwarazmi,³¹ known as Mawlana Anisi, wrote a very graceful,

²⁷Elsewhere called 'Ubaydullāh (see Mir Sayyid-Aḥmad's introduction to the Amīr Ghayb Bēg Album, Istanbul TSM H.2161, fol. 8b). There exists a *Dīwān* of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jalāyir dated 809 (Istanbul, TSM H.909) and twice signed by 'Ubaydullāh b. 'Alī al-Kātib al-Sulṭānī.

²⁸Extant dated works range from 846 (Tehran, Imperial Library, Koran) to 871 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2153, fol. 75a, at Sawa).

²⁹Extant dated works range from 824/1421 (Manchester, Rylands Library, Pers. 6, *Khusraw u Shirin* of Niẓāmī) to 877/1472–73 (Lahore, Punjab Univ., *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, at Isfahan).

³⁰There are dated works signed by Sulṭān-'Alī ranging from 857/1453 to 926/1520. Though it is not totally without the realm of possibility for a calligrapher to have worked for sixty-nine years, it is extremely unlikely. Many of the later dates either are "licensed signatures" by his students or belong to other Sulṭān-'Alis, such as the elusive 'Alī Sabz Mashhadī, or are outright forgeries.

³¹Extant dated works range from 864/1459–60 (Tehran, Bayānī Collection, *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ) to 899/1493–94 (Tehran,

clear and pleasing character in which no one could challenge him. He was a contemporary of Mawlana Sultan-Ali Mashhadī.

The excellent Mawlana Sultan-Ali Qayini³² was in the service of the late Sultan Ya'qub,³³ from whom he received much patronage.

The learned and pious Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad [b.] Nur³⁴ was a pupil of Mawlana Mu'inuddin Wa'iz and was one of the outstanding of the age in *nasta'liq* script, particularly in writing in colors, for generally color [13a] has not flowed so nicely from anyone else's pen, and few have equaled him for accomplishment and purity in the profession of scribe. From his youth until his sixty-third year, which were the years of his life, he was always devoted and pious.

The excellent, beloved Sultan-Muhammad Khandan³⁵ was very modest and affable. He wrote solidly and with gusto and was a student of Mawlana Sultan-Ali.

The late Mawlana Muhammad Abrishami,³⁶ a pupil of Mawlana Sultan-Ali, became an acknowledged master.

The rarity of the age, Mawlana Kamaluddin Mir Jan, known as Ali al-Husayni,³⁷ cannot be described by the

Bayānī Collection, *Dīwān* of Anisi).

³²Extant dated works range from 884/1479–80 (St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, Dorn 252, *Zubdat al-haqāyiq* of 'Ayn al-Qaḍāt al-Hamadānī) to 898/1492–93 (Tehran, Kitābkhāna-i Saḷṭanatī, Atabay 80, *Dīwān* of Jāmī).

³³Sulṭān Ya'qūb, Aqqoyunlu sultan, ruled at Tabrīz 884–96/1479–91.

³⁴Extant dated works range from 912/1506–7 (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Mxt. 131, fol. 17a, specimen) to 957/1550 (London, British Library, Or. 4124, *Ṣifāt al-'āshiqīn* of Hilālī). There is also a *Dīwān* of Ṭūsī in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, No. 1553, with a questionable date of 896.

³⁵Extant dated works range from 910/1504–5 (St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, Dorn 418, *ghazaliyyāt* of Amīr Shāhī; possibly also London, British Library, Or. 8760 dated 888) to 935/1528–29 (St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, *Dīwān* of Nawā'i).

³⁶Extant dated works range from 910/1504–5 (Tashkent, Akademia, 6149/5293, *Haft awrang* of Jāmī) to 923/1517 (Istanbul, TIEM, 2011, *Manṭiq al-tayr* of 'Aṭṭār).

³⁷Extant dated works range from 919/1513–14 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi FY 477, *Būstān* of Sa'dī) to 950/1543–44 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. 1958, *Gulistān* of Sa'dī) and possibly a *Tuḥfat al-ahrār* of

در آن بوم پادشاهی بود هرقل نام. او را دریافتند. بعد از وقوع وقایع غریب و حدوث حوادث عجیب بدست استکشاف پرده از چهره احوال آنحضرت گشود و افعال و آثار آنحضرت را سؤال نمود. بعد از آن باحضار صندوقی فرمان داد و آن سند [و] را در گشاد. صورتی بدیع بر اهل مجلس جلوه گر کرد و آن جمع را بخوبترین صورتی در قید تعجب آورد. چون نظارگان از مشاهده آن صورت حظ تمام و بهره مالاکلام گرفتند، پرسیدند که «این کس را می شناسید؟» اصحاب گفتند «هرگز چشم ما برین جمال نیفتاده و در فیض از نور اصل این مثال بر روی ما نگشاده» هرقل گفت «این صورت حضرت ابوالبشر آدم صلی الله است ﷺ» و همچنین صورتهای می نمود تا آنکه درین اثنا صورت آفتاب لقا و پیکر حیرت افزایی ظاهر کرد که ذات همایونش آدم را از خاک عدم برآورده خلعت صفوت داده. تعجیبی که ناظرانرا از ملاحظه صورت سابق عارض شده بوده بمشاهده عارض مبارکش رفع گشت، و تحیری که از رهگذر خوبی صورت اول روی نموده بود بمطالعه جمال آفتاب مثالش دفع شد (شعر)

ای ز همه صورتِ خوبِ تو به
صَوْرَتِکَ اللهُ عَلٰی صُوْرَتِهِ

اصحاب چون آن صورت را دیدند، قطرات اشک چون کواکب از دیده رمد دیده ریختند و شوق جمال باکمال آنحضرت در دل اصحاب تازه شد. و چون هرقل اندوه و التهاب و گریه و اضطراب اصحاب را دید، ازیشان متفحص سبب آن گردید. گفتند «این صورت مبارک پیغمبر ماست ﷺ و از هرقل

دیگر مولانا محمد قاسم بسیار نازک و پاکیزه و پسندیده نوشته شاگرد مولانا سلطان محمد نور است و بخدمت مولانا سلطان محمد خندان نیز رسیده و تعلیم گرفته. فصاحت شعاری خواجه ابراهیم شاگرد مولانا محمد نور است و مولانا مشارالیه را باو توجه خاطر و نظر تمام بود. بسیار شیرین و پاکیزه نوشته.

و چون سلسله ارباب کتابت بیرون از حصر و حد است، سمند خوش خرام خامه را از طی آن وادی باز داشته تعریف حسن رقم و توصیف لطف قلم جماعتی که در این امر علم اند چون کتابت ایشان در اثنای این مجلد اندراج خواهد یافت بنظر ارباب بصر و بصیرت باز می گذارد و قلم دوزبان را بر تعریف ایشان نمی گمارد

إِنَّ آثَارَنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا فَانظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ أَوْلَىٰ وَأَخْرَأَ وَبَاطِنًا وَظَاهِرًا

مقدمه نقاشان و مذهبان ماضی

منقوش ضمائر ارباب سرایر آنکه گلشن نقش و تذهیب بوستانیست در کمال تزیین و ترتیب و زینت مصاحف که مخبر از تعظیم کلام واجب التکریم است [و] وابسته بقلم و موقوف بطرح و رقم استادان این فن شریفست. و در اخبار چنین آمده است که اول کسی که بنقش و تذهیب زینت افزای کتابت کلام لازم الترحیب شدند حضرت بانصرت امیر المؤمنین و امام المتقین اسدالله الغالب و غالب کل غالب و مطلوب کل طالب علی بن ابی طالب ﷺ بودند، و ابواب این بضاعت را آنحضرت بمفتاح قلم بر روی این طایفه گشودند [۱۳ب] و چند برگ که در عرف نقاشان به «اسلامی» معروفست آن حضرت اختراع فرموده اند. و اگر ارباب تصویررا بظاهر شرع سرخجالت در پیش است اما آنچه از کتب اکابر مستفاد میگردد مال این کار منتهی بحضرت دانیال پیغمبر میشود.

آورده اند که بعد از وفات حضرت پیغمبر ﷺ بعضی از اصحاب بقدم اتمام جهة عرض اسلام بجانب روم شتافتند و

pen's tongue or by the two-tongued pen, so no attempt will be made.

Mawlana Muhammad-Qasim [b. Shadishah]³⁸ wrote very gracefully, cleanly and pleasingly. He was a pupil of Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad Nur and also received instruction from Mawlana Sultan-Muhammad Khandan.

The eloquent Khwaja Ibrahim³⁹ is a student of Mawlana Muhammad Nur, by whom he is highly and excellently regarded. He writes a very nice, clean line.

The lineage of the masters of calligraphy being beyond enumeration, the prancing steed of the pen will be checked from crossing that valley. Inasmuch as [specimens of] their writing will be included in this tome, a description of the calligraphy and appreciation of the subtlety of the pen of those who are most famous in this regard will be held up to the gaze of connoisseurs and cognoscenti, and hence they need not be discussed here.

Our works point to us: gaze after us at our works.

And praise be to God first and last, inwardly and outwardly.

An Introduction to the Painters and Limners of the Past

It is etched on the minds of the masters of the arcane that the garden of painting and illumination is an orchard of perfect adornment; and the arrangement and embellishment of Korans, which bespeak the glorification of the Word of the Necessarily Exalted, are connected to the pen and bound to the design and drawing of the masters of this noble craft.

It has been recorded that the first person to adorn with painting and illumination the writing of the Word that is necessarily welcomed was the Prince of the Faithful and Leader of the Pious, the Conquering Lion of God ...

Jāmi in Dublin, Beatty Library 215 with a questionable date of 955.

³⁸Extant dated works range from 924/1518 (Istanbul, Nuru Osmaniye 3825, *Qirān al-sa'dayn* of Amīr Khusraw) to 959/1552 (Washington, Sackler Gallery S86.0339, calligraphic specimen).

³⁹A single dated work is found in Istanbul, TSM H.2154, fol 144a, dated 933/1527.

Ali ibn Abi-Talib, and the gates of this commodity were opened to this group by the key of that majesty's pen. A few leaves, known in the parlance of painters as *islami*,⁴⁰ were invented by him. If, by the externality of the religious law,⁴¹ the masters of depiction hang their head in shame, nonetheless what is gained from the writings of the great is that this craft originated with the prophet Daniel.

It has been related that after the Prophet [Muhammad]'s death, some of his companions went to Byzantium with the purpose of presenting Islam. In that realm they met an emperor named Hercule. After many strange and wonderful things happened, [the emperor] inquired after the Prophet and asked of his deeds and acts. Thereupon he had brought a chest, which he opened. In it there appeared to those present a marvelous portrait that astonished the group. Since the onlookers were so gratified and pleased by seeing the portrait, the Companions were asked, "Do you recognize this person?"

"No," said the Companions, "never have our eyes feasted upon such beauty, and never has the gate of illumination from the origin of this likeness opened to us."

"This," said Hercule, "is a portrait of Adam, the Father of Humanity." And thus he continued to show portraits until he produced one with a miraculous visage as luminous as the sun, whose regal being took Adam from the dust of nonexistence and garbed him with a cloak of purity. The admiration that the former portrait had elicited from the onlookers was nullified by the sight of this blessed face, and the perplexity with which they had been struck by the first portrait's beauty ceased with the contemplation of the sun-like beauty of the latter.

You are better than any beautiful form:

God fashioned you after his own image.

When the Companions saw that portrait, teardrops streamed like stars from their eyes, and a longing for the Prophet was reborn in their hearts. Seeing their sadness, agitation and tears, Hercule sought the reason from them.

"This," they said, "is a portrait of our blessed

⁴⁰*Islāmī*, also known as *islīmī*, the vine-and-tendrill illumination motif.

⁴¹A reference to the disapproval of Islamic law for depiction of animate form.

اوایل گلستان آن هر دورا در صورتِ نظم برابر یکدیگر ذکر داده
(شعر)

امید هست که رویِ ملال در نکشد

ازین جهة که گلستان نه جای دلتنگیست

گر التفاتِ خداوندیش بیاراید

نگارخانه چینی و لوح ارتنگیست

و غالباً این احوال از مانی در حدود ممالک عراق روی نموده
[۱۴ب] و بعد از آن عزیمت خطای کرده و در آن جانب نیز
کارهای عجیب آورده.

دیگر از متقدمین شاپور بود که چهره خسرو را بقلم سحرانگیز
رنگ آمیز نمود و هر روز برنگی عشرتگاه شیرینِ اورا چون گل
سوری بر شاخسارِ قبول جلوه داد. و چون درین رساله مجالِ زیاده
ازین مقال در شرح این دو بی مثال نیست و تفصیل این اجمال
مذکور چند خسته اکابر هست. اگر هوشمندی را دغدغه تفصیل
دامن گیرد از مطالعه آن ابیات معلوم خواهد نمود.

دیگر رسم صورت سازی در دیار خطای و در دیارِ فرنگ بآب و
رنگ شد تا آنکه عطارد تیز قلم نشان سلطنت با سم سلطان
ابوسعید خدای بنده مرقوم ساخت. استاد احمد موسی که شاگرد
پدر خود است پرده گشای چهره تصویر شد و تصویری که حالا
متداولست او اختراع کرد و از جمله مواضع که در زمان پادشاه
مشار الیه از او بر صفحه روزگار واقع است ابوسعیدنامه و کلیله

پرسیدند که «این صورتها از کجاست که میدانیم که موافق حلیه
واقعی انبیاست؟» هرقل گفت که حضرت آدم صفی از کارگاه
بی نیاز استدعای لقای انبیای اولاد خود نمود. بنابراین استدعا
[۱۴] خالق اشیا صندوقی فرستاد مشتمل بر چند هزار خانه و در
هر خانه حریر پاره و در آن حریر پاره صورت یکی از انبیا نشانه.
و چون آن صندوق بشهادت آمد آنرا صندوق الشهاده میگفتند. و
بعد از حصول مقصود، حضرت آدم آنرا در خزانه خود که نزدیک
مغرب الشمس بود مخزون و محفوظ نمود. و ذوالقرنین آنرا
از آنجا نقل کرده بدانیا نبی ﷺ رساند، و آنحضرت بخامه
اعجاز طراز و قلم معجز رقم نقل فرمود. و از آنزمان باز سلسله
تصویر در تحت این قبه لاجوردی در حرکت آمد و آن صورت
مثال که رقم دیده قلم حضرت دانیال بود هرقل والی روم تا زمان
وفات حضرت خیر البشر در خزانه نگاه داشته بود و همت تمام بر
حفظ آن گماشته. پس تصویر نیز بی اصلی نباشد و خاطر مصور را
بخارِ نومییدی نخراند.

و چون آفتاب فلک نبوت چهارم رسل اولی العزم عیسی بن
مریم بر رجه چهارم این برج هفت منظر همسایه نیر اعظم گشت،
مانی دعوی پیغمبری آغاز کرد و این معنی را در لباس
صورت گری در دیده مردم جلوه قبول داد. مردم از او معجز طلب
داشتند. او یک ذرع حریر گرفته بغاری درآمد و فرمود تا در
مغاره را مسدود کردند. چون یک سال از عزلت او بگذشت، از
آنجا بیرون آمد و حریر را ظاهر ساخت. در آنجا صورت انسان و
حیوانات و اشجار و طیور و انواع اشکال که جز در آئینه عقل
بدیده خیال صورت نتوان بست و جز در صور وهم و گمان در
عالم عیان بر صفحه امکان نتواند نشست منقش و مصور کرد.
کوتاه نظرانی که مرآتِ دل با غل ایشان از غایت کدورت مظهر
نور اسلام نمی توانست بود بازیچه او فریفته شدند و حریر
مصورش را که بلوح ارتنگی موسوم است سرمشق کفر و عناد
نمودند و آن حریر را از کمال غریب در برابر نگارخانه چین که
مشهور است که جامع جمیع صور موجوداتست مثل میداشتند
چنانچه حضرت امح الشّعرا شیخ مصلح الدین سعدی شیرازی در

Prophet. Where are these portraits from, for we know that they conform to the actual countenances of the prophets?"

"Adam besought the Divine Court to see the prophets among his offspring," said Hercule. "Therefore [14a] the Creator of All Things sent a chest containing several thousand compartments, in each of which was a piece of silk on which was a portrait of one of the prophets. Inasmuch as that chest came as a witness, it was called the Chest of Testimony (*sandūq al-shahada*). After attaining his desire Adam placed the chest in his treasure house, which was near the setting place of the sun. Dhū'l-Qarnayn⁴² carried it away and gave it to the prophet Daniel, who copied [the portraits] with his miraculous brush."

From that time forward the continuity of portraiture has continued beneath the azure dome of the sky, and the likeness that was painted by Daniel was meticulously preserved by the ruler of Byzantium in his treasury until the time of the death of the Best of Mankind [Muhammad]. Therefore, portraiture is not without justification, and the portraitist's conscience need not be pricked by the thorn of despair.

When the sun of the celest of prophecy, the fourth of the determinator apostles, Jesus son of Mary, became a neighbor of the great luminary [the sun],⁴³ Mani began to pretend to prophesy and made this claim acceptable in the eyes of the people by cloaking it in portraiture. Since the people expected a miracle of him, he took a span of silk, went into a cave and ordered the entrance closed. When one year had passed from the time of his withdrawal, he emerged and showed the silk. On it he had painted and portrayed the likenesses of humans, animals, trees, birds and various shapes that occur only in the mirror of the mind through the eye of imagination and that sit on the page of possibility in the visible world only with fantastic shapes. The short-sighted ones whose turbid hearts could not reflect the light of Islam, duped by his game, took his painted silk, which was

known as the Artangi Tablet,⁴⁴ as their copybook for disbelief and refractoriness and, strangest of all, held that silk up as an equal to the Picture Gallery of China, which is known to contain images of all existing things, as the poet Shaykh Muslihuddin Sa'di of Shiraz has said of the two at the beginning of the *Gulistan*:

There is hope that one not frown in boredom, for
a garden is not a place of solitude:
If adorned by lordly attention, it is a Chinese
Gallery and an Artangi Tablet.⁴⁵

Mostly these things were done by Mani in the regions of Iraq, [14b] but thereafter he set out for Cathay and did amazing things there too.

Another of the ancients was Shapur, who painted the countenance of Chosroës with his magic brush and every day arrayed his lovely pleasure-palace in a different color, like a damask rose on the stem of acceptability. As there is no further room in this work to expound upon these two matchless ones, and the details are mentioned in the *Khamsas* of several great [poets],⁴⁶ anyone who desires further details may read and discover them in verse.

Then, the custom of portraiture flourished so in the lands of Cathay and the Franks until sharp-penned Mercury scrivined the rescript of rule in the name of Sultan Abusa'id Khudaybanda.⁴⁷ Master Ahmad Musa, who was his father's pupil, lifted the veil from the face of depiction, and the [style of] depiction that is now current was invented by him. Among the scenes by him that lighted on the page of the world in the time of the aforementioned emperor, an *Abusa'idnama*,⁴⁸ a *Kalila*

⁴⁴Or, the more common form, Arzhangī.

⁴⁵Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, in *Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī*, p. 33.

⁴⁶Among whom, Nizāmī of Ganja in his *Khusraw u Shirin* and Amīr Khusraw of Delhi in his *Shirin u Khusraw*.

⁴⁷Abūsa'id, Ilkhanid sultan, reigned 717–36/1317–35.

⁴⁸Since no text by this name has ever been located and no other reference to such a text exists, it is assumed that what is meant by it is the great Ilkhanid *Shāhnāma*, folios of which are dispersed among many collections.

⁴²Dhū'l-Qarnayn, the Koranic prophet usually identified as Alexander of Macedonia. In the legend of Dhū'l-Qarnayn in the Koran he is said to have reached the "setting place of the sun" (*maghrib al-shams*, Kor. 18:86).

⁴³Jesus is said to have been assumed to the fourth heaven, which is the sphere of the Sun.

سالگی رسیده بود که ودیعت حیات سپرد.

حضرت بایسنغر میرزا استاد سیدی احمد نقاش و خواجه علی مصور و استاد قوام الدین مجلد تبریزی را از تبریز آورده فرمود که بر اسلوب مرغوب جنگ سلطان احمد بغداد بهمان دستور قطع و مسطر و مواضع تصویر بعینها کتاب ترتیب دهند و کتابت آن بعهد حضرت مولانا فرید الدین جعفر شد، و جلدرا در تعهد استاد قوام الدین مذکور که منبت کاری در جلد اختراع اوست فرمود. و تزیین و تصویر مواضع آنرا میرخلیل متعهد گردید.

وامیر خلیل در آن وقت بی بدل زمانه و در طریق خود وحید و یگانه بود و اورا پادشاه مشارالیه تربیت کلی نموده بود و روز بروز در مراسم رعایتش می افزود چنانچه موجب حسد ارباب جاه و جلال شد. و از جمله وقایع احوال غریب تمثال امیر مشارالیه آنست که شبی در صحبت پادشاه بطریق ندما مزاحی آغاز کرد. امر تقلید بجایی کشید که بی اختیار عقب موزه او بر پیشانی پادشاه آمد و پیشانی آن حضرت بشکست و خون بر جبین مبارکش ریخت. و چون خدم و حشم و ساکنان آن مجلس فردوس رقم این واقعه را مشاهده کردند، گریبان صبر چاک زده گرد سر پادشاه گردیدند. در این اثنا امیر خلیل زار و ذلیل قرار بر فرار اختیار نموده پای از سر ساخته خودرا بیکی از حجره های چهل ستون که حضرت مولانا فرید الدین جعفر در آن حجره کتابت فرمودند رسانید و دررا بر روی خود مستحکم کرده از وادی ندیمی گریخته در پس زانوی ندامت نشست. پادشاه مرحمت پناه دید که آب روی سلطنت بر زمین ریخت و جهت دفع آن ترشح خاکستر ادبار بر ناصیه اقبال بیخته شد. فرمود که «ابواب آمدشد باغ را [۱۵] مسدود سازند تا شمه ازین خیر بسمع والده من نرسد». بعد از آن در باب رفع جریمه امیر خلیل کوشید و امیر مذکوررا فرمود که حاضر سازند تا خاطر او ازین ممر آزوده و سر خجالت در گریبان تشویر فرو برده نباشد. مشاعل افروختند و قنادیل سوختند و در اطراف آن باغ اورا

و دمنه و معراج نامه بخط مولانا عبدالله صیرفی و تاریخ چنگیزی بخط خوب نامعلوم است که در کتابخانه پادشاه مرحوم سلطان حسین میرزا بود.

دیگر امیر دولتیاری که از جمله غلامان سلطان ابوسعید بود بشرف شاگردی استاد احمد موسی مشرف شده و در این امر سرآمد شد، خصوصاً در قلم سیاهی که با وجود مولانا ولی الله که بی نظیر عالم بود چون کارهای امیر دولتیاری را دید، از روی نصاف بعجز اعتراف نمود.

دیگر از شاگردان ایشان استاد شمس الدین است که در عهد سلطان اویس تربیت یافت و در شاهنامه بقطع مربع که بخط خواجه امیرعلی بود مواضع ساخت. چون سلطان اویس بجوار رحمت ایزدی پیوست، استاد شمس الدین طریق ملازمت کسی دیگررا پیش نگرفت و شاگرد او که خواجه عبدالحی بود ضروریات معیشت او تردد می نمود و استاد مشارالیه در منزل خود بسر برده علی الدوام بلوازم عشرت و فراغت مشغولی بی نمود و همت بر تربیت خواجه عبدالحی می گماشت چنانچه خواجه مشارالیه در زمان پادشاه جمجاه فضیلت پناه سلطان احمد بغداد که چهره جمالش بر تربیت ارباب فضل و کمال آراسته بود فلم تفرد و یگانگی برداشته سلطان احمدرا تعلیم تصویر کرد چنانچه سلطان مشارالیه در ابوسعیدنامه یک موضع بقلم سیاهی ساخته اند.

و چون رایات ملک ستانی تیمور گورکانی [۱۵] پرتو خلافت بر تسخیر ممالک بغداد انداخت و آن دار السلام را روز چند بقدم سعی و اهتمام مستقر سربر خلافت ساخت، خواجه عبدالحی را همراه عساکر گردون مآثر بدار السلطنه سمرقند آورد و در آنجا استاد مشارالیه وفات نمود. و بعد از وفات خواجه، همه استادان تنوع کارهای ایشان کردند.

دیگر استاد جنید بغدادی شاگرد استاد شمس الدین است.

دیگر از شاگردان سرآمد خواجه عبدالحی، پیر احمد باغ شمالی است که در زمان خود نادر بود و کس دیگر درین شیوه بر وی تفوقی نمی توانست نمود. سنه عمرش به پنجاه

u Dimna,⁴⁹ a *Mi'rajnama* calligraphed by Mawlana Abdullah Sayrafi, and a *Tarikh-i Chingizi* in beautiful script by an unknown hand were in the library of the late emperor Sultan-Husayn Mirza.⁵⁰

Amir Dawlatyar, a slave of Sultan Abu-Sa'id, was ennobled by being a pupil of Master Ahmad Musa and was outstanding in this regard, especially in pen-and-ink drawing, such that, although Mawlana Waliullah was without equal in the world, when he saw Amir Dawlatyar's work he justly confessed his inability [to match it].

One of his students was Master Shamsuddin, who was trained in the time of Sultan Uways⁵¹ and made scenes in a square-format *Shahnama* that was written by Khwaja Amir-Ali. When Sultan Uways went to his eternal reward, Master Shamsuddin chose not to enter anyone else's service; and his student, Khwaja Abdul-Hayy, undertook [to provide] him with the necessities of life, and the aforementioned master lived in [Abdul-Hayy's] house, constantly enjoying leisure, and devoted himself to training Khwaja Abdul-Hayy so that the Khwaja, in the time of the emperor Sultan-Ahmad of Baghdad,⁵² whose countenance shone in patronizing the masters of learning and perfection, took up the pen of uniqueness and instructed Sultan Ahmad in depiction so that the sultan himself produced a scene in the *Abu-sa'idnama* in pen and ink.

When the realm-conquering banners of Timur Kürägän [15a] cast the ray of the caliphate in subjugating the realm of Baghdad, and he made that Abode of Peace the residence of the caliphal throne for a few days, Khwaja Abdul-Hayy was taken along with the celestial army to the Abode of the Sultanate Samarqand, where he died. After the khwaja's death all masters imitated his works.

Another of Shamsuddin's students was Master Junayd of Baghdad.

⁴⁹This may be the *Kalila u Dimna* now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Manuscrits, Sup. Pers. 913 = Blochet Cat. #2032) completed in 794/1392 and copied by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm; it was once in the library of Shāh Walād, Aḥmad Jalāyir's son. See Gray, "Arts," p. 333, No. 543.

⁵⁰Sultān-Husayn Mirzā, Timurid ruler at Herat, 875–912/1470–1506.

⁵¹Shaykh-Uways I, Jalayirid sultan, ruled at Baghdad 757–76/1356–74.

⁵²Sultān Aḥmad, Jalayirid sultan, ruled at Baghdad, d. 813/1410.

One of Khwaja Abdul-Hayy's outstanding students was Pir Ahmad Baghshimali, who was unique in his own time, and no one could surpass him in this style. He was fifty years old when he bade farewell to life.

His Highness Baysunghur Mirza had Master Sidi Ahmad the painter, Khwaja Ali the portraitist and Master Qiwamuddin the bookbinder brought from Tabriz and ordered that after the pleasing manner of Sultan Ahmad of Baghdad's miscellany, they should produce a book in exactly the same format and layout and with the same scenes depicted. The copying of it was given into the charge of Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far. The binding was commissioned of the aforementioned Master Qiwamuddin, by whom inlay in bindings was invented; and Mir Khalil was put in charge of decoration and depiction of scenes.

Amir Khalil was at that time without equal or peer in his own line, and the aforementioned prince had showered him with great patronage and day by day so increased his favor towards him that he became an object of jealousy on the part of the high and mighty. One of the strange things that happened to this amir is the following:

One night, in the company of His Highness [Baysunghur, Amir Khalil] began to joke, but the affair went so far that the heel of his boot unintentionally hit the prince on the forehead. His Highness's forehead was cut, and blood poured from his august head. When the attendants, servants and others present at that marvelous gathering witnessed this event, the fabric of their patience was ripped and they gathered around the prince. In the meantime Amir Khalil, wailing and lamenting, took flight to the chamber in the Chihil Sutun [Palace] where Mawlana Fariduddin Ja'far wrote, and locked himself in. Having fled from the valley of boon companionship, he sat down in penitence.

When the merciful prince saw that the honor of the sultanate had been spilled onto the ground and the ashes of misfortune had been smeared across the forehead of fortune, he commanded that all entrances and exits to the garden be locked [15b] "lest the slightest news reach the hearing of my mother." Then he strove to exonerate Amir Khalil and ordered that he be brought to him lest the fellow's mind be vexed and he be worried over his disgrace. Torches and lanterns were lit, and all parts of the garden were searched until he was found in the aforementioned chamber, the door

داعیه اتمام جنگ نمود و این جماعت را در کتابخانه خود جمع نموده نوازش کلی میفرمود. و در همین اوان از عقب خواجه غیاث الدین پیراحمد زرکوب کسی بمملکت تبریز فرستاد. و چون خواجه حسب الحکم کتابخانه را بیمن قدم و اوراق نقاشی را در هرات بلطف قلم معزز و مکرم گردانیدند و موضع چند از مواضع جنگ قلم گیری کرد و بالوان فتنه انگیز رنگ آمیز نمود و بخون جگر و آب دیده پاکیزه اثر شست مان فرموده [۱۶] باتمام رسانید، امیر خلیل بدیده انصاف بر اطراف آن بساتین جنّت انصاف بگذشت، منصف و بصفه انصاف متصف گشت و همت بترک تصویر گماشت و خود را از اندیشه آن معاف داشت (نظم)

از پیر خرد همیشه انصاف خوشست

عاقل^۳ نبرد گمان کزولاف خوشست

تا جلوه کند صورتِ مطلوب ز غیب

آینه صفت صفحه دل صاف خوشست

و بعد از آن عالیحضرت کمالات پناه ملک گیر ممالک ستان الغ بیگ گورکان بر یکران جلادت از سمرقند عازم خراسان شد و بحسب تقدیر قادر ﴿تُوْتِي الْمَلِكُ مَنْ تَشَاءُ﴾ علم دولت علاءالدوله میرزارا سرنگون کرده رایت فتح الغ بیگی را بر مقتضای ﴿إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُّبِينًا﴾ بر اوج آسمان افراخت و عرصه خراسان را در حیطة تسخیر او انداخت و مولانا شهاب الدین عبدالله و مولانا ظهیر الدین اظهر و سایر اهل کتابخانه را در ظل رأفت گورکانی بسمرقند برد و روی تربیت کلی بجانب ایشان آورده مصاحب خود نمود و امر کتابت تاریخ زمان فضیلت نشان خود را بایشان فرمود. و یوماً فیوماً بل ساعة فساعة درباره ایشان الطاف مینمود و مراسم اشفاق و اعطاف می افزود. زبان قلم شکسته رقم از رسوم هنروری و شیوه فضیلت پروری آن پادشاه مرحوم قاصر است.

می اندوختند تا که او را در حجره که مذکور شده یافتند. در را از درون چون اهل جنون مضبوط بسته بود. چون ملازمان کمال التفات پادشاه را نسبت باو معلوم داشته بودند، در را نشکستند و بخدمت پادشاه آمده کیفیت بعرض رسانیدند. آن سلطان صاحب درایت بقدم شفقت و عنایت بدر آن حجره آمده او را واز داد. امیر خلیل در را گشاده در پای آنحضرت افتاد. آنحضرت روی او را بوسه داده همراه بقصر فردوس مثال خود ورده در مجلس بهشت آیین انواع حرمت داری و دلجویی نمود. شیاء حاضره مجلس را از نقره آلات و چینی و امثال آن ادوات با خلعتهای فاخر که کیخسرو و جمشید بآن مفاخر توانند بود بدو بخشیدند و او را با شنائی مروت از بحر شرمندگی بیرون آوردند (شعر)

بیا ای خردمند پاکیزه رای

ببین مظهرِ حلم و لطفِ خدای

که شاهی که بر سروران سرورست

رُخس روشنی بخشِ هر کشورست

برویی که مه گیرد از وی صفا

لگدکوب گردد پپایِ جفا

ز رویش که با مه بُود توأمان

شفق گون شود دامنِ آسمان

فلک خواهدش خون بریزد بکین

ملک بخشش باز تاج نگیں

همین است رسم جهان داشتن

بحلم و کرم رایت افراشتن

الهی چو خلقش نمودی بعلم

بحکم تو شد مظهرِ لطف و حلم

بحلم و کرم بگذرانش ز بیم

بلطفِ خودش کن بجنت مقیم

و قبل از آنکه جنگ بایسنغری باتمام رسد پادشاه مذکور کشتی حیات را از ساحل زندگی در بحر ممات انداخت و ولد بزرگوارش علاءالدوله میرزا قدم بر مسند فضیلت پروری نهاد و

در نسخه «عقل».

to which he had fastened tight from the inside. Since the servants realized how compassionate the prince was toward him, they did not break down the door but reported the situation to the prince, who, with all clemency and favor, came to the door of the chamber. Amir Khalil opened the door and fell at the feet of His Highness. The prince kissed him, took him back into the palace into the assembly and, showering him with favor and compassion, bestowed upon him all the silver and china vessels that were in use at the assembly, along with robes of honor of which Chosroës and Jamshid would have been proud. By showing him such generosity, [the prince] delivered him of his shame.

Come, wise one of clear mind, see the manifestation of God's clemency and kindness,
 For the countenance of a king who is a leader of
 leaders illuminates every country.
 Can a countenance from which the moon gains
 splendor be kicked by the foot of cruelty?
 From his countenance, which is a twin to the
 moon, the skirt of heaven turns red.
 The celestial sphere wishes to shed blood in
 revenge for him; the angels will give him back
 the crown of rule.
 Thus is the custom of holding the world, unfurl-
 ing one's banner in clemency and generosity.
 O God, since thou hast created him with thy
 knowledge, by thy order has he become a man-
 ifestation of kindness and clemency.
 By clemency and generosity let him pass beyond
 fear, and make him dwell in paradise through
 thy kindness.

Before the Baysunghurid miscellany was completed, the prince cast off the ship of life from the shore of living into the sea of death, and his eldest son, Ala'uddawla Mirza, ascended the throne of patronage and called for the miscellany to be finished. Gathering that group together in the library, he gave them generous support. At about this time someone was sent to Tabriz to bring Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Pir-Ahmad Zarkub. When, in obedience to the command, he honored the library with his presence, he ennobled the leaves of painting in Herat with the subtlety of his brush and touched up some places in the scenes of the miscellany and painted with captivating colors and finished it off with blood, sweat

and tears. [16a] Amir Khalil passed over those paradise-like gardens with the eye of equity and, in giving him his due, declared that he [Amir Khalil] would henceforth abandon depiction and consider himself exempt from concern with it.

From an old man of wisdom the truth is best: a
 rational person entertains no doubt whether
 boastfulness be best.

When the desired form is manifested from the
 invisible world, like a mirror, the surface of a
 pure heart is best.

Thereafter, His Conquering Highness Ulughbeg Kürägän invaded Khurasan on the steed of agility from Samarqand and, in accordance with the destiny of the Omnipotent ("thou givest rule to whom thou willest"), overturned Ala'uddawla Mirza's banner of fortune and, raising the Ulughbegid victory banner to the summit of the heavens in accordance with the [verse], "We have given you a clear victory," circumscribed Khurasan with his subjugation.⁵³ He took Mawlana Shihabuddin Abdullah, Mawlana Zahiruddin Azhar and all the others of the library under the shadow of Kürägänid bounty and carried them to Samarqand, where he showed them great favor, made them his attendants and, having commissioned them to copy the history of his excellent time, showed them kindness increasing from day to day—nay, from hour to hour. The pen is incapable of describing the extent of that emperor's patronage and encouragement.

⁵³Mirza Ulughbeg Kürägän (796–853/1394–1449) occupied Herat in 852/1448.

پذیرفته، نیشابوری الاصل است، اسلوب خطرا از خال فرخ فال خود فضايلمآبی فصاحت شعاری مولانا عبدی نیشابوری فرا گرفته اوصاف حمیده و صفات پسندیده او از تحریر و تقریر معراً و مبراست، لاجرم در آن باب شروع نمیرود.

دیگر عمده الکتب فی الزمان و نگارنده خط خفی و جلی مولانا کمال الدین رستم علی که در رنگ نویسی زیب و زینت کتاب زمانست و بحسن تمکین سرآمد دوران.

دیگر زین الکتب فی الزمان و انیس الاحباب فی الاوان المحتاج الی رحمة الله الصمد مولانا نظام الدین شیخ محمد که در سرعت و قوت قلم بی نظیر عالم و سرآمد کتاب امم است.

دیگر زبده الاشتباه مولانا نورالدین عبدالله که از کتاب شیراز در حسن خط ممتاز و در سرعت کتابت بی انباز است.

دیگر این بنده بی بضاعت و کمینه بی استطاعت داعی دولت مؤبد دوست محمد که عمری خامه سان سر ارادت بر خط فرمان نهاده و خط بندگی بسکان این آستان ملایک پاسبان داده قطعه زمین خدمت را از زر رخسار زرافشان نموده و بر صفحه اوراق ثنا پیوند وصل دعای بی ربارا افزوده (نظم)

کلکم که نمود حرف مدح تورقم
وز مدحت تو بود در آفاق علم

چون خامه همه زبان بمدحت باشم

سر بر خط فرمان تو دایم چو قلم

و چون ذکر کتّاب نواب درین دیباچه از هر باب مذکور تحریر بیان و مسطور تصویر بیان نموده آمد، اگر در اطناب القاب اصناف طبقه نقاشان جرأت نماید، شاید. [۱۷]

دیگر امیر روح الله مشهور به میرک نقاش هروی الاصل و از سادات کمانگر است و در اوایل حال بحفظ و تلاوت کلام ملک علام و مشق خط اشتغال داشت. و بعد از فوت پدر بکتابت کتابه میل کرد. و چون از سادات کمانگر بود، آن شغل را نیز ورزید. بعد از آن، بخدمت مولانا ولی الله افتاد و بتحریر و تذهیب مایل گشت و از آن نیز گذشته میل تصویر در خاطرش گذشت و درین فن بی بدل و درین شیوه بی مثل، و در زمان حضرت پادشاه مرحوم سلطان حسین میرزا رعایت یافته از جمله منصب کتاب داری خاصه بعهده او شد.

دیگر شاگرد خلف سید مشارالیه افضل المتأخرین فی فن التصوير، قدوة المتقدمین فی التذهیب والتحریر، نادر العصر استاد کمال الدین بهزاد است و تعریف و توصیف مومی الیه برقوم قلم عجایب او درین مرقع ظاهرست، و بشرف ملازمت کتابخانه عطادر آشیانه اعلی حضرت سکندر حشمت، جم جاه، دین پناه، سلیمان سپاه، ظل الله، قهرمان الماء والطین، عون الاسلام والمسلمین،^۴ ناصب رایات العدل والاحسان، قانع بنیان الظلم [۱۶ب] والطغیان، السلطان ابو المظفر شاه طهماسب الصفوی الموسوی الحسینی بهادرخان مشرف گشته و انواع رعایت تربیت یافته و هم درین آستان ملایک پاسبان ودیعت حیات سپرده و در جنب مقبره شکرگفتار شیرین مقال معدن وجد و حال شیخ کمال (نور الله مرقده) در تبریز آسوده «نظر افکن بخاک قبر بهزاد» تاریخ وفات اوست که سیادت مآبی امیر دوست هاشمی گفته.

ذکر کتّاب کتابخانه شریفه اعلی همایون

که بحسن خط اقلیم خط یک قلمه قلمرو

ایشانست

اول زبده النوادر بالاستحقاق وعمده الکتب فی الآفاق محتاج بلطف معبود مولانا شاه محمود که بخط دلفریب و کتابت بازب خط از نوخطان گرفته و طبع نظمش در سلاست* عالمی

^۴در نسخه «السلام والسلمین».

Then there is Amir Ruhullah, known as Mirak Naqqash, originally from Herat and one of the bow-maker sayyids. At first he was engaged in memorizing the Koran and practicing writing, but after his father's death he was inclined to be a copyist. Since he was of the bowmaking sayyids, he also practiced that trade. Later he entered the service of Mawlana Waliullah and took up outlining and illumination, but he gave that up too and took a fancy to depiction, in which craft he became without equal or peer. In the time of the late Sultan-Husayn Mirza⁵⁴ he was shown favor and, among other things, was given the post of royal librarian.

The pupil and son of the aforementioned sayyid, the most excellent of the moderns in depiction, pride of the ancients in illumination and outlining, the rarity of the age, Master Kamaluddin Bihzad is beyond all description. In this album [his work] is much in evidence, and he had the honor of being attached to the royal library of His Majesty [16b] the Sultan Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp the Safavid the Musavid the Husaynid Bahadur Khan, by whom he was shown great favor and at whose court he bade farewell to life and was buried next to the grave of the great poet Shaykh Kamal in Tabriz. The chronogram for his death is "Cast a glance at THE DUST OF BIHZAD'S GRAVE,"⁵⁵ which was composed by Amir Dost Hashimi.

A Mention of the Scribes of the Royal Library Who Are Renowned for Their Calligraphy

First, Mawlana Shah-Mahmud,⁵⁶ who with his graceful script (*khatt*) and beautiful writing has stolen the down (*khatt*) from adolescents' cheeks, and whose gift for verse is accepted worldwide, is originally from Nishapur. His calligraphic style was learned from his maternal uncle, the eloquent Mawlana Abdi Nishapuri,⁵⁷ and his good qualities and pleasing characteris-

⁵⁴Sultān-Husayn Mirzā (842–911/1438–1506), ruled in Herat 872–911/1468–1506.

⁵⁵*Khāk-i qabr-i Bihzād* = 942.

⁵⁶Shāh-Mahmūd of Nishapur's many known dated works range from 922/1516 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2156, fol. 63b) to 979/1571–72 (Istanbul, TSM, H.750, *Khamsa* of Nizāmī).

⁵⁷His few dated works range from 928/1522 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2154, fol. 86b) to 940/1533–34 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2154, fol. 92a); undated works abound.

tics are beyond description.

Then there is the writer of majuscule and minuscule script, Mawlana Kamaluddin Rustam-Ali,⁵⁸ who is foremost among modern calligraphers in writing in colored ink and in proficiency.

Then there is Mawlana Nizamuddin Shaykh-Muhammad,⁵⁹ who in speed and power of pen is unequaled in the world.

Next is Mawlana Nuruddin Abdullah,⁶⁰ a scribe from Shiraz who in beauty of writing and speed of copying is not to be excelled.

Then there is this humble one, Dost-Muhammad,⁶¹ who like a pen has spent his life placing the head of devotion on the line of obedience and who has given the writ of servitude over to those who dwell in this angel-protected court. He has flecked the page of the ground of service with the gold of his cheek and added to the leaves of eulogy a patch of unhyppocritical praise.

My pen, which has scriven the words of your
praise, is renowned in all regions for eulogiz-
ing you.

Like the pen, I am all tongue in praising you.

My head is ever on the line of your command,
like the pen.

Since the writers have been mentioned in every chapter of this introduction, if I be so bold as to make mention of the artists, it may not be out of place. [17a]

⁵⁸Albums contain a few specimens of his calligraphy, but only one dated specimen has been located, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi F.1422, fol. 69b, dated 945/1538.

⁵⁹Extant dated works range from 970/1562–63 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2137, fol. 18b) to 976/1568–69 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2151, fol. 39a).

⁶⁰May be identified with 'Abdullāh b. Shaykh-Murshid al-Kātib al-Shirāzi, by whom was copied a *Kulliyāt* of Sa'di in 960/1553 (Istanbul, TSM H.739).

⁶¹Dost-Muhammad Harawī's extant dated works range from 938/1531–32 (Istanbul, TSM, H.2156, fol. 31b, at Herat) to 972/1564–65 (Tehran, Sipahsālār, *Majālis al-'ushshāq*).

گلدسته بوستان شهریاری که شمه از آن در حیز بیان می آورد
دوسره ساخته اند که چون کمال ابروان دلکش خوبان بخوبی
طاق و رشک صورت خانه آفاق اند. وه، چه جام خانه که اگر جام
جهان نما گویمش رواست و اگر آئینه گیتی نما خوانمش بدان
سزاست. جامش رونق و قدر مینای سپهر را شکسته و استاد
کارش دست کارگران جهانرا بر چوب بسته، آسمانیست مزین از
انجم و مکانیست ملون از عکس مردم، بهشتیست بی قصور و
فردوسیست جلوه گر درو غلمان و حور. فرشش پردهای چشم
اعیان و آستانش بوسه گاه سروران. چون دل روشن دلان از دیده
دل بهر سو نگران، و چون [۱۷ب] مردمان دیده بروی آن مردم
دیده متعجب و حیران (رباعی)

این خانه که دیده ها درو از جام اند

در عین صفا روشنی ایام اند

بنگر به زار دیده نظاره کنان

حیران جمال میرزا بهرام اند

دیگر مصور شبیه کش شاعر آراسته بصورت باطن و ظاهر
مستوثق بلطف واحد الاحد مولانا محمد المشهور بقدمی که
تقدیم معنی را بر صورت دانسته و آنچه گفته و کشیده آنچنان
بایسته.

دیگر آن طراح بازیمنت و زین عذیم المثل استاد کمال الدین
حسین که هر طرحی که او بر روی کار انداخته و هر بند رومی و
کترمه که او ساخته نظر باریک بین بکنه کمالش نرسیده و نقاش
بی مثل چین بخوبی نقشش نکشیده. در نقش بسی کمال قدرت
دارد.

دیگر آن خوش صورت پرکار استاد کمال الدین عبدالغفار که
او نیز در حد ذات خود یگانه و فرزانه است.
دیگر آن خوش رقم نازک قلم محتاج بلطف قادر لم یزلی استاد
حسن علی که او نیز یگانه و سرآمد است.

ذکر مصوران و نقاشان عظام کرام ذوی

الاحترام کتابخانه خاصه شریفه نواب

کامیاب اشرف اعلی همایون

اول نادر العصر فی الدوران و فرید الاوان فی الزمان المحتاج
بلطف الصمد استاد نظام الدین سلطان محمد که تصویر را بجائی
رسانیده که با وجود هزار دیده فلک مثلش ندیده، از جمله
صنایعش که در شاهنامه اعلی حضرت سکندر حشمت جم جاه
ولایت دستگاه دین پناه محرر و مصور است موضع
پلنگ پوشانست که شیرمردان بیشه تصویر و پلنگان و نهنگان
کارخانه تحریر از نیش قلمش دل ریش و از حیرت صورتش
سردرپیش اند.

بکلک انامل بلوح بصر

کشیدست هر لحظه طرح دگر

دیگر سند السادات بدرجات وحید العصر و فرید الدهر مقرب
الحضرت الخاقانی آقا جلال الدین میرک الحسینی الاصفهانی که
در نقشخانه تصویر قلم تحریر چون صورت دلپذیرش صورتی
نگاشته و تمثال بی مثالش را نظر دور بین اعیان جز به پیش نظر
نداشته (نظم)

تعالی الله زهی تصویر و صورت

عفاك الله زهی نقاش قدرت

دیگر سید پاکیزه قلم و یگانه ام زبده النوادر میر مصور که تا
صانع بدخشان لعلی ولاجوردی اختر برنگ آمیزی صورت دلکش
چهره نپرداخته

در صورتش مصور چین را قلم شکست

دیگر بهیچ صورت ازو صورتی نیست

این دو سید بی مثال و این فرزانه بی تمثال در کتابخانه
ملایک آشیانه خصوصاً در شاهنامه شاهی و خمسۀ شیخ نظامی
رنگ آمیزیها نموده و چهره گشائیها فرموده اند که اگر شروع درو
نماید، سخن بتطویل انجامد بلکه زبان قلم و قلم دو زبان در
تعریف و توصیف آن عاجز آید. لاجرم در آن باب شروع
نمیر[و]اد. از جمله جهة تزین جامخانه مهر سپهر بختیاری

The Portraitists and Painters of the Royal Library

First is the rarity of the age, Master Nizamuddin Sultan-Muhammad, who has developed depiction to such a degree that, although it has a thousand eyes, the celestial sphere has not seen his like. Among his creations depicted in His Majesty's *Shahnama* is a scene of people wearing leopard skins:⁶² it is such that the lion-hearted of the jungle of depiction and the leopards and crocodiles of the workshop of ornamentation quail at the fangs of his pen and bend their necks before the awesomeness of his pictures.

With the pen of his fingertips, on the tablet of vision, he has drawn a different version at each and every instant.

Next is the sayyid, unique of the age, intimate of the royal personage, Aqa Jalaluddin Mirak al-Husayni al-Isfahani, the likes of whose pictures the brush of ornamentation has never painted in the studio of depiction....

Next is the sayyid of immaculate brush, the unique among the nations, Mir Musawwir....

These two matchless sayyids in [the service of] the royal library have mixed such colors and painted such faces—especially in the royal *Shahnama* and the *Khamsa* of Nizami⁶³—that if I began to speak of them not only would it take too long but the pen would also be incapable of describing them. Among [the things they did] for the ornamentation of a *jamkhana* (glass house) for the sun of the royal celest, the bouquet of the

kingly garden, not even a whiff of which could be adequately described, they made two vaults arched like the infatuating bowed eyebrows of beauties and unrivaled in the gallery of the world. Oh, what a *jamkhana*! Were I to call it a world-revealing mirror, it would not be out of place. Its mirrors have broken the splendor of the azure celest, and the master who made it has shackled the hands of the craftsmen of the world. It is a heaven adorned with stars, a place decorated with the likenesses of people. It is a paradise without shortcoming, an Eden resplendent with serving-boys and houris. Its carpets would dazzle the eyes of the great; its threshold is kissed by the mighty. Like the hearts of the enlightened it gazes with the eye of its heart in every direction, and people of insight are [17b] amazed and astounded by it.

This house, in which eyes are of glass, is the brightness of days in the eye of purity.
Gaze with a thousand eyes. Onlookers are dazzled by the beauty of Mirza Bahram.

Then there is the portraitist and poet Mawlana Muhammad known as Qadimi, who, knowing that content is more important than form, has painted and spoken things as they ought to be.

Next is the incomparable line-artist Master Kamaluddin Husayn the perfection of whose every *band-i rumi* and *ktrma*⁶⁴ is unfathomable to even the most discerning eye and has never been equaled by the painters of China. He has great prowess in painting.

Then there is Master Kamaluddin Abdul-Ghaffar, whose essence is beyond comparison.

Then there is Master Hasan-Ali, who is also second to none.

⁶²The painting referred to is "The Court of Gayumars" in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's *Shāhnāma*, fol. 20b., reproduced by Stuart Cary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting*, p. 17. All illustrations from the Ṭahmāsp *Shāhnāma* have been reproduced in Martin B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*.

⁶³The *Khamsa* is housed in the British Library, Or. 2265. The MS is dated from Jumada II 946 (1539) to Dhu'l-Hijja 949 (1543) at Tabriz. It was calligraphed by Shāh Maḥmūd of Nishapur and contains miniatures signed by Mīrzā 'Alī, Sultān-Muḥammad, Mīr Sayyid-'Alī, Āqā Mīrak and Muẓaffar-'Alī. When the MS passed into the possession of the Mughals miniatures were added by Muḥammad-Zamān in 1086/1675–76.

⁶⁴Clearly written in the MS as *KTRMH*. No known technical term of painting or illumination approaches this spelling. The configuration of consonants suggests the Turkish *gātirmā* ('bringing forth,' even 'product'), which would not be out of place, but it is unattested elsewhere in such a context.

ذکر مذهبان و غیره کتاب خانہ اعلیٰ

اول زینت بخش صفحه اوراق معانی و معدن کمالات انسانی صحبتش را جهانیان طالب میرک المذهب که زنجیره سلسله بی مثلی و لوحه دیباچه کاردانی را بنوعی زینت داده که نظر هر اریک بین که برو افتاده زبان بمدح و ثنای او گشاده. دیگر فرزند بی مثل ومانندش محتاج بلطف معبود قوام الدین مسعود که از شعاع شهاب ثاقب دواله جدول کرده و در لوحه مهر سپهر بوم زرانود نمود.

دیگر پسندیده اولی الالباب استاد کمال الدین عبدالوهاب هنرور قابل باصفا مشهور به خواجه کاکا که کارش از شیرازیان صفا ممتاز و در ندیمی بی همباز است.

دیگر استاد مخترع مقلد مولانا محسن مجلد که پوست از هنروران برکنده و سلسله زنجیره را بجلد ماه و مهر رسانیده، باوجود شکنج کتاب دل کتاب ازو باشکیبا و خاطر احباب از شیرازہ مهرش فرح افزاست.

چون ذکر اصحاب کتابخانه کروی آشیانه درین دیباچه لازم بود، مذکر هر یک از ایشان جرأت نمود بمنه و کرمه وجوده.

الدعاء

تا بر فلک از زهره و مه نام بود
بر اوج سپهر تا که بهرام بود
تا هست مرقع سپهر از مه و مهر
این نامه شاهزاده بهرام بود

فی التاریخ

پذیرفت اتمام چون این مرقع
ز خلیل ملایک برآمد منادی
نیارک ازین خط و تصویر و تذهیب
فأحسننت ازین زیب وزینت که دادی
برسم کتب خانہ شاهزاده

مه برج تمکین، گل عیش و شادی
سپهر کمالات، بهرام میرزا
که مثلش کسی نیست در هیچ وادی
چو تاریخ اتمام پرسید، گفتم
ابو الفتح بهرام عادل نهادی

The Limners of the Sublime Library

First is the illuminator of the pages of intrinsic meaning, the mine of human perfection, Mirak al-Mudhahhib, who has so adorned the chain stitching of the line of inimitability and the title panel of expertise that all discerning people who have seen his work have loosed their tongues in praise.

His peerless son, Qiwamuddin Mas'ud, has made from the rays of shooting stars vined ruling and has created abodes of burnished gold in his sunbursts.

Master Kamaluddin Abdul-Wahhab is a worthy artisan known as Khwaja Kaka. His work is unexcelled among bookbinders, and he is second to none as an intimate companion.

Then there is widely imitated inventor Mawlana Muhsin the leatherworker, who has stripped the skin off craftsmen and bound the sun and moon together with chains of kettle stitching. Although he torments the scribes, their hearts are patient with him and their minds are given joy by the binding of his love.

Since a mention of those who labor in the royal library was deemed necessary in this introduction, I have dared to mention each of them.

So long as the names of Venus and the moon are
in the celest,
So long as Mars (Bahram) remains at the apex of
the heavens,
So long as the celest is patchworked by the
moon and sun,
May there be this book of Prince Bahram.

Chronogram

When this album was completed, a crier came
forth from the host of angels to give congrat-
ulations on this calligraphy, depiction and illu-
mination.

For the library of the prince, the moon of the
zodiac of power, the flower of happiness and
joy, the celestial sphere of perfection, Bahram
Mirza, unrivaled by anyone anywhere.

When the date of completion was sought, I said,
"Abu'l-Fath Bahram the Just."⁶⁵

⁶⁵The chronogram (*Abū'l-Faṭḥ Bahrām-i 'ādil-nihādī*) yields 951 (A.D. 1544).

هر یکی صفر این رقم بودند

گرچه بیشند و بیش ازین چه غمست

بیشی صفر بیشی رقمست

اما بعد، نموده می‌آید که درین اوقات بابرکات که صفحات ایام و لیالی چون اردیبهشت ماه جلالی بارقام انوار هدایت و نقوش آثار ولایت نواب کامیاب شاه دین پناه آنکه از القاب رسمی اعراض فرموده و ذات اشرف خود را از کمال شرف بدین عبارت ستوده که خاک آستانه خیر البشر [۷۴] رواج دهنده مذهب ائمه اثنی عشر (صلوات الله و سلامه علیهم)، غلام علی بن ابی طالب (علیه الصلوٰة والسلام)، ابو المظفر شاه طهماسب الحسینی الموسوی الصفوی (اسنع الله تعالی نعم عدالته و سلطنته علی العالمین و افاض سحاب افضاله و مرحمته علی العالمین) منقوش و مزین است. و همچنانکه بمؤدای حقیقت اتمای ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي أَنْشَأَ جَنَّاتٍ مَعْرُوشَاتٍ وَغَيْرَ مَعْرُوشَاتٍ﴾ در منازل آب و گل بجای کلبهای منحفض و خانهای بی صفا بناهای مرتفع و قصور دلگشا افراخته و در صحاری پرخار، بدل حشایش واحجار، ﴿جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ

مرقع امیر حسین بیگ دیباچه مالک دیلمی

استانبول، طوپ قپو سرایی کتبخانه سی، شماره
۲۱۵۱/خ

نفیستترین دیباچه که مرقع پوشان صوامع قدس برای جلای ابصار ناظران مذهب و مهدب سازند و شریف ترین سفینه که مروق نویسان جوامع انس بجهت صفای اذهان حاضران مزین و مرتب گردانند کتاب حمد و ثنای مدبرست که صفحات صحیفه عالم ﴿كُنْ [۲] فَيَكُونُ﴾ بخامه کاف و دوات نون مرقوم ساخت و نسخه شکر و سپاس مصوری که اوراق جریده امکان بصورت نبات و حیوان و نقوش نفوس انسان پرداخت (نظم)

ذات او خـارج از درون و برون

فعل او فارغ از چگونه و چون

[۲ب] پاک از آنها که غافلان گفتند

پاکتر زانکه عاقلان گفتند

و خلاصه لطایف موجوات و نقاوه صحایف مکونات ذات قدسی سمات حضرت خاتم النبیین محمد المصطفی ﷺ و حضرت امیر لمؤمنین علی المرتضی (صلوات الله و سلامه علیه) و اولاده لمعصومین ائمه الهدی (علیهم افضل الصلوٰة والسلام و الثنا) گردانید (نظم)

ساخت ایزد وجود ایشان را

رقم اصل لوح انسان را

انبیا گرچه محترم بودند

AMIR HUSAYN BEG ALBUM

PREFACE BY MÂLIK DAYLAMI

The preface to this splendid album of calligraphy and painting (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2151¹) begins with lengthy prefatory remarks, which include an encomium of Amir Husayn Beg, son of Amir Hasan Beg the Yüz-bashī (Centurion), and Shah Tahmasp's treasurer under whose auspices the album was put together by Mâlik Daylami in 958/1560–61.

The most precious introduction that wearers of patched frocks² in the convents of paradise illuminate and refine for dazzling the eyes of spectators and the noblest miscellany that writers in assemblies of intimacy decorate and arrange for pleasing the minds of those present are books of praise for the Arranger who scribed the pages of the book of the world of “Be [2a] and it is” [Kor. 2:117] with the pen of K and the inkpot of N³ and the manuscript of thanks and gratitude to the Illustrator who filled the pages of the rescript of possibility with pictures of plants and animals and designs of humans.

His essence is beyond outside and inside; his act is free of why and how.

He is innocent of what the heedless say and purer than what the intelligent say. [2b]

¹Abbreviated text in Bayani, *AAK* 3:601–607. The folios of this introduction have been bound at random throughout the album, and one folio is now in another album altogether. The order in which the folios of the introduction should be read is: 1b, 2, 74, 25, 23, 98, 33 (after which there is a lacuna of one or more missing folios), H.2161 folio 2a (the end of the introduction).

²The word for patched frock, *muraqqa'*, is also the word for album.

³The two letters *K* and *N* form the Arabic word *kan* (Be!), the creative fiat. The stroke on the *K* (س) looks something like a pen, and the *N* (ن) is shaped like an inkpot.

And He made the quintessence of all existing subtleties and paragon of all extant things the holy essence of the Seal of the Prophets, Muhammad the Chosen, and the Commander of the Faithful, Ali al-Murtaza, and his immaculate offspring, the Rightly-Guided Imams.

God made their existence a template for the original form of humanity.

Although the prophets were honored, every one was a zero in comparison with them.

Although there are more prophets, so what? The more zeros there are, the greater the number.

It is obvious that in these blessed times the pages of days and nights are painted and decorated like the Persian month of Urdibihisht with lights of guidance and shapes of traces of the saintship of his most successful excellency, the king protector of the religion, who has dispensed with formal titles and praised his most noble self with the perfect nobility of the characterizations “dust of the threshold of the best of mankind,” [74a] “promoter of the sect of the Twelve Imams” (God's prayers and peace be upon them), “slave of Ali b. Abi-Talib (upon him be prayers and peace), Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp the Husaynid the Musavid the Safavid (may God multiply the benefits of his justice and rule over the people of the world and cause the clouds of his grace and mercy to rain upon the earth). In accordance with the true text, “He it is who produceth gardens of vines, both those which are supported on trails of wood, and those which are not supported” [Kor. 6:141], in places of water and clay he erected lofty structures and beautiful palaces instead of broken-down huts and displeasing abodes, and in bramble-filled wildernesses, instead of grasses and trees, he made “gardens beneath which flow

اشرفِ اعلیٰ همایون دانسته، لهذا صورتِ حسنِ اخلاص و نیکوبندگی آن امارت و حکومت پناه بر صفحاتِ آینه ضمیرِ انور و مرآةِ خاطرِ اقدسِ اطهر مرتسم گشته. بعد از آن که منصبِ عالی خزانه داری بدو رجوع فرموده بودند، چون پدرِ صاحبِ جاهِ عالمقدارِش قدوة الامراء العظام مرجع الحکام الکرام مؤتمن الحضرة العلیة البهیة الخاقانیة الواصل الی جوار الالطاف الرحمانیه حسن بیگ یوزباشی، که از غایتِ شهرتِ نام حاجتِ بیانِ علوِ منصب و مقام ندارد، ازین دیرِ فانی بدار [۲۵ب] باقی رحلت نمود، شفقت و عنایتِ شاهی و مرحمت و عاطفتِ نامتناهی شاملحالِ این فرزندِ نامدارِ سعادتِ آثارش که اکبرِ اولاد و اشرفِ اقوام و احفادست فرموده جمیعِ مناصب و الکا و ملازمانِ عظام آن عالیجاهِ غفران پناه را بمزیدِ الطاف و مراحمِ بیدریغ شاهانه بدو مفروض و مرجوع فرمودند، و در تاریخِ این احوالِ راقمِ حروفِ مالکِ الدیلمی را رباعی روی داده (رباعیه)

چون رفت حسن بیگ ازین دیر تباه

شه داد حسین بیگ را منصب و جاه

بر جای پدر نشست و تاریخ نوشت

بادا همگی بر سر مسایه شاه

و چون بتقریب مشقِ این رفعت و امارت پناه هر یک از مخلصانِ صادق و یارانِ موافقِ خطوط و تصویرات بنظرِ شریفِ ایشان میرسانیدند و رسایلِ مقبوله میگذرانیدند و هر یک بخلعتهایِ دلپسند و انعاماتِ ارجمند محظوظ و بهره مند می گشتند تا آنکه قطعهایِ نفیس که هر یک چون قطعه یاقوت صفا و قیمتی تمام داشت و رسایلِ حسن الخط و المسایل که با زینتی مالاکلام بود بهم رسید [۲۳] و صفحاتِ صورِ حسنه و اوراقِ نقوشِ مستحسنة که هر یک از استادی کامل بدقتِ تمام حاصل شده بود با آن خطوط منضم گردید. بنابراین بخاطرِ قرار دادند که ازین جواهرِ نفیسه و امتعه شریفِ مرععی ترتیب فرمایند که هر ورقی از آن چون خلعتِ فاخر زرنگار مرصع بجواهر و لآلی آبدار باشد، بلکه هر یک صفحه آن بمشابه گلشنی آراسته که سبزه آن از ارقامِ عنبرین فام و گلهایِ فرح فرایش از نقوش و تذهیبات باصفا و

تَحْتَهَا الْأَنْهَارُ ﴿ساخته، همچنین بمقتضای ﴿أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولَى الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ﴾ زمینِ جان و مزرعِ جنانِ عساکر و رعایارا از خارِ اعتقاداتِ فاسده و خاشاکِ عصیان و معانده پاک گردانید و گلبنِ صلاح و تقوی و نهالِ ولایِ اهلِ بیتِ رسولِ خدایرا (علیهم الصلوة والتحیة والثنا) بجای آنها نشانید (نظم)

برون بینم اوصاف شاه از حساب

نگنجد درین تنگ میدان کتاب

[۷۴ب] زبان آوری کاندیرین عدل و داد

ثنایش نگوید زبانش مباد

تنش باد پیوسته چون دین درست

بداندیش را تن چو تدبیر سست

و اعیانِ دولتِ قاهره و ارکانِ سلطنتِ باهره بعد از آنکه از سعادتِ خدمت و شرفِ زمین بوسِ مفتخر و مشرف گشته بمنازلِ خود باز می گردند. چون قیام بطاعات و اشتغال بعبادات می نمایند صحبت با فضلا و اهل کمال میدارند و همت بر مطالعه کتب و ملاحظه خطوط می گمارند، خصوصاً امارت و حکومت پناه، رفعت و حشمت دستگاه، ناظم مناظم الحکومة برآیه المتین، و صالح مصالح الامارة بفکره الصائب المبین، منبع المکارم والاحسان، و مجمع المروة والامتنان، جامع محسنات معنوی و صوری، حاوی حیثیات و کمالاتِ ضروری، کمالاً للإمارة والحکومة والرفعة والعز والإقبال، حسین بیگ (مدُّ ظَلُّهُ العالی) که باوجود مناصبِ عالیه و مهامِ عظام میلِ خاطرِ شریف و همتِ بلند بر مجالستِ اربابِ فضل و مؤانستِ اهلِ هنر و کمال می گمارند، و در اثنای صحبت گاهی مشغولی بمشقی خطِ دقیق [۲۵] نسخ تعلیق که باتفاقِ اهلِ هوش و فضل ریحانِ تازه بستانِ «الخط نصف العلم» است مشغولی میفرمایند. و باندک توجهی بوجهی آن خطِ مضبوط القواعد کثیر الفواید از قلمِ مشکین رقم صورت ارتسام داده اند که موجب حیرتِ اربابِ خبیرت می شود و همچنین بهر هنر که در اندک فرصتی مداومت نمودند بخوبترین صورتی انجام فرمودند، اما کمال و شرف در مداومتِ بندگی و اطاعت و ملازمتِ فرمان برداری و طاعتِ بندگانِ نوابِ کامیاب

rivers" [Kor. 2:25]. So also, in accordance with the text, "Obey God, and obey the apostle and those who are in authority among you" [Kor. 4:59], he cleared the earth of the soul and the farms and orchards of soldiers and peasants of the brambles of corrupt beliefs and the weeds of disobedience and obstinacy, and in their place he planted the rose bush of rectitude and piety and the sapling of love for the members of God's Apostle's house.

I see the king's qualities as beyond reckoning; they will not fit in the narrow field of a book. [74b]
 May a speaker who does not speak praise of his justice and equity have not tongue!
 May his body be always as erect as religion. May the body of the malevolent be as limp as their plots.

After grandees of state and pillars of empire are honored by the felicity of service and the ennoblement of kissing the ground, they return to their quarters, and when they have performed their religious duties they converse with the learned and train their minds upon the perusal of books and looking at calligraphy, particularly ... Husayn Beg, who, despite his exalted positions and grand tasks, is inclined to sit with men of learning and socialize with people of skill and perfection. During these conversations, occasionally he engages in practicing the precise *nasta'liq* script, [25a] which, as is agreed by all people of sobriety and learning, is the freshest herb of the garden of calligraphy, which is half of learning. With scant attention he has written that script with its precise rules and many benefits in such a way that occasioned astonishment in men of experience, and so likewise has he produced in the best possible manner every craft upon which he persevered slightly, but in that he realizes that perfection and nobility lie in constant service and obedience to orders issued by those who serve His Imperial Majesty, therefore the portrait of his sincerity and servitude has been drawn on the reflective surfaces of the most illuminated conscience and the mirror of the purest, most holy mind. After the emperor awarded him the exalted office of treasurer, when his noble and worthy father ... Hasan Beg Yüz-bashī, whose name is too well known to need an elaboration of his lofty position and station, passed away from this mortal world [25b] to the eternal realm, royal compassion and infinite mercy and grace encompassed this renowned son, who is the eldest of his

sons and noblest of his kith and kin, and transferred all his offices, appurtenances, and retainers to him. As a chronogram for these events, this writer, Mâlik Daylami, composed the following quatrain:

When Hasan Beg left this ruined monastery,
 The king gave Husayn Beg his office and position.
 He took up his father's position and wrote the date:
 "May the king's shadow be ever over our head."⁴

Since each and every one of his sincere friends used to bring to his attention calligraphies and paintings from which he could practice, and they brought pleasing treatises, and every one was favored with robes of honor and valuable reward. This continued until many valuable specimens, each of which had as great a value as a calligraphic piece by Yaqt, and treatises on calligraphy were gathered, [23a] and pages of beautiful pictures and leaves of drawings, each of which was by an undisputed master, had been obtained and conjoined to the calligraphies. He therefore decided that he would have made for these precious gems and noble commodities an album, every leaf of which would be like a robe of honor spun of gold and set with jewels and lustrous pearls—rather, every page of which would be like a garden bedecked, the greenery of which would be ambergris-colored drawings and the joy-increasing flowers of which would be designs and illuminations. The ruling lines around them

⁴The chronogram yields the date 968, A.D. 1560–61.

جوهری قدر خط من داند

ورنه در دهر مهره بسیارست

زان جهت خط من بود شیرین

که نی کلک من شکر بارست

و همچنین جناب استاد الدهر و نادر العصر، جامع فنون حیثیات علمی و عملی، استاد مظفر علی که جناب استاد البشر معروف الزمان و مشهور الدوران استاد بهزاد را هم شاگرد بلا واسطه و هم خویشست. و در جامعیت فنون استادی ازو در پیش صفحات تصویر دلگشا و ارقام گرفت و گیر باقوت و صفا و قطعات مرقومه و محرره برقم و قطع و تحریر خود که هریک مایه خیرت استادان ماهر و مصوران کامل است مرتبه مرتبه سبب زیب و زینت خطوط و قطعات سابقه می نمود و بانواع مختلفه التفات و نوازش از آن صاحب جود و احسان مشاهده میفرمود تا باندک مدتی بسعی و اهتمام دو نادره فن خود، حافظ کلام مجید ملا مسیح الله مذهب و جلال بیگ افشانگر، اوراق [۹۸ب] این مرقع بهتر از آنکه در آینه خیال مرتسم بود صورت ترتیب یافت و اکثر حواشی آن اوراق مزین و مذهب بحل کاری استاد مظفر علی مشار الیه شد. و سردفتر استادانی که این مرقع بخط شریفشان مزین است جناب استاد الماهرین و افتخار المعاصرین الذی هو یاقوت فنه و علی رقاب الکتاب طوق منه المؤید بالفیض السرمدی مولانا سلطان علی المشهدی است که هر نقطه از کلک شیرین حرکاتش زبانیست در تعریف او، زبان قلم شکسته رقم امثال مارا چه حد توصیف او؟ کسی که از جام ذوق کامی گرفته چون نائل نماید در همین مفردات که از قلم مشکین رقمش سر زده و این مرقع بآن مزین شده، هر دایره از حروف آن سطور قدحی از شربت نبات یابد که مذاق جان شیرین کند، و هر الفش میلی پر کحل سرور بیند که دیده را نور دهد (نظم)

خط یاقوت را آنها که دیدند

از آن سطری بیاقوتی خریدند

اگر یاقوت این خط را بدیدی

ازین حرفی بیاقوتی خریدی

اندام بود، و جدول اطرافش بمنزله جداول و انهار که از عکس سبزه و گل قوس قزح و ارژنگ زر و سنگرف و زنگار گرفته و نقوش طیور و اشجار بر حواشی آن چون بلبل خوش الحان و کبک خرامان باشد، و صورتهای مطبوعش چون جوانان رعنا و صاحبان هوش و غنا که در آن بساتین بسیر و کسب هوا مشغولند (نظم)

هر قطعۀ خط دل فریبش

کز جدول و حاشیه است زیبش

باغیست بچشم خط پسندان

پر سبزه و غنچه های خندان

تا همچنانکه در مجلس آن صاحب مروّت و احسان ذوق ارباب شوق از جمیع [۲۳ب] مرغوبات حسی لذتی کامل دارد، همچنین بصر اهل فهم و بصیرت از ملاحظه لطف صورت خطی و مشاهده حسن صورت خطی شامل یابد (بیت)

چار چیز آمد که یابد دیده و دل نور از آن

خط خوب و روی خوب و سبزه و آب روان

و چون راقم حروف را نسبت با این عالیجاه اقبال پناه رابطه مؤانست و علاقه ملازمت مؤکد بود و همگی در مجلس عالی ایشان بمزید التفات و احسان از امثال و اقران امتیاز داشت و گاهی بمباحثه قواعد خطی و نوشتن سطور مشقی مأمور و مشرف می شد و صورت اخلاص این مخلص در آن آینه خاطر نقش بسته لطف و شفقت در تحسین و تعریف خطوط شکسته بسته این دلخسته میفرمودند، واجب و لازم دید که بآنچه از دست آید در خدمت نوشتن قطعات و رسایل اقدام نماید و بعون الله تعالی و حسن توفیقه در بحر عمیق الخط هندسه روحانیّه تظهر بآله

جسمانیّه غواصی نمود و اصداق لآلی و درر بساحل نظر اهل هوش و بصر رسانید. اگرچه از حیثیت بیقدری راقم در دیده بی ذوقان چندان قدری نداشت اما چون بنظر سعادت اثر جوهریان [۹۸] بازار فهم و نظر درآمد بیمن شرف قبول و تشریف تعریفشان از جواهر گرامی و گهرهای نامی بر سر آمد (نظم)

would be like streams and rivulets that took their rainbow colors of gold, scarlet, and verdigris from reflections of greenery and flowers, designs of birds and trees in the margins would be like the sweet-throated nightingale and strutting partridge, and its pleasing pictures would be like graceful youths and entertainers who promenade in those gardens to take the air.

Every specimen of its enchanting calligraphy that is enhanced by ruling line and margin
Is, in the eyes of aficionados of calligraphy, a garden full of greenery and blossoming buds.

All this was in order that connoisseurs in the assembly of that possessor of manliness and generosity might enjoy fully all [23b] sensory pleasures and likewise people of understanding and insight might take full pleasure in seeing the subtlety of calligraphic specimens and viewing the beauty of pictures.

There are four things from which the eye and heart derive delight: beautiful calligraphy, beautiful faces, greenery, and running water.

Since this writer's connection of intimacy with and service to that noble was assured, and since he was ever favored in his exalted assembly with greater attention and favor than his peers, occasionally he was honored to be commanded to discuss the rules of calligraphy and to write practice lines. Inasmuch as the portrait of this sincere one's devotion was drawn on the mirror of his mind, he was kind enough to praise my shoddy attempts at calligraphy, and therefore I considered it necessary and incumbent to continue, insofar as I was able, to write specimens and treatises. With God's assistance and help, I dove into the deep sea of calligraphy, which is "spiritual geometry that is manifested through a physical instrument," and brought forth pearl-bearing shells onto the shore for those of sobriety and understanding to view. Although, because of this writer's worthlessness, they had not much value in the sight of the unappreciative, when they were shown to jewelers [98a] in the marketplace of understanding and insight, they were appreciated and praised over precious pearls and gems of renown.

A jeweler knows the value of my calligraphy; otherwise there are many worthless beads in the world.

My calligraphy is sweet because the cane of my pen produces sugar.

Likewise the incomparable of the age Master Muzaffar-Ali, who is both a direct student and relative of the renowned Master Bihzad and who, even more so than him in garnering the crafts of mastery, with his delightfully painted pages and drawings of combat, has adorned the script and calligraphy of past [masters] by decoupage and outlining and has been constantly encouraged by that kind and beneficent lord [Amir Husayn Beg] so that in a short span of time by the efforts of these two expert artists the Hafiz of the Glorious Word, Mulla Masihullah the illuminator, and Jalal Beg the gold-flecker, the leaves [98b] of this album have been organized better than could be imagined, and the margins of these folios have been decorated and illuminated in gilt by the aforementioned Master Muzaffar-Ali.

The chief of the masters by whose calligraphy this album is adorned is the unparalleled Yaqut of the age, Mawlana Sultan-Ali al-Mashhadi, every dot of whose sweetly moving pen speaks in his praise; how then could the scratchy pen of the likes of us describe him? When anyone who has had his fill of the goblet of ecstasy contemplates the individual words from his musky pen with which this album is filled, he will see that every circle in those words is a goblet of vegetal liqueur that sweetens the palate of the soul, and every *alif* is a needle full of the collyrium of joy that gives light to the eye.

Those who have seen Yaqut's writing pay a ruby for every line.

If Yaqut were to see this writing, he would pay a ruby for every word.

و مولانا سلطان علی سبز مشهدی شاگردان ملا اظهردند. و مولانا شیخ محمد امامی و برادرش مولانا غیب الله امامی که هروی المولد گیلانی المسکن اند شاگردان مولانا اظهردند. و مولانا شیخ محمود زرین قلم که خمسۀ غبار کتابت نموده معاصر ملا اظهر و شاگرد ملا جعفر تبریزی است...

... [۲۱۶۱/خ، برگ ۲] الحق مرقعی صورت اتمام یافته که اگر ناقدان خزاین خطوط و صور همیشه منظر نظر دقیق سازند رواست و اگر فارسان میدان معانی و اثر همگی جلوه گاه فکر عمیق کنند بآن سزا، بر صفحات صافی صفاتش از سواد هر بیت مضمون ﴿تُولِجُ اللَّيْلَ فِي النَّهَارِ﴾ مرقوم گردیده و از بیاض بین السطورش آثار ﴿تُولِجُ النَّهَارَ فِي اللَّيْلِ﴾ بظهور رسیده تاریخ اتمامش جناب فصاحت شعار سعادت آثار میرزا محمد امنی نظم نموده

مرقعی که حسین بیگ کرده است انشا

پی نظاره آن مهر طلعت مهوش
سفینه ایست مزین بصورت و معنی
جریده ایست مرصع بجوهر بیغش
پی حساب بتاریخ این خجسته رقم
بچشم لطف نگرد مرقع دلکش
چون حسین بیگ از کرم ترتیب داد
این کتاب جانفزای دلگشا
شد گلستانی که گلهايش بود
قطعه‌های باصفای دلگشا
کرد مالک بهر تاریخش رقم
گلشنی از قطعه‌های دلگشا

و نسبت شاگردی ایشان جناب مولانا اظهر هروی است اگرچه سر خط ازو نگرفته اند [۳۳] اما از روی کتابت و قطعاتش مشق نموده اند و مولانا اظهر شاگرد مولانا جعفر تبریزی و او شاگرد خواجه امیر علی تبریزی است که واضح اصل این خطست و بعد ازو مرتبه مرتبه صفا و تیزی قلم بر آن افزودند تا آنکه جناب مولانا سلطان علی بکمال رسانید و از غایت قوت تصرف و انگیز خیال بروشهای مختلف نوشت، و هر شاگردی از خرمن فیض او خوشه و از خوان رقمش توشه یافت. و از جمله شاگردان او آنها که مشهورند و این مرقع بخطوطشان آراسته است، یکی مولانا سلطان محمد خندان است و دیگری مولانا سلطان محمد نور و مولانا علاء الدین محمد هروی و مولانا زین الدین محمود داماد که از استاد جناب نادر عصره فی فنون الفضایل المختص باللطف الجلی مولانا میر علی (رُوحُ رُوحَهُ) و مولانا عبدی نیشابوری که استاد و خال جناب جامع کمالات معنوی و صوری مولانا شاه محمود نیشابوری (سَلَّمَ اللهُ تَعَالَى) است. و مولانا غیاث الدین مذهب و مولانا محمد ابریشمی و مولانا محمد قاسم شادیشاه و مولانا شمس الدین محمد کرمانی و مولانا پیر علی جامی و جناب مولانا رستم علی (زَيْدُ بَرَكَاتِهِ) که نادر عصره و آوانه [۳۳ب] حافظ بابا جان عودی و راقم حروف و استاد مظفر علی را واسطه وصول سند بمولانا سلطان علی اوست. و از مولانا میر علی دو شاگرد مشهور شدند، یکی جناب سیادت‌مآب سید احمد مشهدی و جناب فضایل ایاب خواجه محمود بن اسحق شهابی (سَلَّمَهُمَا اللهُ تَعَالَى) و صاحب النظم والخط ملا عیشی هروی است که شاگرد ملا سلطان محمد خندان است و مولانا یاری هروی شاگرد ملا محمد قاسم شادیشاهست. و اما استادان روشهای دیگر که بعضی معاصر مولانا سلطان علی مشهدی بوده اند و بعضی پیش ازو، بهترین ایشان جناب افادت‌مآب مولانا عبد الرحیم خوارزمی مشهور بانسی است که شاگرد مولانا اظهر بوده اما در تکلف و اصلاح افزوده و برادرش ملا عبد الکریم خوارزمی شاگرد اوست و مولانا سلطان علی قاینی

His line of tutelage goes back to Mawlana Azhar of Herat, and though he did not actually study with him, [33a] he practiced from his writings and specimens.

Mawlana Azhar was a student of Ja'far Tabrizi, who was a student of Khwaja Amir-Ali Tabrizi, who was the founder of the [*nasta'liq*] script but after whom by degrees the purity and clarity of the pen was increased until Sultan-Ali perfected it, [though] his command and creativity were such that he wrote in various styles. Every student thereafter merely took gleanings from his harvest and crumbs from his table. Among his students, those who are more famous [and] have representative works in this album are Sultan-Muhammad Khandan, Sultan-Muhammad Nur, Ala'uddin Muhammad Harawi, Zaynuddin Mahmud Damad, the teacher of the unsurpassable Mir-Ali, Abdi Nishapuri, the teacher and maternal uncle of Shah-Mahmud Nishapuri, Ghiyathuddin Mudhahhib, Muhammad Abrishami, Muhammad-Qasim b. Shadishah, Shamsuddin Muhammad Kirmani, Pir-Ali Jami, and the superb Rustam-Ali. [33b] He is the intermediary through whom Hafiz Baba Jan Udi, the present writer [Malik Daylami], and Master Muzaffar-Ali all derive their discipline from Sultan-Ali.

The two most famous students of Mir-Ali are Sayyid-Ahmad Mashhadi and Khwaja Mahmud b. Ishaq Shihabi.

Then there is the poet and calligrapher Ayshi Harawi, a student of Sultan-Muhammad Khandan, and Yari Harawi, a student of Muhammad-Qasim Shadishah.

Among the masters of other styles, some of whom were contemporary with Sultan-Ali Mashhadi and others of whom were prior to him, the best of them is Abdul-Rahim Khwarazmi, known as Anisi, who was a student of Azhar but improved [his style] with complexity. His brother Abdul-Karim Khwarazmi was his student. Sultan-Ali Qayini and Sultan-Ali Sabz Mashhadi were Azhar's students.

Shaykh-Muhammad Imami and his brother Ghaybulah Imami, who were born at Herat but lived in Gilan, were students of Azhar. Shaykh Mahmud Zarin-Qalam, who wrote a *Khamsa* in the *ghubar* script, was a contemporary of Azhar and a student of Ja'far Tabrizi....

[H.2161 2a] In truth an album has been completed upon which it would be suitable for the critics of the treasure houses of calligraphy and pictures always to gaze intently. Across its pure pages and from the blackness of every line spring the words "thou makest the night to succeed the day," and from the whiteness

between the lines are manifested the words "thou makest the day to succeed the night" [Kor. 3:27]. The date of its completion was versified by the eloquent Mirza Muhammad Amni:

Those as beautiful as the sun and the moon seek to see the album Husayn Beg created.
It is a miscellany decorated with form and meaning, a register set with flawless jewels.
In order to calculate the date of this felicitous album, look with the eye of kindness into the enchanting album.⁵

When Husayn Beg nobly arranged this enchanting book,
It became a garden the flowers of which there were enchanting and pleasing specimens.
Mâlik wrote for a chronogram of it: A garden of enchanting specimens.

⁵The words "into the enchanting album" (*dar muraqqa'-i dilkash*) yield the date, 968 (A.D. 1560-61). As currently bound, H.2151 contains many calligraphies dated after 968. The latest dated piece is on folio 45a and is dated 992. Mâlik supposedly died in 969/1561-62.

انشاء مرقع خواجه عبدالله مرواريد

استانبول، طوپ قپو سرايي کتبخانه سي، شماره

۲۱۵۶/خ

[اب] تا مرّع مملّع بديع الابداع سپهر برقاع ظلمت و شعاع قوله تعالى ﴿ وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا يَغْشَىٰ وَالنَّهَارِ إِذَا تَجَلَّىٰ ﴾ ابلغ فام گشته و تا صحيفه بيضاي ظلمت فرساي مهر بتوقيع لازم الترصيع قوله ﴿ وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا عَسَسَ وَالصُّبْحِ إِذَا تَنَفَّسَ ﴾ موجد نور ظلام آمده خامه عنبرين شمامه قدرت بي قلت که بمداد مشکين سواد جف القلم بما هو کائن رطب اللسانست و قلم قطعي رقم خلقت بي علت که بسطور هدايت منشور اول ما خلق الله عذب البيان بر اطباق اوراق کن فکان که بمصدوقه مصدقه [۴۴] ﴿ وَفِي نُسْخَتِهَا هُدًى وَرَحْمَةٌ ﴾ سمت اتصاف دارد تعليق نموده که افهام و استفهام دقيق معاني فرقاني واکشاف و استکشاف مباني سبع المثاني که از ابداع نوع بشر و ايجاد وضع اجسام و صور مطلب اعلى و مقصد اسنى آنست بي توسط الفاظ و عبارات و توسل اقوال و استعارات مقدور و ميسور نيست و ابقا و استبقاء آن در خلال مرور و دهور و اعصار جز به ثبت نقوش کتابي و رقوم خطي ميسر نه (قطعه)

اگر نه قيد کتابت بود کجا ماند

شکفته معني رنگين فکر جان پرور

ز آب سلسلهها در چمن اگر نبود

نماند از گل و ريحان بباغ هيچ اثر

و چون هر یک از فنون و بدايع و حرف و صنايع را در دناءت و اعتلا و بدايت و انتها مدارج و مقادير مقرر و معين است و مقتضاي طباع سليمه و اذهان [۴۴ب] مستقيمه آنکه در تحصيل مقاصد هزار اقشاع امتناع نموده طالب درجه عليا و رتبه قصوي باشند، سيما درين صنعت روح پرور روح گستر که تمدح آن بر لسان کريم البيان شکرخاي حيات افزاي ناطق الحق الحق (قطعه)
آنکه تيغ قهر اگر بستی سر کفار را
از سواد کفر افکندی بظلمات عدم

وانکه گر کلک گهربارش بجنبش آمدی

یافتی هر لحظه فیض از مبدأ لوح و قلم

اسدالله الغالب امير المؤمنین علی بن ابی طالب (کرم الله وجهه)

برین نمط رفته که علیکم بحسن الخط فإنه من مفاتيح الرزق، و

اگر نه رفعت پایه قدر و شرف این فن والا گهر بر ضمیر

غیب آسای آنحضرت متحقق بودی، هامة همت عرش پیمایش از

سیر مقام ملک و ملکوت و طوف مطاف عالم ناسوت و لاهوت

PREFACE TO AN ALBUM

BY KHWAJA ABDULLAH MARWARID

The preface to this album (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2156), copied by Ahmad al-Husayni al-Mashhadi in 971 (A.D. 1563), was composed in 897 (A.D. 1492) by the famous stylist of Timurid Herat, Khwaja Abdullah Marwarid, for an album for Mir Ali-Sher Nawa'i.¹ The latest date in the marginalia of the album is 982 (A.D. 1574), and the latest dated specimen of calligraphy is 988 (A.D. 1580).

[1b] As long as the marvelously created, twinkling album of the celestial sphere has been mottled with patches of darkness and rays of the Divine Word—"By the night, when it covereth all things with darkness; by the day, when it shineth forth" [Kor. 92:1–2]—and as long as the page of the white register of the darkness-dispelling sun has been creating the light that overcomes blackness with the words set in jewels—"By the night, when it cometh on; And by the morning, when it appeareth" [Kor. 81:17]—the ambergris-scented pen of undiminishing power, which is moistened with the musky ink of "the pen [that] dried up with what would be," and the absolute reed of creation without cause, which is sweet of expression with the guiding lines of "the first thing God created," have been attached to the layers of the folios of "be and it was" that are described by the true words [44] "and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy" [Kor. 7:154] such that the understanding of subtle meanings in the Koran and discovery of the bases of the holy writ, which were the ultimate goal and highest aim in creating humankind and bringing bodies and shapes into being, are neither possible nor feasible without the intermediary of words

¹A facsimile edition of the text of the *Sharafnāma* by Khwāja 'Abdullāh Marwārid (İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi F87) is in Hans Robert Roemer, *Staatschreiben der Timuridenzeit* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952), text pp. 49–50 (fols. 74a–75b) with minor, insignificant variations.

and expressions or without resorting to speech and metaphor, and the continuance and continuity of these things over the ages, centuries, and decades have been possible only by means of written records.

Were it not for writing, how could the colorful meaning of a soul-nourishing thought remain in bloom?

If there were not lines of water in the garden, no trace would remain of flowers or herbs.

Inasmuch as each of the arts, crafts, and trades has determined levels of highness and lowness, and it is in accordance with sound natures and straight minds to eliminate all constraints [44b] in achieving their goals and to attain a high level and advanced degree, especially in this soul-nourishing craft, praise for it ran thus across the nobly expressed tongue of the spokesman of God—

He who, if he smote his blade of wrath at infidels' heads, would cast them from the realm of infidelity into the darkness of nonexistence.

If his pearl-raining pen came into motion, every moment it would find effulgence from the origin of the Tablet and the Pen—

the Conquering Lion of God, Commander of the Faithful, Imam of the Pious, Ali ibn Abi-Talib (may God ennoble his countenance): "Make certain that you have good handwriting, for it is one of the keys to livelihood." If the exalted station and nobility of this sublime craft had not been realized by that majesty's clairvoyant mind, he would have been too busy traveling through the stations of this world and the heavenly realm and circumambulating the world of humanity and divinity to

وسبعین وتسعمایه بالخیر اختتام یافت. کتبه العبد الفقیر الحقیق
المذنب احمد الحسینی المشهدی الکاتب غفر الله ذنوبه وستر عیوبه.

پرتو التفات بر ساحت کتابت نیفکندی و چندین [۳۰] یواقیت
ولای متوالی از نتایج کلک بدایع نگار ولایت آثار بر صحایف
لیل و نهار نگذاشتی (شعر)

ناسفته گوهریست ز بحر ولایتش
هر نقطه کامد از قلم درفشان او

گویی که بود در ید قدرت اناملش

چون خامه در انامل معجز نشان او

و نیز امر بعضی از اکابر دین و اماجد راه یقین بران جمله وارد
گشته تعلموا بالکتابه فان الکتابه من هم الملوك. پس بحکم این
مؤیدات، سعی موفور و جهد میسور در استکمال و استحصال این
امر از قبیل لوازم است و چون بنای تصاعد و ترقی در طرق تقلید
و متابعت قواعدی که در خطوط ماهران این صنعت مأمول بها
گشته مقتصر و مختصرست، درین وقت جهت مرتب این مرقع
چندی^۱ [۳۰ب] اوراق و اجزا و اساطیر و مناشیر و غیر ذلک را
که مجتمع گشته بود بجمع و تلفیق آنها را بطریقه و صالی پیراسته
مرقعی ترتیب نمایند که در حمایت حصانت و متانت جلد مأمول
و محفوظ تواند بود و طالبان را خطی معتمد حاصل باشد، بنا
بران بعضی وصالان و نقاشان که بحلیه مهارت و وقوف متحلی
بودند مدتی بشواغل آن اشتغال نموده چنانچه ظاهرست ترتیبی
لایق و تزیینی موافق دادند و اکمال و اتمام در عام^۲ احدی

^۱ در شرفنامه بجای «درین وقت... چندی»: درین وقت بیمن ایادی و
عون عاطفت حضرت سپهر حضرة جامع این مرقع نصب الله کما نصب رابات
تربینه علی مفارق المسلمین مخلداً جمعی کسر و جمی از غفیر از صغیر و کبیر
که بسلامت فطرت و جودت قابلیت در ظل ظلیل عاطفت و ارشاد این آستان
راه یافته بانامل رقم مهارت خود بر صفحات دهر نگاشتند بسیاری از نفایس
جواهر و شرایف زواهر که عبارت از رقم زده کلک هزار دستان باشد هنرور
آستان باشد در خزانه کتب جمع گشته بود خاطر قدسی مآثر آنحضرت
مستدعی آن گشت که بندی.

^۲ آخر شرفنامه: سبع وتسعین وثمانمیه موافق عددی که از اجزای این
ابیات بطریق جمل مستفاد میگردد دست تادیح
تا نسخه جهان را زینت شد این مرقع
یابد ازو عطارد در کار خود نسقها

کافورگون بیاضش تا گشت دلکش از خط

هردم برد بخوبی از نوخطان سبقها

بر صفحههای نسرین انداخت سایه سنبل

تا ریخت مشک سوده بر سیمگون طبقها

پرسد اگر کس از فن تاریخ اختتامش

گویم پی مرقع جمع آمده رقمها

والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی.

cast a ray of attention upon the arena of writing, [30] and he would not have strewn so many rubies and pearls from the results of his marvelous saintly pen upon the pages of time.

An unpierced pearl from the sea of saintship is
every dot that came from his pearl-strewing pen,
As though his fingers in the hand of almighty
power were like the pen in his miraculous
fingers.

There is likewise an admonition from one of the great saints of religion: "Learn writing, for writing is one of the endeavors of kings." Therefore, based upon all these supporting arguments, great effort and mighty endeavor must be made to perfect and acquire this thing, and inasmuch as the bases of advancement and improvement in following the rules that are a desideratum in the scripts of the masters of this craft are few and scanty, at this time, for the arranger of this album, [30b] several leaves, gatherings, sections, histories, edicts, etc. that had been collected are being put together by means of attachment to pages, and an album will be produced that will be preserved and protected by means of a strong binding, and thereby those who seek will have reliable scripts. To this end, some pagemakers and painters who are adorned with mastery and skill worked on it for a long time, and, as is apparent, they have produced a worthy arrangement with suitable decoration, and the completion occurred in the year 971. Written by the poor, miserable slave Ahmad al-Husayni al-Mashhadi the scribe (may God pardon his sins and disregard his faults).

منزله هارونی (بیت)

شیر خدا، شاه ولایت علی

صیقلِ شرکِ خفی و [هم] جلی

که «علیکم بحسن الخط فإِنَّهُ مِنْ مَفَاتِيحِ الرُّزْقِ» بدین شغل کریم
وصنعت واجب التعظیم جهد فرمود و سعی شکور بکار برده اند.
و قبل از آنکه خطوط متداوله بر روی کار آید و کارگاه علم را
چون این مرقع بجواهر خطوط و نقوش بدیعه بیاراید، خطی که
دیده اولی الابصار را سرمه دار بوحی الهی و اوامر و نواهی حضرت
رسالت پناهی روشنائی می بخشید خط کوفی بود، و ارقام ارقام
معجز [۸] نظام شاه ولایت پناه در میانست که چشم جان را ضیا
و لوح ضمیر را جلا کرامت می فرماید.

و استخراج خطوط سته که بشش قلم معروفست و بدین
تفصیل بین الانام مشهور: ثلث و نسخ و محقق و ریحان و توقیع و
رقاع، از کوفی در سنه عشر وثلثمائة ابن مقبله نموده. و بعد از او
علی بن هلال که شهرت به ابن بواب دارد و استاد خطوط است.
و بعد از او یاقوت مستعصمی با شاگردان سته او که بدین تفصیل
اند: شیخ زاده سهروردی، ارغون کاملی، نصرالله طبیب،
مبارکشاه زرین قلم، یوسف مشهدی، سید حیدر گنده نویسن
(یعنی جلی نویسن).

بعد از ایشان شاگردان ایشان، منهم: پیر یحیی صوفی شاگرد
زرین قلم، و خواجه عبدالله صیرفی شاگرد سید حیدر. و صیرفی
استاد [۸ب] حاجی محمد بندگیر است. و حاجی محمد استاد
معین الدین تبریزی. و معین الدین استاد مولانا شمس الدین
قطابی. بعد از او پسران او، عبدالحی و عبد الرحیم خلوتی، و
شاگرد او مولانا جعفر تبریزی حکام خطه خط بودند. و مولانا
جعفر مذکور استاد مولانا عبدالله طباح و سایر خطاطان خراسان

مرقع میر غیب بیگ دیباچه میر سید احمد

استانبول، طوپ قپو سرایی کتبخانه سی، شماره

۲۱۶۱/خ

[۷] کلیدِ خرد را هنر شد علم

کلیدِ هنر چیست؟ نوک قلم

قلم نقش بندست و چهره گشای

قلم بردو نوع آفریده خدای

یکی از نبات آمده دلپذیر

نی قند گشته ز بهر دبیر

دگر نوع از نوع حیوانی است

کش از آب حیوان درافشانی است

نگارنده نقش مانی فریب

ازو کارگاه هنر دیده زیب

و آنچه نوع نباتیست کام شیرین کن کتاب کرامت ایاب است که
نمونه از کرام الکاتبین و نشانه از راقمان علم الیقین اند. و
حسب الاشارة کثیر البشارة منتخب جریده موجودات و منتجب
حضرت واجب بالذات نبی عربی محمد الاطحی (علیه افضل
الصلوات واکمل التحیات) که «مَنْ كَتَبَ بِحُسْنِ الْخَطِّ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ
الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ دَخَلَ الْجَنَّةَ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ» [۷ب] و بتعلیم واجب
التعظیم ادیب دبستان کرامت و خطیب عذب البیان خطه امامت،
سرلوح دیباچه وصایت و هدی، بکتابه دیوان «أنا مدينة العلم
وعلى بابها»، کلیم طور «سألوني قبل أن تُفقدوني»، صاحب سمو

AMIR GHAYB BEG ALBUM

PREFACE BY MIR SAYYID-AHMAD

Mir Sayyid-Ahmad Mashhadi compiled the Amir Ghayb Beg Album (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi H.2161) in 972/1564–65. Like Dost-Muhammad and Mâlik Daylami before him, he includes in his preface an apologia and short history of calligraphy and painting.



Art is known as the key to wisdom. What is the key to art? The nib of the pen.

The pen is a designer of patterns, an “unveiler of faces.” Two types of pen were created by God: One comes from vegetal matter: the reed turns agreeable for the writer.

The other type is animal: it scatters pearls from the Fountain of Life.¹

By the painter of a picture that would fool Mani is the workshop of art adorned.

The type that is vegetal sweetens the palate of the noble scribes who are representatives of the recording angels and those who write certain knowledge. According to the dictum of the chosen one of the register of existence, select of God’s court, the Arabian prophet Muhammad al-Abtahi—upon whom be the best of prayers and most perfect of salutations—“He who writes ‘in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful’ in a beautiful script will enter paradise without question.” [7b] By the teaching of him to whom honor is incumbent, the tutor of the garden of nobility, sweet-tongued preacher in the realm of the imamate, the heading of the preface of good counsel, by the inscription over the city of knowledge, of which Ali is the gate, the Moses of

¹The pun involving *ḥayawānī* (‘animal’) and *āb-i ḥayāt* (‘water of life’) is not reproduceable in English.

the Sinai of “ask me before you lose me,” majesty of the station of Aaron,²

Lion of God, king of sainthood Ali, effacer of polytheism open and hidden

everyone is commanded to strive to attain this noble occupation and honorable craft when he said, “Have beautiful writing, for it is among the keys to sustenance.”

Before the scripts now current were employed and the workshop of knowledge was adorned like this album with gems of calligraphy and marvellous designs, [8a] the script that illuminated the eyes of the enlightened with the divine inspiration of the Prophet’s commands and prohibitions was the Kufic script, and there are still extant miraculous specimens of the handwriting of the majesty of sainthood [Ali b. Abi-Talib] that give light to the soul’s eye and clarity to the tablet of the mind.

In the year 310 [A.D. 922] Ibn Muqla derived from the Kufic the six scripts known as the Six Pens, viz. *thuluth*, *naskh*, *muhaqqaq*, *rayhan*, *tawqi’* and *riqa’*. After him, Ali b. Hilal, who is known as Ibn Bawwab, was the master of these scripts. After him were Yaqut Musta’simi and his six students, viz. Shaykhzada Suhrawardi, Arghun Kamili, Nasrullah Tabib, Mubarakshah Zarin-Qalam, Yusuf Mashhadi, and Sayyid-Haydar “Gundanawis” (majuscule writer).

After them were Pir Yahya Sufi, student of Zarin-Qalam, and Khwaja Abdullah Sayrafi, student of Sayyid-Haydar. Sayrafi was the teacher [8b] of Hajji Muhammad Bandgir, who was the teacher of Shamsuddin Qattabi. After him, his sons, Abdul-Hayy and

²Alī is said to have occupied the same relationship to Muhammad that Aaron had to Moses.

حرکت که مناشیر سلطان ابوسعید گورکان را بدان روش نوشته و منشیان خراسان مثل مولانا درویش و امیر منصور و خواجه جان جبرئیل در آن طرز نوشته اند، و دیگری در کمال استحکام و پختگی و اصول و چاشنی که احکام حسن بیگ و یعقوب بیگ و سلاطین آق قویونلو بدان طرز نوشته. و منشیان آذربایجان و عراق سیما شیخ محمد تلمی [کذا] و مولانا درویش و غیرهما تتبع ایشان می نمایند و خط شناسان عراق آنرا می پسندند.

اما از قلم آنچه حیوانیست قلم موسست که سحرسازان مانی فرهنگ و جادو طرازان خطائی و فرنگ بدستکاری آن اورنگ نشی [نا] ن کشور هنر و نقشبندان کارخانه قضا و قدر گشته اند. چون چهره گشایان پیکر این فن بدایع اثر نسبت این هنر بقلم معجزرقم [۱۰ب] شمسه خمسۀ آل عبا اعی علی المجتبی درست می نمایند و مستمسک بدین اند که در نقوش اقلام کرامت نظام آن حضرت که بتذهیب ایشان مزین است برای العین مشاهده نموده اند که «کتبه و ذهبه علی ابن ابی طالب» قلمی فرموده، و حکایتی درین معنی بحلیه نظم درآمده (حکایت)

شنیدم که صورت گران خطای

نخستین که گشتند صورت گشای

بخون جگر رنگی آمیختند

مثال از گل و لاله انگیختند

چو مو گشته باریک از آن آرزوی

پی موشکافی قلمشان ز موی

ز گلها یکی صفحه آراستند

بائین وزیبی که خود خواستند

نهادند از آنرو خطاییش نام

که کلک خطایی از آن یافت کام

چو دور نبوت باحمد رسید

قلم بر سر دیگر ادیان کشید [۱۱]

خطاپی—شگان خطائی نژاد

نمودند نقش نخستین سواد

ود. عبد الرحیم خلوتی استاد مولانا نعمت الله بواب است که ستاد مولانا شمس الدین ثانی تبریزی است. و خطاطان دیگر که ر. عراق و خراسان و فارس و کرمان نام برآورده اند ریزه خوار خوان این استادانند. این شجره خطوط سته بود.

اکنون حکایت نسخ تعلیق بدین منوال است که واضع آن مولانا میرعلی تبریزی است. و بعد از او عبید الله ولدش درین خط [۹] سرآمد دوران شد. و مولانا جعفر مذکور شاگرد عبیدالله ست و استاد مولانا اظهر. و اظهر استاد مولانا سلطانعلی مشهدی ست که خطش در میان خطوط استادان کالشمس من سایر لکواکب امتیاز دارد. بعد از او خطوط شاگردان او درجه و مرتبه سنی دارند. وهم مولانا محمد ابریشمی و مولانا سلطان محمد خندان و مولانا سلطان محمد نور و مولانا زین الدین محمود که ستاد سید میرعلی است که بمولانا میرعلی اشتهار دارد و حالا خط او را برابر بخط مولانا سلطان علی اعتباری نمایند.

دیگر خوشنویسان مشهور که ارقام اقلام مشکسای ایشان در روش مولانا سلطان علی مشهدی است مثل مولانا سلطان علی نایینی و مولانا سلطان علی سبز مشهدی و مولانا شاه محمود [۹ب] نیشابوری و سید احمد مشهدی شاگرد مولانا میرعلیست و مالک دیلمی شاگرد مولانا میرجان است. درین فن گوی هنر از قران برده اند و حالا مرقع ملمع زمان بوجود بعضی از ایشان مزین ست.

مولانا عبد الرحمن خوارزمی تغییر در روش این طایفه نموده و ر. روش او دو پسر او سرآمد شده اند، عبد الرحیم المشهور انیسی و عبد الکریم المشهور بیادشاه، و روش ایشان بروش نیسی مشهورست و کتاب دار الملک شیراز اکثر تتبع ایشان می کنند.

وخط تعلیق از رفاع مأخوذ است و خواجه تاج سلمانی استاد آن خط است، و بعد از او عبد الحی استرآبادی منشی. و سلسله علیق نویسان بدین دو استاد می رسد. و از خواجه عبد الحی [۱۰] دو روش خط در میانست، یکی در نهایت رطوبت و

Abdul-Rahim Khalwati, and his student Ja'far Tabrizi were the masters of the realm of calligraphy. Ja'far was the teacher of Abdullah Tabbakh and all the other calligraphers of Khurasan. Abdul-Rahim Khalwati was the teacher of Ni'matullah Bawwab, who was the teacher of Shamsuddin Thani Tabrizi. Other calligraphers in Iraq, Khurasan, Fars and Kerman who have acquired repute are mere gleaners of these [aforementioned] masters. So much for the family tree of the six scripts.

The story of *naskh-ta'liq* is as follows. The founder was Mir-Ali Tabrizi, whose son Ubaydullah became the master of his age in this script. [9a] Ja'far was a student of Ubaydullah and the teacher of Azhar, who taught Sultan-Ali Mashhadi, whose calligraphy outshines that of the other masters as the sun outshines the stars. After him, calligraphy reached a high level with his students Muhammad Abrishami, Sultan-Muhammad Khandan, Sultan-Muhammad Nur, and Zaynuddin Mahmud, who was the teacher of Sayyid Mir-Ali, who is known as Mir Ali and whose calligraphy is at present considered on a par with that of Sultan-Ali.

Other famous calligraphers who write in the style of Sultan-Ali Mashhadi are: [Sultan-] Ali Qayini, Sultan-Ali Sabz Mashhadi, Shah-Mahmud [9b] Nishapuri, Sayyid-Ahmad Mashhadi, Mir Ali's student, and Malik Daylami, Mir Jan's student who has taken first place among his peers. Now this splendid album is adorned by some of these.

Abdul-Rahman Khwarazmi introduced a change in this group[']s style]; and his two sons, Abdul-Rahim known as Anisi and Abdul-Karim known as Padishah, were masters of his method. Anisi's style is well known, and the scribes of Shiraz mostly follow him.

The *ta'liq* script is taken from the *riqa'*. Khwaja Taj[uddin] Salmani was the master of this script, and next to him was Abdul-Hayy Astarabadi Munshi. The line of *ta'liq* writers descends from these two. From Khwaja Abdul-Hayy [10a] there are two styles current. One is extremely flowing and fluid, the rescripts of Sultan Abu-Sa'id Kürägän were written in this style; and the *munshis* of Khurasan such as Darwesh, Amir Mansur and Khwaja Jan Jibra'il wrote in it. The other is perfectly solid, mature and tasteful, and the edicts of Hasan Beg, Ya'qub Beg and the Aqqoyunlu sultans were written in it. The scribes of Azerbaijan and Iraq, especially Shaykh Muhammad Tamimi, Darwish and others,

follow this style, which is pleasing to the cognoscenti of Iraq.



Now, the pen that mimics life is the hair brush, by means of which Manichæan³ magicians and sorcerers of Cathay and Europe have become enthroned over the realm of art and designers in the workshop of fate and destiny. Inasmuch as the unveilers of the beauty of this creative craft postulate a true connection of this art with the miraculous pen/brush [10b] of the Sun of the Five Members of the Folk of the Cloak, i.e., Ali [b. Abi-Talib] the Elect, and hold fast to [the belief that] among the specimens of his writing decorated with their illumination they have seen with their own eyes the subscription "written by Ali b. Abi-Talib." In this connection there is the following versified tale:

I have heard that the painters of Cathay, when
 first they began to paint,
 Mixed colors of their heart's blood and produced
 images of the roses and tulips.
 Their brushes of hair became as thin as a strand
 of hair from their desire for minuteness.
 They adorned a page with flowers as beautifully
 and gracefully as they desired.
 They called it Cathaian because the Khata'i pen
 succeeded [in producing it].
 When the cycle of prophecy came to the Ahmad,
 the pen canceled out all other religions. [11a]
 The sinners of the Chinese race designed the first
 image.

³*Māni-farhang*, meaning that they paint as beautifully as Mani: no religious connotation is intended.

مـه ظلمت سلخ را ندیدی
 از عین تری که در قلم داشت
 آثار حیات در رقم داشت
 نقش رقمش طراز چین بود
 صورت گریش بلای دین بود
 از عالم جان صد آفرین داشت
 جان خود قلمش در آستین داشت [۱۲]
 خورشیدلقا شه فلک خشم
 میدید بمانیش بیک چشم
 مانی قلمی دگر قرین داشت
 کز وی در دل نهفته کین داشت
 میخواست که حیلۀ بسازد
 با وی نقشی بمکر باز
 زد نقش کز و شه جهاندار
 شد صورت خویش را طلب کار
 آن نقش طراز مـانوی دست
 با خویش خیال نقش شه بست
 برداشت صحیفه دل افروز
 بنگاشت بران بطبع فیروز
 شه را تیری بدست واز خشم
 زد تاب سنان^۴ بگوشه چشم
 از تیر گه کجی ستادن
 باید چشمی بهم نهادن
 زین تازه خیال آن هنرمند
 بگشاد ز رشته هنر بند
 شه یافت چو فکر سحر سنجش
 بخشید دو ملک دست رنجش [۱۲ب]
 زان یک صله هنر طرازیش
 زین یک صله خیال بازیش

^۴ در نسخه «زو تاب سنان». «زد تاب سنان» از قاضی احمد گرفته شده.

بدعوی یکی صفحه آراستند
 نظیرش ز شاه رسل خواستند
 نه از نقش آراسته یک ورق
 که پُر کرده از لاله و گل طبق
 بردندش از عین کافر دلی
 بدعوی سوی شاه مردان علی
 چو شاه ولایت بدید آن رقم
 باعجاز بستد ازیشان^۱ قلم
 رقم کرد اسلامی دلربای
 که شد حیرت افزای اهل خطای
 چو آن اصل افتاد در دستشان
 بشد نقشهای دگر پستشان
 پوشیده نماند که خیالات عجیبه و انگیزهای غریبه اهل این
 صفت مشهور هر دیار و منظور اولو الانظارست، و قوت مخیله و
 زاکت طبع که این طایفه راست از اهل صنعت هیچکس را
 نیست. پیکری که در لوح خاطر [۱۱ب] نقاش چهره میگذاید
 در آئینه خیال هرکس روی ننماید (حکایت)
 گویند که بود پادشاهی
 مه طلعتی، آفتاب جاهی
 بودش برخی چو لاله راغ^۲
 یک نرگس ناشکفته در باغ
 فرخنده مصاحبی^۳ قرین داشت
 که نقد هنر در آستین داشت
 مانی رقمی که گاه تصویر
 ماندی رقمش بنقش تقدیر
 بر سنگ چو نقش آب بسستی
 هرکس دیدی سبو شکستی
 بر دور مه ار قلم کشیدی

^۱ در قاضی احمد، بجای «بستد ازیشان»، «بگرفت در کف».

^۲ در نسخه «باغ»، «راغ» از قاضی احمد ص ۱۳۱ گرفته شده است.

^۳ در نسخه «مصباحی»، «مصاحبی» از قاضی احمد ص ۱۳۱.

In competition they adorned a page and challenged the king of apostles to produce its like. Not a page adorned with designs but a tray filled with tulips and roses. They took it from the essence of infidel-heartedness in competition before the King of Men Ali. When the king of sainthood saw that drawing, he seized the pen from them in inimitability. He drew a charming *islami* that astonished the people of Cathay. When that prototype fell into their hands, all other designs were lesser in their view.

It is no secret that the amazing images and wonderful motifs of the practitioners of this craft are well known in every region and are the object of contemplation for those possessed of insight. The imaginative power and elegance of nature that this group has, no one of the other arts possesses. The beauty that unveils her face in the tablet of the painter's mind [11b] is not reflected in everyone's imagination.

They say there was a king, with a countenance like the moon, a sun in station. He had an unopened narcissus in the garden, as splendid as the tulip—
A companion who held the coin of art in his sleeve. He could draw like Mani, and when he made depictions his drawing resembled the design of fate. When he drew water on a stone, all who saw it broke their jugs. If he were to draw a line around the moon, the moon would not see the darkness of the end of the month. From the essence of wetness/limpidity he had in his brush he imparted traces of life to his drawings. His drawing was of the style of China; his depiction was calamitous to religion. From the realm of the soul he had a hundred bravos; his pen possessed life itself. [12a] However, this king as mighty as the sun could be as wrathful as the celestial sphere, and he

looked upon his Mani with one eye.⁴ He had another companion who could draw like Mani, and this one had hatred hidden in his heart for [the first painter]. He wanted to play a trick, to beat him with deception. He made a plan that the world emperor should request a portrait of himself. That painter as able as Mani imagined to himself the picture of the king. He took a page and drew on it with successful nature the king with an arrow in his hand, angrily removing a bend from it with the corner of his eye. To remove crookedness from an arrow one must close one eye. By this novel image that artist removed the knot from the thread of craft. When the king discovered his magical thought, he was rewarded with two kingdoms for his pains. [12b] From the one the reward of his art, and from the other the reward of his imagination.

⁴To see someone with one eye, or to be one-eyed, in Persian means to see superficially.

چو خـواهد قلم از برای رقم

ز پیر فرشته به بندد قلم

ز شوقش صدف سر برآرد ز آب

که از ابر دستش شود کامیاب [۱۳ب]

چون استادان این فن بیش از آنند که در دایره احصاء و حیطة احصار توان آورد و افزون از آن اند که در کارگاه ﴿وَصَوِّرْكُمْ فَأَحْسِنَ صُورَكُمْ﴾ روی شناسان ایشانرا توان شمرد و بمتأخرین ایشان اکتفا نمود.

اما استادان مشهور خراسان مثل خواجه میرک و مولانا حاجی محمد و استاد قاسم علی چهره گشای و استاد بهزاد، شبیه و نظیر ندارند. و ازین جمله با استاد بهزاد ملاقات صورت بسته و الحق استاد مذکور بقوت بنان و قدرت بر رقم علی الاکفاء والاقربان فایق بود و برکات اقلام و حرکات ارقامش بصد هزار آفرین لایقست.

ز کار زغالش بیجا بک روی

بهشت از قلم گیری مانوی

اگر مانی از وی خبر داشتی

ازو طرح و اندازه برداشتی

بود صورت مرغ او دلپذیر

چو مرغ مسیحا شده روح گیر [۱۴]

قلم را از آن کار بالا گرفت

که اندر دو انگشت او جا گرفت

قلم چون بتشعیر گیرد دلیر

روان موی خیزد بر اندام شیر

القصة، بعد از طی این مقدمات و کشف این مقالات نموده می آید که چون بیمن دولت بیزوال و برکت تقرب بعتبه جاه و جلال شاه جمجاه، سلاطین پناه، و خسرو خورشید پرتو خواقین پناه، دارای اسکندر رای، فریدون ممالک گشای، گردون مسند انجم جنود، کیهان کشور ممالک وفود، سحاب دست دریا عطا، مشتری وقار خورشید لقا، عطارد فطنت کیوان مقام،

زان کار دل حسود بشکست

نومید بکنج رنج بنشست

و همچنانکه در خط شش قلم اصلست، درین فن هفت اصل معتبرست: اسلامی، خطائی، فرنگی، فصالی، ابر، [واق^۱]، گره.

خوشا خامه سنجان جادو طراز

روانبخش از خامه سحر ساز

بهر آفریده در آویخته

نظیری ز هریک بر انگیخته

شده پی رو صنع یزدان پاک

ز پرگار افلاک تا سطح خاک

سوی آفرینش نظر داشته

سوادی ز هر اصل برداشته

بنقش جهان صنعشان رهنمون

قلم پیششان بهر سجده نگون

ندانم بصورت چه فن میکنند

که گویی بمردم سخن میکنند

[۱۳]

نه مرغست کز خامه اش سر زده

که پروانه با شمع او پر زده

و استادان فارس و عراق مثل استاد درویش و خلیفه محمد حیوة و میر مصور و پسرش میر سید علی و خواجه عبدالرزاق و خواجه عبدالوهاب و پسرش خواجه عبدالعزیز و سید میرک که جمیع اطوار و تمامی اطراز این فن بی بدل و به بی مثلی مثل ست (نظم)

تعالی الله آن خامه دلفریب

کزو یافت اورنگ افلاک زیب

چه سان جان نیابد ز کلکش رقم

که جان میچکاند ز نوک قلم

بود آفرینش همه پست او

زده در رقم بوسه بردست او

By these means he crushed his rival, who sat
without hope in a corner of agony.

Just as in calligraphy the Six Pens are basic, so in
this craft there are seven [fundamental techniques]:
islami ('Islamic'),⁵ *khata'i* ('Chinese'), *farangi*
('European'), *fisali* ('disjointed'), *abr* ('cloud'), [*waq*],
and *giriḥ* ('knot').

What marvelous wielders of pens of sorcery who
bestow life with magic-making pens!
Latched onto every created thing, they reproduce
the likeness of every thing.
They follow the God's craft from the compass of
the spheres to the surface of the earth.
With their gazes fixed on creation, they take an
image from every prototype.
Their craft leads them to the design of the world,
the pen/brush in prostration, upside down
before them.
I do not know what craft they impart to their pic-
tures that one would think they speak to peo-
ple. [13a]
It is not so much a bird whose head has been
struck off by the pen as a moth fluttering
about a candle.

The masters of Fars and Iraq, such as Master Darwish,
Khalifa Muhammad-Hayat, Mir Musawwir and his son
Mir Sayyid-Ali, Khwaja Abdul-Razzaq, Khwaja Abdul-
Wahhab and his son Khwaja Abdul-Aziz, and Sayyid
Mirak are all unequaled in the various techniques of this
unparalleled craft.

Praise God for that charming pen by means of
which the throne of the celestial sphere was
decorated.
How can a line from His pen not spring to life
when it drips life itself from the nib?
All of creation is inferior to that pen, for it
kissed His own hand.
When He desires a pen for writing he makes one
from the feather of an angel.

Longing for it, the oyster shell sticks its head out
of the water in order to avail itself of the cloud
of His hand. [13b]

Since there are more masters of this craft than can be
reckoned or enumerated, we shall content ourselves with
only the latter-day masters.

The masters of Khurasan, such as Khwaja Mirak,
Hajji Muhammad, Master Qasim-Ali Chihra-gushay and
Master Bihzad, are unrivaled. Among them, [I] chanced
to meet Master Bihzad, and truly this master was supe-
rior to his peers and contemporaries in the power of his
hand and strength of his brush, and what he paints is
worthy of a hundred thousand praises.

From the labor of his nimble charcoal, a paradise
of penmanship like Mani.
If Mani had known of him he would have taken
his designs and motifs.
His picture of a bird is so charming that, like
Jesus's bird, it comes to life. [14a]
The brush attains such heights because it takes
its place between his two fingers.
When the pen/brush boldly begins crosshatching,
the hair is raised on the lion's back.

In short, after the disclosure of these preliminary
matters, through unending good fortune and due to
proximity to the threshold of glory and majesty of the
shah, refuge of monarchs, prince who sheds rays of sun-
like glory, a Dara with the vision of Alexander, a
Feridun who conquers all nations, whose throne is the
celestial sphere and whose army is the stars, whose
country is the world, to whom all nations flock, whose
hand is a cloud that is as bounteous as the sea, as grave
as Jupiter, as bright as the Sun, as intelligent as
Mercury, as stable as Saturn,

⁵A common variant of *islīmī*, the vine-and-tendrill motif.

ناهید صحبت بهرام انتقام

شه آسمان تخت بیضا نگین

مسیح آستان کلیم آستین

حسینی نسب شاه حیدر شکوه

کزو تیغ شد مو بر اندام کوه [۱۴ب]

طرازنده افسر سروری

فرازنده رایت حیدری

برازنده تیغ انجم گهر

نگارنده حکم خورشید فر

زمین استقامت، زمان انتقام

فلک احتشام و ملک احترام

ز بیداری بخت شد کامیاب

کس این بخت هرگز نبیند بخواب

کشد بر بقا خرم او گر حصار

نباشد فنا را بران اقتدار

کند از ره تربیت چون نگاه

سهارا کند رشک خورشید ماه

نظر گر کند هیبتش از عتاب

شود تیغ مو بر تن آفتاب

رخش آفتاب بیست دور از زوال

جبینش صباحی همایون بفال

کف دست او ابر دریا نثار

دل روشنش بحر احسان شعار

بنانش امل را مدار علیه

سنانش اجل را مشار الیه [۱۵]

قلم گشته در دور او محترم

از انرو که شاه نیست مانی قلم

وهو سلطان ابن السلطان و خاقان ابن الخاقان ابوالمظفر شاه طهماسب

بهادر خان (زین الله تعالی سریر خلافت العظمی بمیمن ذاته ونور

عیون السلطنة الكبرى بلوامع انوار صفاته)

خدایا بشاه ولایت پناه

که این شاه را دار از بد نگاه

بهر کار توفیق بادش دلیل

بود مصلحت بین او جبرئیل

قرون مدت عمرش از هر چه هست

کلید در فتح بادش بدست

بکامش فلک باد گردان مدام

زمانش مدام و جهانش بکام

زمان باد یار و زمینش رهین

رهی چون من اورا زمان و زمین

بدست فقیر دعاگوی شاه جهان امیر غیب بیگ افتاده بود و

همواره [۱۵ب] در مجالس بهشت آئین و محافل فلک تزین که

ذکر خطوط و صور میرفت بمطالعه و مشاهده صحیف و قطعات

مذکوره احتیاج روی می نمود. و بنا بر آنکه ترتیب و ترکیبی

نیافته بود، و پیدا کردن مطلوب متعسر بلکه متعذر بود، واجب

دید که این مرقع را ترتیب دهد تا بسبب ترتیب آن ازین دغدغه

بکلی برهد. چندی بدستیاری استادان نادر و هنرمندان قادر و

خط شناسان بی بدل و خوشنویسان بی مثلی به ترتیب آن قیام

نموده. در واقع ترتیبی روی نمود و مرقعی چهره گشوده که هر

صفحه اش سزاوار صد تحسین بلکه هر قطعه اش لایق صد هزار

آفرینست.

محقق بنزدیک هر کس که هست

که ریحان خطش برد دل زدست

رقعاعش پسندیده روزگار

بتوقیع او سحر را ختم کار [۱۶]

غبارش بر اطراف سیمین حریر

چو آثار خط بر رخ دلپذیر

با آنکه اگر صحایف روزگار حرف تعلیق اوصاف حسن خطش

شود، هنوز ثلثی از خامه دوران به بیاض بیان نیامده باشد، و اگر

صفایح فلک دوار مملو از تعریف صور و اشکال غریبه اش گردد،

هنوز عشری از معشار محسناتش بر آئینه ظهور جلوه گر نشده

باشد. صور پاکیزه اش بمثابه (نظم)

as convivial as Venus, and as quick to vengeance as Mars—

Shah whose throne is the sky and whose signet is graven with Islam, whose threshold is messianic and who has miracles “up his sleeve” like Moses.
 Husaynid by lineage, a shah of Alid glory, in fear of whom the hair of mountains stands on end.
[14b]
 He wears the crown of leadership; he raises the Alid banner.
 He brandishes a sword that is as bright as the stars; he pens commands that are as splendid as the sun.
 As stable as the earth; as vengeful as time; as magnificent as the celestial sphere; as respected as the angels.
 He has succeeded through a fortune greater than anyone has ever dreamed of.
 If his majesty put a fortress around eternity, death itself would have no power over it.
 When he favors someone with his patronage, he makes the most obscure star the object of the sun’s and moon’s jealousy.
 If his magnificent gaze falls in chastisement, the hair on the sun’s body would stand on end.
 His cheek is a sun that is far from setting; his brow is a lamp of regal auspices.
 The palm of his hand is a cloud that scatters pearls like the sea; his illuminated heart is a sea with generosity as its slogan.
 His index finger is the axis around which revolves hope; his spear is a symbol of death.
[15]
 In proximity to him the brush gained respect because he is a shah who paints as beautifully as Mani.

He is the sultan son of the sultan, khaqan son of the khaqan, Abu’l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp Bahadur Khan (may God the most exalted decorate the throne of his most magnificent vicegerency with the good fortune of his existence and may He illuminate the eyes of the most mighty sultanate with rays of light of his characteristics)

O God, protect from evil this shah, who gives asylum to the Alid line.
 May divine success attend his every endeavor, and may Gabriel watch out for his best interests.
 May the length of his life be measured in generations, and may he hold in his hand the key to the gate of victory.
 May the celestial sphere always grant him his wish; may his time last forever, and may the world serve his desires.
 May time befriend him, and may the earth be at his beck and call; may time and space be slaves to him as I am.

it was deemed necessary by the humble suppliant of the king, Amir Ghayb Beg—since calligraphy and depiction were discussed in His Majesty’s paradisiacal assemblies and celestial gatherings **[15b]**—to review and inspect the aforementioned tomes and specimens [of calligraphy]. Whereas they had not been arranged or organized, it was difficult, nay impossible, to locate any particular thing one wanted, and therefore it was seen as fitting to organize this album so that the confusion would be righted. With the assistance of uncommon masters, able artisans, outstanding connoisseurs of writing and inimitable calligraphers, he undertook for a time to arrange it; and he has actually produced an organization and unveiled an album, every page and specimen of which is worthy of laud and praise.

It is obvious to everyone there is that the *rayhan* of his calligraphy captivates the heart.
 His *riqa’* is lauded by the world; his *tawqi’* is the last word in magic. **[16a]**
 His *ghubar* drawn around silvery text is like traces of fuzz on a captivating cheek.

If the pages of time were filled with descriptions of the beauty of the calligraphy it contains, it would not be even a third of what the pen of the world could put on the white page of exposition; and if the pages of the revolving celestial sphere were filled with praises of its rare shapes and forms, not a tenth of its beauty would have graced the mirror of manifestation. Its pictures are so magnificent that

که از روی پاکیزگی و تمیز
 بجز جان نگنجد درو هیچ چیز
 ز اشکال گلها و نقش طیور
 بهشتی ز باد خزان بیقصور
 هزاران گل ولاله اش شاخ و برگ
 همه امن از آسیب باد و تگرگ
 مصور جوانان خورشید روی
 لب از شرم هم بسته درگفت و گوی

[۱۶ب]

بهم یکجهت جمله در صلح و جنگ
 نه چون اهل عالم دوروی و دورنگ
 شب و روز با یک دگرهم وثاق
 بهم صحبتی مردم بی نفاق
 چون مقصود از این قصه خوانی و اظهار سخن دانی ذکر بعضی از
 ستادان بی بدل بود که یادگار ایشان در این مرقع است، باطناب
 ریاده محتاج ندید.

کتابه العبد الفقیر الحقیر المذنب احمد الحسینی المشهدی الکاتب

عَفَرَ اللَّهُ ذُنُوبَهُ وَسَتَرَ عُيُوبَهُ

خط خوب ای برادر دلپذیرست
 چو روح اندر تن برنا و پیوست
 اگر منع بود آرایش اوست
 وگر مفلس مرورا دستگیرست

نی شهر سنه اثنی و سبعین و تسعمائة .

It is so pure and clean that there is room therein
for nothing but life.

With its shapes of flowers and forms of birds it
is a paradise undiminished by the wind of
autumn.

Its thousands of roses and tulips are safe, stem
and petal, from damage by wind and storm.

Youths with faces as bright as the sun are
depicted; each shamed by the other, their lips
are closed to conversation. **[16b]**

They are all single-mindedly devoted to each
other in war and peace, not two-faced and
turncoats like the people of the world.

Day and night they share quarters with each
other, comrades in conversation without
hypocrisy.

Inasmuch as the object of these words was to mention
some of the superb masters whose works are contained
in this album, it is not necessary to go on at greater
length. Written by the most humble Ahmad al-Husayni
al-Mashhadi al-Katib, may God forgive his sins and
overlook his faults.

Good handwriting, O brother, is pleasing; it is
like the spirit in the body of old and young
alike.

If one is wealthy, it is an additional adornment; if
poor, it is helpful.

During the months of the year nine hundred seventy-two
[A.D. 1564–65].⁶

⁶At the end of the album, on folio 190a, a chronogram for
completion of the work yields 973 (A.D. 1565–66).

مقتضای طباع سلیمه و اذهان مستقیمه آنکه در تحصیل | مقاصد
حضرا و اقناع اقشاع امتناع نموده طالب درجه | علیا و رتبه قصوی
باشند، سیما درین صنعت روح پرور | و فضیلت روح گستر که
تمدح آن بر لسان کریم البیان شکرخای حیات | افزای ناطق الحق
(قطعه)

آنکه تیغ قهر اگر بستی بسر کُفارا
از سواد کُفر | افکندی بظلمات عدم

وانکه گر کلک گهر بارش بجنبش آمدی
یافتی هر | لحظه فیض از مبدأ لوح و قلم
اسدالله الغالب امیر المؤمنین و امام | المتقین علی بن ابی طالب
(کرم الله وجهه) بدین نمط رفته [۶] که علیکم بحسن الخط فإنه
من مفاتیح الرزق، | و اگر نه رفعت پایه قدر و شرف این فن
والا گهر بر ضمیر غیب | آسای آنحضرت متحقق بودی، هامة
همت عرش پیمایش از سیر مقام ملک و ملکوت | و طوف مطاف
عالم ناسوت و لاهوت پرتو التفات بر ساحت کتابت نیفکندی | و
چندین یواقیت و لآلی متوالی از نتایج کلک بدایع نگار ولایت
آثار بر صحایف | لیل و نهار نگذاشتی (شعر)

مرقی عثمانی

دیباچه جندره جی زاده محمد

وین، کتابخانه ملی اطریشی، Cod. Mixt. 313

[۵ب] تا مرقع ملمع بدیع الابداع سپهر | برقاع ظلمت و شعاع
قوله تعالی ﴿ وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا يَغْشَىٰ | وَالنَّهَارِ إِذَا تَجَلَّىٰ ﴾ ابلق فام گشته و
تا صحیفه جریده بیضای ظلمت فرسای | مهر بتوقع لازم التصریح
﴿ وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا عَسَسَ | وَالصُّبْحِ إِذَا تَنَفَّسَ ﴾ موجد نور | ظلام آمده
خامه عنبرین شمامه قدرت بی قلت که بمداد مشکین سواد | جف
الْقَلَمُ بِمَا هُوَ كَاتِبٌ رَطْبُ اللِّسَانِ است و قلم | قطعی رقم خلقت بی
علت که بسطور هدایت منشور اول ما | خَلَقَ اللهُ عَذْبَ الْبَيَانِ بر
اطباق اوراق کُنْ فُكَّانِ که بمصدوقه مصدقه ﴿ وَبِی | نُسَخْتَهَا
هُدًى وَرَحْمَةً ﴾ سمت اتصاف دارد چنان تعلیق نموده که افهام و
استفهام دقیق | معانی فرقانی واکشاف و استکشاف مبانی سبع
المثنائی که از ابداع نوع بشر | و ایجاد وضع اجسام و صور مطلب
اعلی و مقصد اسنی آنست بی توسط الفاظ و عبارات و توسل |
اقوال و استعارات مقدور و میسور نیست و ابقاء و استبقاء آن در
خلال مرور و دهور و اعصار | جز به ثبت نقوش کتابی و رقوم
خطی میسر نه (قطعه)

اگر نه قید کتابت بود کجا ماند |

شکفته معنی رنگین فکر جان پرور

ز آب سلسلهها در چمن اگر نبود

نماند از گل و ریحان بیباغ هیچ اثر

| و چون هر یک از فنون و بدایع و حرف و صنایع را در دناوت و

اعتلا و بدایت و انتها مدارج | و مقادیر مقرر و معینست و

AN OTTOMAN ALBUM

PREFACE BY CENDERCIZADE MEHMED

This album (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Mixt. 313, fols. 5b–6a) was produced by Cendercizade (the pressman's son) Mehmed in 980/1572 in Constantinople. The beginning of the preface, which was copied by Haydar al-Husayni, is identical to the preface composed by Khwaja Abdullah Marwarid and copied by Ahmad al-Husayni al-Mashhadi in H.2156.

[5b] As long as the marvelously created, twinkling album of the celestial sphere has been mottled with patches of darkness and rays of the Divine Word—“By the night, when it covereth all things with darkness; By the day, when it shineth forth” [Kor. 92:1–2]—and as long as the page of the white register of the darkness-dispelling sun has been creating the light that overcomes blackness with the words set in jewels “By the night, when it cometh on; And by the morning, when it appeareth” [Kor. 81:17], the ambergris-scented pen of undiminishing power, which is moistened with the musky ink of “the pen [that] dried up with what would be,” and the absolute reed of creation without cause, which is sweet of expression with the guiding lines of “the first thing God created,” have been attached to the layers of the folios of “be and it was” that are described by the true words “and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy” [Kor. 7:154] such that the understanding of subtle meanings in the Koran and discovery of the bases of the holy writ, which were the ultimate goal and highest aim in creating humankind and bringing bodies and shapes into being, are neither possible nor feasible without the intermediary of words and expressions or without resorting to speech and metaphor, and the continuance and continuity of these things over the ages, centuries, and decades have been possible only by means of written records.

Were it not for writing, how could the colorful meaning of a soul-nourishing thought remain in bloom?

If there were not lines of water in the garden, no trace would remain of flowers or herbs.

Inasmuch as each of the arts, crafts, and trades has determined levels of highness and lowness, and it is in accordance with sound natures and straight minds to eliminate all constraints in achieving their goals and to attain a high level and advanced degree, especially in this soul-nourishing craft, praise of which ran thus across the nobly expressed tongue of the spokesman of God—

He who, if he smote his blade of wrath at infidels' heads, would cast them from the realm of infidelity into the darkness of nonexistence.

If his pearl-raining pen came into motion, every moment it would find effulgence from the origin of the Tablet and the Pen—

the Conquering Lion of God, Commander of the Faithful, Imam of the Pious, Ali ibn Abi-Talib (may God enoble his countenance): [6] “Make certain that you have good handwriting, for it is one of the keys to livelihood.” If the exalted station and nobility of this sublime craft had not been realized by that majesty's clairvoyant mind, he would have been too busy traveling through the stations of this world and the heavenly realm and circumambulating the world of humanity and divinity to cast a ray of attention upon the arena of writing, and he would not have strewn so many rubies and pearls from the results of his marvelous saintly pen upon the pages of time.

ناسفته گوهریست ز بحر ولایتش
 | هر نقطه کامد از قلم دَر فشانِ او
 گویی که بود در یدِ قدرت اناملش
 | چون خامه در انامل معجز نشانِ او
 و نیز امرِ بعضی از اکابرِ دین و اماجدِ راهِ یقین بران | جمله وارد
 گشته که تعلموا بالكتابة فإن الكتابة من هم الملوك. پس بحکم
 این مؤیدات، سعی موفور و جهد | میسور در استکمال و
 استحصال این امر از قبیل لوازم است و چون بنای تصاعد و ترقی
 در طرق | تقلید و متابعت قواعدی که در خطوط ماهران این
 صنعت مأمول بها گشته مقتصر و مختصرست، درین وقت در نزد
 | این مرتب مرقع مصنع اعنی محمد الحقیق کثیر التقصیر فوق
 العاده الشهیر بجنده ره جی زاده (اصلح الله شانه | وصانه عما شانه)
 بعض خطوط استادان ماهران مجتمع گشته بود خاطر فاتر
 مستدعی آن گشت که | چندی از اوراق و اجزاء اساطیر و مناشیر
 از فصل و تفریق صیانت بطریق وصالی پیراسته باشد | ترتیب
 نمایم که از فضلا و خط شناسان و عرفاء هنر اقتباس از آن حظی
 وافر حاصل شود و بنابر آن بعض نقاشان | و وصالان که بحلیه
 مهارت و وقوف متحلی بودند آنها را جمع کردیم. مدتی | بشواغل
 آن اشتغال نمودیم چنانچه ظاهرست بر نهج ترتیب لایق و تزیین |
 موافق در حمایت حصانت متانت جلد مامول و محفوظ کردیم
 (قطعه) |

تا نسخه جهانرا زینت شد این مرقع
 یابد ازو عطارد در کار خود نسقها
 کافور | گون بیاضش تا گشت دلکش از خط
 هر دم برد بخوبی از نوخطان سبقها
 بر صفحههای نسرین | انداخت سایه سنبل
 یا ریخت مشک سوده بر سیمگون طبقها
 و اکمال و اتمام و اختتام در | عام سنه ثمانین وتسعمایه الهجرية
 النبوية در محروسه قسطنطنیه المحمیه واقع | شده بود. کتبه
 العبد المذنب حیدر الحسینی الکاتب .

An unpierced pearl from the sea of saintship is
 every dot that came from his pearl-strewing pen,
 As though his fingers in the hand of almighty
 power were like the pen in his miraculous fin-
 gers.

Completion occurred in the year 980 of the Hegira in
 the protected city of Constantinople. Written by the sin-
 ful slave Haydar al-Husayni the scribe.

There is likewise an admonition from one of the great saints of religion: "Learn writing, for writing is one of the endeavors of kings." Therefore, based upon all these supporting arguments, great effort and mighty endeavor must be made to perfect and acquire this thing, and inasmuch as the bases of advancement and improvement in following the rules that are a desideratum in the scripts of the masters of this craft are few and scanty, at this time* in the opinion of this arranger of this artful album, by whom I mean the miserable Mehmed of extraordinary shortcoming, known as Cendercizade (pressman's son)—may God make him pious and protect him from what dishonors him—some calligraphies of expert masters having been assembled, it occurred to my feeble mind that some of the pages and parts of stories and edicts might be adorned through the preserving processes of putting together and taking apart by means of mounting into an album and that I would so arrange them that learned connoisseurs of calligraphy and cognoscenti of the art would derive great enjoyment, and therefore we assembled some painters and album makers who were adorned with expertise and knowledge. They labored long, and, as is apparent, we were successful in producing a suitable arrangement and in preserving the calligraphies within a strong binding.

As long as this album is an adornment to the
 manuscript of the world, Mercury will find order
 from it in his labor.

As long as its camphor-colored whiteness is made
 pleasing by calligraphy, youths will learn lessons
 in beauty from it every moment.

Did a hyacinth cast a shadow over white rose-
 petals, or was pulverized musk spilled over sil-
 ver-colored plates?

*Up to this point, the text follows verbatim the album introduction in H.2156. The remainder of the text, while following the Marwarid text fairly closely, deviates in what pertains to this particular album.

مرقع شاه اسماعیل دیباچه شمس الدین محمد وصفی

استانبول، طوب قپو سرایی کتبخانه سی، شماره
خ/۲۱۳۸

شروع در ترتیب این مرقع در سنه ست و سبعین و تسعمایه واقع شد در مشهد مقدسه رضیه رضویه علی ساکنها السلم و فراغ از تکمیل این واقع آمد [۳] در سنه اربع و ثمانین و تسعمایه فی ایام الدولة السلطان الاعظم الاکرم والحاقان الاعدل الاحکم ابوالمظفر سلطان شاه اسمعیل الصفوی الحسینی [۲ب]

ح

حمد و سپاس صانع بیچونی را زبید که مرقع روزگارِ بوقلمونرا بسواد و بیاض ﴿يُولِجُ اللَّيْلُ فِي النَّهَارِ وَيُؤَلِّجُ النَّهَارُ فِي اللَّيْلِ﴾ ملامح ساخت، و شکر بی قیاس راقم صحیفه ﴿ن وَالْقَلَمُ وَمَا يَسْطُرُونَ﴾ را شاید که این مرقع را باوراق الوان بهار و خزان ترتیب داده بدین خوبی و زیبایی پرداخت، و درود نامعدود مرتبی راست [۳] که جدول شریعتش احاطه صفحاتین انس و جن فرمود و لوحه رسالتش مرقع مرقع وجودرا حسن و زینت افزود، و بر آل خجسته مال آن سروری که غرض از آفرینش آدم و مقصود از ایجاد لوح و قلم وجود بااحترام ایشانست، علی الخصوص اقلیم گشائی که بی شیرازه محبت او اوراق ایمان مربوط نیست [۳ب] و بی اطاعت احکام ولایش هیچ طاعتی مضبوط نیست. و بعد بر ضمایر ارباب بصایر مخفی نماند که در باب تعلیم

قلم معجزرقم نص کلام است که ﴿اقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ الَّذِي عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ﴾ و حدیث صحیح نبوی ﷺ وارد است که «أَوَّلُ مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ الْقَلَمَ» و بی شبهه مفتاح ابواب فیروزی است و مصباح بیوت دانش افروزی (نظم)
هستی ز قلم رقم پذیر است وز شمع قلم فروغ گیر است
مثنوی

طرفه نگاری قصب آل پوش
با دو زبان در سخن اما خموش
جلوه کنان سروقدی سایه سای
گیسوی شبرنگ کشان زیر پای
تیرقدی^۱ همچو کمان توزپوش
از شب^۲ تاریک رخ روزپوش

بدانکه قلم بر دو نوع است یکی نباتی و آن کام شیرین کن خوش نویسان و کاتبان کرامت ایابست که نمونه از کرام [۴] الکاتبین و نشانه از راقمان علم الیقین اند * و حدیث درربار گوهرنثار درشان ایشان واقع شده که مَنْ كَتَبَ بِحُسْنِ الْخَطِّ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ دَخَلَ الْجَنَّةَ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ و کلام معجزنظام حضرت شاه ولایت وارد است که «عليكم بحسن فإنه من مفاتيح الرزق» و نیز در خبر است که «الخط نصف العلم» دیگر گفته اند که «الخط هندسة روحانية يظهر بالة جسمانية» و نیز واقع است که «الخط الحسن للفقير مال وللغني جمال وللاکابر کمال» احادیث نبوی و کلام ائمه معصومین و سخنان حکماء و کلمات عقلاء در تعریف و توصیف خط بسیار است اما درین تألیف بتطویل می انجامد. پس باید دانست که خطوط اصل و فرع هشت است ثلث و محقق و نسخ و ریحان و توقیع و رقاع و تعلیق و نسخ تعلیق اما در خطوط [۴ب] سه اصل حضرت قبله الکتاب و

^۱در ۲۱۶۵/خ، «سروقد».

^۲در ۲۱۶۵/خ، «نیزه قد».

^۳در ۲۱۶۵/خ، «باشد».

SHAH ISMA‘IL II ALBUM

PREFACE BY SHAMSUDDIN MUHAMMAD WASFI

This album (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2138) contains *nasta‘liq* calligraphies by Sultan-Muhammad Nur, Shah-Mahmud Nishapuri, and Mir-Ali, among others, *découpage* by Sangi-Ali Badakhshi, *shikasta-ta‘liq* calligraphy by Ikhtiyar Munshi, and many high quality paintings. Dated pieces range from 846/1442 to 974/1566. As Wasfi explains in the introduction, the album was made for Shah Isma‘il II and was completed in 1576–77.

This album was begun in the year 976 [A.D. 1568–69] in Holy Mashhad and was completed in the year 984 [1576–77] during the reign of the most magnificent, most noble sultan, the most just emperor Abu‘l-Muzaffar Sultan Shah Isma‘il the Safavid the Husaynid.¹ [2b]

Laud and praise are appropriate for the unqualifiable creator who made the chameleon album of time shine with the black and white of the words “thou makest the night to succeed the day and thou makest the night to succeed the day” [Kor. 3:27]. Unlimited thanks are fitting for him who penned the page of *N wa‘l-qalami wa-ma yastarun*,² who arranged this album with leaves of springtime and autumnal colors and finished it with such beauty and fairness. And salutations beyond reckoning upon the prophet [3a] who drew the ruling of his sacred law to encompass the two pages of humans and djinn and the heading of whose message increased the elegance and grace of the exalted album of existence—and upon that chief’s auspicious family, who are the reason for the creation of mankind and the final purpose of bringing into existence the tablet and pen of noble being, especially the conqueror without the binding of whose love the pages of faith would not be joined [3b] and without submission to whose commands no act of obedience is correct.³

May it not remain hidden to the minds of those of

insight that with regard to instruction by the miraculous pen there is the text, “Read, by the most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the pen” [Kor. 96:3] and the true prophetic hadith, “The first thing God created was the pen.” Without doubt [the pen] is the key to the gates of success and a lamp to light the chambers of knowledge.

Being comes from the pen, and the pen takes its
brilliance from the candle.

Reed cloaked in red, scrivener of marvels, pos-
sessed of two tongues but silent in speech.⁴

Elegant stature like the cypress spreading shade,
dragging midnight tresses underfoot.

Straight as an arrow, devious as a bow, hiding
the cheek of dawn with dark night.

Know that there are two types of *qalam*, one vegetal, which is the palate sweetener of calligraphers and scribes, [4] concerning whom there occurs the following in the hadith: “Whoever writes the *basmala* in beautiful script will enter paradise without reckoning.” In the words of [Ali ibn Abi-Talib], “Make certain you have good handwriting, for it is one of the keys of sustenance.” In the *khobar* it is said that “calligraphy is half of knowledge.” It has also been said that “calligraphy is a spiritual geometry that is made manifest through a corporeal instrument.” Another saying is that “beautiful handwriting is property for the poor, an adornment for the rich, and perfection for the great.” There are many descriptions and definitions of handwriting in the prophetic tradition and words of the Immaculate Imams and the wise, but it would take too long to give them here. Suffice it to say that the basic and subsidiary scripts are eight: *thuluth*, *muhaqqaq*, *naskh*, *rayhan*, *tawqi‘*, *riqa‘*, *ta‘liq* and *naskh-ta‘liq*. [4b]

¹Shah Isma‘il II, ruled 984–985/1576–78.

²“N. By the pen, and what they write” (Koran 68:1).

³Final reference is to the Imam ‘Ali b. Abi-Talib.

⁴The pen’s “two tongues” are the two sides of the slit nib.

الشهادات صحایف ایام از مفردات خواص و مرکبات عوام بارقام کسب کمال او مزین و موشح است و مناسب حال اوست این بیت که (نظم)

نموده چشمه حیوان ز نسخ تعلیقش

گواه خضر نبی و خداست شاهد حال

و از شاگردان رشید وی است سیادت مآب کمالات اکتساب [۶]

امیر سید احمد مشهدی و دولت‌مآب سعادت ایاب فضایل و کمالات اکتساب خواجه نجم الدین محمود اسحق الشهابی و میر محمد باقر ولد مولانا میر علی و میر حسین کلنگی که از خوش نویسند و گوی هنر درین میدان از همگنان برده اند، دیگر از استادان حضرت فضایل مآب فصاحت شعار افادت و افاضت آثار کمالات اکتساب مولانا مالک دیلمی، دیگر مولانا شاه محمود زرین قلم و مولانا عبدی کاتب نیشابوری که استاد مولانا شاه محمود بوده، و مولانا انیسی بدخشی که بسیار صاف و شیرین و نازک نوشته که در شان او گفته اند (نظم)

یاران مکنید خوش نویسی

کین ختم شدست بر انیسی

و حضرت سیاده پناه معارف دستگاه امیر سید معز الدین محمد الکاشی، [۶ب] دیگر در خطوط اصل مولانا عبدالحق السبزواری که استاد این فن است و خطوط سته را چنان نوشته که در خراسان و عراق ارباب این فن همه معتقد وی اند و بی واسطه شاگرد مولانا عبدالله الهروی است، دیگر حضرت حقایق پناه معارف دستگاه استادی اسنادی نتیجه المشایخ مولانا شیخ کمال السبزواری که استاد این فن است و در شان اوست این بیت که

ای بر سر کتّاب ترا منصب شاهی

منشی خرد داده برین قول گواهی

بی واسطه استاد کاتب الحقیق و اقلّ الکاتبین شمس الدین محمد الوصفی است و این کمینه تعلیم خطوط از حضرت شیخ مومی الیه یافته و آن حضرت در تذکرة کتّاب که با اسم نواب کامیاب تاج الملوك فی الآفاق، اعظم الخواقین بالاستحقاق السطان المغفور المبرور

قدوة الأصحاب المؤید من عند الله خواجه یاقوت المستعصمی، دیگر حضرت استادی خواجه عبدالله الصیرفی که از بی بدلان جهان بود و خطوط اصل را بتخصیص ثلث و محقق را بر نهجی نوشته که بمنزله اعجاز است، دیگر حضرت استادی مولانا عبدالله طبّاخ که در خطوط اصل و فرع ماهر بوده و اهل خراسان خط وی را بخط خواجه یاقوت برابر میگیرند، دیگر خواجه میر علی تبریزی و او واضع خط نسخ تعلیق است و پسرش عبدالله نیز درین فن سرآمد بوده، و مولانا جعفر تبریزی که خطوط اصل و فرع را بسیار نیک نوشته و در خط ثلث استاد مولانا عبدالله طبّاخ و در خط نسخ تعلیق استاد مولانا اظهر و در خط تعلیق استاد خواجه عبدالحی منشی است شاگرد وی، [۵] دیگر حضرت استادی مولانا سلطان علی مشهدی که خط شریفش در میانه خطوط استادان کالشمس من سائر الکواکب امتیاز دارد شاگرد مولانا اظهر است، و مولانا سلطان علی را شاگردان رشید بسیار اند مثل مولانا سلطان محمد نور و مولانا سلطان محمد ابریشمی و سلطان محمد خندان و محمد قاسم شادیشاه که بغایت شیرین و نمکی و نازک نوشته چنانکه این بیت مناسب اوست که (نظم)

چون خط سبز تو نازک نتوانند نوشت

خوش نویسان بمثل گر قلم از موی کنند

دیگر از خوش نویسان بلاغت و فصاحت شعار کمالات اکتساب استادی مرحومی مغفوری مولانا میر علی است و وی شاگرد مولانا زین الدین محمود است داماد مولانا سلطان علی مشهدی و خطرا بجای رسانیده که اگر صحایف روزگار [۵ب] روزافزون پر از تعریف و توصیف جوهر خط شریفش شود هنوز شمه از آن در حیز قریب و تحریر در نیامده باشد فلاجرم نزد خر خورده بین و عقل نکته دان مبرهن و محقق است که بروش قلم شکرریز و رقم شورانگیز خط نسخ بر غبار ریحان خط عذار ثلثی از بتان ناه تمثال بلکه بتمام و کمال کشیده و بدستیاری رقاع خامه سحر مقال و مددکاری توقیع طفرانامه معجزمال علاقه اسطرلاب سلم الثبوتی را باستحقاق تعلیق نموده و بأوفر الکلمات واتم

[Masters] of the basic six scripts were: Yaqut al-Musta'simi and Abdullah Sayrafi, who was without equal in the world and wrote the basic scripts, especially *thuluth* and *muhaqqaq*, in such a way as to cause wonder. Then there was Abdullah Tabbakh, who was expert at the basic and subsidiary scripts. The people of Khurasan consider his writing as equal to that of Yaqut. Next is Mir-Ali Tabrizi, who invented the *naskh-ta'liq* script. His son Abdullah was outstanding in this craft. Master Ja'far Tabrizi his pupil wrote beautifully the basic and subsidiary scripts. In *thuluth* he was the teacher of Abdullah Tabbakh, and in *naskh-ta'liq* he was the teacher of Azhar, while in *ta'liq* he was the master of Abdul-Hayy Munshi. [5a] Master Sultan-Ali Mashhadi, whose calligraphy among that of other masters is like the sun among the stars, was Azhar's pupil. Sultan-Ali had many students, such as Sultan-Muhammad Nur, Sultan-Muhammad Abrishami, Sultan-Muhammad Khandan and Muhammad-Qasim Shadishah, who wrote extremely beautifully and gracefully. Appropriate to him is this line:

Calligraphers would be unable to write anything
as graceful as your dark down even if they were
to make their pens from hair.

Another great master was Mir-Ali, a pupil of Zaynuddin Mahmud, son-in-law to Sultan-Ali Mashhadi. He raised calligraphy to such heights that if the [5b] ever-changing pages of time were filled with praise of his noble script, it would be but a mite of his due. It is therefore clear to any far-sighted intellect and any intelligent mind that by the flowing of his sugar-pouring pen and seditious drawing a line of abrogation has been drawn over the specks (*ghubar*) of basil (*rayhan*) on the downy cheeks (*khatt*) of a third (*thuluth*) of those as beautiful as the moon—nay, over them all. With the help of the notes (*riqa'*) from his magical pen and with the assistance of the diploma (*tawqi'*) of his miraculous seal (*tughranama*) he has deservedly suspended (*ta'liq*) the astrolabe of the fixed stars; and the most perfect records of the pages of time...are decorated and embroidered with his perfect lines. Appropriate to him is this verse:

From his *naskh-ta'liq* a fountain of life appeared.
Testimony thereto is the prophet Khizr, and God
witnesses the fact.

Among his pupils are [6a] Amir Sayyid-Ahmad Mashhadi, Najmuddin Mahmud Ishaq al-Shihabi, Mir Muhammad-Baqir, son of Mir-Ali, and Mir Husayn Kulangi, who have surpassed all other calligraphers in this arena.

Other masters are Malik Daylami, Shah-Mahmud Zarinqalam, Abdi Katib Nishapuri, the teacher of Shah-Mahmud, and Anisi Badakhshi, who wrote very gracefully and of whom it has been said

Friends, do not attempt to practice calligraphy,
for it has been sealed by Anisi,

and Amir Sayyid Mu'izzuddin Muhammad al-Kashi. [6b]

In the basic scripts there is Abdul-Haqq al-Sabzawari, who was a master of this art and wrote the Six Scripts in such a way that in Khurasan and Iraq the masters of this craft recognize him as master. He was directly a pupil of Abdullah al-Harawi. Then there is Shaykh Kamal al-Sabzawari—about whom is the following line:

You hold the position of king over all scribes,
and the secretary of wisdom has given testi-
mony to this claim.

the direct master of this humble one, Shamsuddin Muhammad al-Wasfi, who learned from the aforementioned master, who praised my own scrawl in his memorial of calligraphers written for His Majesty...

بر آینه ظهور جلوه گر نشود صور پاکیزه ایشان که خط روح و روانست بمثابه ایست که

ز بس لطف و پاکیزگی و تمیز

نگنجد بجز جان درو هیچ چیز

ز اشکال گلها و نقش طیور

بهشتی ز باد خزان بی قصور

هزاران گل و لاله و شاخ و برگ

همه امن از آسیب باد و تگرگ

چون غرض ذکر بعضی از استادان بود که جواهر خطوط اعلاء [۸ب] ایشان و تنوع تصاویر زیبای ایشان درین درج و درج و درین مرقع مندرج است، مخفی نماند که مولانا محمد رضاء مشهدی شاگرد رشید امیر سید احمد است، دیگر مولانا علی رضا است، دیگر مولانا عبد الرحیم، دیگر مولانا حسن علی مشهدی.

پس چون وضوح تمام یافته بتحقیق پیوست که طبایع انسانی را از ملاحظه خط خوب و تصاویر مرغوب خط روحانی و فیض جاودانی حاصل است و از جمله حیثیات کسبی و کمالات جبلی هیچ چیز با این برابری نمیتواند کرد و طباع انام را از خواص و عوام بنوشتن خط میل تمام است و خط خوب را اعتبار بسیار میکنند و نیز آن کسانی که از خواندن و نوشتن عاری اند بررؤیت خط و محافظت آن میل مینمایند، بنابراین بعد از مسافرت اطراف ...

[۷] ابوالبقا سلطان شاه طهماسب الصفوی الحسینی نوشته تعریف و توصیف خط شکسته بسته فقیر بسیار نموده و این بیت را در آنجا ایراد فرموده اند که (نظم)

عیان ز عارضی خوبان بود خط ریحان

چو خط وصفی خطاط بر جریده آل

حضرة کمال خود گفته اند و الا من کیم تا که در شمار آییم؟ خط فقیر خرف ریزهاست و سنگ پارها و خط شریف ایشان درر و لاکی پر بها.

دیگر خوش نویسان شیراز و کرمان و غیره هستند که از ایشان نیز خطوط نیک بر صفحه روزگار مانده که اگر شروع در تفصیل آن نموده شود بطول می انجامد، اما اسامی بعضی از ایشان که خط ایشان درین مرقع مندرج است این است حضرت رفعت نصاب شرافت انتساب کمالات اکتساب امیر ابن حسین الشریفی [۷ب] لمشهدی و فضایل مآب مولانا ادهم نسّاخ شیرازی و مولانا شمس الدین الکرمانی و خواجه اختیار المنشی و مولانا عیشی و مولانا محیی و مولانا یاری هروی و مولانا شیخ محمد مصور و مولانا محمود مذهب و محمد حسین تبریزی و عیسی بیگ و علی بیگ سبزواری، شیخ پوران، میر حسین کاتب، محمد صالح نردمند، سنگی علی بدخشی که قاطع خط است.

دیگر قلم حیوانیست و آن از پوست و درین باب موشکافان مانی فرهنگ و جادو طبغان خطایی و فرنگ تصویرات و خیالات عجیبه و نقشها و انگیزهای غریبه برانگیخته اند مثل استاد مانی و استاد بهزاد و مظفر علی و مولانا علی مصور، دیگر نادر العصری مولانا کپک عکاس الهروی که تصویرات و خطوط عکس نموده و عکس الوان و الوان افشان و رنگهای گوناگون و طراح و مثنی [۸] را هیچ فردی از افراد انسانی بهتر و نیکوتر از وی نکرده است حقا که پری پیکری و حور منظری که بر لوح خاطر نقاش و بر صفحه ضمیر طراح جلوه نماید در آینه خاطر هیچکس روی ننماید. اگر صحایف فلک دوآر و اوراق روزنامه لیل و نهار پر ز تعریف صور و اشکال و علامات و آثار این جماعت ندیم المثال و این فرقه نعیم المال گردد هنوز ز عسری از عسیر آن

[7a] Shah Tahmasp, and in this regard he composed the following line:

Prominent on the cheeks of beauties is down
(*khatt*) of basil (*rayhan*), like the writing
(*khatt*) of the calligrapher Wasfi on a scarlet
page.

His Majesty has bespoken his own perfection; otherwise who am I to be counted? My own writing is mere potsherds and stones, while his is costly pearls and jewels.

Other masters of Shiraz and Kerman—too numerous to mention them all—are Amir Ibn-Husayn al-Sharifi [7b] al-Mashhadi, Adham Nassakh Shirazi, Shamsuddin al-Kirmani, Ikhtiyar al-Munshi, Ayshi, Muhyi, Yari Harawi, Shaykh-Muhammad Musawwir, Mahmud Mudhahhib, Muhammad-Husayn Tabrizi, Asa Beg, Ali Beg Sabzawari, Shaykh Puran, Mir Husayn Katib, Muhammad-Salih Dardmand, and Sangi-Ali Badakhshi the *découpeur*.



The other [*qalam*] is the brush made of animal hair. In this regard the “hair-splitters” of Manichæan civilization and the sorcerers of China and Europe have produced marvelous depictions and images and strange designs and motifs, like Master Mani, Master Bihzad and Muzaffar-Ali and Mawlana Ali Musawwir. Again, there is the rarity of the age Mawlana Kepek the stencil-maker of Herat, who made stencils of drawings and calligraphy; no one can do polychrome stenciling, flecking, design, and duplication better than he. [8a] Truly the beautiful peri and the gorgeous houri manifested on the tablet of the painter's mind and the page of the designer's imagination are not reflected in anyone else's mind. If the pages of the turning sphere and the leaves of the journal of day and night were filled with descriptions of the pictures and forms of this unequalled group, not a decimal of a tenth would appear on the mirror of manifestation. Their pure images, which are drawn by the spirit and soul, are of such a degree that

So graceful, pure and clean that nothing but the
soul could fit therein.

From the forms of flowers and designs of birds, a
paradise without the shortcoming of autumnal
breeze.

Thousands of roses, tulips, branches and petals—
all safe from the affliction of wind and hail.

Since the purpose was to mention some of the masters whose superb, brilliant calligraphy [8b] and various elegant pictures are included in the jewel casket of this album, may it not be hidden that they are:¹ Mawlana Muhammad-Riza Mashhadi, the pupil of Amir Sayyid-Ahmad,² Mawlana Ali-Riza,³ Mawlana Abdul-Rahim,⁴ and Mawlana Hasan-Ali Mashhadi.⁵

Therefore, inasmuch as it is as clear as can be that human nature derives spiritual pleasure and eternal delight from regarding beautiful writing and handsome pictures, no other acquired quality or innate perfection can be compared to this, and the natures of common and elite alike are inclined to the writing of calligraphy and attach great importance to beautiful writing. Furthermore, even those persons who are devoid of the ability to read and write are also inclined to look at and regard calligraphy. Therefore, after traversing the horizons...⁶

¹As this album now stands, there is one signed specimen by Muḥammad-Riḍā Mashhadi (folio 11a); there are no signed specimens by the others named here. The album has obviously had folios removed; some of the calligraphies that were originally in this album may now be in H.2151.

²See Qāḍi Aḥmad, *Calligraphers*, 166. There is an undated specimen by him in TSM H.2156, folio 4b.

³Mentioned as one of Mir Sayyid-Aḥmad's two distinguished pupils by Qāḍi Aḥmad, *Calligraphers*, 140.

⁴Abdul-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad-Qāsim. There are specimens in the Amīr Ghayb Beg Album (TSM, H.2161, folios 143a and 166a) and the Sayyid-Aḥmad Album (TSM, H. 2156, folio 36b). He must have been the son of Muḥammad-Qāsim b. Shādishāh, for there is a copy of Jāmi's *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* dated 956 (1549) and signed 'Abdul-Raḥīm Shādishāh (Sotheby, 7/8/1980, #247); he also copied an undated *Munājāt* of 'Abdullāh Anṣārī in Istanbul, TĪEM (Bayānī, AAK, 2:392, #539). The 'Abdul-Raḥīm whose calligraphy is in the Walī Muḥammad Khan Album (TSM, H. 2137, folio 26b) and dated 1001 [1592-93] may be a different person.

⁵Mir Sayyid-Aḥmad's other “distinguished pupil” (Qāḍi Aḥmad, *Calligraphers*, 140). There are specimens by him in the following albums: TSM B.407, 37b; H.2145, 23a (at Karbala); H.2156, 74b; H.2145, 42b; H.2159, 53b (at Herat).

⁶The introduction breaks off with folio 8b, and the rest is lost. Undoubtedly it went on to say that after great search throughout all lands, the best calligraphy was collected and placed in this album.

دیباچهٔ یک مرقع صفوی بخط محمد محسن

استانبول، طوپ قپو سرایی کتبخانه سی، شماره
۲۱۵۷/خ

[ب۲]

ای داده ز صنع خویش بر شکلِ غریب
اوراقِ مرقعِ جهان را ترتیب

گردون ز مرقعت مذهب لوحی
باشد زرِ مهر شمسهُ آن تذهیب
بهترین سطری که مرقوم قلم کرام الکاتبین [۳] شود حمد و ثنای
کاتبیست که ریحانِ خط را بر عذارِ لاله رویان چنان تعلیق دلها
ساخته که مطالعه اش غبارِ ملال از صحیفهٔ خاطر می زداید و
مشاهده اش در سوادِ نظر ثلثی بنور [۳ب] بصر می فزاید، خامهٔ
قدرتش راقم کاف و نونست و شیرازهٔ حکمتش جامعِ اوراقِ
گردون

شیرازهٔ او اگر نباشد اوراقِ فلک ز هم بپاشد

و خوشترین حدیثی که بر زبان فصحای ایام گذرد * نعت
پیغمبر است که با صورت ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي صَوَّرَكُمْ فَأَحْسَنَ صُوْرَكُمْ﴾ را
چهره گشا گردید * و صفحهٔ زمین را [۴] از صور باطلهٔ اصنام
درهم نوردید * نسخ مآثر سابقه از صفحات دین مبین او پیدا *
و تعلیقِ خواطر لاحقه از لوحِ جبین او هویدا * ﴿بِسْمِ اللَّهِ﴾ و بر آل
فرخ مال او که نامهٔ عمل هر که بتوقیع محبت ایشان رسید نجاتش
[از] دوزخ محقق گردید سیما اقلیم گشایی که در قلم رو جسم و
جان بی رقم [۴ب] قبول او

عبادتی مقبول نیست * و بی اطاعت او طاعتی بر صحیفهٔ قبول
مرقوم نی * اعنی اسدالله الغالب امیر المؤمنین علی بن ابی طالب
(سلام الله علیه واولاده المعصومین وعترتهم الطاهیرین) *

این اوراق که چون صفحهٔ جمال خوبان از خط آراسته و مانند
صورت محبوبان از غیب پیراسته [۵] بهر جانبش که نگه میکنی
پری پیکر صورتی جلوه گریست * و بهر طرف که نظر می افکنی^۱
مدّ نظرِ نوخطی در کمال حسن و جمال * زیب رخسار کرده از
خط و خال آثار قلمهای نقاشان مانی مثال چون زلف سمن بران پُر
پیچ و تاب * و کار وصالان ماضی و حال از نزاکت چون وصال
دلبران نایاب [۵ب]

این نسخه کنز آراستگی چون چمن است
چون صحنِ چمن پُر از گل و یاسمن است

تشبیه بصحنِ چمنش کرد خرد
لیکن نتوان کرد در اینجا سخنست
و یکی از لطایف آن آنست که باسامی خوش نویسان مزینست *
و ذکر خطوط سته و مآخذ آن و مخترع آن [۶] مشروح و مبین *
بر ضمایر ارباب بصایر پوشیده نماند که اول کسی که از تحریر
آثار وحی الهی و اوامر و نواهی حضرت رسالت پناهی صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
سرمه وار دیدهٔ اولو الابصار را روشنی فزوده * شاه ولایت بوده
سلام الله علیه و جمعی که بعد از آنحضرت^۲ بشرفِ ﴿عَلَّمَ
بِالْقَلَمِ﴾ مشرف گشته بودند [۶ب] و تتبع خامهٔ عنبرین شمامهٔ
آنحضرت را بخط کوفی مداولت می نمودند * تا در سنه عشر
و ثلاثمائه ابن مقله خطوط سته که ثلث و نسخ و رقاع و توقیع و
محقق و ریحان باشد استخراج از خط کوفی نموده است و علی
ابن الهلال که به ابن بواب اشتهار دارد سرآمد شد و نساخان

^۱ نسخه + «نوخطی».

^۲ در نسخه «ازو حضرت».

PREFACE TO A SAFAVID ALBUM COPIED BY MUHAMMAD-MUHSIN

The preface to this album (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2157) is dated A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582) and was copied by Muhammad-Muhsin at Herat. The latest dated piece in the album is a calligraphic specimen by Muhammad-Amin dated 980 (folio 16b).

[2b] You who have arranged the leaves of the album of the world through your creativity in a marvelous manner,
The celestial sphere is an illuminated heading from your album, and the gold of the sun is the sunburst of that illumination.

The best line that is written by the pen of the recording angels [3a] is praise to the Writer who has caused the basil of the down/writing (*khatt*) on the cheeks of tulip-cheeked beauties to be so entangled with hearts that reading it takes away the dust of ennui from the page of the mind and seeing it in the blackness of the eye adds a third (*thuluth*) [3b] to the light of sight. The pen of his power writes the *K* and *N*, and the binding of his wisdom encompasses all the leaves of the celestial sphere.

Were it not for his binding, the leaves of the celestial sphere would fall apart.

And the best speech that can run across the tongue of the most eloquent of the age is praise of a prophet who created the countenances on the picture of “him who fashioned you...” and who cleared the expanse of the earth of the idle forms of idols. [4] The abrogation of former manifestations is obvious from the pages of his clear religion. May God pray for him and for his felicitous offspring, for anyone in whose register of deeds it is recorded that he attained love for them is certain to escape hell, and particularly for the conqueror without acceptance of whom in the realm of the body and soul

no act of worship is correct and without obedience to whom no good deed will be recorded, [4b] I mean the Conquering Lion of God, Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abi-Talib—God’s peace be upon him and upon his immaculate offspring and pure family.

These leaves are adorned like the pages of the beauty of beauties by down/writing (*khatt*) and decorated by *ghayb* like the faces of beloveds, [5] in every direction you look there is a beautiful image, and every direction in which you gaze, at the end of your sight there is, in perfect beauty, the lovely cheek with traces of down/script (*khatt*) and a mole drawn by the brushes of unequaled, Mani-like painters, twisted like the tresses of silvery-breasted beauties; and the works of mounters (*wassal*), past and present, in refinement as unparalleled as union (*wisal*) with beauties. [5b]

This manuscript, which is adorned like a meadow, is as full of roses and jasmine as the expanse of a meadow.

Reason likened it to the expanse of a meadow, but it is debatable whether this can be done.

One of its good points is that it is adorned with the names of calligraphers, and the Six Scripts, and their derivations and inventors are explained. [6] May it not be hidden from the minds of those of insight that the first person to write down the divine inspirations and the commands and prohibitions given to the Prophet for the delight of the eyes of those of insight was the King of Sainthood [Ali b. Abi-Talib]. Those who were ennobled after him with the words “He taught by the pen” [Kor. 96:4] [6b] followed his ambergris-scented pen with the Kufic script until the year 310 [A.D. 922], when **Ibn Muqla** derived the Six Scripts, which are *thuluth*, *naskh*, *riqa’*, *tawqi’*, *muhaqqaq*, and *rayhan*, from the Kufic script. Ali ibn al-Hilal, who was known as **Ibn Bawwab**, became outstanding, and the copyists

آخر مرقع [۶۵]

از حکمتِ تو فروغ بخشد ببصر

وز صنعتِ تو تمام آید بنظر

بسرحد اتمام رسید تنظیم جواهر شاهوار این زیبا مرقع و بغایت و

انجام کشید تکمیل لآلی آبدار این دُرُج مرصع

چه مرقع که هر ورق از وی

دلرباییست صد دلش در پی

صفحه‌هایش نمونه‌های بهشت

قطعه‌هایش همه عبیرسرسشت [۶۵ب]

بیت بی‌تش بدلربائی فرد

غازه‌کشورِ دل و جان کرد

صور آن نهفته در پرده

رنگِ خوبانِ نازپرورده

نقشه‌هایش که هست سحرِ مبین

خجل از وی نگارخانه‌چین

و الحق مرقعی آمده است در لطافت چون جان شیرین و در

طراوت چون مرجان [۶۶] رنگین * الفاظ مرقوماتش چون

کرشمه شکرلبان بشورانگیز و معانی مسطوراتش چون طره

سبزخطان دلاویز

حروفش چو زلفِ بتان چگل

همه جای جانست و مأوای دل

معانیش زیرِ حروفِ سیاه

درخشنده از ابر مانند ماه

سوادش را که کحل الجواهر معانی [۶۶ب] عبارت از انست بر

بیاض صفحه دیده جا توان داد و بیاضش را که غره صبح

شادمانی اشارت بدانست بر سواد چشم جهان بین توان نهاد *

سزد که کاتب دیوان سرای خلد کشد * سواد نسخه او بر بیاض

دیده حور * مجالس تصویرات او را در بزم نعم عیش نظارگیان

کامکار مهیا [۶۷] و در رزم علم جیش دلاوران نامدار بر پا * نه

در بزم آن آسیب درد و خمار * و نه در رزم آشوب گرد و غبار *

کاشانه ایست که خوش نویسان بی شبه و مثال * و زیباخطان

جهان و خوش نویسان زمان [۷] ریزه چینان خوان ایشانند * و

واضع خط نسخ تعلیق مولانا میر علی التبریزی است * و عبدالله

ولد او بی نظیر شد * و شاگرد او مولانا جعفرست * و شاگرد او

مولانا اظهر * و شاگرد او مولانا سلطان علی المشهدی است که

خط او از خطوط ممتاز و از تعریف معرفان بی نیازست * و

شاگردان او مولانا سلطان محمد نور و مولانا سلطان محمد

[۷ب] خندان و مولانا محمد ابریشمی و مولانا محمد قاسم

شادیشاه و مولانا زین الدین محمود و شاگرد او مولانا میر علی

است * که خط او بخط مولانا سلطان علی مشهدی برابرست بلکه

باعبار بیشتر * و جمعی که روش مولانا سلطان علی دارند مولانا

سلطانعلی قاینی و مولانا سلطانعلی سبزه مشهدی و مولانا

شاه محمود نیشابوری و مولانا [۸] عبدی نسابوری است * و

جماعتی که شاگرد مولانا میر علی اند محمد باقر ولد او و خواجه

محمود اسحاق الشهابی و میر سید احمد الحسینی و مولانا مالک

دیلمی * و مولانا یاری البخاری است * و حالا کسی که در روش

تتبع می نماید بمولانا میر علی مولانا محیی است * و حالا مرقع

لمع زمان بوجود بعض از ایشان مزینست [۸ب] و مولانا

عبد الرحمن الخوارزمی تغیر در روش این طایفه نموده * دو پسر

او سرآمد شدند یکی عبد الرحیم مشهور بانسی و یکی

عبد الکریم المعروف پیادشا و طرز خط ایشان بروش مولانا

انیسی مشهورست * و اکثر کتّاب دارالملک شیراز تتبع ایشان

می کنند * امید چنانست که بموجب مضمون بصحت مقرون «من

کَتَبَ بِحُسْنِ الْخَطِّ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ [۹] دَخَلَ الْجَنَّةَ بِغَيْرِ

حِسَابٍ» * کاتبان افعال عباد سیات این طایفه را بگزراک عفو

حک و اصلاح نموده داخل حسنات ایشان گردانند * آمین رب

العالمین کَتَبَهُ الْفَقِيرُ الْمَذْنُبُ مُحَمَّدٌ مُحْسِنٌ غَفَرَ ذُنُوبَهُ وَسَتَرَ عُيُوبَهُ فِي

بَلَدَةِ هَرَاةٍ حَمِيَتْ عَنِ الْآفَاتِ وَالْبَلِيَّاتِ سَنَةَ تِسْعِينَ وَتِسْعِمِائَةِ الْهَجْرَةِ

of the world and calligraphers of the time [7] gathered crumbs from his table. The inventor of the *naskh-ta'liq* script was Mawlana **Mir Ali al-Tabrizi**. His son **Abdullah** was peerless. His student was Mawlana **Ja'far**, and his student was Mawlana **Azhar**. His student was Mawlana **Sultan-Ali al-Mashhadi**, whose script was so superb that it needs no introduction. His students were Mawlana **Sultan-Muhammad Nur** Mawlana **Sultan-Muhammad Khandan**, [7b] Mawlana **Muhammad Abrishami**, Mawlana **Muhammad-Qasim Shadishah**, and Mawlana **Zaynuddin Mahmud**; and his student was Mawlana **Mir-Ali**, whose calligraphy is equal to Mawlana Sultan-Ali Mashhadi's or even better. Those who followed Mawlana Sultan-Ali's style are Mawlana **Sultan-Ali Qayini**, Mawlana **Sultan-Ali Sabz Mashhadi**, Mawlana **Shah-Mahmud Nishapuri**, and Mawlana **Abdi Nishapuri**. [8] Those who were Mawlana Mir-Ali's students are his son **Muhammad-Baqir**, **Khwaja Mahmud Ishaq al-Shihabi**, **Mir Sayyid-Ahmad al-Husayni**, Mawlana **Mâlik Daylami**, and Mawlana **Yari al-Bukhari**. At present, the person who follows Mir-Ali's style is Mawlana **Muhyi**. The glittering album of time is even now adorned with some of them. [8b]

Mawlana **Abdul-Rahman al-Khwarazmi** made an alteration in the style of the aforementioned group. His two sons became renowned, and they are **Abdul-Rahim** known as **Anisi** and **Abdul-Karim** known as **Padisha[h]**, and their style of calligraphy is known as Mawlana Anisi's style. Most of the copyists of Shiraz imitate them.

It is hoped that, in accordance with the true saying, "He who writes in a beautiful script the words 'In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful,' [9] will enter paradise without reckoning," the recorders of men's deeds will scratch out and correct the sins of this group with the knife of forgiveness and that they will let them enter paradise. Amen, O Lord of the universe. Written by the sinful slave Muhammad-Muhsin—may God forgive his sins and disregard his faults—in Herat in the year of the Hegira 990 [A.D. 1582].

The Conclusion of the Album

[65] Through your wisdom is light given to sight; through your craft everything comes into view.

The stringing of the regal gems of this beautiful album has reached an end, and the setting of lustrous pearls in this bejewelled casket has been completed.

What an album, every page of which is a charmer with a hundred hearts in tow.

Its pages are models of paradise; its works are kneaded with ambergris. [65b]

Every line of poetry in it is unique in its charm, plundering the realm of the heart and soul.

The pictures in it are secluded behind veils, the colors of pampered beauties.

Its designs are obviously magical; the picture gallery of China hides its face in shame.

Truly it is an album of the utmost exquisiteness, as subtle as the soul, as lustrous as coral, [66] its calligraphed words are as provocative as the blandishments of sugar-lipped beauties and as charming as the locks of adolescent youths.

Its words are like the tresses of the beauties of Turkistan, home to the soul and refuge to the heart.

The meanings that lie beneath the black words shine like the moon from behind a cloud.

The blackness on the page, consisting of the collyrium of gems of meaning, [66b] can be placed against the whiteness of the page of the eye, and the whiteness of the page, which is like the new crescent of the dawn of joy, can be set against the blackness of the world-seeing eye. It is worthy for the scribe of the scriptorium of eternity to draw the blackness of its text around the eyes of the houris. Assemblies have been made ready for its pictures in the luxurious banquets of lucky viewers, [67] and the standard of the army of renowned charmers has been raised on the battlefield. Neither is there any affliction of pain or hangover from its banquet, nor is there a dusty confusion on its battlefield. It is a nest in

جنابش زین مرقع بهره ور باد
 بحق حیدر و اولاد حیدر
 * والحمد لله علی الاتمام * والصلوة علی سید الانام * وآله وعترته
 مصابیح الظلام

نازک نهال * که در تحریر خط و تسطیر حروف و نقطه بیضا
 نموده اند * در صحن بافضای آن نشسته با یکدیگر در مقام
 [۶۷ب] مناظره و مشاعره اند * نظاره خطشان روان می بخشد *
 وز محنت و غم خط امان می بخشد * نی نی که چو انفاس مسیحا
 هر حرف * چون نیک نظر کنیم جان می بخشد * خط ایشان ز
 بس که هست لطیف * نور بخشد سواد او ببصر * ز آن سبب
 همچو ابروی خوبان گشته در اوج حسن مد نظر * [۶۸]
 صورتخانه ایست که مصوران شیرین قلم * و محرران نازک رقم در
 تصویرات آن کمال قدرت از قوت بفعل آورده در تحریرات و
 تکسیرات آن صفت اعجاز بظهور رسانیده اند *

لطفی که گل و سنبل و ریحان دارد
 در گلشن دهر نقش انسان دارد
 هر صورت زیبا که کشیدند اینجا

[۶۸ب] از غایت لطف گوئیا جان دارد
 * بوستانیست که نقاشان بدایع نگار * و طراحان غریب آثار
 حواشی جویبار آنرا از برگ و لاله مزین گردانیده اند * و در
 تذهیب ریاض و تزیین بیاض و ترتیب اطفال اشجار و ازهار آن
 چون دایه ابر بهاری آب یاری نموده اند * اشجار و ریاحین که
 کشیدند [۷۰] ایشان * ایمن باشند دایم از باد خزان * هستند
 همیشه نازک و تازه و سبز * خوردند مگر چو خضر آب حیوان *
 الحق بوستانی شدست که هزار گلستان در فضای اوست * و
 نگارستانی گشتست که صد هزار دلستان در هوای اوست * هر
 ورقی بهشت آئین مشتمل بر رنگی دیگر از [۷۰ب] شقایق * و
 بوی دگر از ریاحین * نه شقایقش را از پایمال باد خزان پژمردگی
 * و نه ریاحینش را از دست برد برد دی افسردگی * این مرقع که
 ز بس حسن و جمال * خلق را واله و شیدا دارد * صنعتش نیست
 حد خلق مگر * نظر از عالم بالا دارد * این طرح بدیع را که نبود
 دومین * تمثال بهشتست که [۷۱] آمد بزمین * گر ز آنکه
 بطوف آن بیاید رضوان * دیگر نکند آرزوی خلد برین *

الهی تا درین فیروزه منظر
 فرورد شمس خورشید انور

the vast expanse of which sit peerless calligraphers who have produced miracles of lines, letters, and dots, as they vie with and challenge each other, while spectators of their calligraphy are ready to offer their lives and to provide asylum from the tribulation and grief of writing. Nay, every word is like a breath from the Messiah, for when we examine them closely, every word gives life. So subtle is their calligraphy that its very blackness gives light to the eye, and therefore it is like the eyebrows of beauties, extending one's gaze to the zenith of beauty. [68]

It is a picture gallery in which painters whose brushes are sweet and outliners whose lines are so delicate have realized the utmost of their potentiality in their depictions and made manifest the quality of miraculousness.

The grace that roses, hyacinths, and basil have is possessed by human kind in the garden of the world. [68b]

Every beautiful picture they have drawn here is so subtle you'd say it possessed life.

It is an orchard the miraculous artists and marvelous painters of which have embellished the rivulets of its margins with leaves and tulips. In gilding the garden, in the beautification of whiteness of the page, and in the arrangement of the infants of the trees and flowers they have irrigated it like the wet nurse of a springtime cloud. The trees and herbs they have drawn [70] are perpetually safe from the winds of autumn. They are forever supple, fresh, and green. Could it be that they, like Khizr, have drunk of the Fountain of Youth? Truly it is an orchard in the expanse of which could fit a thousand gardens. It is a gallery whose air a hundred thousand charmers could breathe. Every paradisiacal petal contains a different anemone color and a different herbal fragrance. Neither do its anemones wilt from the trampling winds of autumn nor do its herbs suffer from the pillaging hand of the cold. An album like this, which is so beautiful that it makes everyone mad with desire, cannot be created by humans unless there is supervision from above. This marvelous project, which can never be duplicated, is like paradise [71] come down to earth. If Rizvan himself came to stroll in it, he would never want to return to heaven.

O God, for as long as the medallion of the sun
shines in the turquoise firmament,
May His Majesty enjoy this album, through Ali

and his offspring.

مرقع ولی محمد خان دیباچه محمد صالح

استانبول، طوپ قپو سرایی کتبخانه سی، شماره
خ/۲۱۳۷

خوشترز کتاب درین جهان یاری نیست

در غمکده زمانه غمخواری نیست

هر لحظه ازو بگوشه تنهائی

صد راحت هست و هرگز آزاری نیست

ای حمد تو خامه را بود ورد زبان

کاغذ شده از شکر تو کافورفشان

از قدرت تو قلم بود مشک فزای

اوراق جهان از رقمت یافت نشان

سنایع بدایع حمدی که بقلم مشکین نگار [۲] ﴿ن وَالْقَلَمِ وَمَا

نَسْطُرُونَ﴾ بر مرقع ملمع جراید و طبقات اوراق رقم نمایند

سحرری را سزاست که مجلس تصویر رقاغ ملون صحایف

فلاک را بنفوس کواکب بتوقیع ﴿إِنَّا زَيْنَّا السَّمَاءَ الدُّنْيَا بِزِينَةِ

لُكُوكِبٍ﴾ ترصیع فرمود، و ودایع [۲ب] لوامع شکرى که بر

نسم سحر آثار ﴿إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾ بر مقطع مربع صفایح

وراق زمان چهره گشایند مصوریرا رواست که قطعهای خطوط

رافشان ریحان بوستان را از غرر درر اشجار بتحقیق ﴿جَنَّاتٍ مِنْ

جَبَلٍ وَأَعْنَابٍ﴾ تزیین داد (نظم)

ای نگارنده صحیفه کن

نقش پرداز کارگاه سخن

و نسخه نعتی که خوشنویسان کرام برره صفحه مذهب ﴿فی
صُحُفٍ مُّكْرَمَةٍ مَّرْفُوعَةٍ مُّطَهَّرَةٍ﴾ را قطعه نویسند سروریرا لایق است
که چهار لوح ربع مسکون و شمس شرفه گردون بالوان مختلف
[۳] چون انجم در نظاره خط خوشنویسان و نظر در مقطعات
ایشان می افزاید و ترتیب مرقع و تزیین خطوط ملمع که از بدایع
صنایع است لطافت تمام و طراوت مالا کلام دارد. بناء علی هذا
درینولا خاطر اشرف همایون عالیحضرت متعالی رتبت،
کیوان منزلت، خورشید مرتبت، عطار فطنت، مهر سپهر و
شهریاری، بدر فلک مجد و کامکاری، اعظم سلاطین روزگار،
اعدل خواقین عالیمقدار، افتخار ملوک العرب والعجم، صاحب
السيف والقلم، [۳ب] ناشر آیات العدل والاحسان، ماحی ارقام
الظلم والطغیان، الخاقان ابن الخاقان ابن الخاقان ابوالغازی ولی محمد
بهادر خان (مد الله ظلله علی مفارق اهل ایمان) بر جمع خطوط
شیرین خوشنویسان آفاق و مقطعات رنگین خطاطان باستحقاق و
مجالس تصویر اوستادان هنرپیشه و الواح مذهبان صواب اندیشه
مایل گردید * بناء علی اشاره العالیه جمعی از عرایس نفایس
خطوط دلپذیر که چون ﴿حُورٌ مَّقْصُورَاتٌ فِی الْخِيَامِ﴾ در حجله
اختفا و مانند بنات النعش [۴] جان بخشیده تصویراتی که هر
صورتش در جسم ناتوان روح و روان دهد * جلدش مانند طبقات
افلاک هفت طبقه، ثریا و مجره در آن مثال نقوش شبکه * مجلد

WALI-MUHAMMAD KHAN ALBUM

PREFACE COPIED BY MUHAMMAD-SALIH

The preface to this album (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2137) is dated in a chronogram at the end as A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609) and was copied by Muhammad-Salih al-Khaqani, who may very well be the calligrapher mentioned by Mustafa Âli (p. 50 infra). The album was made for Wali-Muhammad Bahadur Khan, a member of the Astrakhan Janid dynasty who reigned from 1605 to 1611.

There is no friend in the world better than a book; there is no better consolation in the abode of sadness of this world.
Every moment it gives you a hundred joys in your corner of solitude, and it never vexes you.

Praise of you is a litany for the tongue of the pen; the paper spreads camphor of thanks to you.

By your power the pen increases its musky blackness; the leaves of the world are headed with your writing.

The marvelous creations of praise written with the musky pen of [2a] “N and the pen and what they write” [Kor. 68:1] on the flat leaves of a polished album are worthy of a writer who studded the painted and multi-colored assembly of the pages of the celestial spheres with the souls of the planets with the jewels of the Koranic words “we adorned the heavens of the world with the stars” [Kor. 37:6]. [2b] The glittering expressions of gratitude that are painted on the four-cornered pages of time through the magic of the words “I know that which you know not” [Kor. 2:30] are appropriate for a depicter who adorned the gold-flecked specimens of calligraphy in the herbs (*rayhan*) of his garden with pearls from the trees with the words “gardens of palm-

trees and vineyards” [Kor. 23:29].

O writer of the page of creation, designer of the workshop of speech.

The manuscript of praise written by noble calligraphers on gilded pages “in volumes, honourable, exalted, and pure” [Kor. 80:14f.] is worthy of a leader who...the four tablets of the inhabited quarter of the world and the sunburst at the pinnacle of the celestial sphere with various colors [...]¹ [3] like the stars in the sight of calligraphers and their specimens and the arrangement of an album and the adornment of glittering scripts that are of marvelous achievement possess total subtlety and indisputable freshness. Therefore, the exalted mind of His Imperial Majesty..., most magnificent of the rulers of the age, most just of mighty emperors, pride of the kings of the Arabs and Persians, possessor of the sword and the pen, [3b] propagator of signs of justice and beneficence, eliminator of traces of injustice and tyranny, Khaqan son of Khaqan son of Khaqan, Abu'l-Ghazi Wali-Muhammad Bahadur Khan—may God spread his shadow over the heads of the people of faith—was recently inclined to have assembled the writings of calligraphers of all parts of the world, paintings by masters, and illuminated panels. Therefore, by his command, there was made an assemblage of precious “brides” of pleasing calligraphy, like “houris sheltered from view” [Kor. 55:72], [4] and paintings, each depiction of which breathes life into an inanimate body, with a cover of seven layers like the layers of the celestial spheres with interlacing lines like the Pleiades and the

¹At least one folio of the preface appears to be missing here.

کارخانه ﴿كُنْ فَيَكُونُ﴾ از قوس قزح شیرازه اش دوخته * و
 بحر بیت القصیده ﴿كَلَّا لَوْ تَعْلَمُونَ﴾ از خط مشکین گلعذاران
 حریرش ساخته ناطقه و زبان از ذکر توصیفش بعجز و نقصان «لا
 حصی ثناءً علیک» تیززبان او امداد در تعریفش بقصور «لا عین
 یأت» راه انکسار پویان (بیت)
 زبان خامه بوصف لطافتش شده کند

چو شد بمدح وی آخر زبان ناطقه لال
 نا برین بردعا حتم نموده می گوید * تا مرقع گردون از انوار
 کواکب ثوابت ملمع باشد * و صحایف فلک نیلگون از نجوم
 ﴿وَبِالنَّجْمِ هُمْ يَهْتَدُونَ﴾ مرصع،

این صحیفه زینت فزای مجالس انس و نورزدای عیون ساکنان
 قدس باد (رباعی)

این طرفه چمن که تازه سازد جان را
 زیبا رقمیست کلک مشک افشان را

امید که منسوخ نگردد هرگز

تا هست بقا صحیفه دوران را

این طرفه مرقع که بخوبیست علم

هر صفحه اوست رشک گلزار ارم

از غایت خوبی ز پی تاریخش

زد کلک قضا مرقع خوب رقم

كَتَبَهُ الْفَقِيرُ الْحَقِيرُ الْمَذْنُبُ الرَّاجِي إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الْمَلِكِ الْبَارِي مُحَمَّد

صَالِحِ الْكَاتِبِ الْخَاقَانِي عَفَرَ ذُنُوبَهُ وَسَتَرَ عُيُوبَهُ.

Milky Way. The binder in the workshop of creation sewed its spine from the rainbow; the outliner—"if only you knew" [Kor. 102:5]—has executed his lines from the musky down of beauties. The tongue and speech are incapable of praising it, and no eye has seen its like.

The tongue of the pen was too dull to describe its refinement since the tongue fell mute in its praise.

Therefore, determined upon praise, he says, "As long as the patched cloak of the celestial sphere glitters with the lights of the fixed stars, and as long as the pages of the sky are studded with stars, may this page increase the beauty of the assemblies of men and add to the light of the eyes of the inhabitants of the holy realm."

This marvelous meadow that refreshes the soul is a beautiful line from a musk-scattering pen. It is hoped that it may never be abrogated so long as the page of time remains.

Every page of this marvelous album, outstanding in beauty, is an object of jealousy to the Garden of Iram.

Because of its extreme beauty, the pen of destiny wrote the chronogram: "beautiful album."²

Written by the sinful, miserable scribe Muhammad-Salih al-Khaqani, who hopes for his Lord the Creator's mercy—may God forgive his sins and disregard his faults.

²The chronogram, *muraqqa'-i khūb*, yields 1018 (A.D. 1609).

خط که از شایبه حُسن تهیست
بهره کاغذ ازان روسیهیست
خط چنان به ز قلم راننده
که بیاساید از خوواننده

در کفِ نغزِ خطِ خوبِ رقم
رزق را طرفه کلیدیست قلم
باعث بر تمهید این مقدمات آنکه فقیر بی بضاعت و حقیر
بی استطاعت العبد الخایف المذهب علی الحسینی الکاتب
بخدمت اهل فضل میرسید و از خرمن ایشان خوشه میچید و این
مضمون را حسب حال خود می دید که (نظم)
فیض روح القدس ار باز مدد فرماید
دیگران هم بکنند آنچه مسیحا می کرد

MMA 55.121.10

[۴۰] حمد بیحد و سپاس بی عد خالقی را که مرقع مصور
سپهر قطعه ایست از آثار فضل و کمال او و مقطّع منور مهر
رقعه ایست از انوار حُسن و جمال او، صانعی که قلم اصناعش
محرر خط خوبان دلرباست و مبدعی که رقم ابداعش مصور
[۴۱] هر صورت خوش نماست و درود خجسته ورود بر سرور
انبیا و رسل که مصوران بدایع رقم در صورت عالم آرایش
حیراند و محرران شیرین قلم در تحریر خط جانفزایش سرگردان
اما بعد، بر ضمیر منیر هر صاحب کمال [۴۱] و خاطر
فیض پذیر هر خجسته مآل مخفی نماند که غرض کاتب تقدیر و
صانع بی شبه و نظیر از لوح و قلم و مقدرات زیبارقم که در
کتابخانه افلاک است مجالس تصویرات تخته خاک است
چنانچه سفینه رنگین ازهار و ریاحین و صحیفه نازنین حدایق و
بساتین اثریست از آن و مقصود ازین آثار آنست که طبع سلیم و
ذهن مستقیم از هر یک پی بصانع اصلی و مقصد حقیقی برد
برگ درختان سبز در نظر هوشیار

هر ورقی دفتریست معرفت کردگار

اما حقیقت معرفت از کلام معجز نظام الهی و حدیث صحیح
مصطفوی مستفاد می گردد و آن تا در سلک تحریر و قید تصویر
درنیاید سهولت ازان مستفید نمی توان شد، پس خط یکی از
امور ضروری باشد چنانکه آیت ﴿ن وَالْقَلَمِ﴾ از وفور فضیلت
کتابت کنایتی است ﴿وَعَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ﴾ بر
کمال شرف خط آیتی و حدیث صحیح نبوی حیث قال ﷺ واقع
شده که «من کتب بحسن الخط بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم دخل الجنة
بغیر حساب» پس اگر کسی در باب حُسن خط سعی نماید نه از
جهت تکلفات رسمی و تصنعات عرفیست بلکه بامیدواری
حدیث صحیح نبویست و کلام خجسته فرجام «علیم بحسن الخط
فإنه من مفاتیح الرزق» نیز مؤید این معنیست (مثنوی)

PREFACE TO A MUGHAL ALBUM

COMPOSED BY MIR ALI AL-HUSAYNI

The preface to this album (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.121.10) was written in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century by Mir Ali al-Husayni as the beginning to a treatise on calligraphy. Two copies of the calligraphed preface were illuminated and mounted in Jahangir's and Shahjahan's album in Mughal India.

[40b] Praise without end and laud without limit be to a creator, of the traces of whose magnificence and perfection the painted album of the celestial sphere is but a specimen and of whose rays of beauty the illuminated cut-out disc of the sun is but a sample—a craftsman whose creative pen draws the down (*khatt*) of heart-stealing beauties, an innovator whose marvelous brush depicts every beautiful form. [41] And felicitous greetings be upon the leader of the prophets and messengers, before whose world-adorning shape the most creative artists stand perplexed and whose soul-nurturing words confound the skill of the greatest calligraphers.

It is not unknown to the enlightened mind of any connoisseur [41b] that what the “writer of destiny,” the unparalleled and unequalled creator, intended ultimately by the “tablet,” the “pen,” and the things destined in beautiful script in the library of the celestial spheres were the assemblies of depictions on the flat expanse of the dusty earth—just as colorful “miscellanies” of flowers and herbs and the elegant “pages” of gardens and orchards are but traces of that intent. The goal of these signs is that sound natures and upright minds should use each and every one to make their way to the original creator and true goal.

In the view of the sober, every leaf on every green tree is a tome of knowledge of the Maker.

True knowledge can be derived only from the miraculous Word of God and the true sayings of the Prophet,

but one cannot easily benefit from them until they are “strung” into writing and “enchained” in painting. Therefore, writing is one of the necessary things, as the Koran verse, “N and the Pen,” is an allusion to the abundance of excellence of writing, the verse, “He taught by the pen; he taught man what he knew not,” is a sign of the perfect nobility of writing, and the true prophetic dictum says, “He who writes in beautiful script the words, ‘in the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful,’ will enter paradise without reckoning.” Therefore, if anyone endeavors to acquire good writing, it should not be by means of superficial ornamentation or common craftsmanship but rather with hopefulness in the true report of the Prophet's speech—and moreover, the felicitous dictum, “Have good writing, for it is one of the keys to livelihood,” supports this.

Writing that is devoid of any semblance of beauty causes dishonor to the paper.

Writing is so much better than the wielder of the pen that the reader derives repose from it.

In a calligraphic hand that draws a beautiful line the pen is a marvelous key to livelihood.

The reason for prefacing these remarks is that this poor, miserable, sinful and fearful slave, Ali al-Husayni the scribe, has come into the service of persons of literary excellence and has gleaned from their harvests. He has seen the following line of poetry as relevant to his own situation:

If the effulgence of the holy spirit once again gives assistance, others too can do what the Messiah used to do.¹

¹Line from Hafiz, *Divan*, p. 88.

مرقع استاد کمال الدین بهزاد دیباچه غیاث الدین خواندمیر

پاریس، کتابخانه ملی، نامه نامی

در توصیف موقع مرقع که جامع آن مظهر رشد و رشاد استاد

بهزادست نوشته شد

نقاش ازل گشاد چون چهره مهر

آراست مرقعی باوراق سپهر

تصویر در آن نمود بی رنگ و قلم

چندین صنم جلوه گر روشن چهر

چون ارادت کامله مصور بیچون و مشیت شامله صانع کن فیکون

بایجاد صور کارخانه بوقلمون متعلق شد، چهره گشای عنایت

ازلی بقلم مکرمتم لم یزلی پیکر انسانی را بر طبق آیت ﴿وَصَوَّرَكُمُ

فَأَحْسَنَ صُورَكُمْ﴾ بخوبترین وجهی تصویر نمود و جمال حال این

طایفه پسندیده خصال را بزور اصناف علوم غریبه و زینت انواع

فنون عجیبه آرایش داده بمقتضای کلمه کریمه ﴿وَفَضَّلْنَاهُمْ عَلَىٰ

كَثِيرٍ مِّمَّنْ خَلَقْنَا﴾ جانب ایشان را بر اکثر طوایف مخلوقات

تفضیل فرمود (مثنوی)

کلک الهی چو رقم زد صور مظهر فضل و هنر آمد بشر

در پی اظهار هنر چون شتافت صفحه ایام ازو زیب یافت

گاه بنوک قلم مشکسای کرد رقم خط فضیلت فرای

گاه برانگیخت بهم آبرنگ ساخت عیان ماهرخی بی درنگ

گاه بگلزار سخن از هنر کرد روان جویچه آب زر

گاه برافروخت درخت بلند میوه او قوت دل مستمند

ساخت گهی از قلم سحر فن گلبن پر گل بریاض سخن

کرد بتذهیب سخن چون شتاب شد خجل از شمسه او آفتاب

حسن خط و صورت مردم فریب می برد از خاطر دانا شکیب

دیده شد از صورت خط بهره ور دل بود از معنی او بی خبر

صورت و معنی پسندیده است نوره مردمک دیده است

﴿ن وَالْقَلَمِ وَمَا يَسْطُرُونَ﴾ بر کمال شرف خط آیتی است و آیت

﴿عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ﴾ از و فور فضیلت کتابت کنایتی (بیت)

حظ خط نیک بنزد خرد بیش بود ز آنچه گمان می برد

و التذاذ نفس بشری از نقش و تصویر بر وجهی که صورت حال

امیر و وزیر و غنی و فقیرست قابل تحریر نیست، و بیان شمه از

زیب و زینت و تفریح و ترویج آن صنعت غرابت آیت بامداد قلم

و بنان تیسیرپذیر نی. لاجرم از بدو ظهور عالم، فضلاء اولاد

امجاد آدم علی نبینا وعلیه [السلام] ما دام الخط مصوراً بالمداد

والقلم بدین دو امر شریف اشتغال فرموده اند و در میدان کمال و

تفوق و ساحت مهارت و فضل قصب السبق از امثال و اقران

ر بوده چنانچه اسامی سامی بعضی ازین طبقه در مقدمه این مرقع

مذکورست و خطوط گرامی و تصویرات نامی که نگاشته قلم

بدیع شیم ایشانست درین اوراق مصور و مسطور. و از جمله

مصوران کامل و هنروران فاضل جامع و مرتب این اوراق موقع

مظهر بدایع صور و مظهر نوادر هنر نادرالعصر صافی اعتقاد

سالک مسالک محبت و وداد استاد کمال الدین بهزادست

(مثنوی)

مانی قلم خجسته آثار نیکوشیم حمیده اطوار

استاد هنروران عالم در فن هنروری مسلم

بهزاد یگانه زمانه مانی بزمان او فسانه

موی قلمش ز اوستادی جان داده بصورت جمادی

در دقت طبع موشکافست وین حرف نه از سر گرفت

تکمیل مهارتش در این فن باور اگرست نیاید از من

بگشای نظر ز روی انصاف بنگر صور بدیع اوصاف

کاراست جمال این صحایف افزود کمال این طرایف

در چاپ فروینی «شمه»؛ در مرقع گلشن، ص ۲۵۸، «شمه».

در مرقع گلشن، ص ۲۵۸، «پی برد».

AN ALBUM MADE BY KAMALUDDIN BIHZAD

PREFACE BY KHWANDAMIR

This preface was written by the eminent historian and stylist Mir Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Husayni, known as Khwandamir (d. ca. 1535) for an album of painting and calligraphy assembled by the well-known artist Kamaluddin Bihzad. The text of the preface is in a collection of Khwandamir's compositions, *Nāma-i nāmī*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹ Parts of this preface also occur among the folios of an album made for the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, now known as the "Gulshan" Album in the Gulistan Palace Museum in Tehran.

When the painter of eternity portrayed the sun, he adorned an album with leaves of the celestial sphere.

Therein he depicted without color or brush many bright-cheeked beauties.

When the perfect will of the unquestionable Omnipotent and the all-inclusive desire of the Creator who says "Be!" and a thing is came to bring into existence the forms of this ever-changing workshop, the portraitist of eternal favor depicted with the pen of divine favor the human "album" in the best form in accordance with the Koranic verse, "He formed you and made your forms beautiful" [Kor. 40:64], and in accordance with the noble words, "We have preferred them before many of our creatures which we have created" [Kor. 17:70], he preferred this group, whose qualities were approved, over most creatures by giving them the adornment of various types of rare knowledge and the ornament of unique crafts.

When the divine pen drew shapes, humankind came forth as the locus of knowledge and skill. When he hastened to make manifest skill, the page of time was beautified by him.

Sometimes he made a line that increased their excellence with the nib of the musk-crushing pen.

Sometimes in the garden of speech he skillfully made a rivulet of golden water flow

Sometimes he raised a tall tree, the fruit of which was sustenance for the hearts of the poor.

Sometimes, with a magical pen, he made a bush full of roses in the garden of speech.

When he turned his attention to the gilding of speech, the sun itself was ashamed before his sunburst.

The beauty of this seductive writing and depiction steals patience from the mind of the learned.

The eye takes pleasure from the form of the writing, but the heart is unaware of its inner meaning.

The words "N, by the pen and what they write" [Kor. 68:1] refer to the perfect nobility of writing, and the verse "He taught by the pen" [Kor. 96:4] is an allusion to the excellence of writing.

The lot of beautiful writing, in the opinion of the wise, is greater than can be imagined.

The delight the human spirit derives from painting and depiction, which is the lot of prince and vizier, rich and poor alike, cannot be put into words, and it is impossible to describe even an iota of the beauty, joy, and rapture that rare art imparts through the brush and fingers.

¹The text is taken, with very slight emendation, from the version published and translated by Mirza Muhammad Qazwini and L. Bouvat, "Deux documents inédits relatifs à Behzad," *Revue du monde musulman* 26 (1914): 146-61.

در صورتِ خطّ و حسنِ تصویر زینسان ورقی نیافت تحریر
 و بی شایبه تکلف و غایله تصلف تا صفحه خوبان گلعذار از
 ریحان خط مشک آثار آرایش یافته مشابه خطوط که درین مرقع
 مرقوم است قلم بر صفحه کاغذ نهاده، و تا مرقع سپهر بصورت
 نورافشان ماه و مهر مصور گشته پرتو شعور هیچ مهندس مبصر بر
 مثال صوری که این اوراق را مزین دارد نیفتاده. هر قطره که
 غواص قلم گوهر بار از لجه دوات بساحل این اوراق رسانیده
 درّیست گران بها، و هر صورت که مصور خاطر غرابت مآثر از لوح
 دل بر صحایف این کتاب نقل نموده حوریست روح افزا (قطعه)

هر گوهر مراد که در بحر خوشدلی

پرورده اند جمله در این بحر حاصلست

همچون جمال مشعله افروز دیده هاست

همچون وصال خرمی اندوز هر دلست

و چون تعریف لطافت آن درر ثمین و توصیف نفاست آن صور
 بدایع آیین پایه هر بی مایه و پیشه هر بی توشه نیست، قلم
 مشکین رقم بایراد رباعی که در مدح جناب استادی گفته شده
 اختصار می نماید و هی هذه (رباعی)

موی قلمت تا بجهان چهره گشاد

بر چهره مانی رقم نسخ نهاد

بس طبع که صورت نکوزاد ازو

طبع تو ولی از همه آنها به زاد

والحمد لله والثناء لله المصور لصور العباد والصلوة والسلام علی سیدنا
 محمد ما دام الخط مصوراً بالقلم والمداد وآله مظاهر صور الهدایة
 والرّشاد وعترته الذین هم شفعاؤنا فی يوم التناد.

Therefore, since the world first appeared, the gifted among the glorious children of Adam (upon whom and upon our prophet be peace)—so long as writing has been given form through ink and pen—have indulged in these two noble things, and they have snatched precedence from their peers and equals in the field of perfection and superiority and in the arena of mastery and supremacy, as the names of some of this class are mentioned in the preface to this album, and the precious calligraphies and pictures drawn by their marvelous pens and brushes are included in these pages. One of the perfect artists and most excellent artisans is the collector and arranger of these folios, the manifestor of marvelous forms and possessor of rarest skills, unique in his age, pure in his belief, traverser of the paths of love and affection, Master Kamaluddin Bihzad.

With a brush like Mani's, felicitous in his works,
 excellent in character, praiseworthy in his manners,
 Most accomplished of all artists in the world, acknowledged master in his craft,
 Bihzad, unique in his age, in whose time Mani has been relegated to fable.
 Through his mastery the hair of his brush has given life to inanimate form.
 In precision of nature he is hair-splitting, and this is no exaggeration.
 If you do not believe me that he is perfectly skilled in his art,
 Open your eyes in justice and look at the unbelievable pictures
 That adorn these pages, by which he has increased the perfection of these novelties.
 With such calligraphic forms and beautiful depictions no page has ever been filled.

Without any hint of exaggerated elaboration, ever since the pages of rosy-cheeked beauties have been adorned by musk-scented verdure, no pen has ever set to paper the likes of the calligraphies that are contained in this album; and ever since the album of the celestial sphere has been painted with the light-scattering shapes of the moon and sun, the ray of imagination of no insightful geometer has ever fallen upon the likes of the shapes that adorn these folios. Every drop that the diver of the pearl-raining pen brings forth from the murky depths of the inkpot to the shore of these folios is a priceless

pearl, and every picture that the artist of the mind has transferred from the tablet of the heart to the pages of this book is a *hourī* that delights the spirit.

Every sought-after pearl that has been nourished in the sea of happiness can be found in this sea,
 Like the beauty that brightens the lamps of all eyes,
 just like union with the beloved, which causes great joy in every heart.

Since it is not the lot of every inept to describe the refinement of those precious pearls, nor is it for every incompetent to catalog the value of those marvelous pictures, the musky pen will cut it short with a quatrain composed in praise of the master, and it is this:

When the hair of your brush revealed faces in the world, it drew a line of abrogation across Mani's countenance.

Many are the talents from which were born beautiful forms, but your talent was better born than any of them.²

And praise to God and laud to God, the former of the shapes of His servants, and prayers and peace upon our Lord Muhammad for as long as writing gives forms by means of pen and ink, and upon his family, who are manifestations of the forms of right guidance, and upon his offspring, who are our intercessors on the Day of Judgment.

²There is a irreproducible pun: "better born" is *bih zād*, which is Bihzād's name.

عرضه داشت

(استانبول، طوپ قیو سرایی موزه سی ۲۱۵۳/خ، برگ ۹۸)

عن خاک برگرفتگان و ملازمان کتبخانه همیون که دیده ایشان در انتظار غبار سم سمند
همایون چون گوش روزه دار بر الله اکبرست و از غایت بهجت و سرور فریاد ﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي
أَذْهَبَ عَنَّا الْحُزْنَ إِنَّ رَبَّنَا لَغَفُورٌ شَكُورٌ﴾ بر ذروه فلک میرسانند

امیر خلیل دو موضع دریا از گلستان موج آب تمام کرده برنگ نهادن مشغول خواهد شد.	مولانا علی روز تحریر عرضه داشت بطرح دیباچه شهنامه مشغول شد و چند روز چشم او درد می کرد.	خواجه غیاث الدین از رسایل دو موضع بچهره رسانیده و یک موضع دیگر نزدیکست و حالی بیک موضع عمارت که از گلستان باطل کرده اند مشغول است.
مولانا شهاب دیباچه و چهار لوح و شرف دیباچه صورت گری را طلا نهاده و هشت نعل شمسه میان دیباچه را تحریر کرده و حالی بیک موضعی دیگر از عمارت گلستان مشغول است.	مولانا قوام الدین روی جلد شهنامه را حاشیه اسلیمی مکمل کرده و عیش تماشای متن جلد را بقلم گرفته و قریب دو دانگ بوم شده است و پشت و سر و گردن چسبانیده و طریق کشیده شده است.	مولانا شمس را از نقل رسایل خط خواجه علیه الرحمه یک جزو مانده است.
محمود از ده لوح دیوان خواجه هفت لوح را بیوم رسانیده بماباقی مشغول است.	حاجی محمود جلد نقل رسایل را متن رو بوم و تحریر شده بگزار مشغول است.	خواجه محمود جلد رسایل خط خواجه را پشت و رو مکمل کرده بسر و گردن مشغول است.
خواجه عطای جدول کش تاریخ مولانا سعدالدین و دیوان خاجورا تمام کرده بشهنامه مشغول است.	مولانا قطب از تاریخ طبری ده جزو کتابت کرده است.	خواجه عطا اجزای گلستان تمام کرده و سرلوح تاریخی که مولانا سعدالدین کتابت کرده دو لوح را بیوم رسانیده به تتمه مشغول است.
مولانا محمد مطهر از کتابت شهنامه بیست و پنج هزار بیت تمام کرده است. مولانا شمس یک کشتی تمام کرده و یک لوح را از دیوان خواجه بیوم رسانیده است.	خواجه عبدالرحیم بطروح مجلدیان ومذهبان و خیمه دوزان و کاشی تراشان مشغول است.	مولانا سعدالدین سر صندوقچه بیگم را تمام کرده و یک پهلوی او به پرداخت رسیده است و طبقه در که مانده بود پانزده روز دیگر تمام می شود.
نقاشان باجمعهم هفتاد و پنج چوب خرگاه را برنگ آمیز و شستمان مشغول اند.	دو کشتی دیگر را حاجی و خطای بحل کاری رسانیده اند. استاد سیف الدین سلامتست و زحمت او بصحت مبدل شد.	یک کشتی دیگر را عبدالسلم نزدیک آورده که تمام کند.

ARZADASHT (REPORT)

The document translated below, pasted inconspicuously in an album at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul (H.2153, folio 98a), is a unique example of a report from a Timurid atelier. Although neither author nor recipient is named, internal evidence strongly suggests that it is a progress report to Baysunghur Mirza from Ja'far Tabrizi, the head of Baysunghur's artistic establishment. Most of the scribes, artists, and artisans are identifiable, as are the individual works upon which they are engaged. It is transcribed and translated in the columns in which it occurs in the original.

PETITION FROM the most humble servants of the royal library, whose eyes are as expectant of the dust from the hooves of the regal steed as the ears of those who fast are for the cry of *Allahu akbar*,¹ and whose joyful and gleeful shout of "Praise be unto God who hath taken away sorrow from us! verily our Lord is ready to forgive and to reward" [Kor. 35:34] reaches the apex of the celestial sphere.

Amir Khalil² has finished the waves in two sea scenes of the *Gulistan*³ and will begin to apply color.

Mawlana Shihab has applied gold to the frontispiece illumination, four cartouches, and the finials⁴ of the frontispiece [in preparation] for painting,⁵ and he has outlined eight rosettes within the frontispiece illumination and at present is busy with another scene in the repair of the *Gulistan*.⁶

Mahmud⁷ has completed the groundwork for seven out of ten cartouches for the Divan of Khwaju and is busy with the rest.

Khwaja Ata the ruling maker has finished Mawlana Sa'duddin's *Tarikh*⁸ and the Divan of Khwaju and is working on the *Shahnama*.

Mawlana Muhammad [b.] Mutahhar has finished writing 25,000 verses of the *Shahnama*.⁹

Mawlana Shams has finished one *kashti*¹⁰ and has done the groundwork on one cartouche for the Divan of Khwaju.

All the painters are working on painting and tinting seventy-five tent poles.

On the day this report is being written Mawlana Ali¹¹ is designing a frontispiece illumination for the *Shahnama*. His eyes were sore for a few days.

Mawlana Qiwamuddin¹² has finished the arabesque margins for the binding of the *Shahnama* and has taken up the brush for the pleasure scene of the body of the binding. The groundwork is nearly two thirds done; the back, head, and neck [back and flap?] have been attached, and the groove has been drawn.

Hajji Mahmud has done the body of the front and outlining for the binding of the facsimile of the *Rasayil*¹³ and is busy drawing outlines.

Mawlana Qutb¹⁴ has copied ten sections of the *Tarikh-i Tabari*.

Khwaja Abdul-Rahim is busy making designs for the binders, illuminators, tentmakers, and tilemakers.

Hajji and Khatai have gotten two other *kashtis* to the point of gilding.

Ustad Sayfuddin is well again after his illness.

Khwaja Ghiyathuddin¹⁵ has progressed in two scenes of the *Rasayil* to the point of the faces, and another scene is nearly there. At present he is busy repairing a scene that was spoiled in the *Gulistan*.¹⁶

Mawlana Shams lacks one section of making a facsimile of the treatises in the late khwaja's hand.¹⁷

Khwaja Mahmud has finished the front and back of the binding for the Khwaja's calligraphic treatises and is busy with the head and neck [flap?].

Khwaja Ata has finished the sections of the *Gulistan* and the main cartouche for the history that Mawlana Sa'duddin has copied.¹⁸

Mawlana Sa'duddin has finished the lid of the begim's little chest, and one side of it is ready for the final touches. The door panel that remains will be completed in fifteen days.

Another *kashti* has almost been finished by Abdul-Salam.

بر دعا اختصار خواهم کرد و از دعا به
چه کار خواهم کرد
دولت مخلص باد بمحمد وآله

بنده کمتر و ذره احقر سه جزو و نیم از
کتابت شهنامه تمام کرده آغاز کتابت
نزهة الأرواح کرده است.

طرح میر دولتیار بود جهت زین خواجه
میر حسن نقل کرد و میر شمس الدین
پسر خواجه میر حسن و استاد دولتخواجه
بصدف تراشی مشغول اند.

There was a design by Mir Dawlatyar¹⁹ for a saddle. Khwaja Mir Hasan copied it, and Khwaja Mir Hasan's son Mir Shamsuddin and Ustad Dawlat-Khwaja are busy executing it in mother-of-pearl.

Your most humble servant, the most miserable speck of dust,²⁰ has finished writing three and a half sections of the *Shahnama*²¹ and has begun to write the *Nuzhat al-arwah*.²²

I shall cut this short with an invocation, and what better can I do than make an invocation? May fortune be eternal, through Muhammad and his family.

¹The first words of the call to prayer, here specifically the call to evening prayer that signals the end of the Ramadan fast, which is eagerly awaited by those observing the fast.

²Mir Khalil was the supervisor of painting in Baysunghur's establishment. He is described at length in Dost-Muhammad's introduction to the Bahram Mirza Album, Istanbul, TSM, H.2154, fol. 15a. Dawlatshāh (*Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, p. 379) calls him a "second Mani," one of the four "craftsmen at the Shahrukhid capital who had no equal in their time in the inhabited quarter of the world."

³This may be the *Gulistān* in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, ms 119, copied by Ja'far Tabrizi in 830, although, if the other works mentioned are those dated circa 833, the Beatty *Gulistān* is a bit early. However, it is by no means unheard of for illustrations to be worked on after the text has been finished, particularly in the case of this *Gulistān*, which is mentioned later and appears to have suffered some damage.

⁴This word may refer to the finials, usually in blue, that radiate from a rosette and rise from an illuminated frontispiece. The word occurs again in the third section below on tents.

⁵The use of the word *sharatgarī* for painting here is puzzling. Normally it refers to figural painting, whereas *debāchas* are generally entirely geometrical and floral. Perhaps a conjunction is missing: "...has applied gold to the frontispiece illumination, four cartouches, the finials of the frontispiece [and] the figural painting."

⁶The entire paragraph is problematic. The last phrase contains the obscure *'imārat-i gulistān*.

⁷If he is the scribe, perhaps he is Maḥmūd Astarābādī, a calligrapher known to have worked in the Baysunghurid establishment and who may have copied the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī now in St. Petersburg, Hermitage vP 1000, dated 835, for Shahrukh's library. Since he is working on the cartouches, he is probably an illuminator.

⁸This must be the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* by Juwaynī copied by Sa'duddin al-Mashhadī in 834, now in St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, PNS 233. There is also a *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* copied in 835 and containing a dedication to Baysunghur in the Keir Collection (formerly in the Fleishhacker Collection, San Francisco; see San Francisco, M. H. DeYoung Memorial Museum, *Exhibition of Islamic Art*, 1937, No. 1).

⁹Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar al-Naysābūrī. This is quite likely the copy of the *Shāhnāma* now housed in the Malik Library, Tehran, and dated 833 (A.D. 1429–30).

¹⁰A puzzling term. *Kashtī* means "ship," but perhaps we can project onto this text a meaning from Mughal India, where *kashtī* means a floral scroll contained in an ovaloid; see Moti Chandra, *The Technique of Mughal Painting* (Lucknow: The U. P. Historical Society Provincial Museum, 1949), p. 70. It is unlikely that these craftsmen are making ships, whatever they are doing.

¹¹Perhaps Khwāja 'Alī Muṣawwir, who was brought to Herat from Tabriz by Baysunghur. See Dost-Muhammad, TSM H.2154, fol. 15a.

¹²Qiwāmuddin Mujallid Tabrizī, another artisan brought from Tabriz to Herat (Dost-Muhammad, TSM H.2154, fol. 15a).

¹³Perhaps the same *Rasayil* mentioned in the first entry of the third column.

¹⁴This is surely Qutbuddin b. Ḥasanshāh Kirmānī, and the work referred to is a copy of the *Tārīkh-i Bal'ami* (the Persian translation of *Tārīkh al-Tabarī*) finished in 833 and now in St. Petersburg (Publichnaya Biblioteka, PNS 49). He also copied in 829 at Herat Ṣadrūddīn Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī's *Tāj al-ma'āthir*, now at St. Petersburg University, Biblioteka Vostochnogo Fakul'teta, N 578.

¹⁵It would be tempting to consider this Ghiyāthuddin as Ghiyāthuddin Pīr Aḥmad Zarkūb, a painter brought from Tabriz to Herat by Ala'uddawla Mirza to complete the *jung* (miscellany) left unfinished at Baysunghur's death (Dost-Muhammad, TSM H.2154, fol. 15b); however, since Baysunghur died in A.H. 837, and everything datable in this report indicates a date of circa 833, Pīr Aḥmad should not yet have come to Herat. Another Ghiyāthuddin, Khwāja Ghiyāthuddin Naqqāsh, is given in Mīrkhwānd, *Rawdat al-ṣafā* 6:669 and Khwāndamīr, *Habib al-siyar* 4:634 as accompanying the Chinese delegation that returned to Samarqand at the beginning of 824.

¹⁶The syntax of this sentence is problematic. Apparently, *'imārat* must be taken together with *bātil* to mean "repair, fix, render correct."

¹⁷Shamsuddin Muḥammad b. Husām Harawī, known as Shams al-Bāysunghurī and Shamsuddin al-Sulṭānī. This ms must be similar to the collection of treatises by various authors completed at Herat in Shawwal 830 (July 1427) and now in the Berenson Collection at I Tatti in Florence (see Angelo M. Piemontese, "I manoscritti persiani della collezione Berenson," *Studi in onore di Francesco Gabrieli* 2:632). In 831 Shams copied Khwājū Kirmānī's *Humāy u Humāyūn* (now in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. NF 382). *Juzw*, here translated as "section," most probably refers to a gathering or a signature. Shams is not "copying" (for which the word *kitābat* is normally used) these treatises but making a

عمارات

خاصه شید الله ارکانه الی یوم الخلود

کتبخانه که جهت نقاشان بنیاد نهاده تکمیل یافته نقاشان و کاتبان نزول کرده.

باغ میدان دیوار قبلی سه دای شده و کاشی تراشان که از درگاه سنگ دست خالی می کنند بکار ایزاره باغ مذکور مشغول خواهند شد.

قصر قدیم قبه و بادامن تا زیر مقرنس نقاشی شده ستون جا شرقی از نو نهاده شد.

باغ جدید دیوار که شش دای فرموده بعضی چهار دای و بعضی سه دای شده و در کارند ایوان و دالان بنیاد شده شاه پل پیش ایوان تراشیده بر کار خواهند نهاد.

درگاه سنگ تراشی تمام شده و از کاشی تراشی کتابه و کنگره مانده و در کارند و فرش ممر تمام شده و در دندان صورت خانه نشانده شده و مخارج نهاده.

سنگ تراشان بکار حوض مشغول اند.

کلنگ خانه را که گل سقف و گچ خاک و آهک کاری تمام شده.

Royal Buildings and Grounds

(May God keep their foundations firm for all eternity)

THE COURT: the stonecutting work has been completed, but the tile cutting for the inscriptions and crenellations remains and is being worked on. The paving of the passageway is done, and the crenelated doorway of the picture gallery has been put in place and the projecting balcony installed.

The stonecutters are working on the pool.

The mud roof, plaster floor, and whitewash for the crane house have been finished.

THE OLD PALACE: the dome and parterre up to under the stalactites have been painted. The columns of the eastern wing have been replaced.

THE NEW GARDEN: of the wall that was ordered to be six courses, [in] some [places] four courses and in others three courses have been completed; and work is progressing. The foundations for the portico and vestibule have been laid. The great bridge in front of the portico has been cut and will [soon] be laid in.²³

The atelier begun for the painters has been finished, and the painters and scribes have taken up occupancy.

The courtyard garden: of the kiblah wall, three courses have been made, and as soon as the tilemakers finish the stone court they will get to work on the dado of the aforementioned garden.

facsimile (*naql*); the “*khwāja*” may be ‘Abdullāh Şayrafi, whose calligraphy was particularly admired in Herat, although Arghūn Kāmīlī and Mubārakshāh Zarīnqalam were also known as *khwāja*.

¹⁸The history Sa’duddīn is copying must be the same as “Sa’duddīn’s *Tārīkh*” referred to above, i.e., the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*.

¹⁹A painter trained by Aḥmad Mūsā and a contemporary of the Ilkhanid Sultan Abūsa’īd who was known especially for his pen and ink work (*qalamsiyāhī*). See Dost-Muhammad, TSM H.2154, fol. 14b.

²⁰It is assumed that the writer is the chief of the *kutubkhāna*, Farīduddīn Ja’far b. ‘Alī Tabrizī, who often signed himself “Bāysunghurī.”

²¹If the *Shāhnāma* being copied by Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar is the Malik Library copy of 833, then the one referred to here should be the Baysunghurid *Shāhnāma* of 833 now in the Gulistān Museum Library, Tehran (4752).

²²*Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, a standard work on Sufism written in 711/1311 by Mīr Fakhrussādāt Ruknuddīn Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī. See Rieu, *Catalogue* 1:40a. According to Huart (*Les calligraphes*, p. 97) and Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī (*Khaṭṭ u khaṭṭātān*, p. 20) a copy of the *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* made for Baysunghur existed in the Yeni Cami, Istanbul, at the end of the nineteenth century, but it appears to have been lost since then; see Lentz, “Painting at Herat,” p. 142.

To date the following manuscripts bearing an identifiable attribution or dedication to Baysunghur have been discovered: (1) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussische Kulturbesitz, Petermann 1:386, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsīrī* of 814; (2) Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Islamische Kunstabteilung, J.4628, anthology of 823; (3) St. Petersburg State University, Biblioteka Vostochnogo

Fakul’teta, N 578, Şadrudīn Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī’s *Tāj al-ma’āthir* of 829; (4) Florence, I Tatti, Berenson Collection, anthology of 830; (5) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, p.119, Sa’dī, *Gulistān* of 830; (6) Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. N.F. 382, Khwājū Kirmānī’s *Humāyu Humāyūn* of 831; (7) Tehran, Gulistān Museum, 4752, *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī of 833; (8) St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, PNs 49, Bal’ami’s *Tarjuma-i Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* of 833; (9) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, R.1022, Abū’l-Ma’ālī Naşrullāh’s *Kalīla u Dimna* of 833; (10) Tehran, Malik Library, Firdawsī’s *Shāhnāma* of 833; (11) Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.362, Abū’l-Ma’ālī Naşrullāh’s *Kalīla u Dimna* of 834; (12) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Elliot 210, *Kullīyyāt* of ‘Imād Faqīh of 834; (13) St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, PNs 233, Juwaynī’s *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy* of 834; (14) London, British Library, Or. 2773, *Tārīkh-i Iṣfahān* by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī of 834; (15) Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 1954, Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī’s *Chahār maqāla* of 835; (16) London, Keir Collection (Robinson 7:62), Juwaynī’s *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy* of 835; (17) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez A, folio 74, fragment of Amīr Khusraw’s *qaṣīdas*, undated; (18) Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, p.120, illuminated calligraphic pages, undated; (19) St. Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka, Dorn 268, Ḥāfīz-i Abrū’s *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, undated. See B. W. Robinson, “Prince Bāysunghor’s Nizāmī,” 384-85; O. Akimushkin, “Iz istorii kul’tury Irana,” 83; Thomas W. Lentz, “Painting at Herat,” pp. 303-558.

²³It has been suggested that *bāgh-i naw* be read here as a proper name, the New Garden, of which two are known as toponyms in Herat: the Bāgh-i Naw-i Jūkī and the Bāgh-i Naw-i Shāhrukh Mīrzā (see Allen, *Toponyms*, p. 203). Of course, “new garden” need not necessarily be a proper name.

خرگاه

یقه ترلق چهارده قطعه و بوزه هفت
قطعه از جمله این بیست و یک قطعه
شش قطعه تمام شده است و نعلهای
قطعه تمامی دوخته شده و شمشهای میان
قطعه‌های خط که صورت گریست از جمله
بیست و یک عدد شش عدد تمام شده و
شرف و محبس و حاشیه‌ها را قریب یک
دانگ و نیم کار دوخته شده کار بیرون
خرگاه که اصل او مثقالی است و نقش
او صندل باف و تحریر او زر حقه قریب
یک دانگ و نیم کار دوخته شده به تتمه
مشغول اند. دولت مخلص باد

Tents

Fourteen pieces of the top cover and seven pieces of the side cover: of these twenty-one pieces, six have been finished. The velvet ornaments have all been sewn, and of the twenty-one medallions for the middle of the calligraphy pieces, which have figural designs, six have been finished. Of the designs, six have been finished. Of the spires, embroidered cover, and borders, nearly a quarter have been sewn. Of the work on the outside of the tent, the basis of which is linen and the design of which is silken weave, and the outlining of which is gold embroidery, approximately a quarter has been sewn, and [the workers] are busy completing [the job].

اسناد متفرقه

۲۱۵۳/خ، برگ ۹۸ب

عرضه داشت بنده کمتترین سلطان علی بعز عرض نواب کامیاب
میرساند که

جز آستان تو ام در جهان پناهی نیست
و بغیر از خاکبوسی آستان فلک آشیان حضرت ظل الهی امیدی
دیگر ندارم. اکنون خانه که این بنده می نشست آنرا بجزوئ
می فروشند و مناسب این بنده است امیدوار آنکه هفت هزار
دینار از مرسوم کهنه این بنده مانده اگر بصدقات فرق همایون
شفقت فرمایند عند الله ضایع نخواهد ماند والامر اعلی

۲۱۵۳/خ، برگ ۱۱۹ب

عرضه داشت [شیخ محمد] بنده کمتترین بندگان بعز عرض
میرساند که این فقیر دواتی چینی فغفوری داشت که بدان کتابت
میکرد. درین دو روز شکسته شد و ازین سبب بسیار پریشانست.
التماس آنکه دواتی صدقه فرمایند که بدان کتابت کند و بدعاء
دوام دولت مشغول گردد والامر الاعلی

۲۱۵۳/خ، برگ ۱۳۷

خلد الله تعالی ملکه و سلطانه کمتترین خاک برگرفتگان شیخ
محمود آستان عالی بلب ادب بوسیده بعز عرض میرساند که
پروانه همایون در باب کتابت بنده درگاه و شاگردان صادر شده
که هر یک در روزی چه توانند نوشت. صورت حال آنکه کتابت

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

The following short documents are preserved in the Ya'qub Beg Album (the so-called Fâtih Album, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2153) and in an album in the Istanbul University Library (F.1423). Undoubtedly these documents were preserved for their calligraphic excellence, but they also represent an otherwise undocumented aspect of royal patronage and show for what and how protégés petitioned the court for their needs.

Also included are a letter to Sultan-Ali Mashhadi from his royal patron, Sultan-Husayn Mirza, and an amusing colophon added to one of the most splendid books produced during the Timurid period.



Istanbul, TSM H.2153, fol. 98b

This petition is probably from Sultan-Ali Qayini and addressed to Sultan Ya'qub or Rustam, the Aqqoyunlu sultans for whom he worked .

Petition from the most insignificant servant Sultan-Ali to His Exalted Highness.

Aside from your threshold I have no refuge in the world, and without kissing the ground of the celestial threshold of the Shadow of God I have no hope. Now, the house in which I used to live is being sold for a pittance, and it would be ideal for me.

It is hoped that His Majesty will deign to grant in alms the seven thousand dinars remaining of my back wages, for it will not be lost in God's reckoning.



Istanbul, TSM H.2153, fol. 119b

The most likely person to have written this petition is Shaykh-Muhammad al-Imami al-Harawi, who also worked for Sultan Ya'qub and Rustam Aqqoyunlu.

Petition from Shaykh-Muhammad, the least of His Majesty's servants.

I had a china inkpot with which I used to write. Two days ago it was broken, and for this reason I am much upset.

It is besought that [His Majesty] grant in alms an inkpot with which I may write and be engaged in constant prayer for [His Majesty's] good fortune.



Istanbul, TSM H.2153, fol. 137a

It is assumed that the writer of this document is Kamaluddin Shaykh-Mahmud Harawi, writing to Pir-Budaq or Sultan Ya'qub Aqqoyunlu.

May his kingdom and power last forever. The most insignificant of those raised from the dust, Shaykh-Mahmud, kissing the exalted threshold with the lip of etiquette, petitions:

The royal command [has been received] concerning the scribal activity of this humble slave of the court and his apprentices [in which it is asked] how much each is able to write in a day. The fact is that copying cannot

وَحَمَلْنَاهُمْ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ ﴿ و باری تعالی (جَلُّ جَلَالُهُ وَعَمَّ نَوَالُهُ) بنی آدم را نطق و صورت کرامه فرمود تا ممتاز گردد از دیگر حیوانات و فرمود ﴿ لَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ فِي أَحْسَنِ تَقْوِيمٍ ﴾ و فرمود ﴿ اقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ * خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ * اقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ * الَّذِي عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ * عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ ﴾ فقها گفته اند که همچنانک گفته اند

بفنون دیگر نسبت ندارد جهت آنکه گاه می باشد که بی خواست آنچه توقع است اضعاف آن دست می دهد و گاه هست که هرچند خود را بتکلف بر آن می دارد دانگ آنچه می کرده میسر نمی شود. و شاگردان هنوز مبتدی اند اگر در کتابت تعجیل نمایند مانع ترقی شود. اکنون چون حکم جهانمطاع برین موجب نافذ شده، از مثنویات روزی هشتاد بیت و از غزلیات پنجاه بیت خوب کتابت کنند. و این خاک برگرفته خود وقف کتابت و حسب المقدور می کوشد و هنوز از ضعف مرض بقیه هست. بعد قضاء الله تعالی چون در هوا اندک تربی واقع شود آن مقدار کتابت خواهد کرد که مستحسن نظر کیمیا خاصیت افتد. بدین جرأة امید عفوست. سایه چتر همایون بر مفارق بندگان مخلد و مستدام بالنبی محمد علیه الصلوة والسلام.

۲۱۵۳/خ، برگ ۱۴۱ اب

داروغه و عمال و مباحران دار العباده یزد بدانند که بعرض همایون رسانیدند که در آن طرف سنگ لاجورد و سیلوی خطایی و دهنه فرنگی یافت می شود. می باید که چون بر فرمان همایون مطلع گردند مذکورات را قبض نموده بمعتمدی امین سپارند تا بدرگاه عالم پناه آورده در عهده دانسته درین باب تقصیر ننمایند. تحریراً فی تاسع عشر رمضان المبارک سنه اربع وستین وثمانمیه

استانبول اوئیورسیتة سی کتبخانه سی، شماره ۱۴۲۳/ف، برگ

۵۳ ب

الحمد للذی لا ینسی من ذکره ولا یخیب من دعاه، کَلَّتِ اللِّسَنُ عَنْ تَفْسِيرِ صِفَاتِهِ وَأَلْوَانِ نِعْمَاتِهِ [ت] وَالصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَ عَلٰی أَشْرَفِ الْخَلْقِ مُحَمَّدٍ الْمُصْطَفَى الْهَادِي الَّذِي اصْطَفَاهُ وولاهُ وبعثهُ فِي الْأُمَّتَيْنِ | [الأبيض] والأسود ونجا من تولاهُ وعلى آله الطاهرين الزاهرين.

اما بعد بر رای منیر و سفیر ضمیر اولی الالباب مخفی نیست که مقصود از ابداع مکونات و مطلوب از انشاء موجودات | ... شریف ابو بشر آدم است و اولاد او که ﴿ وَلَقَدْ كَرَّمْنَا بَنِي آدَمَ

be compared to other arts, for sometimes it happens that, without willing it to be so, one can accomplish many times what one expects, while at other times, no matter how much one presses oneself, not a fraction of what one has accomplished in the past is possible. Apprentices are as yet beginners: if they make haste in writing it impedes their progress. Now, since an order to be obeyed by all the world has been issued, of *math-nawis* eighty *bayts*, while of *ghazals* fifty *bayts* can be written well in a day.

This one raised from the dust is devoted to writing and endeavors to the best of his ability. Still a touch of illness lingers on. When there is a bit of humidity in the air, he will copy so much that it will be pleasing to [His Majesty's] transmuting view. It is audaciously hoped that the royal shadow remain forever over the heads of his subjects, through the Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be prayers and salutations.

✱

Istanbul, TSM H.2153, fol. 141b

The following is a decree to agents in Yazd to supply certain precious minerals. It was probably issued by Jahanshah Qaraqoyunlu, who retained control of the Yazd area after the Turcomans withdrew from their invasion of Herat in 1458.

Let the prefect, agents, and superintendents of Dar al-'Ibada Yazd know that it has been reported to His Majesty that in that area lapis lazuli, Chinese *siluy* [?], and jasper are found. In obedience to the royal command, it is incumbent that the aforementioned items be taken and turned over to a trustworthy agent to be brought to the court of world refuge. Knowing their responsibility, let them not fail.

Written on the 19th of Ramadan in the year 864 [July 8, 1460].

✱

**Istanbul, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi
F.1423, fol. 35b**

This piece appears to be the beginning of a petition for employment in which the writer, Ahmad ibn Abdullah al-Hijazi, traces his career from Shiraz in 825 (1422) to Edirne in 845 (1441–42). Like many another stereotypical “personal recollection,” he describes how he wearied of the school curriculum and took to the “youthful madness” of wine and song. Finally he landed unemployed in Ottoman Edirne. The document is damaged and lacks the end.

Praise be to Him who forgetteth not those who remember him and who disappointeth not those who call upon him. In describing his attributes and various blessings tongues are mute. Prayers and salutations upon the noblest of creation, Muhammad, the elect, the guide whom [God] chose to make his friend and send to the white and black nations—saved is he who takes him as his friend—and also upon his pure descendants.

It is not hidden from the illuminated minds of the enlightened that the goal of creation of all beings, the purpose of bringing existing things into existence, was the noble [creature], the Father of Humanity Adam and his offspring—“and now have we honoured the children of Adam, and we have given them conveniences of carriage by land and by sea.”¹ The creator—exalted and awesome is his magnificence—bestowed upon the children of Adam rational speech and form in order that they be distinguished from other animals, and he said, “We created man of a most excellent fabric,”² and then said, “Read, in the name of thy Lord, who hath created all things; who hath created man of congealed blood. Read, by the most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the pen, who teacheth man that which he knoweth not.”³ The learned have said that if anything were nobler than speech⁴ it would have come down from heaven to the prophets. They have also said:

¹Koran 17:70.

²Koran 95:4.

³Koran 96:1–2.

⁴*Sukhan*, speech in general and poetry specifically.

سخن بنزد سخن دان بزرگوار بود

از آسمان سخن آمد، سخن نه خوار بود

و سخنست که نام را در گیتی پایدار دارد چنانک ما از ملوک و حکمای ماضی جز سخن نشانی دیگر نمی یابیم و هرچند مرد خردمندتر سخن وی مستوی تر همچنانک امیر المؤمنین علی کرم الله وجهه میفرماید کلام الرجل وافد عقله و دیگر میفرماید «المرء مخبوء تحت لسانه و امام جعفر صادق میفرماید کلام الرجل بیان فضله و ترجمان عقله

مقصود ازین مقدمات | و مبنی ازین کلمات آنک احمد بن عبدالله الحجازی تراب بارگاه عالم پناه که قبله گاه جباه اهل دین و دولتست و کحل الجواهر سعادت بلب تعظیم و ادب مقبل و ملثوم گردانیده عرض نواب کامیاب | می کر... گویت در تاریخ سنه خمس و عشرين و ثمانمائه در خطه پاک شیراز اصانها الله عن الاعواز بتحصيل مشغول بودم و بجد اجتهادی می نمودم بحکم «طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة» و نفس را ریاضتی میدادم که «فانت...م انسان» چرا که ثمره نفس انسان شرف عقل و کمال علم و حلم و حیا و حکمت و معرفه اشیا و دین و دیانت و تقوی و صدق و صفا و خلق و تواضع و عدل و انصاف و سخاست و دریافت سخن | ...د و هنر بودن و حکما گفته اند العلم حیات النفس الناطقة والمخرج للقلب من ظلمات الطبيعة التي قد غشيت النفوس الحية وحجبتها عن عالم الحيات بزخارف الطبيعة الموبقة عن [ما] لا يتصور | ...گاه هوا و هوس جوانی که «الشباب شق من الجنون» در حرکت آمد و سلسله عشق در جنبانید و اوراق مطالعه را در نوردانید و خاطر ابترم را مایل مجموعه رنگین گردانید که

بخواه دفتر اشعار و راه صحرا گیر |

چه وقت مدرسه و بحث کشف و کشف است

از قال و قیل مدرسه حالی دلم گرفت

یکچند نیز خدمت معشوق و می کنم

نه حافظ را حضور درس خلوت نه دانشمند را علم یقینی

تا تمام اوقات | در معانی ... الشعر ینبغی و

پیش و پی نیست صف کبریا

پس شعرا آمد و پیش انبیا

و صور حروف خطی که «الخط نصف العلم» صرف شد و امیر المؤمنین علی (کرم الله وجهه) میفرماید «تعلم قوام الخط یا ذا التأدب وما الخط الا زینة المتأدب وإن کنت ذا مال فخطک زینة فإن کنت محتاجا فافضل مکسب» چه سلاطین وقت نیز بدین فنها مشغول بودند که ﴿الناس علی دین ملوکهم﴾ مثل ابرهیم سلطان و بایسنقر و الوغبگ | و پدرشان شاهرخ میرزا و در کتبخانه هر یکی از آنها جماعتی اهل فضل می بودند که هر یکی از ایشان در عالم نظیر نداشتند کاتب و مذهب و مصور و مجلد. داعی از شوقی و شغفی که درین فنها داشتیم در میان این طایفه ... می نمودم | و از هر خرمی خوشه و از هر خوشه دانه بطریق خدمت و ادب اخذ میکردم تا در آن سیاحت در تاریخ سنه خمس و اربعین و ثمانمائه ۸۴۵ به محروسه ادرنه رسیدم (أمنه الله عن الآفات). عنقاصفة گوشه عزلت اختیار کردم که |

ببر ز خلق و ز عنقا قیاس کار بگیر

که صیت گوشه نشینان ز قاف تا قافست

In the opinion of connoisseurs, speech is great,
for speech came from heaven; hence it is not
vile.

It is speech that causes a name to last forever in the world, for of the kings and wise men of the past we find no trace other than speech, and the wiser a man is, the more mature are his words, as the Prince of the Faithful Ali—may God ennoble his countenance—says, “A man’s words represent his intelligence.” Again he says, “A man is hidden beneath his tongue.” Imam Ja’far Sadiq says, “A man’s words are the proof of his excellence and the interpreter of his mind.”

The point of these introductory remarks, the reason for these words, is that Ahmad ibn Abdullah al-Hijazi,⁵ covering with kisses of veneration the dust of the court of world refuge, at which the people of religion and state place their foreheads in prostration, and the merest dust of which is the pearly collyrium of felicity, dares to petition his great lord, saying that in the year 825 [1422] in the region of Shiraz—may God protect her from calamity—I was occupied with my studies and was very diligent, in accordance with the dictum, “To seek knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim man and woman.” I also practiced spiritual exercise ... because the fruits of the human soul are nobility of mind, perfection of learning, clemency, modesty, wisdom, knowledge of things, religion, religiosity, piety, truth, purity, morals, humility, justice, equity and generosity; and the comprehension of speech is to [acquire] virtue. The wise have said, “Learning is life for the rational soul and an outlet for the heart from the darkness of nature, which covers living souls and distracts them from the world of living things by the gaudy things of nature, which are debasing beyond imagination.”

However, from time to time the passion and impulsiveness of youth—“youth is a branch of madness”—began to surge, and the chain of love began to rattle, rolling up the pages of study and turning my unproduc-

tive mind to more attractive things.

Ask for a volume of poetry and take the road to
the wilderness. [Quit] school and your boring
deliberations of the *Kashf* and *Kashshaf*.⁶
My heart is fed up with school dialectic. Let me
revel with my beloved and wine for a while.
Neither the *hafiz* has an inclination to study in
solitude nor the scholar certain knowledge.

Then [I began to spend] all my time acting upon the
dictum, “Poetry is necessary”—

Precedence and subsequence are not attributes of
magnitude, for poets came later and prophets
came earlier—

and [learning] the calligraphic forms of letters, for
“calligraphy is half of learning.” The Prince of the
Faithful Ali says, “Learn good writing, O educated man,
for writing is nothing if not an embellishment for the
educated person. If you have wealth, your writing is an
ornament. If you are needy, it is the best livelihood.”
The sultans of the age too, like Ibrahim-Sultan, Bay-
sunghur, Ulughbeg and their father Shahrukh Mirza,
have taken notice of this art, for “people follow their
kings’ religion.” In the *kutubkhana* of each of these
there was a group of learned people without equal in the
world—copyist, illuminator, illustrator, binder. I too
laid some small claim [to proficiency] in these arts by
virtue of my aspiration and ardor, and through service
and apprenticeship I acquired from every harvest a glean-
ing, and from every gleaning a seed, until during a
voyage in the year 845 [1441–42] I arrived in Edirne—
may God preserve her from catastrophe—and chose, like
the phoenix, to withdraw into a corner of un-
employment.

Flee from people and be like the phoenix, for the
repute of hermits stretches from horizon to

⁵The writer is Ahmad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Hijāzi, who copied a *Kulliyāt* of Jamālī in 867/1462–63 (Istanbul, IÜK, FY516) and a Koran dated 872/1467–68 (Kon ya, Mevlāna Müzesi [Bayāni, AAK, 1023]).

⁶*Kashf* and *Kashshāf* are stock titles for books of Koranic interpretation and jurisprudence, such as *al-Kashshāf ‘an haqā’iq al-tanzīl* by al-Zamakhsharī, used in the school curriculum.

التسجیل (التجلیل؟) مصدوق منطوق ﴿وَأَذْكُرُ فِي الْكِتَابِ
إِسْمِعِيلَ﴾ خلد الله ملکه و سلطانہ و افاض علی العالمین برہ و احسانہ
شاه جوان بخت امان جهان تاج ده و تخت ستان شهان

افسر خورشید بشاهی تویی نی، غلطم، سر الهی تویی
در گهر از تاج و ران سربلند بر صفت تاج بگوهر بلند

... که بمقتضای کلام معجز نظام ربانی و آیت فتح الله سبحانی
﴿إِنَّ الْأَرْضَ يَرِثُهَا عِبَادِيَ الصَّالِحُونَ﴾ اتمام آن بر حسب مرام
شد باهتمام سعادت انجام عالیحضرت و الارتبیت عوالی مرتبت
[۳۱۷] معالی منقبت، صبح مشتری حشمت و کامکاری،
مشرق صبح سعادت و شهر یاری، لا زال ظله ممدوداً و نجمه مسعوداً
...

القصة، اگرچه دیگران را داعیه این معنی بود، لیکن آغاز
عمارت گری یافته از نام تو نیک اختری. همت تو چون بفلک
هیئت ...

چرا که کالای خود را کاسد یافتیم و مشتریش فاسد * لاجرم ابلهان
صفة صحبت کودکان اختیار کردم و از بزرگان کنار گرفتم تا
آفتاب دولت |

استانبول، طوپ قپو سرایی موزه سی، ۷۶۲/خ

[۳۱۶] ... و مقصود ازین روایت پسندیده آنست که قبل
ازین، پادشاه مغفور بابر میرزا را داعیه استکتاب کتاب
بلاغت نصاب و خطاب مستطاب که منسوبست بگنججور کنج
گنجه و گنج فشان گنجینه خمسہ، یعنی سلطان سخنوران نظامی
شد، و بمولانا اظهر که از نوادر وقت خویش بود در کتابت،
کتابت آن فرمود. هنوز گل مرام از گلزار اتمام آن نچیده که
صرصر خزان اجل برگی از گلبن عمرش نگذاشت.

بعد از آن، پیر بوداق میرزا را همین داعیه دامن گیر شد. هنوز
بر آن ظفر نیافته پای عمرش در دامن مرگ پیچید، و او نیز ازین
جام بکام نرسیده رخت هستی بسرمنزل نیستی کشید.

بعد از آن، سلطان خلیل بن سلطان حسن را داعیه اتمام آن شده
بمولانا انیسی که در فن کتابت قصب السبق از اقران [۳۱۷]
خویش ر بوده استکتاب نمود. و تصویر آن را بمانی ثانی استاد
شیخی و ثانی مانی استاد درویش محمد امر فرمود. هنوز بر یکی
از پنج گنج ظفر نیافته که شحنة ادبار دست اقبالش را بر تافته او
نیز بکوی فنا منزل ساخت، و کارخانه را به برادر خویش یعقوب
پرداخت. او نیز در تصمیم آن کوشید و رنج بسیار و مشقت
بی شمار در آن سر کار کشید که ناگاه قهرمان مرگ پنجه در
گریبان زد و او نیز قدم بصحرای عدم رنجه کرده. بحکم آنک
«ای بسا آرزو که خاک شدست» هیچکدام بدین مقصود
نرسیدند و شربت استفاضه از جام اتمام آن نچشیدند

گرچه همه خواست ازو کام خویش

لیک گرو بود بهنگام خویش

یعنی هنگام خجسته فرجام بشارت انجام امام انام و ناظم ایام
همام عالی مقام ظل الله الملك العلام شاه عالم پناه واجب

horizon.

I did this because I found that the market for my wares was sluggish and buyers were scarce. Consequently I chose, like an idiot, to converse with children and to avoid adults until the sun of fortune ...



Istanbul, TSM H.762, fol. 316b–317a

This brilliantly illustrated copy of Nizami's *Khamsa*, now preserved in the library of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, took nearly a century to complete. As explained in the colophon, each successive patron into whose hands the incomplete book fell died before it was finished. The illustrations thus range in style from the mid-fifteenth century to the early sixteenth.

... and the reason for our relating this narrative is as follows. Before now the late padishah Babur Mirza intended to complete this eloquent book, which is attributed to the "Treasure of Ganja," scatterer of riches from the treasure house of the *Khamsa*, Sultan of Poets Nizami, and commanded Azhar,⁷ who was one of the rarities of his age in calligraphy, to copy it. Not yet had [Babur Mirza] plucked the rose of desire from the garden of completion when the barren wind of the autumn of fate left not a leaf on the tree of his life.⁸

Thereafter, Pir-Budaq Mirza was seized by the same desire [to have the work completed].⁹ Still unsuccessful, he withdrew the foot of his life into the skirt of death, and he too, not having quaffed of this goblet, carried the baggage of existence to the waystation of nothingness.¹⁰

Thereafter, Sultan Khalil, son of Sultan Hasan,

desired to have it completed.¹¹ He had it copied by Anisi,¹² who had snatched the ball of precedence from his peers; [fol. 317a] and for the painting he commissioned Master Shaykhi and Master Darwesh-Muhammad, who were second only to Mani. Scarcely had one of the "Five Treasures" been completed when the patrol of misfortune shackled the hand of his prosperity, and he too stopped in the lane of annihilation, turning over his workshop to his brother Ya'qub. He too strove to have it finished and exerted much effort, but suddenly the victor death seized him by the collar, and he too stepped into the wilderness of nonexistence.¹³

In accordance with the saying, "Many a wish has turned to dust," none of them was able to achieve his goal or drink in fulfillment from the goblet of completion. Although all wished it, it was but in their keeping during their days. [However,] in the felicitous time of the Leader of Mankind, His Exalted Highness, Shadow of God, Refuge of the World, who was prefigured in the Koranic verse, "and mention in the book Ishmael,"¹⁴ ... bestower of crowns and seizer of thrones ... in accordance with God's word, "the earth shall be inherited by my pious servants," it was completed as wished through the care and concern of His August Majesty...



⁷Azhar Tabrizi, well-known calligrapher, fl. 833–77/1430–72.

⁸Abu'l-Qasim Babur Mirza died in 861/1457

⁹In 862/1458 the Turcoman Jahanshah Qaraqoyunlu invaded Herat, where he was joined by his son Pir-Budaq. The incomplete manuscript must have come into Pir-Budaq's possession at that time.

¹⁰Pir-Budaq was killed in 871/1467.

¹¹Khalil, son of Uzun Hasan Aqqoyunlu, ruled 883–84/1478–79.

¹²Anisi, Abdul-Rahim Khwarazmi, calligrapher at the Aqqoyunlu court, fl. 844–99/1440–93.

¹³Ya'qub Beg, son of Uzun Hasan Aqqoyunlu, ruled 884–96/1478–90.

¹⁴The reference is to the Safavid Shah Isma'il I, ruled 907–30/1501–24.

طبع و نتیجه فکر طبیعی دخل است کاتب و راقم را در باب صحت و صواب آن واجب و متحتم می باید که من بعد بواجبی ملاحظه نموده سعی نمایند که مرقومات خامه غرایب نگارش از آسیب خطا و خلل مصون ماند و صفحات کتاب مراد رایش از حاجت حک و اصلاح محفوظ و مأمون و هرچه نویسد بمقابله آن کما ینبغی مراسم سعی بتقدیم رساند که تلافی ما سبق تواند شد والسلام.

کتابی که حضرت غفران دستگاه سلطان حسین میرزا بقبلة

الکتاب مولانا سلطانعلی خوشنویس نوشته

زبدة الکتاب مولانا نظام الدین سلطان علی بدانند که عنایت و تربیت مرّبی رای عقده گشای که درباره او بوقوع پیوسته اظهر من الشمس است و حسن عقیده همایون در باب هنروری او ابین من الامس و صحیفه آمال او مرقوم کلک عاطفت ساخته رقم نسخ بر خط استادان سابق کشیده ایم و اورا در آن فن از همه برتر دیده درین فرصت از دواوین خاصه که نگاشته کلک بدایع نگاد اوست سهو و غلط بسیار در نظر می آید و حک و اصلاح در چنان خطی دلفریب مقدور کسی نمی نماید چه گفته اند (مصراع)

سهل باشد جامه نیمی اطلس و نیمی پلاس

و با وجود آنکه اورا در کتابت اشعار ترکی و قوف تمام حاصل است و در طریق نظم و نثر شروع کامل اینصورت بغایت غریب است و مقرر است که در معنی و ترکیب لفظ یک بیت بلکه یک مصرع ناظم را کوشش بسیار می باید نمود و در تفتیح یک مضمون عرصه مشیت تمام می باید پیمود، هرگاه که از تصرف کاتب یا سهو قلم خلل بقواعد و ارکان آن راه یابد موجب توزع ضمیر خواهد گشت و نقصان آن بر ضمیر قایل گران خواهد بود. این سخن مشهور است که یکی از اعظم ارباب نظم در اثنای سیر بر خشت مالی عبور فرمود که اشعار اورا غلط و ناموزون ساخته می خواند و چون آن صاحب کمال دید که ترکیب الفاظ نه باندازه قالب معانی می ریزد فی الحال قدم انتظام بخشهائی که مالیده بود زده با خاک برابر ساخت و اورا در غضب آورده در معرض اعتراض انداخت. خشت مال از روی خشونت و اعراض و زجر گفت چرا رنج مرا ضایع سازی و خودرا در ورطه حیف و جور می اندازی؟ جواب فرمود که هیات گوهری را که من بصد خون جگر بکف آورده در سلک نظم کشیده ام بسنگ جفا و جور می شکنی و باک نداری و خشت چند که مالیده شده عرصه شنت می سازی (نظم)

لاف از دهن چو دُر توان زد آن خشت بود که پُر توان زد

غرض از این مقدمات آنکه چون توجه خاطر ناظم را بجانب زاده

**Letter from Sultan-Husayn Mirza to the
Calligrapher Sultan-Ali Mashhadi¹⁵**

In this letter Sultan-Husayn chides Sultan-Ali for making too many mistakes in his copying, and particularly for committing the copyist's sin of scratching out errors and rewriting. Since Sultan-Husayn states that he knows that Sultan-Ali is perfectly capable of copying correctly a text of Turkish poetry, he may well be referring to his own Turkish divan calligraphed by Sultan-Ali, several copies of which still exist.¹⁶

May the best of scribes, Master Nizamuddin Sultan-Ali,¹⁷ realize that the favor and patronage of the patron's all-solving mind that have attached to him are more apparent than the sun, and the royal good opinion of his art is more obvious than yesterday. We have written the page of his hopes with the pen of affection, drawn the pen of abrogation through the calligraphy of former masters, and consider him above all others in that art. However, in the royal divans that have been scriben by his miraculous pen, many mistakes and errors are to be seen, and scratching and corrections in such enchanting calligraphy are unforgivable, as has been said:

Clothing half of brocade and half of sackcloth is
worthless.

In view of the fact that he has acquired a perfect expertise in the copying of Turkish poetry and has a great mastery of the manner of poetry and prose, this is abundantly strange. It is well known that in the meaning and

¹⁵Persian text taken from Bayani, *AAK* 1:246f., quoted from *Majmū'a-i munsha'āt-i Abū'l-Qāsim Evoghli*.

¹⁶Copies of Sultan-Husayn's divan calligraphed by Sultan-Ali Mashhadi exist in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Supplement Turc 993) dated 890/1485, in Tehran (Mahdavi Collection) dated 895/1490, Tehran (Mazda Collection) dated 899/1493-94, and in New York (Metropolitan 1982.120.1) dated 905/1499-1500.

¹⁷It is Bayani's opinion that the "Nizamuddin" appearing in this letter was not Sultan-Ali's name but merely an honorific.

layout of the words of a line of poetry—not to mention a hemistich—the composer must make a great effort, and to perfect a conceit he must make a great exertion of will power. When error creeps into the rules and regulations through scribal intervention or a slip of the pen, it causes displeasure, and the defect lies heavy on the mind of the poet.

The story is well known that while out for a stroll a great poet passed by a brickmaker reciting the poet's poetry—but it was being recited erroneously and un-cadenced. When the master poet saw that the arrangement of his words was being poured badly into the mold of meaning, he immediately stepped onto the bricks the man had made and crushed them into the dust. The brickmaker said in anger, "Why have you wasted my efforts and indulged in such cruelty?"

"Oh," he replied, "you crush with the stone of cruelty a pearl that cost me so much effort to string onto a line of poetry, and you think nothing of it? Yet you turn the few bricks you have fashioned into an excuse to be rude and impolite."

One can spout nonsense from the mouth like
pearls: it is a brick that can break a wing.

The point of these preliminaries is that since there is a natural connection between the poet's mind and the product of his poetic nature and contemplation, scribes and copyists must take great pains to be correct and free of error, and henceforth you will pay attention and strive to ensure that what is written by your miraculous pen is protected from the calamity of error and mistake, and the pages free of any necessity to scratch out and make corrections. You must endeavor appropriately in all that you write in order to receive as before. Peace.



خط میر علی الحسینی در مرقع «گلشن»، موزه کاخ گلستان،

تهران

فقیر بی بضاعت و حقیر بی استطاعت العبد الخایف المذنب علی
الحسینی الکاتب را یک چند قطعه و رباعی از صنایع بود و
پیوسته از پریشانی آن توهم می نمود. بنا بر آن محقر مرقعی ترتیب
داده یکچند قطعه دیگر از خطوط استادان نیز جهت تبرک و
تیمن بر آن افزود. امید که مقبول نظر ارباب فضیلت و کمال و
اصحاب فضل و افضال گردد.

**Tehran, Gulistan Palace Museum, "Gulshan"
Album, p. 245**

A page written and calligraphed by Mir Ali al-Husayni is now in the "Gulshan" Album, which was created for the Mughal Emperor Jahangir in 1019/1610. It shows that Mir Ali made an album that included both his own and others' works. The folios of the original album are probably dispersed throughout various albums.

The poor, destitute, miserable, incapable, fearful and sinful slave Ali al-Husayni the scribe had several occasional poems and quatrains as examples of his art, and he always worried that they would get scattered, so he arranged them in an album and added to it a few specimens of the calligraphy of masters for good auspices, hoping that it would be acceptable to the gaze of the learned and the erudite.

غیاث الدین نقّاش

سرگذشت ایلچیانى که به خان

بالیغ رفته بودند

پادشاه مغفور معروف میرزا شاه رخ در شهور سنه اثنا و عشرین و ثمانمائه جمعی را که راس و رئیس ایشان شادی خواجه بود برسالت ختا نامزد فرمود و شاهزاده عالمیان میرزا بایسنقر و سلطان احمد و خواجه غیاث الدین نقّاش را که خالی از زیور هنر نبودند مصحوب ایشان گردانید و با خواجه مشاراً الیه مقرر کرد که از آن زمان که از دار السلطنه هرات بیرون روند تا بروزی که باز آیند آنچه مشاهده ایشان گردد از حوادث و کیفیت طرق و قواعد بلاد و صفت امصار و اوضاع عمارات و اوضاع و اطوار پادشاهان و غیر ذلک بی زیاده و نقصان بر صفحات قرطاس ثبت نمایند و چون فرستادگان باز آمدند و خواجه غیاث الدین بموجب فرموده عمل نموده آنچه دیده بود بطریق روزنامه نوشته معروض گردانید و زبده آن کلمات عجیب و حکایات غریب از تقریر و تحریر او نقل کرده می آید والعهدۃ علیه .

GHIYATHUDDIN NAQQASH

REPORT TO MIRZA BAYSUNGHUR ON THE TIMURID LEGATION TO THE MING COURT AT PEKING

Embassies were exchanged between the Timurids and Ming China on a fairly regular basis.¹ After Timur's death, the first Chinese embassy to Shahrukh arrived in Herat in 815/1412.

The second embassy arrived in Rabi' 1 820 (April 1417) with three hundred horsemen and gifts and presents from the Emperor of China consisting of falcons, brocades, velvets, silks, porcelain vessels, Chinese paper, etc. In the letter from the emperor expressing friendship for Shahrukh, he conveyed his gratitude to Sayyid-Ahmad Tarkhan for a white horse he had sent when the first embassy returned to Peking. A picture of this horse, commissioned by the emperor, was also brought by the embassy.² When the second embassy set out for Peking in Rabi' 1 820 (May 1417), Shahrukh sent Ardashir Tovachī, who is mentioned in Ghiyathuddin's report.³

A third embassy from Ming China arrived in Herat with Ardashir Tovachī in Ramadan 822 (October 1419),⁴ and the embassy to which Ghiyathuddin Naqqash was attached seems to be a reciprocal legation, departing some two months later. Although the purpose of the delegation is not given, it is certainly of significance that not only Shahrukh, but Baysunghur, Ibrahim-Sultan, Soyurghatmish, Amir Shah Malik, and the king of Badakhshan all sent emissaries on this mission.⁵



¹See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* 2:256–61.

²Such a picture is preserved in one of the Istanbul albums (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H.2154, folio 33b) and reproduced in *Islamic Art* 1 (1981): fig. 83B.

³See Faṣīhī Khwāfī, *Mujmal*, p. 230f. and 'Abdul-Razzāq, *Majma'-i sa'dayn* 2:201–2.

⁴'Abdul-Razzāq, *Majma'-i sa'dayn*, II, 216.

⁵Notice of their arrival in Peking is given in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* 2:284–85.

In the year 822 [A.D. 1419] His Late Highness Mirza Shahrukh appointed a group, at the head of which was Shadi Khwaja, on a mission to Cathay. Along with them Prince Mirza Baysunqur sent Sultan-Ahmad and Khwaja Ghiyathuddin Naqqash, who was an artist of no mean talent. He established with the khwaja that, from the day they departed the capital Herat until the day they returned, they would record on the pages of their notebooks, without addition or deletion, all they witnessed—events, condition of roads, construction of towns, description of garrisons, situations of buildings, conditions of kings, etc. When the emissaries returned, Khwaja Ghiyathuddin, in compliance with the order, presented, written down in the form of a journal, all he had seen, the choicest marvelous tales and rare stories of which will be quoted from his report, for [the verity of] which he is responsible.⁶

⁶The following report taken from *Rawdat al-safā* (RS) 7:479–98, and compared with the corresponding section in *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (HS) 4:634–49, where it is said to have been taken from 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandi's *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn* (MS; see Persian text and French translation by Etienne Quatremère, *Notices et extraits* 14:308–41, 387–426; Shafi' edition 2:267–88, significant variants in which are noted); an abstract in English of Quatremère's translation is given in Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* 1:271–89. Elaborative material in HS and not in RS is marked in the translation with square brackets [...].

ایلچیان شانزدهم ذی قعدة از دار السلطنة هرات بعزم ختای بیرون آمدند و قطع مسافت کرده نهم ذی الحجة ببلخ رسیدند و ازم کثرت بارندگی و شدت سرما تا غرة محرم سنه ثلث و عشرين و ثمانمائه در آنجا ماندند، و بیست و دوم ماه مذکور در سمرقند نزول کردند و میرزا الغ بیگ پیشتر از آن ایلچیان خود سلطان شاه و محمد بخشی را با طایفه از اهل ختای فرستاده بود و رسولان خراسان در شهر سمرقند توقف نمودند تا ایلچی میرزا سیورغتمش از عراق و ایلچی امیر شاه ملک^۱ اردوان [و] ایلچی شاه بدخشان تاج الدین بدیشان پیوستند. آنگاه باتفاق ایلچیان ختای عاشر شهر صفر از سمرقند بیرون رفتند و از تاشکنت و سیرام^۲ گذشته میان ایل مغول درآمدند.

و مقارن [۴۷۹] وصول ایشان خبر رسید که اویس خان قصد شیر محمد اغلان کرده ازین جهت شورش در میان الوس افتاده. پس از آن خبر صلح یافتند و امیر خداداد که صاحب اختیار آندیار بود بایلچیان رسید. ایشان را دلجوئی نمود و ایلچیان هیجدهم ماه جمادی الاول بموضع سلو بو^۳ که بمحمد بیگ تعلق داشت رسیدند و در آنجا چندان توقف نمودند که بعضی از بازماندگان که نوکران شاه بدخشان بودند بایشان ملحق شدند و بیست و دوم از آنجا کوچ کرده و از آب کنگز^۴ گذشتند و روز دیگر حاکم الوس محمد بیگ سلطان گورکان که داماد شمع^۵ جهان بود و دختر او را میرزا محمد جوکی در حباله نکاح داشت.

و بیست و هشتم ماه مذکور بجلگاه یلدوز و ایل شیر بهرام درآمدند و در آن بیابان با آنکه آفتاب در سرطان بود آب مقدار دو انگشت یخ بسته بود و هشتم ماه جمادی الآخر خبر شنیدند که پسران محمد بیگ واخی را که ایلچی اویس خان بودند غارت

^۱ روضة الصفا + از.

^۲ روضة الصفا: بیرام: عجایب اللطایف: سیرام.

^۳ عجایب اللطایف: بیلنو تو.

^۴ روضة الصفا: لنکر.

^۵ روضة الصفا: شاه.

GHIYATHUDDIN NAQQASH'S ACCOUNT

On the 16th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [December 4, 1419] the emissaries left Herat for Cathay.⁷ Having traversed a distance, they reached Balkh on the 9th of Dhu'l-Hijja [December 27, 1419]. On account of heavy rain and severe cold they remained there until the beginning of Muharram 823 [mid-January 1420]. On the 22nd of that month they stopped in Samarkand. {Two months} previously Mirza Ulugh-Beg had dispatched his own emissaries, Sultan-Shah and Muhammad Bakhshī, with a number of Cathayan people. The messengers from Khusasan stopped in Samarkand until Mirza Soyurghatmish's emissary Arghudaq, Amir Shah-Malik's emissary Ardawan, [and] the shahs of Badakhshan's emissary Tajuddin joined them. Then, on the 10th of Safar [February 25], together with the emissaries of Cathay they left Samarkand and, passing through Tashkent {on the 4th of Rabi' I} and Sayram⁸ {on the 13th}, came {at the beginning of Rabi' II to Ashpara and on the 21st [May 5]} among the Moghul people. {At this time the spring season had begun, and the views afforded by the roads, mountains and meadows were pleasant beyond description.}

At the same time [RS VII, 479] as they arrived, news came that Uways Khan had attacked Sher-Muhammad Oghlan, for which reason there was a disturbance in the nation.⁹ After that there came news of a truce {negotiated by} Amir Khudadad, who held the

⁷"Cathay" will be used throughout for the Persian *Khaṭāy*, the name by which the Timurids referred to northern China. "China" (*Chīn*) occurs only once in the narrative. According to Faṣiḥī (*Mujmal*, 251) the group left on 6 Dhū'l-Qa'da 822 (November 14, 1419).

⁸This is the Sayrām north of Tashkent and near Chimkand, which could be easily reached in nine days.

⁹In *AL* this sentence reads: "Because of a desire on the part of Uways Khān to kill Sher-Muhammad Oghlan, Qul-Muhammad Beg and some Moghul *amīrs* had rebelled against Uways Khān and thrown the nation into an uproar." Uways (or Ways) Khān was the son of Sher-'Alī Oghlan, brother of Sher-Muhammad Khān, and the hostility between Uways and his uncle continued until Sher-Muhammad's death and the succession of Uways to the khanate of Mughulistan (see Mirza Haydar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, text pp. 36–39, trans. pp. 32–35).

stewardship of that region and who came to the emissaries and gave them a document of safe passage. On the 18th of Jumada I [May 31] the emissaries reached a place [called] Sa'lubu,¹⁰ which belonged to Muhammad Beg. They stopped there for a while so that some of the stragglers, who were the king of Badakhshan's servants, could catch up. On the 22nd they departed and crossed the Küngāz River. The next day <they saw> the ruler of the nation, Muhammad Beg, <and> Sultan Shadi Kürāgān, <Muhammad Beg's son> who was the son-in-law of Sham'-i Jahan, whose other daughter had been given in marriage to Mirza Muhammad-Juki.¹¹

On the 28th [of Jumada I] [June 10] they entered the Yulduz Prairie¹² and the *el* (tribe) of Sher-Bahram. In that wilderness, although the Sun was in Cancer, water was frozen to a depth of two fingers. On the 8th of Jumada II [June 20] they heard news of the plunder of Uways Khan's *daji* and emissary by the sons of Muhammad Beg.¹³ {After this news} the emissaries were concerned {that henceforth, during the trip through mountainous terrain, they would have to be very careful.} Most of the time rain and sleet fell from the clouds, [and with much difficulty] they forded rivers and traversed the mountains.

At the end of the month [of Jumada II] they reached the city of Turfan. In this town most of the people [HS IV, 635] were idolators and had huge idol temples. On a dais in one temple they had placed a huge idol which was a representation of Shakamuni.¹⁴

On the 2nd of the month [of Rajab] they left there

¹⁰In *AL*, Bilghutu. Not verified, not located

¹¹Sentence incomplete in *RS*; passage omitted altogether in *HS*. *AL* has: "The wife of Muhammad Bēg's son, who was the son-in-law of Sulṭān Shādi Kürāgān Sham'-i Jahān, was the sister of Prince's Jūki Bahādur's wife." Sham'-i Jahān and Muḥammad Khān were sons of Khidr Khwāja Khān of Mughulistan (Mirzā Muḥammad Haydar Dughlāt, *History*, intro., p. 46). Sham'-i Jahān's daughter, Mihmigār Khānikā, was married to Muḥammad-Jūki (*RS* 6:600, 668).

¹²The Yulduz is the principal *yaylaq* (summer pasture) of Mughulistan.

¹³This sentence taken from *AL*. The version given in *RS* is hopelessly garbled and reads: "On the 8th of Jum. II they heard the news that the sons of Muhammad Bēg Wākhi, who were Uways Khān's emissaries, had been plundered."

¹⁴Gautama Shakyamuni, the Buddha.

فی الجمله چهاردهم شعبان بموضعی رسیدند که از آنجا تا سکجو که اول شهر از شهرهای ختایست ده روز همه راه بیابان بی آب بود،^{۱۵} و در آنجا با جمعی از ختاییان که باستقبال آمده بودند ملاقات نمودند و بیکروز در مرغزاری که رشک باغ ارم بود صفتها ساخته سایبانها بر افراختند و سریرها و صندلیها نهاده و از ماکولات قاز و مرغ بریان و گوشت پخته و انواع ثمارهای خشک و تر بر طبقهای چینی مرتب گردانیدند و در آنجا طوبی ترتیب دادند که در شهرهای عظیم بتکلف میسر می شود و چون از طعام خوردن باز پرداختند، انواع مسکرات حاضر ساختند و هرکس را آنچه محتاج الیه بود از گوسفند و آرد و جو دادند و نسخه گرفتند که هرکس از ایلچیان چند عدد نوکر دارند و مبالغه کردند که بموجب راستی باز نمایند و زیاده نگویند که هرکس که دروغ گوید او را اعتبار نماند و بازرگانان در سلک نوکران انتظام یافته خدمت می کردند و نسخه بدین تفصیل بود:

امیر شادی خواجه و کوکچه	دویست نفر
سلطان احمد و غیاث الدین نقاش	صد و پنجاه نفر
ارغداق	شصت نفر
اردو[ا]	پنجاه نفر
تاج الدین	پنجاه نفر

و ایلچیان میرزا الغبیگ پیشتر رفته بودند و قاصدان میرزا ابراهیم سلطان هنوز نرسیده بودند.

و شانزدهم شعبان وانگ داجی^{۱۶} که حاکم سرحد بود طوبی عظیم ترتیب داده ایلچیان را طلب داشت و ایشان بیورت او رفتند و ختاییان بطریق معهودی که معتاد ایشان است مرتب فرود آمده بودند طناب اندر طناب چنانچه هیچ آفریده را بمیان ایشان راه نبود مگر از چهار دروازه که بر چهار طرف مرتب گذاشته بودند و میان آن فضائی بزرگ بود میان فضا دکانی بود بلند ساخته مقدار یک جریب و خیمه بزرگ در آنجا زده^{۱۷} دو نیزه

کردند و ایلچیان توهم نموده با آنکه اوقات قطرات امطار و ژاله از سحاب ریزان بود از دریاها گرفته و کوهها را طی کرده.

آخر ماه بشهر طرفان رسیدند و در این بلده اکثر مردم بت پرست بودند و بتخانه های بزرگ داشتند و در صفت^{۱۸} بتخانه صنمی عظیم نهاده بودند. میگفتند که این صورت شاکمونی است.^{۱۹}

و دوم ماه رجب از آنجا کوچ کرده روز پنجم بقرا خواجه فرود آمدند و دهم ماه جمعی از نویسندگان ختای آمده اسامی ایلچیان و عدد مردم ایشان بنوشتند و نوزدهم ماه بقصبه آتاصوفی نزول کردند و در آنموضع علوی از سادات ترمذ زاویه ساخته و لنگر اقامت انداخته بود و از آنجا طبل رحیل کوفتند.

روز بیست و یکم بشهر کامل^{۲۰} رسیدند و درین شهر امیر^{۲۱} فخرالدین مسجدی عالی در غایت تکلف و تزیین ساخته بود و قریب بان بت پرستان بتخانه بزرگ و کوچک مصور بصور بدیع بنا نهاده بودند و بر در بتخانه صورت دو دیو بر یکدیگر حمله کرده نگاشته و منگلی^{۲۲} تیمور بایری^{۲۳} نام جوانی در نهایت حسن و جمال حاکم قائل بود. پس از آنجا بیرون آمده بیست و پنج مرحله پیمودند و بهر دو روز یکنوبت آب می یافتند و دوازدهم ماه شعبان در آن بیابان بی پایان [۴۸۰] بگا و^{۲۴} قطاس بازخوردند. گویند که آن گاو چنان بزرگ و باقوت میباشد که نوبتی سواری را از پشت زین ربوده مدتی بر سر شاخ نگاهداشت،^{۲۵} و این روایت مخالف آن قول است که شیر را در حدود خطای در ربوده و مدتی بر سر شاخ او بود این طرفه حدیثی است اگر راست بود

^{۱۶} حبیب السیر: طوقان.

^{۱۷} روضة الصفا: صفحه: حبیب السیر: در یکی از صفت های بیت الصنم.

^{۱۸} میگفتند... است، حبیب السیر +.

^{۱۹} روضة الصفا: قائل: حبیب السیر: کامل.

^{۲۰} حبیب السیر: سیدی.

^{۲۱} روضة الصفا: هیکل: حبیب السیر: منگلی.

^{۲۲} روضة الصفا و حبیب السیر: بایری: زبده التواریخ: بایری.

^{۲۳} روضة الصفا: بشرگاؤ.

^{۲۴} گویند... نگاهداشت، حبیب السیر +.

^{۱۵} که از آنجا... بود، حبیب السیر +.

^{۱۶} روضة الصفا: وامک واجی: حبیب السیر: دانک داجی.

and reached Qara Khwaja on the 5th. On the 10th [of Rajab] a group of Cathayan scribes came and wrote down the emissaries' names and the number of their people. On the 19th of the month [Rajab] they stopped in the entrepôt of Ata Sufi, where {someone named Khandzada Tajuddin} Alawi, a sayyid of Tirmidh, had built a dervish convent and taken up residence in a hospice. {His son-in-law,¹⁵ Mir Fakhruddin, was the ruler of the Muslims of Qamul.}

On the 21st [of that same month Shadi Khwaja and his companions stopped in] the city of Qamul,¹⁶ where Amir Sayyid Fakhruddin had constructed a lofty and highly ornamented and decorated mosque, {opposite which a large temple was located. In this temple were various idols, among which was a golden statue the size of a ten-year-old boy that was executed with consummate mastery.} On the sides of {this temple} the idolators had made large and small paintings of fantastic forms. On the door to the temple was painted a depiction of two demons attacking each other. A very handsome youth, Mengli Temür Bayirī by name, was the ruler of Qamul. They left there and crossed twenty-five stages, finding water once every other day. On the 25th {12th} of Sha'ban, in the midst of that vast wilderness, [RS 480] they came across a yak, [which is so large and strong that once one seized a rider from his saddle and kept him on its horns for some time]. This is a novel report if it is true.

To return to the narrative, on the 14th of Sha'ban [August 24, 1420] they came to a place [from which to Sukju, the first city inside Cathay, is ten days, the whole way desert wilderness.] There they encountered a group of Cathayans who had come to meet [Shadi Khwaja and his companions]. In one day, in a meadow that would have been the envy of the Garden of Iram, they made platforms, set up canopies, placed seats and chairs and arranged foodstuffs, goose, roast fowl, cooked viands and all types of fruit, both dried and fresh, on china platters; and there they gave a banquet that would have been difficult to hold in a great city. When they were finished eating they brought all sorts of intoxicants and gave each person the sheep, flour and barley he needed. They also took receipts of how many servants each of the emissaries had, and they empha-

sized that they should represent this in accordance with the truth and not inflate the number, for whoever told a lie would lose credibility [with the emperor]. The merchants were listed among the ranks of the servants. The receipts were as follows:

Amir Shadi & Kōkchä	200 persons
Sultan-Ahmad & Ghiyathuddin Naqqash....	150 persons
Arghudaq.....	60 persons
Ardawan.....	50 persons
Tajuddin.....	50 persons

Mirza Ulugh-Beg's emissaries had gone ahead, and Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan's messengers had not yet arrived.

On the 16th of Sha'ban, Wang Daji,¹⁷ the ruler of the march, gave a huge banquet and summoned the emissaries, who entered his *yurt*. The Cathayans, as was their wont, had camped in a square, tent rope hard by tent rope, such that no creature could come among them except by the four gates they had left on the four sides of the square. In the middle was a large open area, in the midst of which a high platform one *jarib* [in area] had been constructed. Therein was pitched a large tent, with two Cathayan spears¹⁸ placed in front, with the flaps opened out like an alcove, and a vestibule of wood and canopies unfurled such that in that one-*jarib* area the sun did not shine. Beneath the two spears [the two-poled tent] they had placed the Daji's seat, to the right and left of which were chairs. The emissaries sat on the left, and the Chinese amirs took their places on the right. [RS 481] Among them the left is more the place of honor than the right since the heart, the ruler of the city of the body, has its abode on the left side. One tray was placed before the emissaries and another before the amirs. On one tray were goose, fowl and cooked viands and both dried [and fresh] Chinese fruit, and on the other [HS 636] were little cakes and delicious bread. Dates of paper and silk were placed before every one. Opposite, on an elevated place, the imperial

¹⁵MS: "his father-in-law."

¹⁶The older Chinese Hamil, now Ha-mi (Qomul).

¹⁷*Wāng* here is probably the Chinese *wang* (王) 'duke.' *Dāji*, variants of which occur throughout, is taken to be a rendering of the Mongolian *taiji* (from the Chinese *t'ai shih* 太師), an honorific title.

¹⁸RS: *khayma-i buzurg...u du nayza-i khatā'i*; HS: *khayma-i buzurg-i du-tira-i khatā'i* ("a large, two-poled Cathayan tent").

بمضمون این مقال عمل می نمودند که

کمند صید بهرامی بیفکن، جام جم برگیر

که پیمودم من این صحرا، نه بهرام است نه گورش

و پسران ماه رخسار لاله عذار صراحیهای شراب خوشگوار در دست گرفته ایستاده و بعضی از ایشان طبقهای پر قند و عناب و چهارمغز و شاه بلوط مقرر و لیمو و سیر و پیاز در سرکه پرورده و خربزه و هندوانه بریده بر کف نهاده بودند. چون امیر کسی را جامی دادی، یکی از ایشان طبقها می آوردند تا آنکس بهر نقلی که میل نمودی برداشتی.

دیگر صورتی مشابه لکلک در نهایت بزرگی ساخته بودند چنانچه پسری در اندرون وی میرفت آن لکلک باصول پای می کوفت و هر طرف [۴۸۲] سر می جنبانید و بنوعی که دیده نظاره وران خیره می شد و آنروز از صبح تا رواح بعیش و نشاط و فرح و انبساط بسر می بردند.

و هفدهم شعبان بچول و سامان درآمده منازل قطع می کردند و [پس] از چند روز بقراول رسیدند و این قراول قلعه ایست در نهایت محکمی که در میان جبال واقع شده و یک راه دارد که می باید بقلعه درآمد و در دیگر که بیرون رود ایلچیان بقلعه درآمدند و اهل آن قلعه همه را شمرده نام نوشتند. بعد از آن از قراول گذشته بشهر سکجو^{۲۳} رسیدند و ایشان را در یام خانه بزرگ که بر در شهر بود فرود آوردند و رخوت آنجماعت را مجموع ستانده و بدفتر برده سپردند و مایحتاج ایشان از ماکولات و مشروبات و مرکوب و مفروش همه خوب و مرغوب داشتند و برای هرکس کتی و یک دست جامه خواب ابریشمین با یک خدمتکار فرمانبردار مقرر فرمودند و در جمیع یام خانه ها تا شهر خطای برین نهج خدمت می کردند.

خطائی در پیش آن نصب کرده و مانند شاه نشینی دامنها برزده و تالاری از چوب و سایبانها برافراخته چنانچه در آن یک جریب بکان آفتاب نمی تابید و در زیر آن خیمه دو نیزه سریر داجی^{۱۸} را نهاده بودند و دیگر از چپ و راست صندلیها گذاشته و ایلچیان بجانب چپ نشستند و امرای ختا بر طرف راست قرار گرفتند [۴۸۱] و پیش ایشان تعظیم جانب چپ زیاده از راست است چه دل سلطان شهرستان بدست درین طرف منزل دارد و پیش هر یک از ایلچیان و امرا دو شیر^{۱۹} نهاده در یکی قاز و مرغ و گوشت پخته و میوه های خشک ختایی بود و در دیگری کلوچها و نانهای خوب و نخلی از کاغذ و ابریشم بغایت مرغوب در پیش سایر مردم بعد^{۲۰} هر یک یک شیر^{۲۱} نهاده و در مقابل کورگه بادشاهی در موضعی مرتفع مقرر نموده و خمهای چینی و صراحیهای بلور و نقره موضوع بود و در چپ و راست کورگه مطربان و اهل ساز ایستاده و ارغنون و کمانچه و نی و سنج و دف و چهاره و دهل در نوا آوردند و پسران صاحب جمال مانند دختران آرایش داده سرخی و سفیدی بر روی مالیده و مرواریدها در گوش کشیده بازیگرها کردند و در این فضای گشاده تا چهار دروازه سپاهیان جبه پوش چنان بتمکین و وقار ایستاده بودند که ز محل خویش یکقدم پیش و پس نمی نهادند و در دست نیزه ها داشتند و بیساول احتیاج نداشتند و مردم را علی اختلاف مراتبهم در مواضع مناسب نشانند و امیر درسون که حاکم دیوان بود کاسه داشت و صندوق نخلبندی با وی میگردانیدند هرکس را که کاسه داد شاخچه از آن بر سرش زده مجلس را غیرت افزای فضای چمن ساخت^{۲۲} و بازیگران از کاغذ و مقوی صور جانوران ساخته بودند و بر روی خود بسته چنانچه بهیچوجه روی و گوش گردن ایشان نمی نمود و ساقیان سیمین باده پیمودن گرفتند و

^{۱۷} روضة الصفا + و.

^{۱۸} روضة الصفا: واجی.

^{۱۹} روضة الصفا: خوانی.

^{۲۰} سایر مردم بعد، حبیب السیر +.

^{۲۱} یک شیر، حبیب السیر +.

^{۲۲} امیر درسون... ساخت، حبیب السیر: امیر و رسول را حاکم دیوان کاسه داده.

^{۲۳} روضة الصفا: بیکجو.

*kävürgä*¹⁹ was situated, and [large and small] china vases and [large and small] crystal and silver vessels [some of silver and others of china] were placed about. To the right and left of the *kävürgä* were standing singers and musicians, who played on psalteries, viols, flutes, cymbals, tambours, castanets and drums. Beautiful boys made up like girls with rouge and powder rubbed on their faces and pearls in their ears performed. In this open area, all the way to the four gates, soldiers clad in armor stood, so still and grave that they never moved a foot from their positions. In their hands they held spears and had no need of an officer. People were seated according to their various ranks, and the master of ceremonies handed the amirs and emissaries goblets. [After eating, when wine drinking had begun, the governor held a goblet, along with which was passed around a figured chest, and a little branch {of artificial dates} was taken from the chest and put in the turban of every person to whom the goblet was given, so that in the end the gathering resembled a garden.] The players had made animal masks of papier maché and fastened them over their heads in such a manner that their faces, ears and necks could not be seen at all [and they danced in the Chinese fashion]. The silvery cupbearers began to pass wine around and acted in accordance with this verse:

Cast Bahram's lasso of prey, clasp Jamshid's cup,
for I have crossed this desert, and there is neither
Bahram nor onager.

Moon-faced, tulip-cheeked boys, holding vessels of delicious wine, stood by, while others held platters full of hazelnuts, jujubes, walnuts, peeled chestnuts, citrons, pickled garlic and onions, and slices of melon and watermelon. When the amir handed someone a goblet, one of the [servants] offered the platters for [the guests] to choose whatever appetizers they wished.

They had also fashioned a mask like a stork, so enormous that a boy could get inside it. The stork

danced rhythmically and shook [RS 482] its head in every direction so that the onlookers were astonished. That day, from morning till evening, was spent in enjoyment and pleasure.

On the 17th of Sha'ban [August 27, 1420] they set out [across the desert,] and traversing several stages, reached Qarawul in a few days.²⁰ Qarawul is a very strong fortress surrounded by mountains. [There is only one road.] It has one gate leading in and another leading out. As the emissaries entered the fortress, the people there counted each person and wrote down the names. Leaving Qarawul, they came to the city of Sukju,²¹ stopping in a large post station at the city gate. The [Chinese] took everyone's [pack animals and] belongings to the office. Among their stores they had very good quality foodstuffs, beverages, mounts and textiles, and they assigned each person a bed, a pair of silk pyjamas and an obedient servant. They performed such services in all the posthouses all the way to the capital of Cathay.

¹⁹A large kettle drum of regal significance, like the *naqqāra*. The word seems to have originated with the Uighur *kövriüg* (Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 690–91) > Mongolian *kö'ürgä*, *kä'ürgä* > Chaghatay *kävürgä*. Radloff gives *kürägä* (VWTD, II, 1450) and *käürgä* (2:1057); Doerfer (*TMEN*, §339) reads *körgä*.

²⁰*Qarāwul* means sentry or sentry post, but it seems to be used as a proper name here. Yule (*Cathay* 1:274) identifies it as Kia-yü Kwan (Chia-yü Kwan 嘉峪關), the fortified entrance of the Great Wall in Gansu.

²¹The Persian Sukjū, or Sawkjū, is Su-chou (older Sukchou 肅州), Marco Polo's "Succiu," the modern Jiuquan in Gansu Province. Abū'l-Fidā (*Taqwim al-buldān*, p. 366) spells and vocalizes it as Sawkjū.

بر شرح واقعه بدست یکدیگر داده برسانند و کیدی قو عبارت از خانه واری چند است که در محلی ساکن گردانیده اند و مامورند بآنکه اگر مکتوبی یا خبری بدیشان رسد فی الحال بکیدی فوی دیگر رسانند تا آن قضیه باندک زمانی مفصلاً بسمع پادشاه رسد و از کیدی فو تا کیدی فوی دیگر ده قره^{۲۱} است و هر شانزده قره یک فرسنگ شرعی باشد و هر روز بنوبت ده کس ملازم قرغو باشند اما جمعی که ملازم کیدی فوی اند همانجا اقامت ورزند و خانه ها ساخته زراعت کنند.

و از سکجو^{۲۰} تا قمجو که بلده دیگر است و بزرگتر از سکجو،^{۲۱} نه یام بود و وانگ داجی^{۲۲} که بزرگتر داجیان^{۲۳} سرحد است درین شهر حکومت کند. هر یامی صد و پنجاه اسب و درازگوش و قریب شصت عرابه جهة ایلچیان می آوردند.^{۲۴} پسرانی که اسبان را محافظت می نمایند موسومند بمافو و متعهدان درازگوش را لوفو گویند و عرابه کشان را چفو.^{۲۵} و این طبقه بسیار باشند که ریسمان عرابه بر دوش گرفته می کشند و هر عرابه بعهدۀ دوازده کس است و هرچند در راه بارندگی و سرما بسیار باشد ایشان از عرابه کشیدن باز نمانند و همه پسران خوش محاوره سیمین بدن باشند، مرواریدهای دروغین ختایی در

و سکجو^{۲۴} شهری معظم است و سوری رفیع و محکم بگرد آن کشیده و هیئت آن مربع متساوی الاضلاع مشتمل بر بازارهای عریض چنانچه عرض آن پنجاه گز شرع باشد همه آب زده و جاروب کشده و در اکثر خانه ها خوک اهلی و در دکاکین قصابی گوشت گوسفند و گوشت خوک پهلوی هم آویخته و در آن شهر بازار و چهارسو بسیار است و بر سر هر چارسوی چهارطاق بسته در نهایت تکلف و تزیین و کنگرها بر آن تعبیه کرده و مقرنس خطائی بر آن بکار برده و در باروی شهر در هر بیست قدم برجی سربوشیده ساخته و چهار دروازه و چهار دیوار شهر برابر هم گشاده و با آنکه از میان شهر تا دروازه مسافت بسیار بود از غایت راستی اندک می نمود و بر پشت هر دروازه کوشکی دو طبقه پرداخته و درین شهر بتخانه های متعدد بود و هر بتخانه قریب بده جریبست و تمامی صحن آن^{۲۵} را از خشت پخته تراشیده فرش انداخته بودند بغایت پاک و پاکیزه و بر در بتخانه ها پسران صاحب جمال ایستاده و صلاهی عشرت و دخول در داده.

و از آنجا تا خان بالیغ که تختگاه پادشاه ختای است نود و نه یام بود و همه معموره و آبادان و هر یامی مشتمل بر شهری و قصبه و میان هر دو یام چند قرغو^{۲۶} بودی و قرغو عبارتست از خانه که ارتفاع آن شصت گز باشد و پیوسته درین خانه ده^{۲۷} کس باشند و آن را [۴۸۳] چنان ساخته اند که قوغوی دیگر می نماید و چون حادثه دست دهد مثلاً اگر از لشکر بیگانه اثری بینند فی الحال در قرغو آتش کنند و اهل قرغوی دیگر این حال را مشاهده کرده هم با این عمل قیام نمایند و ایستادگان پایه سریر اعلی در خان بالیغ بعد از یکشبانه روز در حالی که از دار الملک تا آنجا که این حال روی نموده سه ماهه راه باشد معلوم کنند، اما بر سبیل اجمال و متعاقب اینصورت کیدی فو^{۲۸} مکتوبی مشتمل

^{۲۱} حبیب السیر: مره.

^{۲۰} روضة الصفا: بیکو.

^{۳۱} روضة الصفا: بیکجو.

^{۳۲} حبیب السیر: وانگ داجی؛ روضة الصفا: انکجی.

^{۳۳} روضة الصفا: واجیان.

^{۳۴} هر یامی... می آوردند، حبیب السیر: روضة الصفا: هر یامی چهارصد و پنجاه

اسب عرابه.

^{۳۵} موسومند... چفو: حبیب السیر +.

^{۲۴} روضة الصفا: بیکجو.

^{۲۵} تمامی صحن آن، حبیب السیر: روضة الصفا: همه.

^{۲۶} روضة الصفا: قرغو.

^{۲۷} روضة الصفا: دو.

^{۲۸} روضة الصفا: کیدی فو: حبیب السیر: کی دقو.

Sukju is a large city with strong, high walls encircling it. In shape it is square and comprises bazaars fifty cubits wide, all watered down and swept. In most houses domestic pigs are kept, and in the butcher shops they sell mutton and pork hung next to each other. There are many bazaars and marketplaces in that city, and at every marketplace there is a highly ornamented [wooden] archway²² with crenellations [also of wood] fitted on top and Chinese stalactites. Every twenty paces [HS 637] along the city ramparts is a covered tower. The four gates in the four walls of the city are directly opposite each other, and although it is some distance from the middle of the city to the gates, the [streets] are so straight [and the people so numerous] it did not seem so far. Atop each gateway is a two-story pavilion. {The walls and gates were decorated with colored tiles, as the people of Mazanderan do, although in Mazanderan they build with tile that is not colored, while the Chinese execute them in their own particular colored tile.} There were numerous temples in this city, each one nearly ten *jaribs*, [the courtyards] all paved with cut baked brick and very clean and neat. At the temple doors beautiful boys stand and call out for people to enter.

From there to Khan Balīgh (Peking), which is the emperor of Cathay's capital, there were ninety-nine stage posts, all of which were flourishing. Every post station [is nearly as large as a town] comprises a town and an entrepôt, and between each two posts are several *qarghus*.²³ A *qarghu* consists of a structure about sixty cubits tall, and there are always two [ten] people in these structures, which [RS 483] are so situated that the next *qarghu* is visible. When any event occurs—for example, if they catch sight of a foreign army—they immediately light a fire on the *qarghu* and, as the people in the next *qarghu* see it, they do the same so that the watchmen at the capital in Khan Balīgh learn of an event within a day and night, whereas it may be a three-month journey to the place where it occurred. Generally, immediately afterward, the relay messenger (*gidi*

fu)²⁴ relays a letter explaining the event. *Gidi fu* is an expression for several householders who have been domiciled in a particular locality. They are responsible for passing on to the next relay station any letter or piece of news they receive so that, within a short period of time, a detailed [account] reaches the ears of the emperor. From one relay station to the next is ten *qaras*,²⁵ sixteen *qaras* being one stage. Every day²⁶ ten people in turn serve the *qarghu*, while those who serve the relay station reside there and have built houses and till the soil.

From Sukju to Qamju,²⁷ which is the next town and larger than Sukju, was one [nine] stages. Wang Daji, who is the great ward of the march, rules in this town. Every posthouse has 450 dray horses and donkeys. They brought nearly sixty wagons for the emissaries. The boys who take care of the horses are called *ma-fu*,²⁸ the custodians of the donkeys are called *lü-fu*,²⁹ and the wagon pullers are called *ch'e-fu*.³⁰ There are many of this class who draw wagons with ropes on their shoulders. In charge of every wagon are twelve men, and no matter how rainy or cold it is they do not slack from pulling the wagon, and all the boys are well spoken and hale physically with fake Chinese pearls in their ears and their hair plaited. The horses they keep ready for

²⁴The Chinese equivalent has not been established with certainty: perhaps *chi ti fu* (急遞夫), which signifies a message relay. If so, the text's كیدی نو should most likely be read as *gidi fu*. The institution, however, is well attested: under the Sung the post-station service was known as the "hot-foot relay" (*chi chiao ti* 急腳遞), while in the Yuan dynasty the relays appear as *p'u ping* (鋪兵) serving in post-stations called *chan-ch'ih* (站赤 = the *yāmkhāna* of the text, both the Chinese *chan* and the Turko-Persian *yām* deriving from the Mongolian *jam* "road, way"). See Needham, *Science and Civilization* 4(3):36.

²⁵"Broadly speaking the main roads were equipped from Han to Sung times with a post-office (*yu* 郵) every five *li*, a cantonal office (*t'ing* 亭) every ten *li*, and a post-station (*chih* 置) every thirty *li*" (Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* 4(3):35).

²⁶MS: every ten days.

²⁷The Persian Qamju is Kan-chou (甘州), Marco Polo's "Campçio," the modern Zhangye in Gansu Province.

²⁸*Māfū*, for Chinese *ma-fu* (馬夫) "horse caretaker."

²⁹*Lūfū*, for the Chinese *lü-fu* (驢夫) "donkey caretaker."

³⁰*Chafū*, for the Chinese *ch'e-fu* (車夫) "wagon puller."

²²RS has *chahārtāq*, a four-arched pavilion; HS has simply *tāq*, arch.

²³The beacon towers described are well known (*feng sui* 烽燧); see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization* 4(3):661.

صورت‌ها بظهور آورده از آنجمله صورت تختی ساخته بودند و پادشاهی بر آن نشسته و از چپ و راست خادمان و غلامان و دختران ایستاده و در زیر آن کوشک صورتها مرتب کرده که آن کوشک را بدوش گرفته بودند و دور آن بیست گز و ارتفاعش دوازده گز بود همه از چوب تراشیده اما چنان طلا اندوده بودند که گوئی مجسم از زر سرخ بود و سردابه در زیر آن و میلی از آن سردابه تا بالای کوشک^{۲۰} تعبیه کرده بودند که یک سر میل بر کرسی آهنین و سر دیگر آن در سقف آن کوشک محکم کرده بنوعی که باندک حرکتی که آن میل را دادندی^{۲۱} آن کوشک عظیم در حرکت و گردش می‌آید و درین شهر آنچه ایلچیان جهت پادشاه بارمغان آورده بودند آن را ستاندند مگر یک زنجیر شیر که پهلوان صلاح شیربان آن را خود بدرگاه پادشاه رساند.

القصة، ایلچیان هر چند بخان بالیغ نزدیکتر شدند حکام و داروگان یام‌ها در زیادتی ضیافت و طوی مبالغه و اهتمام بیشتر می‌نمودند و هر روز بیامی و هر هفته بشهری می‌رسیدند تا چهارم شوال بآب قرا موران وصول اتفاق افتاد و آن آب موازی رود جیحون باشد و بر آن آب پلی بزنجیر بیست و سه کشتی بسته بودند و هر زنجیری بسطبری ران آدمی، ده گز [۴۸۵] از هر طرف بر خشکی گذاشته و بر دو طرف آب میلهای آهن هر یک بسطبری میان مردی در زمین محکم کرده و زنجیرها بر آن

گوش کشیده و مویها بر سر گره زده.^{۳۶} و اسپانی که برای ایلچیان آماده میدارند با زین و لجام و تازیانه باشد و مافویان بتعصب یکدیگر پیش پیش اسبان میدوند تا از یامی بیامی دیگر رسند^{۳۷} و در هر یامی جهت ایلچیان گوسفند و غاز و مرغ و برنج و عسل و آرد و انواع بقول آماده و مهیا بود و در هر شهر ایلچیان را طوی میدادند و در هر طویی دیوانخانه که آن را دوسون گویند مرتب بود و در هر دوسون^{۳۸} اول پیش کورگه رو بجانب تختگاه پادشاه تختی نهاده و پرده آویختند و شخصی پهلوی تخت ایستاده و نمذ بزرگی زیر پای انداخته بغایت پاک و پاکیزه و ایلچیان بر بالای آن نمذ قرار گرفتند و سایر مردم در قفای ایشان بسان مسلمانان که در صف نماز ایستاده باشند و آن شخص که بر پهلوی چپ ایستاده [۴۸۴] بزبان خطایی ندا کند که سه نوبت بعد از آن سر بر زمین نهد و ایلچیان را تکلیف کند که سه بار باین فعل قیام نمایند. آنگاه^{۳۹} هر کس بر سر خوان نشسته طعام خوردند و آنروز که وانگ داجی ایلچیان را طوی داد دوازدهم رمضان بود.

و در قمجو بتخانه بود پانصد گز در پانصد گز و در میان آن بتی بود بطول قامت پنجاه گز و درازی قدمش نه گز و دور کله او بیست و یک گز و دیگر بتان بر بالای سر و پشت او نهاده بودند و صورنگریها و نقشها در آن بتخانه بکار برده بودند چنان متحرک که بیننده را گمان آن می‌شد که آن تصاویر زنده اند و پیرامون آن بتخانه عمارتها بود مانند بیوت کاروانسراها و همه پرده‌های زربفت و کرسیهای مطلا و صندلیها و شمعدانها و صراحیها جشن آراسته و درینشهر عمارتی دیگر ساخته بودند که اهل اسلام آنرا چرخ فلک میخوانند مثل کوشکی مثنی و از زیر تا بالا پانزده طبقه و در هر طبقه منظره‌ها مشتمل بر مقرنس ختایی و غرفه‌ها و ایوانها ترتیب نموده و بر گرد منظره‌ها انواع

^{۳۶} مرواریدهای... گره زده: حبیب السیر +.

^{۳۷} مافویان... رسند: حبیب السیر +.

^{۳۸} در هر طویی... دوسون: حبیب السیر: روضة الصفا: در دوسونها و

دیوانخانه را دوسون گویند.

^{۳۹} سر بر زمین... آنگاه: حبیب السیر +.

^{۲۰} بالای کوشک: حبیب السیر: روضة الصفا: بالا.

^{۲۱} باندک... دادندی، حبیب السیر: روضة الصفا: از اندک حرکت آن میل.

emissaries have saddles, bridles and whips, and the *ma-fus*, vying with each other, run in front of the horses from post to post. At every stage post there were sheep, geese, fowl, rice, honey, flour, liquor, pickled garlic and onions, and various legumes kept ready for the emissaries. They gave a banquet for the emissaries in every town. In every *dusun*³¹ where they hold banquets (they call the government house *dusun*), they first place a dais facing the imperial capital in front of the imperial *kävürgä* and hang a curtain. Someone stands in front of [beside] the dais and spreads a large and very clean piece of felt [HS 638] on the ground, and the emissaries take their place on it. The rest of the people stand in rows, like Muslims at prayer. The person who stands to the left [RS 484] cries out in Chinese. After that he puts his head to the ground three times, and they compel the emissaries to do the same three times, after which everyone takes his seat and begins to eat. The day the duke gave the emissaries a banquet was the 12th of Ramadan.³²

In Qamju was a temple 500 cubits square, in the middle of which was a [reclining] idol 50 cubits tall, 9 cubits wide at the feet and 21 cubits the circumference of the head. Over and behind it were other idols [each one cubit long more or less], and in that temple were representations [of *bakhshis*] that moved in such a way that the viewer imagined they were alive. [On the walls were beautiful, intricate paintings.] {The above-mentioned statue had one arm under its head and the other over its face,³³ and the whole thing was gilded and clothed with various garments. It was called Shakamuni. The infidels bowed down in droves before it.} All around the temple were buildings like cells in a caravanserai, all adorned with gold-spun curtains, gilded platforms, chairs, candlesticks and banqueting vessels. In this city was another building which the Muslims called "Celestial Sphere":³⁴ it was like an octagonal

pavilion, fifteen stories from bottom to top, and on every story were belvederes consisting of Chinese stalactites, chambers and porticos. All around the belvederes were placed [strange] pictures, among which was the picture of a throne on which was seated an emperor with servants, slaveboys and -girls standing to his left and right. At the bottom of the pavilion were representations [of demons] holding the pavilion aloft. The circumference of the pavilion was 20 cubits and the height 12 cubits, all of carved wood but so gilded that one would think it was of red gold. Beneath it was a cellar with a pillar reaching from the cellar to the top, with one end resting on an iron base and the other attached to the roof of the pavilion, so that with the slightest motion of the pillar the huge pavilion would shake.³⁵ In this city the gifts the emissaries had brought for the emperor were taken, except for a lion, which Pahlawan Salah[uddin] the lion keeper himself took to the emperor's court.

To return to the narrative, the closer the emissaries got to Khan Baligh, the more elaborate the banquets and entertainments given by the rulers and magistrates of the post stations became. Every day they came to another post, and every week another town until the {1}4th of Shawwal [12 {22} October], when the Qara Mürän River³⁶ was reached. This river is as large as the Oxus. Across it is stretched a bridge with a chain of twenty-two boats tied together. At each end ten cubits of the chains, which were as thick as a man's thigh, were placed [RS 485] onto dry land, and on both sides of the river iron stakes, as thick as a man's waist, were securely planted in the ground, and to these the chains were firmly attached. The boats were secured by large hooks and chains. Atop the boats are laid planks, all fastened and secured. The emissaries crossed without difficulty.

On the other side of the Qara Mürän is an enormous

³¹AL: *rūsün*.

³²MS adds: He entreated the emissaries to eat since it was a royal feast. The emissaries begged to be excused, saying, "It is not permitted in our religion." The duke excused them and sent to their quarters all that had been prepared.

³³MS: over its thigh.

³⁴The names given in the texts, *falak-i gardān* ("turning sphere") and *charkh-i falak* ("celestial wheel"), would seem to indicate one of the Chinese astrological clocks (see Joseph

Needham *et al.*, *Heavenly Clockwork* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986]); the description, in which no moving or mechanical parts are mentioned, is at some variance with this conclusion, however, and may be a translation from a Chinese name such as Heavenly Pagoda.

³⁵MS adds: All the carpenters, smiths and painters in the world should learn their crafts there.

³⁶The Mongolian *Qara Mürän* (black river) is the Yellow River.

شده است و دیگر بتان کوچک پرداخته از گچ و رنگ آمیزی کرده و در پهلوی هر یک از آنها معبدها ساخته و صور رهبانان و جوکیان که در چله نشسته و ریاضت می کشیده پدید آورده و [۴۸۶] ببر و پلنگ و اژدها و اشجار بقلم سحر پدیدار کرده و بر جدار آن بتخانه صورتگرها در کمال حذاقت و مهارت کرده و آن بتخانه بر دیگر عمارات غریبه رفیعه اشتمال دارد. درین شهر نیز چرخ گردانی بود بزرگتر باتکلف تر از چرخ گردان شهر قمجو.

و ایلچیان هر روز چهار فرسنگ راه می رفتند تا هشتم ذی الحجه هنگام صبح بدروازه خان بالیغ رسیدند. شهری در نهایت عظمت و بزرگی دیدند تمام از سنگ ساخته و بر دیوارهای آن بلده بنا بر آنکه هنوز عمارت می کردند صد هزار خواره^{۴۴} بسته بودند چون دروازه بگشودند ایلچیان را از برجی که بعمارت آن اشتغال می نمودند بشهر بردند و بر در کریاس گردون اساس دایمینگ خان که پادشاه بود^{۴۵} فرود آوردند و بر در کریاس مقدار هفتصد قدم سنگ تراشیده انداخته بودند و پیاده از روی فرش گذشته و هر طرف راه پنج پیل ایستاده بودند و خرطومها بر راه داشته ایلچیان از میان خرطومها گذشته تا بدر سرای پادشاه رسیدند. با آنکه هنوز تاریک بود،^{۴۶} قرب صد هزار آدمی بر در قصر پادشاه دیدند مجتمع شده و ایلچیان بدان موضع رسیدند عرصه دیدند وسیع و روح افزا و هوایی لطیف و دلگشا و در پیش کوشک کرسی بنظر ایشان درآمد ارتفاع آن موازی سی گز و بر بالای کرسی ستونهای پنجاه گزی منصوب

استوار ساخته و کشتیها را بقلابهای بزرگ و زنجیرها استحکام داده و بر بالای کشتیها تختها افکنده و همه را محکم و هموار گردانیده و ایلچیان بی زحمت و مشقت از آنجا گذشتند. و آن طرف آب قرا موران شهری بود وسیع و پر مردم و عمارت و در آن شهر زیاده از شهرهای دیگر ایلچیان را طوی دادند و در آن بلده بتخانه عظیم بود چنانچه از سرحد ختای تا آنجا مثل آن عمارت بنظر نیاید و [حبیب السیر، ص ۶۳۹] آن شهر سه خرابات داشت مزین بدختران صاحب جمال. اکثر اگرچه دختران ختای خوب روی می باشند اما آن شهر را از غایت زیبایی عورات حسن آباد خوانند.

و از آنجا روان شده و بر چند شهر دیگر عبور نموده دوازدهم ذی القعدة بآبی رسیدند دو برابر جیحون و از آن بحیره در کشتی نشسته سلامت گذشتند و از چند رود دیگر بکشتی و پل عبور نموده بیست و هفتم ماه مذکور بشهر جدین فو^{۴۷} رسیدند که شهری بغایت معظم بود و مشتمل بر خلق بیشمار و بتخانه عظیم داشت و بتی جسیم از برنج ساخته و مطلا کرده پنجاه گز در بلندی و دستهای بسیار برای آن ترتیب داده^{۴۸} و آن بت را هزار دست گویند و آن در ولایت ختا شهری تمام دارد و کرسی از سنگ در نهایت غرابت تراشیده که این بت و عمارت تمام بر آن کرسی موضوع است و دیگر رواقها و منظره ها بر گرد آن تعبیه کرده بچند طبقه نخستین از کعب بت گذشته و دوم بزانونی او نرسیده و دیگر از زانونی او گذشته و دیگری بمیان نرسیده و دیگری بسینه و همچنین تا سر، و سر آن عمارت بدیع بمقرنس درآورده و چنان پوشیده که دیده نظارگی در آن حیران می ماند و آن هشت طبقه است که در مجموع از طبقات از درون [و] بیرون توان گردید و این بت را ایستاده ساخته اند و دو قدمش که طول هر یک از آن ده گز باشد بر دو طرف کرسی منصوب بود و می گفتند که مقدار صد هزار خروار برنج تخمیناً در آن عمل خرج

^{۴۴} حبیب السیر: خواره: روضة الصفا: حوازه.

^{۴۵} دایمینگ (در متن: دانمیک) خان که پادشاه بود: حبیب السیر: روضة

الفصفا: پادشاه.

^{۴۶} با آنکه هنوز تاریک بود: حبیب السیر +.

^{۴۷} روضة الصفا و حبیب السیر: صدین قور.

^{۴۸} حبیب السیر: بر همه اعضای او صورت دستها بود و بر کف هر دستی هیات

جسمی.

town full of people and buildings.³⁷ There they gave the emissaries a banquet greater than they had had in any of the other towns. There was a temple so huge that from the borders of Cathay to there its like had not been seen. [HS 639] The town had three taverns in which beautiful girls sat. Although most of the girls of Cathay are beautiful, that town could be known as Husnabad³⁸ because of the extraordinary beauty of its women.

Setting out from there and passing through a few other towns, on the 12th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [November 18, 1420] they reached a river twice the breadth of the Oxus.³⁹ They crossed it safely by boat. Crossing several other rivers by boat and bridge, on the 27th of that month [in the year 823, December 3, 1420] they reached the city of Chia-ting fu,⁴⁰ which is immense and contains innumerable people. It had a large temple and an enormous idol made of [cast] bronze and gilded, 50 cubits in height and with many arms, [in the palm of each hand a body,] hence they call it the "Thousand-Armed." It is very famous throughout Cathay. This idol and the building both rest on a curiously carved stone platform that has arches and belvederes of several stories all around, the first reaching to above the idol's heel and the second not reaching its knee. The next reaches to above its knee, and the next does not quite reach the waist. The next reaches the breast, and so on until at the very top of that marvelous building are stalactites and so covered that the viewer is astonished. It is in all eight stories, and on each of them one can walk around the inside and outside. From what was told it was understood that this idol was made standing, and its two feet, the length of each of which is [about] ten cubits, rest on [two cast pillars, but they are not apparent, and it looks as though it stands in the air.]⁴¹ They said that approximately 100,000 *kharwars* of bronze were used in making it. There are also smaller idols made of plaster and painted, [and there are

mountains, slopes and caves drawn,] and next to each of them are temples with pictures of monks, [*bakhshis*] and yogis seated in retreat and performing exercises.⁴² [RS 486] With brushes of magic they have painted [rams,] tigers, leopards, dragons and trees, and on the walls of the temples are paintings done with consummate expertise and mastery. That temple comprises other magnificent, strange buildings. In this city too there was a celestial wheel, even larger and more elaborate than the celestial wheel in Qamju. [Here too the emissaries were banqueted before leaving.]

Every day the emissaries traveled four leagues until, on the [morning of the] 8th of Dhu'l-Hijja [December 14, 1420], they reached the gates of Khan Baligh (Peking). They beheld a city of inordinate magnitude, made all of stone [with walls a league in length]. Because they were still in the process of building, 100,000 scaffolds were fastened to the city walls. [When the emissaries reached the moat the gateway into Khan Baligh was not open, so] the emissaries were taken into the city through a tower that was being worked on and brought to the gate of the Emperor Dayming Khan's sublime palace.⁴³ At the palace gate a distance of 700 feet was paved with cut stone, across which the [Khurasanis] passed on foot. On each side of the way were standing five elephants with their trunks held across the path along which the emissaries passed until they reached the gate of the emperor's palace. Although it was still dark, they saw nearly a hundred thousand people gathered at the gate to the emperor's palace. When the emissaries reached there, they saw a vast, pleasant and captivating open area, and in front of Dayming Khan's pavilion they saw a platform thirty cubits in height, and atop the platform were columns [fifty cubits high and on top of that a hall (?) sixty cubits by forty cubits. In front of the columns were] three gateways. The middle gateway was the largest and was the emperor's passageway, the people passing through the other two. Over the pavilion [HS 640] behind the gateway were a *kävürgä*, a bell hung and two people

³⁷An identification of this town as Lan-chou (蘭州) in Gansu is offered by Yule (*Cathay* 1:278).

³⁸Husnābād, "abode of beauty."

³⁹This must be the second crossing of the Yellow River.

⁴⁰AL has *SDYN FW*; RS and HS have *SDYN QWR*. In all of these the *Ṣ* must be a misreading of *JY*, for Jadinfü, for Chia-ting fu (嘉定府) in Szechuan.

⁴¹Text is garbled in HS; reading taken from MS.

⁴²Undoubtedly portraits of bodhisattvas seated in meditation are referred to.

⁴³HS has here "Dänmīg," elsewhere "Däyming," a good rendition not of the Ming emperor's name but of his title, *Ta(i) Ming han* (大明汗 "great Ming emperor"), then Ch'eng Tsu, third emperor of the Ming dynasty.

نردبانی از نقره که پنج پایه داشت بر تخت نهادند و بر بالای تخت صندلی از زر سرخ بود.

پادشاه نخست بالا رفته بر صندلی نشست و هیأت آن میانه بالا و محاسنی نه بزرگ و نه خورد داشت و مقدار دوست سیصد موی از میان محاسن او چنان دراز بود که سه چهار حلقه زده بود و از دو کنار پادشاه در چپ و راست تخت دو دختر ماه پیکر خورشید منظر مویهای عنبرین بمیان سر کرده و عارض و گردن مکشوف و گشاده و مرواریدهای آبدار در گوش نشسته و کاغذ و قلم در دست منتظر آنکه پادشاه هرچه گوید بنویسند و چون در حرم رود بعرض رسانند و اگر حکمی یا تغییری باید داده شود آن خطرا بنزد دیوانیان فرستند تا ایشان بفرمان در اصلاح آن کوشند.

القصة، چون پادشاه بر تخت قرار گرفت ایلچیان را با بندیان دوش بدوش بردند و پادشاه نخست بندیان و مجرمان را پرسید و ایشان هفتصد کس^{۴۸} بودند، بعضی را دوشاخه بر گردن و برخی را بر تخته دراز کرده و سرهای ایشان را از تخته بیرون آورده و هرکس را نفری موکل که موی گناهکار را بر دست گرفته منتظر تا پادشاه چه فرمان دهد و پادشاه طایفه را از ایشان بزندان فرستاد و زمره را حکم قتل فرمود. و در جمیع ممالک ختای هیچ حاکم و داروغه^[۴۸۸] مرخص بحکم قتل نیست و هرکه گناه کند گناه او را بر تخته پاره نوشته از گردنش آویزند و حد گناهش را نیز قلمی کنند و در کیش کافری او را بزنجیر دوشاخه بسته بجانب خان بالیغ فرستند و آگد فی المثل از مکان مجرم تا پای تخت یکساله راه باشد^{۴۹} در هیچ مکانی توقف نتواند کرد تا پبای تخت برسد.

و چون مهم ارباب جرایم فیصل یافت ایلچیان را نزدیک تخت بردند بمسافت پانزده گز آنگاه امیری زانو زده احوال ایلچیان را که بخط ختایی بر صفحه مثبت بود برخواندند، مضمون نوشته آنکه ایشان مسافت دور و دراز قطع کرده از پیش شاهرخی و

ساخته و بد بالای آن طنبی ترتیب داده شصت گز در چهل گز و در پیش^{۴۷} ستونها سه دروازه مرتب گردانیده و دروازه میان از چپ و راست بزرگتر و این میانه ممر پادشاه است و از طرفین خلائق می گذرند و بر بالای کوشک به پشت دروازه کورگه و ناقوس نهاده و آویخته و دو کس منتظر ایستاده تا پادشاه کی قدم بر تخت نهد و قریب سیصد هزار آدمی بهنگام روز بدرگاه جمع گشته و دو هزار مغنی و مطرب بر پای ایستاده آواز بزیر و بم برهم ساز کرده بزبان ختایی و اصول آنجا زبان بدعا و ثنای پادشاه گشاده و دوهزار نفر دیگر از لشکریان ناچخ و دورباش و زوبین فولاد و تبرزین و نیزه و شمشیر و گرز بدست گرفته و بعضی بادزن ختایی بردست داشتند و بر اطراف و جوانب آن خانها و صفها و ستونها در غایت عظمت ساخته و دیوار عمارات مجموع شبه و فرش سنگ تراشیده بود.

فی الجملة چون آفتاب طالع شد آنانکه بر بالای کوشک انتظار پادشاه می کشیدند کورگه و دهل و دمامه و سنج و نی و ناقوس فرو کوفتند و آن سردروازه را [۴۸۷] گشوده مردم باندرون رفتند و سرعت تمام و قاعده ختاییان در دیدن پادشاه دویدن باشد و بعد از طی فضای اول بفضای دوم رسیدند و آن نیز وسعت تمام داشت و دلگشا تر از منظر نخستین بنظر دوربین درآمد و کوشکی باعظمت تر از قصر اول دیدند و تختی آوردند مقدار چهار گز مثلث و فرشی از اطلس زرد زر افشان ختایی بر آن انداخته و در آن نقش سیمرغ و دیگر طیور نموده و بر بالای تخت کرسی از زر نهاده و از چپ و راست ختاییان صف کشیده ایستادند و اول امرای تومان و بعد از آن هزاره و صده بترتیب و بغایت بسیار و هر یک را تخته در دست بطول مقدار یک گز شرع و در عرض موازی چهار یک و جز بر آن تخته بجای دیگر نمی نگرستند و در عقب ایشان فزون از تخمین و گمان جبه پوشان و نیزه داران بعضی شمشیرهای برهنه در دست داشتند صف زده و مستوی ایستاده و مجموع چنان خاموش که گوئیا نفس نمی زدند. بعد از ساعتی پادشاه از حرم بیرون آمده

^{۴۸} روضة الصفا: هفت تن: حبیب السیر: هفتصد کس.

^{۴۹} اگر فی المثل... راه باشد: حبیب السیر +.

^{۴۷} ستونهای... در پیش: روضة الصفا -.

waiting for the emperor to step upon the dais. Nearly three hundred thousand people gathered at the court at dawn, and two thousand singers stood by, singing in Chinese in praise of the emperor in harmony, treble and bass, according to the principles of their music. Another two thousand soldiers held halberets, clubs, steel javelins, battle axes, spears, swords and maces. Some held Chinese fans. All along the perimeter of the courtyard were chambers, balconies and columns of great magnitude. The walls of the buildings were all of jet, and the pavement was of cut stone.

In short, when the sun rose, those who were waiting for the emperor atop the pavilion sounded the *kävürgä*, drums, cornets, cymbals and bells. As the main gateway [RS 487] was opened, the people went inside in all haste, for it is the Chinese custom to run to see the emperor. After the emissaries had crossed the first space, they came to another open area, which was also vast and even more pleasing to the onlooker from afar than the first had been. There they saw a pavilion larger than the first palace. A dais was brought, a triangular platform, four cubits on a side, with a covering of gold-flecked yellow China silk over it. In it were represented the phoenix and other birds. On top of the dais was placed a golden chair. To the right and left the Chinese stood in rows, first the officers of 10,000, then of 1,000, then of 100. There were very many of them, and each held in his hand a tablet one cubit long and a quarter cubit wide, and their gaze was fixed on those tablets. Behind them were too many mail-clad soldiers and spearholders even to approximate. Some stood at attention holding naked swords, and they were all so silent that one would think they were not even breathing. After a time, when the emperor came out of his private quarters, a silver gangway with five steps was placed against the dais, on top of which was a chair of red gold.

First the emperor went up and sat on the chair. He was of medium height with neither large nor small features, with two or three hundred facial hairs so long that they had been knotted into three or four plaits. On either side of the emperor's dais were seated two girls with faces like the moon and countenances like the sun, hair of ambergris knotted on top of their heads, their faces and necks exposed, and lustrous pearls in their ears. They held paper and pens in their hands and waited to write down what the emperor said in order to

report when he went into the private quarters. If a correction or change was to be made, they sent the writing out to the clerks to implement the order.

In short, when the emperor sat on the dais, they brought forward the emissaries along with prisoners who were shoulder to shoulder in chains.⁴⁴ First the emperor asked concerning the prisoners and criminals, who were seven hundred in number. Some had forked sticks around their necks, and others were tied to long boards with their heads sticking out. Each one had a warden who held the criminal by the hair and waited for the emperor's command. The emperor sent some of them to prison, and others he condemned to execution. In all the realm of Cathay no governor or magistrate [RS 488] is permitted to pronounce a death sentence, and whenever anyone commits a crime, the offense is written on a board and hung around his neck. They also write what the punishment for his crime is in accordance with the infidel code, fetter him with a forked stick and send him to Khan Baligh. Even should it take a year to reach the capital from where the criminal is, he cannot stop in any [HS 641] place until he reaches the capital.

When the matter of the criminals was settled, the emissaries were taken to a distance of fifteen cubits from the dais. Then an officer genuflected and read out the particulars of the emissaries, which were recorded on a tablet in Chinese writing. The contents of the writing was that they had traveled far and had come from Shahrukh and his sons, they had brought gifts and trib-

⁴⁴Yule comments (*Cathay* 1:280) that the intentional slight of ambassadors by presenting them along with condemned criminals was characteristic.

دیگر پرسید که «در مملکت شما غله گرانست یا ارزان؟ و نعمت کمست یا فراوان؟»
 جواب داد که «غله از سرحد کمال بیرون است و نعمت از هرچه تصور کنند ارزان و افزون.»
 گفت «آری، چون دل پادشاه با خداوند تعالی است حضرت آفریدگار نعمت بسیار ارزانی داشته» دیگر [۴۸۹] گفت «در خاطر چنانست که ایلچی پیش قرا یوسف فرستم و از وی اسبان خوش رفتار طلب نمایم که شنیده‌ام در ولایت او اسبان خوب می باشد.» دیگر سؤال که «راه امن است؟»
 ایلچیان گفتند «تا حکم شاه رخ سلطان باشد مردم بفرات روند و آیند.»
 گفت «دانسته‌ام اکنون شما از راه دور آمده‌اید. برخیزید و آش بخورید.»

و ایشان را بفضای اول بردند و در پیش هر یک خوانی نهادند و چون از طعام خوردن فارغ گشتند بموجب فرمان پیام‌خانه رفتند و در آنجا بهر خانه کتی خوب با بستر و بالش اطلس و کمخا و کفش کمخا بغایت نازک و صندلی و منقل و آتش‌دان و حصیرهای نازک انداخته و از یمین و یسار آن کتلهای دیگر دیدند نهاده و هر کس را برین نهج خانه مقرر کرده و دیگ و کاسه و چمچه و شیره^{۵۴} و هر روز ده کس را یک سر^{۵۵} گوسفند و یک‌غاز و دو مرغ و دو من آرد بوزن شرع و یک کاسه بزرگ پر برنج و دو کلیچه پر حلوا و یک ظرف غسل و سیر و پیاز و نمک و بقول متنوعه و یک طبق نقل و چند خدمتکار صاحب جمال تعیین نمودند.

و روز دیگر که نهم ذی‌الحجه بود وقت صبح شقاوول آمده اسبان با زین آورده بایلچیان گفت «برخیزید و سوار شوید که پادشاه طوی می‌دهد» و ایشان را برده بر در کریاس اول بنشانند

فرزندان او آمده‌اند و از برای پادشاه تبریکات و تسوقات آورده تا سر اطاعت بر زمین عبودیت نهند و منظور نظر عنایت و عاطفت گردند و مولانا خواجه یوسف قاضی که از جمله امرا و مقربان بود و از دوازده دیوان پادشاهی یکی تعلق باو می‌داشت با چند نفر از مسلمانان زبان‌دان پیش ایلچیان آمدند و ایشان را گفتند که «نخست قامت‌های خود خم کنید و بعد از آن سه نوبت سر بر زمین نهید» ایلچیان دو تا گشته سر فرود آوردند اما سر بر زمین نرسانیدند. آنگاه مکتوب حضرت شاه‌رخ و جناب بایسنقری و باقی شاهزادگان و امرا که در قطعه اطلس زرد پیچیده بودند بموجب فرموده خاصان پادشاه بدو دست گرفتند و قاعده ختاییان آنستکه هرچه تعلق پادشاه دارد آن را در حریر زرد پیچند. پس مولانا یوسف مذکور آن مکتوبات را از ایشان ستانده بخواجه سرایی سپرده که در پیش تخت پادشاه ایستاده بود و خواجه سرا آن را بدست پادشاه داد و پادشاه مکتوبات را گشاده و ملاحظه کرده باز بخواجه سرا سپرد^{۵۰} و پادشاه از صندلی فرود آمده نامه‌ها را گرفت.

و سه هزار جامه آوردند، هزار دگله و دو هزار قبا و پادشاه همه را بر فرزندان و قرابتان تقسیم نموده آن طایفه را خلعت پوشانید.^{۵۱} آنگاه هفت کس از ایلچیان بنزدیک تخت بردند. شادی خواجه و کوکچه، نوکران شاهرخ،^{۵۲} و سلطان احمد و غیاث‌الدین، ملازمان میرزا بایسنقر،^{۵۳} و ارغداق، ایلچی میرزا سیورغتمش، و اردوان، قاصد امیر شاه‌ملک، و تاج‌الدین، فرستاده شاه بدخشان، و آنجماعت زانو زده پادشاه احوال معین السلطنه والدین میرزا شاه‌رخ را پرسید و بعد از آن استفسار نمود که «قرا یوسف ایلچی می‌فرستد و مال ارسال می‌نماید؟»
 گفتند «آری، دواچیان شما دیدند که نوشته او آمده بود و پیشکش و اموال نیز آورده بودند.»

^{۵۰} که... سپرد: حبیب‌السیر +.

^{۵۱} و سه هزار... پوشانید: حبیب‌السیر +.

^{۵۲} نوکران شاهرخ: حبیب‌السیر +.

^{۵۳} ملازمان میرزا بایسنقر: حبیب‌السیر +.

^{۵۴} روضة الصفا: شیره زبیب.

^{۵۵} روضة الصفا: هر کسی را روزی ده سر.

ute for the emperor in order to place their foreheads in obedience upon the ground of servitude and be encompassed by the gaze of favor and grace. Mawlana [Hajji] Yusuf Qazi, who was one of the officers privy to [Dayming Khan] and held one of the twelve posts of imperial minister {and who knew Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Mongolian and Chinese}, came before the emissaries with several other Muslims who spoke our language and said to them, “First bend down and then touch your foreheads to the ground three times.” The emissaries bowed and lowered their heads but did not touch their foreheads to the ground. Then they took the letters from His Majesty Shahrukh and His Highness Baysunqur and the other princes and amirs [of Iran], which had been wrapped in yellow silk, as had been indicated by the emperor’s servants—it is the custom of the Chinese to wrap anything that pertains to the emperor in yellow silk. Then the aforementioned Mawlana Yusuf took the letters from them and handed them to a chamberlain [who was standing in front of the emperor’s throne. The chamberlain then handed them to the emperor. The emperor opened the letters, looked at them and handed them back to the chamberlain. Then the emperor came down from his chair and took the letters.

Three thousand robes were brought, one thousand *dägäläs*⁴⁵ and two thousand tunics. The emperor divided them among his children and relatives and had robes of honor placed on the embassy. Then seven of the emissaries, Shadi Khwaja and Kökchä, the *nökärs* of Mirza Shahrukh, Sultan-Ahmad and Ghiyathuddin of Mirza Baysunqur’s retinue, Arghudaq,⁴⁶ the emissary of Mirza Soyurghatmish, Ardawan, the emissary of Amir Shah-Malik, and Tajuddin, the representative of the shah of Badakhshan, were taken near the dais. They went down on their knees, and the emperor asked them about Mirza Shahrukh. After that, he inquired if Qara Yusuf⁴⁷ would send an emissary and tribute.

“Yes,” they said, “your *dajis* saw that his emissary came bringing gifts and tribute.”

Then he asked, “In your country is grain expensive or

cheap? Is welfare for the privileged few or widespread?”

“Grain is beyond the boundaries of perfection,” they replied. “And welfare is more inexpensive and more widespread than can be imagined.”

“Yes,” he said, “when the ruler’s heart is with the Lord, the Creator bestows bountiful welfare.” Then [RS 489] he said, “I have in mind to send an emissary to Qara Yusuf and request from him some good-tempered horses, for I have heard that in his realm there are excellent horses.” Then he asked, “Are the roads safe?”

The emissaries answered, “Within the realm under Shahrukh Sultan’s command people come and go with utter peace of mind.”

“So I understand,” he said. “Now you have come a long way. Arise and have some food.”

They were taken to the first courtyard, where a tray was set before each one. When they had finished eating, they went as ordered to the posthouse. There, in [HS 642] every chamber, were laid out a beautiful bed with bedding and a silken pillow, *kamkha*,⁴⁸ extremely delicate silken slippers, a chair, a brazier, and fine mats. To the left and right of those they saw other beds laid out. Each person was assigned a chamber, as well as a kettle, a bowl, a spoon and a tray. A daily ration was given to every ten persons of one sheep, one goose, two chickens, two maunds of flour, a large bowl of rice, two large lumps of halva, a jar of honey and vinegar, onions, salt, various legumes, a platter of sweets and several beautiful servants.

The next day, the 9th of Dhu’l-Hijja [December 15, 1420], the *shiqawul*⁴⁹—{the individuals who took us to see interesting places and even to the emperor’s banquets are called *ssü jen*,⁵⁰ which in Khurasan are known as *shiqawul*}—came at dawn with saddled horses and said to the emissaries, “Rise and mount, for the emperor is giving a banquet.” He took them and seated them at the gate of the first palace. At that time nearly 300,000 people had gathered at the palace gate. When

⁴⁵A short-sleeved garment.

⁴⁶The name is written ارغداق and is taken to be Arqudaq, or Arqidaq (“Gemini”). See Radloff, *VWTD* 1:293.

⁴⁷Qarā Yūsuf of the Qaraqoyunlu dynasty in Eastern Anatolia, Azerbaijan and Iraq, ruled (with interruption) from 791/1389 to 823/1420.

⁴⁸< *kamkh^wāb*, a woven textile with a short nap (Mu’in, *Farhang-i fārsi* 3:3065).

⁴⁹The *shiqawul* was the court master of ceremonies and escort to ambassadors. See Ḥasan Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārikh*, p. 837; Doerfer, *TMEN*, §232.

⁵⁰The Chinese *ssü jen* (寺人), palace-man or eunuch. See Yule, *Cathay* 1:280.

باشد و هرگاه جهت پادشاه آتش و دراسون آرند مطربان و مغنیان ساز آغاز کنند و آن هفت چتر را چرخ زنان می آورند تا نزدیک تخت و آتش و دراسون را در حقه بزرگ نهاده باشند و سرپوش آنهم از جنس حقه بود و دری بود از پیش حرم و پرده بزرگ بر آن آویخته و طناب ابریشمین بر دو طرف پرده بسته و سرهای طناب را دو خواجه سرای گرفته و میان طناب بر موضعی بود که چون طناب را کشیدندی آن پرده پیچیده شدی و در باز گشتی و بعد از تهیه اسباب مجلس بر نهج مذکور مفتوح شد و پادشاه بیرون آمد و سازها بنواختند و چون پادشاه بنشست همه خاموش گشتند و بالای سر پادشاه بده گز بلندی گلدسته بود چون سایبانی از اطلس زرد و چهار اژدر که با یکدیگر در حمله بودند باسمه زده و چون پادشاه قرار گرفت ایلچیان را پیش بردند و پنج نوبت بموجب فرموده تعظیم کردند. بعد از آن باز گشته پیش خانهای خود نشستند و بجز آنکه در خوانها از اطعمه و اشربه موجود بود هر ساعت آشها و گوشتهای بره و قاز و مرغ [۴۹۱] می آوردند و دراسون حاضر می ساختند.

و بازیگران بمهم خود اشتغال می نمودند. اول فوجی از امردان مانند خورشید تابان بسان دختران سرخی و سفیدی کرده و مرواریدها در گوش و جامهای زربفت پوشیده و نخلها و گلها و لاله های ملون که از کاغذ و ابریشم بسته بودند بر دست گرفته باصول تمام برقص درآمدند. بعد از آن دو پسر ده ساله بر بالای دو پاره چوب معلقها زدند و شخصی بر آستان خوابیده پای خود را بالا داشت و چند نی بزرگ بر کف پای او نهادند و شخص دیگر مجموع نی هارا گرفته و پسری ده دوازده ساله بر بالای نیها انواع بازیها کرد و باخر یکیک را می انداخت تا به یک نی بلند رسید و بر سر آن نی معلقها زد و بازیها کرد و بعد از حرکات غریبه ناگاه از سر نی جدا شد چنانکه هرکس را تصور شد که افتاد و آنشخص خفته بر پای جست و او را در هوا گرفت

و در آن وقت قرب سیصد هزار آدمی بر در کریاس جمع آمده بودند و چون آفتاب طالع گشت آن سه دروازه را گشودند و ایلچیان را بیای تختگاه بردند و فرمودند که پنج نوبت جهت پادشاه تعظیم کردند. بعد از آن بایشان گفتند که بیرون روید و خود را سبک کنید که در میان طوی بقضای حاجت بیرون نتوان آمد و ایلچیان متفرق شده باز جمع آمدند و باندرون رفته از کریاس اول و دوم که تختگاه دادار است گذشته بکریاس سیوم درآمدند. صحنی دیدند بغایت خوش هوا مشتمل بر فروش خوب از سنگ تراشیده و در آن طنابی روی اندود و در اندرون طنابی تختی بزرگ نهاده و از سه طرف آن نردبانها از نقره نهاده یکی از پیش و دو از چپ و راست و دو خواجه سرا ایستاده و بر دهان خود تا بیخ گوش کاغذی از [۴۹۰] مقوی بسته. و تختی خورد بر بالای آن تخت بزرگ موضوع بود مثل صندلی و پایهای بسیار داشت. و از یمین و یسار آن تخت مانند عودسوزها اشیاء موتب بود.^{۵۶} مجموع از چوب مطلا و ستونها و چوبها و پله های آن عمارت را بزردچوبه رنگ کرده بودند و روغن داده بمشابه که استادان ماهر در آن متحیر می ماندند. مولانا قاضی ایلچیان را گفت مدت هشت سالست که این تخت را ساخته اند و از آن چیزی نسوده.^{۵۷} و خوانهای طعام و نقل و نخلبندی پیش پادشاه نهاده و از چپ و راست دواچیان صاحب وجود ایستاده و ترکش و شمشیر بسته و سپر حمایل کرده و در قفای ایشان لشکریان ناچخها بر دست گرفته و طایفه از سپاهیان شمشیرها از نیام برآورده و بر جانب چپ جای ایلچیان معین گشته و پیش پادشاه نزدیک پنجره طنابی کورگه بزرگ نهاده بودند قریب بآن شخص که بر بالای صندلی بلند ایستاده و پهلوی او اهل ساز صف کشیده و پیش تخت هفت رنگ مرتب گردانیده و بیرون طنابی از یمین و یسار دویست هزار سلاح دار ایستاده و مقدار یک تیریرتاب مکانی را ده گز در ده گز دیوار آن از اطلس زرد بود که آتش پادشاه را در آنجا ترتیب کنند و دراسون نیز در آنجا


^{۵۶} و از یمین... بود: حبیب السیر +.^{۵۷} مولانا قاضی... نسوده: حبیب السیر +.

the sun rose, the three gates were opened and the emissaries were taken to the dais and ordered to bow to the emperor five times. Then they were told to go out and relieve themselves because they would not be able to leave the banquet for a call of nature. The emissaries dispersed and returned. Passing through the first palace and then the second palace, which contained the dais, they came to a third palace. They saw that it was a very pleasant courtyard paved with cut stone. In front was a hall, and inside it was a large dais, on three sides of which were steps of silver, one in front and one on either side. Two chamberlains were standing, with papier maché over their mouths and fastened behind their ears. [RS 490] On top of the large dais was a small dais, like a chair but with many legs. To the right and left of the dais were things like incense burners, all of gilded wood, and the columns, posts and steps of the structure were painted and lacquered in a turmeric color in such a way that the most accomplished craftsmen would have been unequal to it. Mawlana Qazi said that it had been eight years since the dais had been made, but it showed no sign of wear. Trays of food and sweets and figurines were placed before the emperor. To the left and right stood *dovachis*, bodyguards with quivers and swords and shields. Behind them were soldiers holding halberds and a group of soldiers with naked swords. A place on the left was assigned to the emissaries. Before the emperor, near an opening in the hall, was placed a large *kävürgä*. Near it someone was standing on a platform, and to his side musicians stood in rows. In front of the dais were placed seven parasols in seven colors, and outside the hall, to the right and left, were standing 200,000 arms bearers. At the distance of an arrowshot was a place, ten cubits by ten cubits, the walls of which were yellow silk, wherein the emperor's food was prepared. There was also *darasun* there,⁵¹ and every time food and *darasun* are brought in for the emperor, the singers and musicians begin to play, and, spinning the seven parasols, they bring them up to the dais. The food and *darasun* are placed in large shells, the covers of which are also of shell. In front of the harem was a door, on which was hung a large curtain. At the two sides the

curtain was fastened by a silken cord. The ends were held by two chamberlains. The middle of the cord was attached in such a way that when they pulled the cord, the curtain was folded up and the door was opened.

After the paraphernalia was arranged, the gathering was inaugurated as mentioned before. The emperor came out [through that door], and the instruments were sounded. When the emperor sat, all fell silent. Over the emperor's head to a height of ten cubits was a bower, like a canopy, of yellow silk, with four intertwined dragons painted on it. When the emperor took his place, the emissaries were taken forward and, as ordered, bowed five times. After that they returned and sat down at [trays of food that had been prepared. When the Chinese honor someone they set before him three trays; less honor is two trays; and less than that is one tray. [HS 643] That day a thousand trays or more were set before the people. The emperor's food had been prepared near the seven colored parasols in a place enclosed by yellow silk.] Aside from the food and beverages that were on the trays, every so often [the waiters] brought food and viands, lamb, goose and chicken, and placed them before the people, [RS 491] and *darasun* was offered.

The players began to perform: first a troop of beardless youths, like shining suns, with red and white rubbed on their faces like girls and pearls in their ears, wearing goldspun clothing, holding multicolored dates, roses and tulips made of paper and silk, began to dance rhythmically. After that two ten-year-old boys turned flips over two sticks. Someone lay down on the threshold and raised his feet. Some large reeds were placed on the soles of his feet, and another person took the bundle of reeds and a ten- or twelve-year-old boy did all sorts of tricks on top of the reeds. In the end he threw the reeds away one by one until only one long reed was left. He turned a flip on top of that reed and did tricks. Suddenly, after these strange movements, he separated himself from the end of the reed in such a way that anyone would imagine he had fallen. The person who had been lying down leaped to his feet and caught him in the air. Then the instruments were played. {The musicians mostly played by themselves, though sometimes they coöperated with each other, for example one of them would be playing his own instrument with one hand while putting the fingers of his other hand over

⁵¹Mongolian  *darasun*, ordinary yellow wine made from grain or rice, equivalent to the Chinese *huang chiu* (黄酒).

طالع شده است و از ولایات چین و ختای و ماچین و قسلماتق [قلماتق] و تبت و غیر ذلک تقریباً صد هزار کس در آن اردو جمع شده بودند و پادشاه امرای خود را طوی داده و ایلچیان را در بیرون تختگاه نشانده بودند و قریب دویست هزار نفر سلاحها برداشته حاضر شده بودند و پسران بازیگر بطریق غیر مکرر رقص و بازی آغاز کردند و از در بارگاه تا انتهای عمارت یک هزار و نهصد و بیست و پنج قدم و پنجم قدم و مجموع آن بناها از سنگ و خشت پخته تراشیده ترتیب داده بودند و آن خشتها را از خاک چین پخته بودند و قریب سیصد گز چنان فرش انداخته که سرموئی کج نشده بود و در سنگ تراشی و درودگری و نقاشی و کاشی‌گری استادان آندیار نظیر و عدیل ندارند. فی الجمله تا نیم روز طوی آخر شد و مردم بخانه‌های خود رفتند.

و نهم ماه صفر سحرگاه اسبان آورده ایلچیان را بردند و هر سال پادشاه چند روز حیوانی نمی‌خورد و از خلوت بیرون نمی‌آمد و هیچکس از زنان و مردان را پیش خود نمی‌گذاشت و در خانه که هیچ صورت و بت نبود بسر می‌برد و می‌گفت «خدای آسمان را عبادت می‌کنم» و آنروز که ایلچیان را بردند پادشاه از خلوت بیرون آمده بحرم میرفت با تجمل تمام پیلان را آرایش کرده پیش پیش محفه مدور طلا که او در آنجا بود

و همچنین دیگر سازها نواختند و این مجلس از صبح تا نماز پیشین امتداد یافت.

و در صحن این فضا چند هزار جانور پرنده مثل فاخته و قمری و زاغ و زغن و غیر ذلک بودند که میوه‌ها و ریزهای طعام می‌ربودند و از مردم نمی‌ترسیدند و هیچ آفریده متعرض نمی‌شد و چون طوی بنهایت انجامید پادشاه گویندگان را بانعام نقد مسرور گردانید. آنگاه باجارت پادشاه خلق متفرق شدند.

القصة، ایلچیان مدت پنجمه درین شهر ماندند و هر روز علوفه که در روز اول مقرر کرده بودند بی تنقیص بایشان میرسید و چند نوبت طویها واقع شد و در هر بار بازیگران بنوع دیگر بازی می‌کردند. فی الجمله چون عید اضحی روی نمود ایلچیان با جمعی از مسلمانان در مسجدی که پادشاه درین شهر جهت ایشان ساخته بآداب آنروز سعید قیام نمودند.

و در هفدهم ذی الحجه طایفه از ارباب جرایم را بموجب فرمان پادشاه بسیاستگاه بردند و کافران ختایی در دفتر دیوان گناه هر یک را و عقوبت آنها را نوشتند و در تفصیل آن زیاده فایده متصور نیست و اهل آنجا چنانچه قاعده و رسم ایشان است در باب گناهکاران و مجرمان احتیاط تمام نمایند و پادشاه را دوازده دیوان است. اگر شخصی بگناهی موسوم شد و در یازده دیوان جرم منجرم [۴۹۲] ثابت شد و در دوازدهم روشن نشد، آن مجرم را خلاصی ممکن است و اگر ششماه راه یا زیاده اگر کسی را بگناهکار حقی و ادعائی باشد مجرم را سزا و جزا نمیدهند و محبوس می‌کنند تا آنکس بیاید و مهم او محقق گردد.

و در بیست و هفتم محرم مولانا یوسف قاضی پیش ایلچیان کس فرستاد که «فردا سال نو است و پادشاه باردوی نو درمی‌آید و غدغن است که هیچکس جامه سفید نپوشد» و ایشان جامه سفید در ماتم پوشند و شب بیستم [بیست] و هشتم در نیمشب پادشاه کس فرستاد و ایلچیان را باردوی نو برد و آن عمارتی عالی بود و در آنشب مردم در دکاکین و بیوت و کوچه‌ها چندان قنادیل و شمع و مشاعل^{۵۸} افروخته بودند که گفتمی مگر آفتاب

^{۵۸} روضة الصفا: مشاغل.

the holes of the instrument next to him.) This assembly lasted from morning until noon.

In the open courtyard were several thousand birds, such as doves, pigeons, ravens, crows, etc., which stole pieces of fruit and crumbs of food and were unafraid of people. No one bothered them at all. When the banquet was finished, the emperor made the singers happy with gifts of cash. Then, with the emperor's permission, the people dispersed.

To return to the narrative, the emissaries remained in [Khan Baliq] for five months,⁵² and every day the allotments that were established for them the very first day came without decrease. Several times banquets were held, and every time the entertainers did new tricks. Finally, when the Feast of the Sacrifice came around, the emissaries went with a group of Muslims to a mosque the emperor had built for them in this city to perform the rites of that happy day.

On the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja a group of criminals was taken to the place of execution, according to the emperor's command, and the Chinese infidels wrote in the ministerial registry the crime of each one and the punishment.⁵³ {According to Chinese law, every crime has a particular punishment: some are decapitated, some are hanged, and some are chopped to pieces. Every executioner is responsible for killing one person, and if there are a hundred convicts, there are a hundred executioners. However, for the capital punishment} of criminals the people there, as is their custom, take great precaution. The emperor has twelve ministries. If anyone is accused of a crime and the crime [RS 492] is proved to eleven ministries but is not clear to the twelfth, the criminal may obtain release. {In extreme cases the instrument of crime and a reliable witness must be produced, and without proof no sentence of death is given.} If there is a witness living at a journey of six months or more, the criminal is not punished but is imprisoned until the witness is produced and the matter is investigated. {If a criminal dies in prison, he cannot be buried without the emperor's permission. On the 23rd of Muharram the weather was so cold that several of the criminals died beside the emperor's palace. Someone said that in the

past on cold days more than ten thousand persons had perished.}

On the 27th of Muharram [January 27, 1421] Mawlana Yusuf Qazi sent a messenger to the emissaries to say, "Tomorrow is the New Year, and the emperor is coming to the new *ordu*. It is forbidden for anyone to wear white." They wear white for funerals. The eve of the 28th at midnight the emperor sent a eunuch to take the emissaries to the new *ordu*, which was a magnificent structure [that was finally completed after nineteen years of work]. That night the people so lighted their shops, houses and camps with lanterns, candles and torches that you would think the sun had risen. There were about 100,000 people from China, Cathay, Machin, Qalmaq,⁵⁴ Tibet, etc., gathered in that encampment. The emperor gave his amirs a banquet, and the emissaries were seated outside the throne room. Nearly 200,000 people were present bearing arms, and the boys began to dance and do acrobatics in an inimitable manner. From the door of the audience hall to the end of the building was 1,925 feet, and all the structures were of cut stone and baked brick. The bricks were of baked china clay, and for about 300 cubits were so laid that there was not a hair's breadth of crookedness. The masters of stonecutting, carpentry, painting and tilemaking of that region have no peers. [That day Dayming Khan gave the amirs from the surrounding areas a banquet that lasted until noon.] Finally, about noon, the banquet was finished, and the people went home.

At dawn on the 9th of Safar [February 13, 1421] horses were brought and the emissaries were taken out. Every year the emperor abstained from eating animals for a few days and remained in solitude, not allowing any of his wives or men in his presence. He stayed in a room that had no pictures or statues and said, "I worship the God of heaven." The day the emissaries were taken was the day the emperor came out of seclusion and went to the private quarters. Elephants had been elaborately caparisoned and were driven in front

⁵²MS adds: from the 8th of Dhū'l-Hijja 822 until the beginning of Jumādā I 823.

⁵³RS and MS add here: "the elaboration of which is not deemed necessary." AL elaborates.

⁵⁴I.e., the Qalmaq (Kalmyk), or Oyrat, Eastern Mongols.

بر سر حکم داشتند و بخوبی در زر گرفته و حلقه بر آن طناب ابریشمین زرد بسته و آن حکم را از بالا فرو گذاشتند و چتر بر بالای آن فرود می‌آید و خلایق و مجموع سازندگان سازها همراه آن از پیش کوشک بیرون آمدند و حکم را آوردند تا ایامی که در آنجا می‌بودند و ایلچیان از آنجا نقل احکام بممالک فرستادند.

و چون هلال ربیع الاول رخ نمود پادشاه شنقارها حاضر کرده باز ایلچیان را [۴۹۴] طلبداشت و فرمود که «شنقار بکسی میدهم که برای من اسب خوب آورده است» آنگاه سه شنقار را بسططان شاه ایلچی میرزا الغبیگ داد و سه بسططان احمد ایلچی میرزا بایستقر و سه بشادی خواجه ایلچی حضرت خاقان سعید. بعد از آن همه را بجانورداران خود سپرد تا بوقت رفتن تسلیم ایشان نمایند.

و روز دیگر ایلچیان را طلب داشته گفت «لشکر بسرحد ولایت می‌رود. شما نیز یراق کنید تا همراه ایشان بولایت خود روید»

و ارغداق ایلچی سیورغتمش را که «شنقار نیست و اگر میبود هم بتو نمیدادم چه آن کرت که تنسوقات فرستاده پادشاه تو بود از تو ستانند. شاید که این نوبت هم از تو بستانند»

ارغداق گفت «اگر پادشاه عنایت فرموده شنقار دهد کسی از این بنده نتواند ستد»

پادشاه گفت که «تو اینجا باش که دو شنقار دیگر می‌رسد بتو دهم»

و هشتم ماه ربیع الاول سلطان شاه و بخشی ملک را طلب فرموده هشت بالش نقره و سی جامه پادشاهی و دو اسب یکی با زین و صد چوبه تیر نی و بیست و پنج کیبر^{۹۱} ختایی داد و بخشی

میراندند و علمهای هفت رنگ همراه داشتند و پنجاه هزار آدمی از پیش و پس میرفتند و محفه دیگر آرایش کرده بر دوش می‌بردند و سازها چنان می‌نواختند که وصف آن بشرح راست نیاید و با وجود آن کثرت و ازدحام [۴۹۳] هیچ آوازی مگر آواز ساز بگوش نمی‌رسید و بدان زینت و زیب پادشاه بحرم درآمد و خلایق بوثاقهای خود رفتند.

و در آن اوقات رسم شبچراغ باشد. هفت شبانه روز در درون کریاس پادشاه گوئی [کوهی] از چوب می‌سازند و روی آن را بشاخ سرو می‌پوشانند چنانچه گوئی کوهی از زمرد است و صد هزار چراغ بر ریسمانها تعبیه کنند و موشکها از نطف سازند که چون یکچراغ برافروزند موشک بر آن ریسمانها رود و بهر چراغ که رسد روشن سازد و بیک لحظه چراغها از بالای کوه تا پایان روشن شود و مردم شهر در دکان و خانه‌های خود چراغهای بسیار افروزند و در آن هفت روز گناه بر کسی نگیرند و پادشاه بخششها کند و در آنوقت بندیان را آزاد فرماید و در آن سال منجمان ختای حکم کرده بودند که خانه پادشاه را از آتش ضرر رسد و بدین سبب در آزمون شبچراغ فرمان نشده بود اما امر بدستور سابق جمع آمده بودند و پادشاه همه را طوی داده انعام فرمود.

و در سیزدهم صفر باز شقاوول پادشاه آمد ایلچیان را برد و بر در کریاس اول نشانند و خلق هر دیار زیاده از صد هزار جمع شدند و بر در کوشک اول تختی مرصع نهاده بودند و درها گشاده پادشاه بر تخت نشست و خلایق سر بر زمین نهادند و تختی دیگر آوردند در برابر تخت پادشاه و سه کس بر بالای این تخت برآمدند و حکمی که از پادشاه صادر شده بود و بر جائی مثبت گشته دو کس آن یرلیغ را برداشتند و یکی با آواز بلند برخواند چنانچه مجموع مردم شنیدند اما بزبان ختایی بود و ایلچیان فهم نمی‌کردند. مضمون آنکه اینماه از شب چراغ پادشاه سه سال گذشته و موسم شبچراغ دیگر رسیده چراغ گناهکاران و باقی داران دیوان را بخشیده مگر کسانی که خون کرده باشند و ایلچی بهیچ جا نرود و بعد از خواندن یرلیغ چیزی

^{۹۱} روضة الصفا: کنیز: حبیب السیر: کبیر.

of a round, gilded litter in which he sat. Banners of seven colors were carried along, and 50,000 men went before and behind. They carried another litter on their shoulders, and played instruments in such a way that it could not be described. In spite of all the crowd and throng, [RS 493] no sound, save that of the instruments, could be heard. In that pomp and circumstance the emperor was carried to his quarters, and the people went home.

During that season is the Festival of Lanterns. For seven days and nights outside the emperor's palace an edifice is constructed of wood and covered with branches of cypress so that it looks like a mountain of emerald. Tens of thousands of lanterns are attached to it with string, and rockets of naphtha are made so that when a lantern is lit the rocket races along the string and lights every lantern it touches. In an instant the lanterns are lit from the top of the mountain to the bottom, and the people of the city light many lanterns in their shops and houses. During those seven days [HS 644] no one is condemned, the emperor proclaims amnesty and prisoners are set free. That year the astrologers of Cathay had calculated that the emperor's house would be damaged by fire, and for this reason no command was given for the night of lanterns, but the amirs had gathered as they always had and the emperor gave them a banquet and ordered gifts distributed.

On the 13th of Safar the emperor's *shiqawul* came again for the emissaries and seated them at the palace gate. More than 100,000 people from all regions had gathered, and a jewel-studded throne had been placed at the gate to the first pavilion and the gates had been opened. The emperor sat on the throne, and the people [knelt and] placed their heads on the ground. Another dais was brought and put next to the emperor's throne, and three people went up on this dais. Two of them held up the decree that the emperor had issued and which had been recorded somewhere, while the third cried out in a loud voice so that all the people could hear. However, it was in Chinese and the emissaries did not understand. The contents were: "[On the tenth of] this month three years have passed since the emperor's lantern night, and another lantern night season has come. Criminals and others held by the ministry are to be released, for I have pardoned their offenses, except those who have shed blood. For three years no emissary is to go anywhere." After reading the edict, they put

something on top of the decree and wrapped it well in gold [sealed it in yellow paste, affixed] a ring, [tied it in] yellow silk cord and then lowered the decree. A parasol was carried over it, and the people and multitude of musicians followed it out of the pavilion. The decree was brought to the resthouse where [the emissaries] were, and from there copies of the decrees were sent to the provinces.

When the new moon of Rabi' I appeared [March 6, 1421], the emperor had [nine] falcons brought and once again summoned the emissaries. [RS 494] He said, "I will give a hawk to anyone who has brought me a good horse." Then he gave three falcons to Sultan-Shah, Mirza Ulughbeg's emissary, three to Sultan-Ahmad, Mirza Baysunqur's emissary, and three to Shadi Khwaja, His Majesty's emissary. After that he gave them back to his own falconers to keep until they should depart.

The next day he summoned the emissaries and said, "The army is going to the borders of the country. You too get your arms to go along with them and go to your own country."

To Arghudaq, the emissary of Mirza Soyurghatmish, he said, "There is no falcon for you. Even if there were, I wouldn't give you one because last time when gifts were sent by your sovereign he took them from you. Maybe this time he would take them from you."⁵⁵

Arghudaq said, "If the emperor is gracious enough to give me a falcon, no one will take it from me."

"Wait here," he said, "until they bring two more falcons. I will give them to you."

On the 8th of Rabi' I Sultan-Shah and Bakhshī Malik were summoned and given eight ingots of silver, thirty regal suits of clothing, two horses, one of which had a saddle, one hundred reed arrows, and twenty-five Chinese three-pronged spears.⁵⁶ Bakhshī Malik was given the same, except that there was one ingot fewer. The

⁵⁵RS and AL are badly garbled here; HS omits the passage altogether. Based on ZT, the passage should read: "Even if there were, I wouldn't give you one because they would take it from you, as they did to Ardashir, the servant of Prince Ibrahim-Sultan, from whom they took a falcon." Ardashir Tovachī was sent with the second Chinese embassy to Shāhrukh when they returned to Peking on 23 Rabi' I 820 (May 10, 1417) (Fāsihī, *Mujmal*, 231).

⁵⁶Other versions have slightly different lists.

لیلاجی و جان واجی را پیش پادشاه ایستاده دید و پادشاه در حدیث گرفتن ایلچیان بود که ولیلاجی و جان واجی و مولانا یوسف قاضی سر بر زمین نهادند و زبان بشفاعت و درخواست گشاده معروض داشتند که «اینجماعت بیگناه اند و بر پادشاه حکم ایشان جاری نیست که اسب خوب باید فرستاد و اگر اینان را فی المثل بکشی خللی در ملک پادشاهان ایشان راه نیابد ولی دور و نزدیک پادشاه را که برآفت اشتها دارد و بجور و ظلم منسوب کنند و گویند ایلچیان را که بهیچ مذهب ایشان بند و زندان جایز نیست» تعرض رسانیدن پادشاه را سخن نیکوخواهان پسندیده آمد و از سر آن حرکت درگذشت و مولانا یوسف خرم و شادمان پیش ایلچیان رفته گفت «خدای عزوجل بر شما غریبان ترحم فرمود و پادشاه مرحمت کرده گناه ناکرده شمارا بخشید» آنگاه پادشاه نزدیک رسید بر اسب سیاه بلند چهار دست و پا سفید که میرزا الغیبگ فرستاده بود سوار عبائی زربفت انداخته بود و دو اختاچی از چپ و راست اسب آهسته آهسته قدم برمیداشتند و پادشاه قبای سرخ زربفت پوشیده و محاسن خود را در غلاف اطلب سیاه مندرج ساخته و هفت عدد محفه خورد سروپوشیده که دختران در آنجا نشسته بودند همراه پادشاه بر دوش گرفته از عقب او میآوردند و یک محفه بزرگ که هفتاد کس بر دوش گرفته و مقدار یک لقمار [تُقمار] یمین و یسار [۴۹۶] سواران بسیار بیساول می آمدند و هیچ آفریده یکقدم پیش و پس نمی نهاد و از هر صف تا صف دیگر موازی بیست قدم بود. چون پادشاه نزدیکتر رسید ایلچیان باشارت جان واجی و ولیلاجی و مولانا یوسف تعظیم نمودند و پادشاه با ایشان گفت «سوار شوید» ایلچیان بموجب فرموده عمل نمودند و در موکب پادشاه روان گشتند و پادشاه با شادی خواجه بر سبیل

ملک را مثل آن اما یک بالش کمتر بود و خاتون پادشاه نیز ایلچیان را انعام داد و در آنروز ایلچی اویس خان با دویت و پنجاه نفر پادشاه را دیده و شرایط تعظیم بجای آوردند و دیوانیان جهت ایشان جامه های ملوکانه و علوفه معین کردند.

و سیزدهم ربیع الاول پادشاه ایلچیان را طلب داشته فرمود که «من بشکار می روم و شاید که دیرتر آیم. شما شنقارهای خود را بگیریید تا معطل نشوید» و بموجب حکم جانوران را تسلیم ایشان کردند و پادشاه بشکار رفت و در غیبت او پادشاهزاده از طرف ولایت تمنا آمد و در هیجدهم ماه ایلچیان بدیدن او رفتند در طرف شرقی خانه پادشاه نشسته بود و اطراف را چنان بر آراسته و بدستور پادشاه خوانها کشیدند و آتش خورده بیرون برآمدند. و غره ربیع الآخر ایلچیان را خبر کردند که پادشاه از شکار می رسد استقبال باید نمود و ایلچیان سوار شده بر در یامخانه مولانا یوسف قاضی را دیدند که بغایت ملول و محزون سوار ایستاده از سبب ملال استفسار نمودند آهسته گفت «اسبی که حضرت شاه رخی فرستاده پادشاه را در شکارگاه انداخته و ازینجهت غضب بر پادشاه استیلا یافته و حکم کرده است که ایلچیان را مقید بشهر ختای برید»

ایلچیان [۴۹۵] از استماع این سخن اندوهناک و پریشان خاطر گشتند و در اردوی شاه که شب فرود آمده بودند دیواری دیدند بر گرد اردو کشیده پانصد قدم در پانصد قدم چهار قدم عرض آن بود و دو گز ارتفاعش که در آن شب احداث کرده بودند و دیوار قالبی در ختای زود می سازند و در آن دیوار دو دروازه نشانده و از پس دیوار که خاک گرفته بودند خندقی عمیق پدید آمده بود و بر دروازه ها مردمان جلد و سپاهی باز داشته مجموع مسلم و در اندرون دیوار دو چتر مربع هر یک بیست و پنج گز بچهار ستون برافراشته و بر گرد آن خیمه ها و سایبانها از اطلس زرد و زرافشان بر پای کرده و چون میان ایلچیان مقدار پانصد قدم باقی ماند مولانا یوسف با ایشان گفت «پیاده شوید و در همین محل بمانید تا پادشاه برسد» و خود پیش رفت و چون نزدیک بموکب شهرباری رسید فرود آمد و

emperor's wife also gave the emissaries gifts. On that day Uways Khan's emissary, with 250 men, saw the emperor and performed the rites of bowing. The ministerial clerks appointed for them regal clothing and food-stuffs. {On that same day the envoy of Uways Khan, <who was named Abu Yatimur Atäkä,> and his 250 servants and companions were given regal robes.}

On the 13th of Rabi' I the emperor summoned the emissaries and said, "I am going on a hunt and may not return for some time. You take your falcons lest you have nothing to do." {To taunt them he said, "The horses you brought me were short, but you have received select falcons.}" In accordance with the command, their birds were given to them, and the emperor went on the hunt. During his absence a prince came from the province of Tamna<i> (?). On the 18th of that month the emissaries went to see him. He was in the eastern part of the imperial palace, and all around him was decorated. By the emperor's order trays were set and food was eaten, and they came away.

At the beginning of Rabi' II [April 1421] the emissaries were told that the emperor was coming from the hunt and they must go out to meet him. They were mounting their horses when they saw Mawlana Yusuf Qazi at the gate of the posthouse, very sad and forlorn on his horse. When they inquired why he was downcast, he said in a very low voice, "The horse that His Majesty Shahrugh sent threw the emperor during the hunt. The emperor flew into a rage and commanded that the emissaries be taken in chains to the city of Cathay."

The emissaries [RS 495] were distressed to hear this [and set out for the emperor's camp. By midmorning they reached the station where the emperor had stopped for the night and there] saw that a wall had been constructed overnight around the imperial camp, 500 feet by 500 feet and four feet in breadth and ten cubits high. In Cathay they build walls of *terre pisé* very fast. In the wall were two gateways, and next to the wall, from where they had taken earth, there was a deep ditch. Upon the walls were men and soldiers, all armed, and inside the enclosure were two square canopies, each 25 cubits, raised on four columns. Around it were tents and canopies of yellow silk and gold brocade. Since there was a distance of 500 feet between [the camp and] the emissaries, Mawlana Yusuf said to them, "Get down and remain here [HS 645] until the emperor comes." He himself went forward,

and when he came near the imperial entourage, he dismounted and saw Wali Daji⁵⁷ and Jan Daji standing before the emperor. The emperor was discussing seizing the emissaries when Wali Daji, Jan Daji and Mawlana Yusuf Qazi placed their heads on the ground and interceded, saying, "These people are innocent. They have no power to command their emperor to send a good horse. If you were to kill them, no harm would come to their emperors' dominions, but an emperor who is renowned for clemency would gain a reputation for cruelty and tyranny. People would say that he has inflicted harm upon emissaries, whose captivity or imprisonment is licit in no religion." The emperor was soothed by the words of these benevolent men and changed his mind. Mawlana Yusuf came happy and joyful to the emissaries and said, "God has had mercy on you foreigners. The emperor has been merciful and pardoned the crime you did not commit."⁵⁸

Just then the emperor drew near riding the black horse with four white feet that Mirza Ulughbeg had sent. A gold brocade cloak was thrown [over it], and two equerries were walking slowly on the left and right of the horse. The emperor was wearing a red [yellow] goldspun tunic and had covered his head with a black silk hood. Behind him were being carried on men's shoulders seven small covered litters in which were seated girls. There was also a large litter carried by seventy people, and for a distance of one arrowshot to the right and left [RS 496] many horsemen were riding in such order that not one person was out of step. Between one row and the next was about twenty feet. When the emperor drew near the emissaries, they bowed at the prompting of Jan Daji, Wali Daji and Mawlana Yusuf. The emperor said to them, "Mount!" They did as they were ordered and set out in the imperial retinue. The emperor said by way of complaint to Shadi Khwaja, "Presents, gifts, horses and animals [rulers] send [each other] should be good [so that mutual affection may increase]. As an act of favor I rode the horse you brought me during the hunt, but unfortunately [it was so old] it threw me and hurt my arm."

Shadi Khwaja spoke in apology and said, "That horse

⁵⁷RS has WLYL'JY; HS has WLY D'JY; ZT and MS have Li Daji.

⁵⁸MS adds: "Trays sent by the emperor were brought—pork and lamb mixed. The Muslims among us did not partake."

بود رسید و حرم سرای پادشاه نیز بسوخت و در اطراف قریب دویست و پنجاه خانه محرق شد و بسیاری از مردان و زنان سوخته خاکستر شدند و آنشب تا نماز دیگر هرچند سعی و کوشش نمودند آتش تسکین نیافت و پادشاه و امرا ملتفت بآن نشدند چه آنروز را از روزهای نیک بکیش خود می شمردند و بکاری نمی پرداختند و پادشاه در بتخانه رفته بتضرع و زاری اشتغال نمود و گفت «خدای آسمان بر من غضب کرد و تختگاه مرا بسوخت با آنکه من کاری نکرده ام و ظلمی از من بوجود نیامده است» و ازین غصه بیمار شد و بدین سبب معلوم نشد که

شکایت گفت که «تحفه و بیلاک و اسب و جانور که بهدیه فرستند باید که خوب باشد. ما بموجب ازدیاد محبت براسبی که تو آورده بودی در شکارگاه سوار شدم و از شومی مرا انداخت و دست من کوفته شده» شادی خواجه زبان اعتذار گشوده معروض داشت که «این اسب یادگاری حضرت صاحبقران امی تیمور گورکان است و جناب شاهرخ بر سبیل تعظیم و اجلال آن را بخدمت پادشاه ارسال نمود» عذر شادی خواجه محل قبول یافته پادشاه سخن او را بجز اجابت مقرون گردانید و سوار شده روی بدارالملک نهاد و قریب بشهر مردم بسیار آمده بودند و بزبان ختایی دعا و ثنای پادشاهی می نمودند و پادشاه با آن عزت و جاه در قصر خود فرود آمد و خلائق بمنازل خود رفتند.

و رابع ربیع الثانی باز شقاوت پادشاه آمد و ایلچیان را برده گفت «امروز پادشاه شمارا بخشش می کند و عطا می دهد» و چون ایشان بیای تخت برسیدند دیدند که پادشاه نشسته و شبریهای پیشکی پیش خود جمع فرموده آنگاه هرکدام از ایلچیان را بدین تفصیل داد: شادی خواجه ده بالش نقره و سی جامه اطلس و هفتاد پارچه قفلی و بعضی تحفه های دیگر نامزد فرمود و سلطان احمد و کوچه و ارغداق را هر یک هشت بالش نقره و شانزده جامه اطلس و تحایف دیگر داد و خواجه غیاث الدین و اردوان و تاج الدین را هر یک هفت بالش نقره و شانزده جامه اطلس و دیگر چیزها دادند و ایلچیان پیشکشها گرفته بوئاق خود رفتند و ایلچیان میرزا الغبیگ نیز پیشکشهای خود گرفته بودند چنانچه سابقاً مذکور شد.

و در این اثنا یکی از خواتین پادشاه که محبوبه او بود وفات یافت و اظهار نکردند تا اسباب تعزیت باتمام رسید و هشتم جمادی الاول خبر فوت او شهرت گرفت و در شبی که صبح آن عزیمت دفن او داشتند از قضای الهی از اثر برق [۴۹۷] آتشی در قصر پادشاه که نو ساخته بود افتاد و بحسب اتفاق سخنان منجمان راست آمد و بارگاهی که در طول هشتاد گز بود و در عرض سی گز و مبتنی بر ستونهای رنگین که در آغوش مردی نمی گنجید تمام بسوخت و از آنجا بکوشکی که شصت گز دور

is a memento of His Majesty Temür Kürägän, and His Majesty Shahrukh sent it to the emperor as a mark of great favor." Shadi Khwaja's excuse was accepted by the emperor, who [praised Shadi Khwaja. Then he sent for a falcon and had a crane sent aloft. He threw the falcon into the air. It struck with its claw thrice and caught the crane. A platform was placed beneath the emperor to dismount, and he sat down on another dais and gave Sultan-Ahmad and Sultan-Shah each a falcon, but he did not give Shadi Khwaja anything. Once again] he mounted and set off toward the capital. Near the city [of Khan Baliq] many people had come out and were cheering the emperor in Chinese. In that pomp and circumstance the emperor [rode his horse in haste until he] entered his palace, and the people went to their own houses.

On the 4th of Rabi' II [April 8, 1421] the emperor's *shiqawul* came again and led the emissaries away, saying, "Today the emperor will present you with [his *sang*,⁵⁹ which is to say special] gifts." When they reached the foot of the throne they saw the emperor seated with trays placed before him. [When Dayming Khan saw the emissaries he indicated that the trays should be taken to one side. He sent the amirs to the trays, [HS 646] and they placed the trays before the emissaries.] Then he gave the emissaries the following: to Shadi Khwaja ten ingots of silver, thirty suits of silk clothing, and other thing, [silks, brocades and velvets,⁶⁰ 5,000 ch'ao,⁶¹ and for his wife a third of the above-mentioned cloth]; to Sultan-Ahmad, Kökchä and Arghudaq each eight ingots of silver, sixteen silk suits, [silks, brocades and velvets, and for each of their wives ninety-four textile pieces and for each one 2,000 ch'ao];

⁵⁹SNK: perhaps the Mongolian *šang*, a gift made to an inferior.

⁶⁰Reading, with ZT, *torqū-u lo-u shā-u kapakī* for the meaningless TWQWWLWWS'W KPKY repeated for each of the emissaries in HS; it is omitted altogether from the other texts. *Torqu* is a well attested word for silk (see Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 539). *Lo* and *sha* both mean sheer, gauzy silk in Chinese; nonetheless, all readings are highly problematic, and translations are mere guesses.

⁶¹*Chāw*, Chinese paper money (*ch'ao*). The fiasco that ensued when Geikhatu Khan attempted to introduce paper money into Iran in 1294 is well known (see J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khāns," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5 [Cambridge, 1968], p. 375).

to Khwaja Ghiyathuddin. Ardawan and Tajuddin each seven ingots of silver, sixteen silk suits, [silks, brocades and velvets, woolens, and 2,000 ch'ao]. [For each of Ulughbeg's emissaries, who were Sultan-Shah and Bakhshī Malik, eight ingots of silver, thirty regal suits with lining, twenty-four woolens, silks, brocades and velvets, two horses, one of which had a saddle, one hundred reed arrows, twenty-five Chinese three-pronged spears, 5,000 ch'ao, and cloth for their wives.] The emissaries gathered their gifts and went back to their rooms. Mirza Ulughbeg's emissaries had already received their gifts, as has been mentioned.

Just at this time one of the emperor's beloved wives died, but it was not revealed until arrangements for the mourning were completed. On the 8th of Jumada I [May 11, 1421] news of her demise was announced. During the night before the burial day, by divine fate [RS 497] fire caused by lightning broke out in the emperor's newly built palace, so it came to pass that the astrologers' prediction came true, and the court that was eighty cubits long and thirty cubits wide and built upon colored columns wider than a man's girth burned to the ground. From there it spread to the pavilion that was 60 cubits in circumference,⁶² and the emperor's harem also burned. Around the perimeter some 250 out-buildings also were burned, and many men and women were charred to ashes. It lasted from the night until noon the next day, and try as they might, the fire could not be extinguished. The emperor and his officers, however, paid no attention at all, that day being a holy day in their religion during which they paid no attention to [worldly] affairs. [Afterwards] the emperor went to the temple in supplication, crying, "The God of heaven is angry with me and has burned my throne room, although I have done nothing, [I have not vexed my mother or father] or done injustice to anyone." Of this sorrow he fell ill, and for this reason it was never known in what manner the emperor's wife who had died was buried. It was said that there is a special mountain in Cathay where great ladies are buried, and when one of them passes away she is taken to that mountain and put in a tomb tower [underground tomb (*sardāba*)]. Her own private horses are turned loose on that mountain to graze freely, and no one harms them. Many slavegirls and chamberlains are given [at least]

⁶²MS has: that was 20 cubits away.

شاه رخى ملاقات کرده قواعد سلوک ختارا پرسیدند و ایشان تعلیم آنها کرده

در محرم سنه خمس و عشرین و ثمانمائه از سکجو روانه شده بشهر کامل در آمدند و حکام کامل گفتند عادت اهل ختای آنست که چنانکه در وقت رفتن شماره مردم را نویسند بهنگام باز گشتن نیز همان رفتار را ملاحظه کرده احتیاط نمایند.

القصة، بعد از تفحص و احتیاط از کامل بیرون آمدند و بواسطه خوف راه و ناایمنی طریق راه چول اختیار کردند و بمشقت تمام نهم جمادى الاول بشهر ختن رسیدند و از آنجا کوچ کرده ششم رجب بکاشغر فرود آمدند و بیست یکم از عقبه

اندگان گذشته جمعی از ایلچیان براه سمرقند و بعضی راه خراسان اختیار فرمودند و غره رمضان ببلخ نزول کردند و دهم ماه مذکور بدار السلطنه هرات رسیدند و بعز بساطبوس حضرت خاقان سعید شاهرخ سلطان (انار الله برهانه) استسعاد یافتند.

خاتون پادشاه که مرده بود بچه کیفیت دفن کردند. آورده اند که در ختای کوهی معین مدفن خواتین معظمه است و چون یکی از ایشان را قضا برسد او را در آن کوه برده بدخمه سپارند و اسبان خاصه اش را در آن کوه رها کنند تا بسر خود بچرند و دیگر کسی متعرض آنها نشود و در آن دخمه که بغایت وسیع باشد بسیار از دختران و خواجه سرایان را علفه پنجساله داده ساکن گردانند و بعد از اتمام قوت ایشان هم آنجا بمیرند و با وجود این همه رسم و آئین در موت خواتین از جهت تفرقه و آسیب آتش معلوم کسی نشد که آن خاتون گذشته را بچه کیفیت دفن کردند.

القصة، مرض پادشاه روز بروز ازدیاد پذیرفت و پسرش بجای پدر می نشست و بامور مملکت قیام می نمود و در اثنای این اوقات ایلچیان را رخصت انصراف دادند و منتصف جمادى الاول ایلچیان از خان بالیغ بیرون آمد و دواچیان نیز همراه بودند و بطریق رفتن در بازگشتن ختاییان خدمت می کردند و الاغ و عرابه می دادند و غره رجب بشهر بنکان رسیدند. حکام و اعیان استقبال نمودند و بنا بر فرمان پادشاه بار ایلچیان را باز نکردند با آنکه قاعده ایشان چنانست که بار همه را گشایند و احتیاط نمایند تا بعضی اشیارا که حکم بردن او نیست نبرند و روز دیگر طوی ترتیب داده تکلف بسیار [۴۹۸] کردند

و از آنجا طبل رحیل کوفته قطع مسافت می نمودند تا پنجم شعبان بقرا موران فرود آمدند و از آنجا روان شده هر روز به بیابانی و هر هفته بشهری می رسیدند و طوی خورده روانه می شدند تا روز بیست و چهارم شعبان بشهر قمجور [قمجو] رسیدند و آنچه مردم ختای بهنگام رفتن از ایلچیان در آن شهر گرفته سپرده بودند بی نقصان بدیشان تسلیم نمودند و مدت هفتاد و پنج روز در آن شهر توقف کرده در اوایل ذی حجه از قمجو بیرون آمده در هفدهم بشهر سکجو^۶ رسیدند و در آنجا ایلچی میرزا ابراهیم سلطان که از شیراز می آمد و فرستاده میرزا رستم که از اصفهان توجه نموده بودند با ایلچیان حضرت

^۶ روضة الصفا: بیکجو.

five years' worth of supplies and sent to live in the tomb, which is vast. When their strength fails they die there. However, despite all this information concerning their customs attendant upon the death of ladies, because of the confusion and damage done by the fire, no one was able to ascertain in what manner they buried the departed lady.

To return to the narrative, the emperor's illness grew worse day by day, and his son took his place in affairs of state. During this period the emissaries were given permission to depart. In the middle of Jumada I [mid-May 1421] they left Khan Baligh, accompanied by *dovachis*. During the return they were served by the Chinese as they had been in coming, and they were given pack animals and wagons. At the beginning of Rajab [July 1421] they reached the city of Pingan⁶³ and were received by the governors and grandees. In accordance with the emperor's command the emissaries' baggage was not opened, although generally they open baggage and make inspections to prevent people from taking out things that are not allowed to be taken. The next day a most elaborate banquet was given. [RS 498]

Setting out from there, they traveled until they reached the Yellow River on the 5th of Sha'ban [August 5, 1421]. Setting out, they came to a post station every day and to a town every week and, after being banqueted, continued on. On the 24th of Sha'ban [August 24, 1421] they came to the city of Qamju, and the Chinese returned to the emissaries everything they had taken from them when they arrived, and nothing was missing. They stayed in that town for two and a half months and then departed Qamju on the 7th of Dhu'l-Qa'da.⁶⁴ On the 17th of Dhu'l-Hijja [December 13, 1421] they reached Sukju, [HS 647] where they met Mirza Ibrahim-Sultan's emissary {Amir Hasan}, who was coming from Shiraz, and Mirza Rustam's emissary {Pahlawan Jamal}, who had set out from Isfahan. They asked His Majesty Shahrukh's emissaries how to act in Cathay and received instruction. [As it

was indicated that the roads were quite unsafe, they remained in Sukju for a while.]

In Muharram 825 [January 1422] they left Sukju and, [passing through settlements and wilderness,] came to Qamul,⁶⁵ the governors of which said that it was the Chinese custom, upon departure, to check the register of the number of people they had written upon arrival.

So, after inspection and checking, they left Qamul, taking the desert route because they feared the insecurity and unsafety of the roads. With much difficulty they {emerged from the desert on the 8th of Rabi' I [March 2, 1422] and, after stopping for a while} arrived in Khotan on the 9th of Jumada I [May 1, 1422]. From there they traveled in stages and stopped in Kashghar on the 6th of Rajab [June 26, 1422]. Passing through Andizhan on the 21st, [Mirza Ulughbeg's] emissaries took the road to Samarkand while the others chose the Khurasan road.⁶⁶ [Crossing the Oxus,] they stopped in Balkh the first of Ramadan, and on the 10th [August 28, 1422] [15th] reached Herat and attained the felicity of kissing the throne of His Imperial Majesty Shahrukh.⁶⁷

⁶³Identified by Yule (*Cathay* 1:285) as the ancient capital P'ing-yang fu (平陽府) in Shansi (Shanxi), the modern Lin-fen

⁶⁴RS has: "They stayed in that town for twenty-five days and then departed Qamju at the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja."

⁶⁵MS: Qarawul, which would be the reverse order of the way they came.

⁶⁶MS adds: On the 21st of Sha'ban they reached Hisar Shadman.

⁶⁷According to Faṣīḥi (*Mujmal*, 251) they reached Herat on 11 Ramaḍān 825, having been away for two years, two months and five days.

[۴] بلی قضاست بهر نیک و بد عنانکش خلق
بدان دلیل که تدبیرهای جمله خطاست
و احوال و احوال رکوب بحر
و آن نه بحرست که پایان و کناری دارد

کمال الدین عبد الرزاق سمرقندی داستان سفر هندوستان و شرح غرایب و بیان عجایب آن

درین سال حاوی اوراق، عبدالرزاق بن اسحق، بموجب فرمان سلطان آفاق متوجه ولایت هرموز و سواحل دریا بار شد. و اگر دوستان برین داستان عیب نفرمایند و بمطالعه آن رغبت نمایند بشرح و بسط تمام اختتام خواهد یافت، و انواع غرایب و عجایب در سلک کلام انتظام خواهد گرفت، و مدت سه سال بتفصیل و اجمال شرح احوال و احوال باز خواهد گفت، و بدستور معهود وقایع خراسان و ماوراءالنهار و فارس و عراق و آذربایجان بیان خواهد کرد. امید که در نظر مبصران جهان رواج یابد و آفتاب التفات اعیان زمان بر آن تابد انشاء الله تعالی. [۳]

داستان سفر هندوستان و شرح غرایب و بیان عجایب آن
قال الله تعالی ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي يُسَيِّرُكُمْ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ﴾ هرکرا دیده بصیرت بانوار حقیقت منور باشد و مرغ جانش در هوای دانش طیران نماید بعین البقین بیند و بعلم البقین داند که دوران اجرام عظام افلاک و سیران اجزاء صغار خاک بر وفق علم و ارادت صانع پاک عزّ شانه جاریست، و انوار قدرت شامله و آثار حکمت کامله در ذرات ذریات عالم و حرکات و سکنت بنی آدم ساری و عنان عالمیان در قبضه قدرت و سرینجه قضاست و رقاب سرکشان جهان محکوم حکم ﴿يَفْعَلُ اللَّهُ مَا يَشَاءُ﴾ بیت
اگر محوّل حال جهانیان نه قضاست
چرا مجاری احوال بر خلاف رضااست

KAMALUDDIN ABDUL-RAZZAQ SAMARQANDI

MISSION TO CALICUT AND VIJAYANAGAR

In January 1442 Kamaluddin Abdul-Razzaq Samarqandi, a high court functionary, was sent as emissary by Shahrugh in response to a request for a representative from the king of Calicut (present-day Kozhikode in Kerala) on the Malibar coast of India. In his history, *Matla'-i sa'dayn* (Rising point of the two lucky stars¹), a chronicle covering the years up to 1470, he describes his experiences in Calicut and in the much larger neighboring kingdom of Vijayanagar and his misadventures at sea on his return journey to Herat in December 1444.



During this year the writer of these pages, Abdul-Razzaq ibn Ishaq, by command of the ruler of the horizons, set out for Hormuz and the coastal area of the Persian Gulf.² If my friends do not find fault with this story and are desirous of reading about it, it will be explained in all detail, and the strange and amazing things I encountered will be told. The various situations and terrors endured over three years will be recounted, and, as usual, the situation of Khurasan, Transoxiana, Fars, Persia, and Azerbaijan will be related. It is hoped that it will gain currency in the sight of those of insight and that the sun of attention of the noble men of the age will shine upon my endeavor, God willing.

¹The reference is to Timur's title, *Şāhib-qirān*, "lord of the conjunction of Venus and Jupiter," the most auspicious of planetary conjunctions. The Persian text is taken from the Tashkent 1960 edition.

²The term is *Daryābār*, the Persian Gulf coast; in its wider sense, it includes the Arabian Sea and East African coasts.

THE JOURNEY TO INDIA, AND AN ACCOUNT OF ITS NOVELTIES AND MARVELS

God has said: "It is he who hath given you conveniences for traveling by land and by sea" [Kor. 10:22]. He whose eyes of insight are illuminated by the lights of reality, he the bird of whose soul flies in the air of knowledge realizes with certainty that both the revolution of the great bodies of the celestial spheres and the movement of the small particles of the earth proceed in accordance with the knowledge and will of the immaculate creator. He knows that the lights of all-encompassing power and the effects of perfect wisdom shine upon the atoms of the generations of the world and the movements of humankind, that the reins of earthlings are in the grasp of fate and the clutches of destiny, and that the necks of the obstinate of the world are subject to the command of God, who "doth that which he pleaseth" [Kor. 3:40].

If the determination of worldlings is not by fate,
why then do things happen contrary to [our]
pleasure. [4]

Yea, fate controls the reins of mankind for every
good and ill for the reason that all machinations
are erroneous.

The terrors of a sea voyage—

and it is not a sea that hath end or shore

—are the most obvious of the effects of fate and lights
of wisdom. Hence in the miraculous words of the

تجار اقلیم سبعه از مصر و شام و روم و آذربایجان و عراق عرب و عجم و ممالک فارس و خراسان و ماوراءالنهر و ترکستان و مملکت دشت قبجاق و نواحی قلماق و تمام بلاد مشرق و چین [۷] و ماچین و خان بالیق روی توجه بآن بندر دارند. و مردم دریا بار از حدود چین و جاوه و بنگاله و سیلان و شهرهای زیرباد و تناصری و سقوطره و شهر نو و جزایر دیوه محل تا دیار بلیبار و حبش و زنگبار و بندرهای بیجانگر و گلبرگه و گجرات و کنبات و سواحل برّ عرب تا عدن و جدّه و ینبوع نفایس و طرایف که ماه و آفتاب و فیض سحاب آن را آب و تاب داده و بر روی دریا توان آورد بآن بلده آرند، و مسافران عالم از هر جا آیند و هرچه آرند در برابر هرچه خواهند بی زیادت جست و جوی در آن شهر یابند. هم نقد دهند و هم معاوضه کنند، و دیوانیان از همه چیز غیر زر و نقره عُشر ستانند، و اصحاب ادیان مختلفه بل کفار در آن شهر بسیارند، و بیرون از عدل با هیچ آفریده معامله ندارند. [۸] و باین سبب آن بلده را «دار الامان» گویند، و مردم آن بلده را تملق عراقیان و تعمق هندیان باشد.

و مدت دو ماه توقف واقع شد بل حکام بهر بهانه نگاه داشتند. چندانکه وقت مستحسن دریا، و آن اول موسم و میان موسم است، گذشت و آخر موسم که زمان طغیان دزدانست رسید، رخصت عزیمت دادند و نفران و اسپان را بعدر آنکه در یک کشتی نمیگنجد دو بخش کردند و در کشتیها نشانده بادبانها برکشیدند و رو براه آوردند. و چون بوی کشتی بمشام

اظهار آثار قدرت عالیّه و اکبر انوار حکمت متعالیه است و ازین جاست که در کلام معجز نظام ملک علام درر فواید آن در خوبتر ادائی سرانجام یافته و ارتکاب آن امر خطیر و خوض در آن بحر کبیر جز بتقدیر حق قدیر و میسر کل عسیر شرح پذیر و قابل تحریر نیست (بیت)

بامضای قضا و حکم تقدیرات ربانی

که بیرون است فکر آن ز تدبیرات انسانی

شدم مأمور سوی هند و شرحش کی شود روشن

که چون گشتم من حیران در آن اقلیم ظلمانی

حضرت خاقان سعید انعام و احکام علوفه و اسپ یام عنایت فرمود و این ضعیف جزئیات ساخته غره [۵] رمضان عزیمت نمود و براه قهستان بیرون رفته در اثنای بیابان کرمان بصورت شهری رسید حصار و چهار بازار آشکار و در آن دیار دیار نه (شعر)

مَرَرْتُ فِي فَلَوَاتٍ عَلَىٰ مَنَازِلِهِمْ فَمَا وَجَدْتُ بِغَيْرِ الرُّسُومِ وَالْإِطْلَالِ
و آن بیابان از سرحد مکران و سیستان تا نواحی دامغان تمام مسافت محل آفت و مخافت است.

و هژدهم رمضان بلده کرمان درآمد. ﴿بلده طيبة﴾ و ﴿مقام کریم﴾ شهری دلگشا و خطه جانفزا، داروغه آنجا امیر حاجی محمد قناشیرین غایب بود. بضرورت تا عید توقف نمود و عالی حضرت معالی منقبت امیر برهان الدین سید خلیل الله بن امیر نعیم الدین سید نعمت الله (قدس سرهما و نور الله مرقدهما) که متعین بلده کرمان بل تمام جهان بود و در آن اوان از بلاد هندوستان معاودت نمود [۶] صنوف تطف و فنون تفقد فرمود.

و پنجم شوال از کرمان روان شد و در اثنای راه به امیر حاجی محمد که از غارت ولایت بن پور باز گشته بود صورت ملاقات روی نمود. و عازم هرموز شده منتصف ماه بساحل عمان و بندر هرموز رسید. والی هرموز ملک فخرالدین تورانشاه کشتی روان فرمود و کشتی در شهر هرموز بسلامت بیرون آمد. و وثاق و مایحتاج مقرر شده ملاقات پادشاه میسر شد. و این هرموز که آنرا جرون گویند در میان دریا بندریست که در روی زمین بدل ندارد

Omniscient King are found pearls of the benefits of sea voyages, and crossing the great sea is indescribable except by the empowerment of the Ever-Living, who renders every impossibility possible.

Through the command of fate and the order of divine destiny, to contemplate which is beyond human machination,

I was assigned to India, but how can I describe clearly how perplexed I was in that dark region?

His Majesty the Felicitous Emperor generously provided money, drafts for fodder and post horses, and I got my personal belongings together and set out on the first of Ramadan [845 = January 13, 1442]. Proceeding on the Quhistan road through the Kirman desert, I came upon a city with a citadel and what were clearly four bazaars, but no one was there.

I passed by their halting places on the plains, but I found only traces and remains.

That desert in all its breadth, from the borders of Makran and Seistan to the vicinity of Damghan, holds nothing in store but calamity and terror.

On the eighteenth of Ramadan [January 30] I entered Kirman, “a good country,” [Kor. 34:15] with “fair dwellings” [Kor. 26:58],” a delightful city and refreshing area. The military governor, Amir Hajji Muhammad Qanashirin, was absent. Necessarily we stopped until the holiday, and His Excellency Amir Burhanuddin Sayyid-Khalilullah b. Amir Na'imuddin Sayyid-Ni'matullah, the most outstanding man of the city of Kirman—nay, of the entire world—had just then returned from India and extended much kindness. [6]

On the fifth of Shawwal [February 16] we set out from Kirman. Along the way we encountered Amir Hajji Muhammad, who had returned from raiding the province of Bampur. Headed toward Hormuz, we reached the shore and the port of Hormuz in the middle of the month. The governor of Hormuz, Malik Fakhruddin Turanshah, ordered a ship for us, and we disembarked safely in the city of Hormuz. Accommodations and provisions having been ordered, we were able to meet the padishah. Hormuz, which they call Jarun,³

³Also known as Zarun. Abu'l-Fida (*Taqwim al-buldan*, p. 339) explains that Old Hormuz had been destroyed by the “Tatars,” and the population had moved to the nearby island of Zarun.

is a port in the midst of the sea, “with no equal on the face of the earth.” Merchants from the seven climes—Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, Azerbaijan, Arabian and Persian Iraq, Fars, Khurasan, Transoxiana, Turkistan, the Qipchaq Steppe, the Qalmaq regions, and all the lands of the Orient, middle and southern China, and Khan Baliq—all come to that port. Men from the Persian Gulf bring to that town all precious and rare commodities upon which the sun and moon shine and the clouds shed rain, provided they can be transported across the sea from China, Java, Bengal, Ceylon, the cities of Zerbād, Tenasserim, Socotra,⁴ the Maldiv Islands,⁵ the realms of Malibar, Abyssinia, and Zanzibar, the ports of Vijayanagar, Gulbarga, Gujarat, and Cambay, and the coast of the Arabian peninsula, Aden, Jiddah, and Yanbu. Travelers come from everywhere in the world, and everything they bring for exchange for what they want can be found without much search in that town. They deal both in cash and in barter, and the customs officials take a tenth on everything except gold and silver. Adherents of various religions, even infidels, are numerous in that city, but they deal equitably with all. [8] For this reason the town is called Dar al-Aman (abode of security), and the people there have the glibness of Iraqis and the mysteriousness of Indians.

We stopped there for two months—actually, the rulers detained us on every pretext until the best time for sea voyage, which is the beginning and the middle of the monsoon, had passed. At the end of the monsoon, when the time of piracy was at hand, they gave us permission to depart. Claiming that our men and animals were too many to fit into one ship, they divided us into two parties, boarded us on ships and set sail. When the smell of the ship reached my nostrils and I experienced

⁴Zerbād, or Zerābād, usually refers to Sumatra, but apparently here it is some place or region in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf because below (p. 21) it is included with Abyssinia and Zanzibar as being in the Daryabar realm. Tenasserim is southern Burma or one of the islands in the Mergui Archipelago off the coast of southern Burma. Socotra, which is in the Arabian Sea south of the Hadramaut, does not belong in this series but should have come with Abyssinia and Zanzibar. There may have been a textual confusion between Socotra and Sumatra.

⁵The text's “*Shahr-i Naw*” (or the variant, *Shahr-i Navad*) and the following *Divamahall* both refer to the Maldives.

بیاد یار و دیار آنچنان بگریم زار
 که از جهان ره و رسم سفر براندازم
 من از دیار حبیبم نه از دیار غریب
 مهیمن بر فقیقان خود رسان بازم
 و آنچه مناسب این سیاق و سباق باشد از شرح احوال و هر گونه
 ملال بتفصیل و اجمال بتحریر پیوست، و چندان قطرات عبرات
 بر صفحات و جنات ریخت که از شوراب دیده در بحر عمان
 طوفان انگیخت، و جمعی نفران و اسپان که در هر موز بکشتی
 دیگر رفته بودند حال درین ولا معلوم نشد و شاید که [۱۲] بعد
 ازین

قصه ایشان زبان خامه آرد بر زبان

ذکر مدتی که بی اختیار در کنار دریا بار مانده بود و احوالی که
 در منزل قریات و شهر قلہات روی نمود

در وقتی که باضطرار در منزل قریات و ساحل دریا بار مقیم بود
 هلال محرم سنه ست در آن منزل جمال نمود. و با آنکه ایام بهار
 و هنگام اعتدال لیل و نهار بود تاب آفتاب چنان گرم می افروخت
 که لعل در کان و مغز در استخوان می سوخت، و شمشیر در نیام
 چون موم می گداخت، و خورشید اندر جوهر را بر روی خنجر
 اخگر می ساخت

ز بس کآفتاب از هوا یافت تاب

دل سنگ می سوخت بر آفتاب

چنان شد ز خورشید آفاق گرم

که چون موم می شد دل سنگ نرم

[۱۳] تن ماهیان در دل آبگیر

چنان سوختی کاندر آتش حریر

ز گرمی آب و هوا گرمگاه

همی برد ماهی به آتش پناه

شکار اندران دشت آسان شده

که صحرا پر آهوی بریان شده

حرارت حرور از هاویه خبر می داد، و التهاب گرمای حمیم ابواب
 شعلهای جحیم بر جهان می گشاد، و چون هوای آن ناحیت به
 طبیعت مخالف مزاج مردم این ولایت است برادر اکبر بل مخدوم

این ضعیف رسید و وحشت دریا دید بنوعی بیخبر گردید که تا
 سه روز غیر از آمدشد نفس از هیچ ممر امید حیات نداشت.
 و چون اندک بهوش آمد تجار که یار غار بودند بیکبار در
 خروش آمدند که موسم سفر دریا نمانده، هر که درین [۹] وقت
 سفر کند (مصراع)

خونش در گردن که دارد قصد جان خویشتن

و باتفاق نول، یعنی اجره کشتی، حلال کرده فسخ عزیمت
 نمودند. و بعد از چندین مشقت در بند مشقت بیرون آمدند، و
 ازین ضعیف با رفقای خاصه از مشقت بموضع قریات رسید و
 رخت اقامت انداخته خیام مقام بر پای کرد.

و تجار دریا بار چنین حالی را که چون شروع در سفر دریا کنند
 و میسر نشود و در جائی بضرورت باز مانند تباهی گوید. فقیر از
 تاثیر گردش سپهر سنگدل و روش مخالفت زمانه غدار با دل
 چون آبگینه شکسته و جانی از تن سیر آمده حالی بغایت تباه
 تباهی شد. و درین ایام که از جور چرخ بدرام و جفای روزگار
 ناسازگار آینه خاطر انور که چون فروغ آفتاب جلا داشت از
 آفات چرخ آبگون زنگار خورده [۱۰] بود و مصباح ضمیر منیر
 که ماه ازو هر شب اقتباس نور می کرد از تند باد حوادث بی فروغ
 و تاب شد، و طبیعت وقاد که گوهر شب افروز معانی می ساخت
 و قریحت نقاد که لالی آبدار الفاظ می پرداخت بجمود و خمود
 مبتلا گشتند. استغفر الله چه میگویم؟ خاطر تیره و ذهن خیره شد.

ناگاه با تاجری که از جانب هندوستان می آمد آخر روزی

ملاقات افتاد و ازو مقصود پرسیده شد. تاجر گفت

مقصود دگر نیست بجز شهر هرات

چون نام آن بلده فرخنده شنیدم

بیم آن بود که بیرون رود از سر هوشم

التماس نموده خواجه بازرگان را ساعتی باز داشت و مکتوبی
 مصدر باین ابیات که رشحات آب حیات از مجاری الفاظ [۱۱]
 و عبارات آن متقاطر است بقلم عنبرین رقم و خامه مشکین شمامه
 بر عذار بیاض کافوری ثبت نمود (بیت)

نماز شام غریبان چو گریه آغازم

بمویهای غریبانه قصه پردازم

the terror of the sea, I lost consciousness to such an extent that for three days I was dead to the world, save for the rising and falling of my breath.

When I had partially come to, the merchants, who were loyal friends, together raised a ruckus, saying that the season for a sea voyage was past and anyone who made a voyage at this time was committing suicide. Altogether they gave up for lost their *nawl*, that is, the fare for the ship, canceled their plans, and disembarked after some difficulty at the port of Muscat. From Muscat my comrades and I reached a town called Qurayyat, where we stopped.⁶

When the merchants of the Persian Gulf have embarked upon a sea voyage and it proves impossible and they are stranded somewhere, they call it *tabahi* (ruination). From the influence of the revolution of the hardhearted celestial sphere and the contrary motion of treacherous fate, I too was stricken by *tabahi*, with a heart shattered like broken crystal, a soul sick of life and situation of extreme ruin. During these days, from the tyranny of the evil-moving sphere and the cruelty of inauspicious destiny, the mirror of my luminous mind, which had shone like the splendor of the sun, turned rusty from the catastrophes hurled by blue heaven, [10] and the bright lamp of my lighted mind, from which the moon borrowed light every night, was blown out by the swift wind of untoward events. My glowing nature, which created night-illuminating pearls of meanings, and my critical genius, which produced luminous pearls of words, was afflicted with the catastrophe of extinction. My mind turned dark and my brain was perplexed.

Finally one day I met a merchant who was coming from Hindustan. When I asked him his destination, he said,

There is no destination other than Herat.

When I heard the name of that fair land,

There was fear that consciousness would leave my head.

I begged the respected merchant to tarry a moment and I wrote down these verses—exudings of the water of life dripping through the courses of words and expressions—with the ambergris-scented, musky pen upon the camphory white face of the page:

When the eve of the destitute falls and I begin to weep, I relate my tale after the manner of a stranger.

In memory of friends and homeland I weep so bitterly that I obliterate from the world all tracks of my passage.

I am from the region of the beloved, not from a foreign realm. O Ever-Vigilant, return me to my comrades.

As I wrote in detail all that pertained to my miserable condition, so many drops of tears fell upon the sheets of my eyelashes that from the murky waters of my eyes a cyclone was stirred up in the sea.

The group of men and animals that had departed from Hormuz in the other ship were unaccounted for, but perhaps later [12]

Their tale will be told by the tongue of the pen.

A MENTION OF THE TIME SPENT INVOLUNTARILY ON THE PERSIAN GULF COAST AND WHAT HAPPENED IN QURAYYAT AND QALHAT

While I was stranded on Qurayyat on the Persian Gulf coast, the new moon of Muharram 846 [May 12, 1442] appeared. Although it was springtime and the time of equal days and nights, the sun shone so hot that rubies would have burned in mines and marrow in the bone, and swords would have melted in their scabbards like wax.

The sun grew so hot from the air that a heart of stone would have burned in commiseration with the sun.

The horizons grew so hot from the sun that a heart of stone would have been softened like wax.

The bodies of fish in ponds burned like silk in fire. Water and air were so hot that the fish took refuge in fire.

Hunting became easy in the desert, for the wilderness was filled with roasted gazelle.

The heat told of deepest hell and the hot leaping flames of hell fire. The gates of the flames of Hades were opened to the world, and since the air of that region is by nature opposed to the constitution of the men of our realm, our elder brother and learned master, Mawlana Afifuddin Abdul-Wahhab, our other companions and

⁶The town of Qurayyat is still there, in Oman, not far from Muscat.

اخوی مولانا عقیف الدین عبدالوهاب ﴿طَوَّبَى لَهُمْ وَحَسُنَ مَا ب﴾
 ودیعت حیات را بمقتضی ﴿وَمَا تَدْرِي نَفْسٌ بِأَيِّ أَرْضٍ تَمُوتُ﴾
 بمتقاضی ﴿أَيْنَمَا تَكُونُوا يُدْرِكْكُمُ الْمَوْتُ﴾ بقابض ارواح سپرد و
 در جوار مزار صحابه کبار (رضی الله عنهم) مدفون شد و در شهر
 غربت زهر فرقت بنوعی تاثیر کرد که شرح پذیر و قابل تحریر
 نیست (بیت)

دریغاً طلعت حسن و جوانی

گورش بودی حیات جاودانی

همی باید برید از خویش و پیوند

چنین رفت است حکم آسمانی

[۱۷] وَكُلُّ أَخٍ مَفَارِقُهُ أَخُوهُ لَعَمْرُ أَبِيكَ إِلَّا الْفَرَقْدَانِ
 و این فقیر دل از جان برداشته و بودا نابود انگاشته در کشتی که
 عازم هندوستان بود عزم سفر جزم نمود. و چند کس قوی این
 ضعیف را برگرفته در کشتی انداختند و ﴿بِسْمِ اللَّهِ مَجْرِيهَا
 وَمَرْسِيهَا﴾ ورد زبان ساختند (بیت)

درین دریای خونخوار قضا ساز از رضا کشتی

بدان کشتی قدم در نه که بسم الله مجریها

و اگر بزرگان خرده نگیرند این حال نوع مشابهتی دارد بقصه
 موسی عليه السلام که او را در صندوق باب انداختند که ظاهرش هلاک
 بود و باطنش نجات، و نمودن خضر موسی عليه السلام بعینها همان قصه
 در خرق سفینه که ظاهر غرق مردم بود و باطن خلاص از دست
 غاصب. فی الجمله [۱۸] هوای دریا سازوار آمده امید عاقبت
 داد، و صبح صحت از مطلع مراد طلوع آغاز نهاد، و جراحتهای
 خدنگ جگردوز بیماری التیام یافت، و مشربه تیره حیات بار
 دیگر صفا و روشنی پذیرفت، و باد موافق وزید و کشتی بر روی
 آب چون باد روان گردید (بیت)

ساخته حکمت کارا گهان

خانه گردنده بگرد جهان

ناده حکم خدای حکیم

خانه روان، خانگیانش مقیم

آن پرنده که بی مدد بال و پر پرد، و رونده که بی دستگیری پای
 بطریق پیکان دود، و مرکبی که در آب بسینه جولان نماید، ماهی

دانشور مولانا عقیف الدین عبدالوهاب و این ضعیف و باقی
 اصحاب از اشتداد حرارت هوا و ازدیاد قوت گرما سرعجز بر
 بالین ناتوانی نهادند، و عنان ارادت بدست عنایت ربانی دادند
 (بیت)

در دست ما چو نیست عنان ارادتی

بگذاشتیم تا کرم او چه می کند

[۱۴] و همرا مزاج از منهاج اعتدال عدول نمود و محنت و
 ملال و زحمت و اعتلال افزود. و تبهای جگرسوز و غمهای
 محنت اندوز بروز ازدیاد می یافت، و تاب و تب در کانون درون
 بحدت و شدت می تافت، و این حال تباه مدت چهار ماه متمادی
 شد، و ضعف قوی و مرض مستولی گشت (قطعه)

چنان شدم ز ضعیفی که می برد با خویش

صبا چو بوی گلم هر دمی بهر کشور

بر آب خویش نماندم از آنکه گردش چرخ

مرا چو کوزه دولاب کرد زیر و زبر

جدا ندید کسی رنج از تنم هرگز

چنانکه علت و معلول را ز یکدیگر

درین ولا شنیدم که در نواحی قلهات موضعیت [۱۵] بسور
 مشهور، هوای سازگار و آبی خوشگوار دارد. باوجود ضعف قوی
 در کشتی درآمده عازم قلهات شدم. و چون آنجا رسیدم مرض
 قوی شده روزها در آتش تبها گرم می سوخت و شبها بشعله آه
 چراغ محنت می افروخت. کثرت عفونت قالب خاکی را چون جرم
 زمین از غلبه بخارات دخانی در زلزله افکند، و دست تصرف تب
 خیمه صحت بدن را که بچهار میخ عناصر بر پای بود بتندباد
 حوادث از پای برکند. و این شکسته رنج غربت و خسته درد
 فرقت در روز چون غنچه گل با دلی تنگ از جور زمانه بیوفا خون
 گشته لبها از گفت و گوی فرو می بست، و در شبها بسان گلهای
 نوشکفته چشمها باز نهاده با نظار گیان گلشن سبز فلک قصه
 [۱۶] غصه خویش بیان می کرد، و مرغ جان از آشیان تن عزم
 مفارقت جزم کرد، و تن ضعیف از آسیب کربت و غربت بوداع
 جان راضی شد، و جان از حیات ناامید گشته دل بر ممت نهاد،
 و زمام تسلیم بقبضه عنایت حی قدیم داد. و جناب مخدومی

myself took to the bed of infirmity due to the severity of the heat and turned over the reins of will to the hand of divine favor.

Since the reins of will are not in our hands, we
have left it to His kindness to do as He wills.

[14] All our constitutions deviated from the path of equilibrium, and our indisposition and suffering increased. Agonizing fevers and grief increased daily, and the fire of fever raged within. For four months without cease we suffered this debilitating illness.

I became so weak that at any moment the zephyr
could have carried me like the scent of a rose to
every land.

I was convulsed as the revolution of the celestial
sphere turned me over like a bucket on a
waterwheel.

No one ever saw pain separated from my body, so
closely linked were disease and diseased.

At this juncture I heard that in the Qalhat region there was a place known as Sur,⁷ which had a favorable climate. Despite my weak constitution, I boarded a ship for Qalhat. When I arrived there my illness got worse: by day I burned with fever and by night the lamp of tribulation was lit by the sparks of outcries. The abundance of infection cast this earthly form into trembling, like the body of the earth convulsed by the domination of smoky vapors; and the hand of control of fever brought down with the wind of calamity the tent of bodily health, which was held aloft by the four stakes of the elements. Wracked by the pain of exile and wounded with the pain of separation, I closed my lips to speech by day like a bloodied rosebud with heart constricted by cruel, faithless fate. By night my eyes, opened like newly blossomed flowers, told the tale of my grief to the spectators in the green garden of heaven.

[16] The bird of my soul determined to separate itself from the nest of the body; and my body, weakened by the twin catastrophes of affliction and exile, submitted to bid farewell to the soul. The soul lost hope of life and readied itself for death. The reins of submission were given over to the grasp of divine favor. My brother and master Mawlana Afifuddin Abdul-Wahhab—"blessed be they, and a happy resurrection" [Kor. 13:29]—departed this life in accordance with the Koranic verse,

"No soul knoweth in what land it shall die" [Kor. 31:34]. In accordance with the verse, "Wheresoever ye be, death will overtake you" [Kor. 4:78], he entrusted his soul to the seizer of spirits and was buried near a shrine of one of the Prophet's great companions. In the city of exile the poison of separation had such an effect that it cannot be described.

Alas, were the ascendant of beauty and youth life
everlasting, it would be necessary to break with
kith and kin, for thus is the heavenly command:
Eventually everyone is abandoned by his brother,
by the life of your father, except the Farqadan.⁸

I too gave up all hope of life and determined to set forth in any ship bound for Hindustan. Several strong men lifted me and put me on a ship, saying, "Embark thereon, in the name of God; while it moveth forward, and while it standeth still" [Kor. 11:41].

In this bloodthirsty sea of fate make a ship of contentment. Board that ship saying, "Embark thereon, in the name of God."

And if my lords do not object, there is some resemblance between my situation and the story of Moses. When he was cast into the water in a chest, it was outwardly annihilation; but inwardly it meant his salvation. There is also a resemblance to the story of Moses and Khizr, when Khizr damaged the boat: outwardly it meant drowning the men but inwardly it meant escape from the expropriator.⁹ [18] Anyway, the sea air became favorable and gave hope of recovery. The dawn of health began to break on the horizon of desire, the wounds of agonizing arrows of illness healed, and the murky vessel of life once again became bright and clear. A favorable wind blew, and the ship skimmed across the surface of the water like a breeze.

Made by the wisdom of the experienced, a house
moving around the world.

A rarity of God's command, a moving house
whose inhabitants stay put.

A bird that flies without feather or wing, a traveler who
races on the course of an arrow without the help of feet.
A charger that prances in water up to its chest, a fish

⁷Sur is still a town in Oman.

⁸The line is by the Arab poet 'Amr b. Ma'dikarb. The Farqadān are two stars in Ursa Minor.

⁹See Koran 18:71 and 79.

شافعی‌مذهب باشند. و در آن شهر امن و عدل چنان است که تجار که در ثروت نقش بحار دارند بآنجا از دریا بار مال بسیار آرند، و از کشتی بدر آورده در کوچه و بازار اندازند و مدتی بضبط و محافظت آن نپردازند، و امینان دیوان محافظت نمایند و شب و روز گرد آن برآیند. و اگر فروشنده زکوة چهل یک ستانند و الا بهیچ وجه تعرض نرسانند. و رسم بندرهای دیگر آنست که اگر کشتی به بندر معین می‌رفت و ناگاه بتقدیر الله سبحانه تعالی به بندر دیگر فتاد آن کشتی را با آورده گویان غارت کنند، مگر کالیکوت که هر کشتی از هر جا آید و بهر طرف رود چون آنجا افتد بآن کشتی بدستور [۲۲] سایر کشتیها عمل کنند و به کم و بیش تعرض نرسانند.

القصة، حضرت خاقان سعید اسپ و پوستین و دگله طلادوزی و کلاه نوروزی جهت والی کالیکوت تعیین فرمود. و سبب آن بود که جمعی ایلچیان آن حضرت از طرف بنگاله بازگشته بانفاق ایلچیان بنگاله در کالیکوت تباهی شدند و شرح بسطت مملکت و قوت سلطنت آنحضرت بحاکم آنجا رسید و سخن آنکه سلاطین ربع مسکون شرقاً و غرباً و برآ و بحرأ رسل و رسایل وسایل ساخته آن درگاه قبله حاجات و کعبه مناجات می‌دانند از معتمدان شنید. و در آن زودی پادشاه بنگاله از تغلب سلطان ابرهیم جونه پوری شکایت نموده استغاثت و استعانت بدرگاه سلاطین پناه رفع کرده بود. و آنحضرت فرمان جهان مطاع در صحبت [۲۳] جناب شیخ الاسلام خواجه کریم الدین ابوالمکارم جامی بوالی جونه پور فرستاد و پیغام داد که متعرض مملکت بنگاله نشود و الا هرچه بیند از خود بیند. و پادشاه جونه پور چون بر مضمون فرمان همایون مطلع گردید دست تطاول از ملک بنگاله باز کشید.

که بر پشت موج چون مار بشکم سیر کند، هلالی که بهزار سال بدر کامل نشود، جامع نفوس مختلفه و حامل نگرده، جاریه هندی نژاد و زبانش سلیم، حامله چندین اولاد و همیشه عقیم، خود در بند اما دیگران را از طوفان بلا خلاص داده، [۱۹] خویشتن مسلسل لیکن چون باد زنجیر بر آب دریا نهاده، مانند بی‌دلان نه در زمین نه در آسمان و بر سیرت اصحاب کرامت بر روی آب روان، کوهی بعظمت پیش از قیام قیامت در سیر، و ابری با هیئت چون مرغ آبی در طیر، راست کمانیست خم دار، چون فلک دوآر سیار، و تیری چون قطب ثابت ایستاده بر یک قرار

در عین بی‌قراری بر یک قرار دایم

کمان چون مسافران رو براه دارد، و تیر در میان چون مقیمان مقام نگاه دارد، در رفعت تیر فلکرا باوج رسد، و در سرعت سیر تیر باد گاه موج نرسد. در جست خیز بادرا بدو منزل پس گذارد، و هرچند از کمان سخت تیر اندازند کشتی ازو پیشی دارد (بیت)

پیشتر از باد رود روز باد بیشتر از تیر پرد در گشاد [۲۰] چند روز معنی ﴿وَجَرَيْنَ بِهِم بِرِيحٍ طَيِّبَةٍ﴾ دل‌های اصحاب را نشاط و فرح می‌داد، و مضمون ﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ الْفُلْكَ تَجْرِي فِي الْبَحْرِ﴾ بنعمت الله بر خواطر احباب ابواب انبساط می‌گشاد تا بعد از هژده شبانروز در بندر کالیکوت بعنایت مالک الملک و الملکوت لنگر انداختند، و شرح بدایع آن دیار و رفتن فقیر بآنجا بی‌اختیار در قلم می‌آید.

داستان رسیدن به هندوستان و شرح اطوار و اوضاع و بیان غرائب و عجائب آن

کالیکوت بندریست امن آباد، قریباً هر موز در جمعیت تجار هر بلاد و دیار، و یافتن نفایس بسیار از اجناس دریا بار خاصه مملکت زیرباد و حبشه و زنگبار، و گاه گاه از جانب بیت‌الله و سایر بلاد حجاز جهاز آید و مدتی باختیار در آن بندر [۲۱] توقف نماید. و آن شهر کفار و دار حرب است، جمعی مسلمانان در آن شهر مقیم شده‌اند و دو مسجد جامع ساخته جمعها بجمعیت خاطر نماز گذارند، و قاضی متدین دارند و بیشتر

that crawls on its belly like a snake across the back of a wave, a crescent moon that never in a thousand years becomes full, an ingatherer of various souls that never becomes pregnant, a serving girl of Indian extraction whose tongue is sound, a woman carrying many children but who is ever barren, itself in chains but a deliverer of others from the storm of calamity, itself chained yet having placed chains of ripples on the sea as does the wind, like those who have lost their hearts neither on land nor in the sky, traveling on the surface of the water like a saint, a mountain in majesty before resurrection in motion, a magnificent cloud like waterfowl in flight, straight of mast but bowed like the ever-moving, spinning sphere, an arrow as stable as the pole.

Always stable in the midst of instability itself.

A bow facing the road like a traveler, with an arrow of a mast held firm and fixed. In height it rises as high as Sagitta, and in speed no arrow can match it. In rising and falling it leaves the wind two stations behind, and it can outrun the arrow of the mightiest bowman.

On windy days it goes before the wind, and it flies farther than an arrow fired.

[20] For several days our companions took delight in the meaning of the words, “[Ships,] which sail with them, with a favourable wind” [Kor. 10:22]. And the words, “Dost thou not see that the ships run in the sea through the favour of God?” [Kor. 31:31] opened the gates of enjoyment to the minds of our friends. After eighteen days, anchor was dropped in the port of Calicut, by the grace of God. A description of the wonders of that region and my involuntary travels there now follows.

ARRIVAL IN HINDUSTAN AND A DESCRIPTION OF ITS WONDERS AND MARVELS

Calicut is a safe port, equal to Hormuz in its mercantile population from every land and region and the availability of rarities of all sorts from the Persian Gulf, especially the realm of Zerbád, Abyssinia, and Zanzibar. From time to time ships come from God’s House and other towns of the Hejaz and stop for a while in this port. It is a city of infidels and therefore is in the *dar al-harb*.¹⁰ However, there is a Muslim population resident,

with two congregational mosques, and on Fridays they pray with peace of mind. They have a religiously observant *cadi*, and most of them are Shafii by sect. In that city security and justice are such that wealthy merchants who sail the seas bring many goods there from the Persian Gulf. They unload them from the ships and store them in lanes and the bazaar as long as they wish without having to worry about guarding them. The *divan* watchmen keep guard and patrol them day and night. If they make a sale, one-fortieth is taken in excise tax; otherwise no duties are imposed on them. It is the custom of other ports to seize as a windfall and plunder any ship headed for one port but driven by God’s destiny to take refuge in another. However, in Calicut, no matter where a ship is from and where it is headed, [22] if it docks there they treat it like any other ship and subject it to no more or no less duty.

In short, His Majesty the Felicitous Khaqan had sent for the ruler of Calicut a horse, a pelisse, a gold-embroidered *dägälä* and a Nawrozi hat.¹¹ The reason for this was as follows.

A group of His Majesty’s emissaries returning from Bengal had been stranded in Calicut with emissaries from Bengal, and they had described the wealth, prosperity and power of His Majesty’s realm to the ruler. He had also heard from reliable people that the rulers of the inhabited quarter of the globe, east and west, land and sea, had sent emissaries and messages to [Shahrukh’s] court, which they considered the solution to their every need and refuge of their every hope. Soon thereafter the king of Bengal complained of aggression from Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur and sought assistance from the court at which sultans take refuge. His Majesty issued a decree and sent it via His Excellency Shaykh al-Islam Khwaja Karimuddin Abu’l-Makarim Jami to the ruler of Jaunpur with a message not to encroach upon the realm of Bengal. Otherwise, whatever happened would be on his own head. When the king of Jaunpur was apprised of the contents of this order, he ceased his aggression against Bengal.

¹¹A *dägälä* is a sort of vest. The Nawrozi-type hat was named for Amir Nawroz, who was executed in 1297 (see Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami’u’l-tawarikh*, trans. p. 640).

¹⁰*Dār al-harb*, ‘abode of war,’ non-Islamic territory.

وثاقي مناسب [۲۶] تعيين نمودند و بعد از سه روز بدیدن پادشاه بردند. شخصی ديدم برهنه اندام بر صفت هندوان ديگر و پادشاه آنجارا سامری گویند. و چون فوت شود خواهرزاده بجای او نشیند، و به پسر و برادر و اقربای ديگر ندهند. و کسی بتغلب پادشاه نشود. و كفار اصناف بسیار باشند، براهمه و جوگیان و غیر آن. با آنکه در اصل شرک و بت پرستی شریک اند هر قومی روشی علیحده دارند. قومی باشند که یک زن ایشان را شوهران متعدد باشند، و هر یک مهمی بر خود گرفته ادای آن می نماید و اوقات شبان روز میان ایشان قسمت باشد و هرکس وقت معین بوثاق رود. تا او در آنجا باشد دیگری نتواند رفت. و سامری از آن قوم است.

چون با سامری ملاقات شد مجلس او بدو سه هزار هندو بشکل موصوف آراسته بود و کلانتر مسلمانان هم در آن مجلس حاضر شده و این ضعیف را [۲۷] نشانده نشان حضرت خاقان سعیدرا خواندند و اسپ و پوستین و دگله طلادوزی و کلاه نوروژی گذراند. سامری تعظیم تمام بجای نیاورد و از مجلس او باز گشته بوثاق آمد.

و جمعی نفران که پادشاه هرموز با چند سر اسپ و از هر جا چیزی در کشتی ديگر نشانده روان کرده بود و ایشانرا در دریا دزدان سنگیسر گرفته و تمام اموال برده بجان خلاص یافته بودند در کالیکوت بیکديگر رسیده بديدار عزیزان مشرف شدیم (بيت)

المنة لله که نمردیم و بدیدیم

دیدار عزیزان و بمقصود رسیدیم

از اواخر جمادی الاخری تا اوایل ذی حجة در آن مقام نامحمود قرین محنت و همنشین ملامت بوده درین اثنا شبی که در سیاهی از حال عاشقان نشان می داد و در درازی گره از زلف خوبان می گشاد و سلطان قاهر خواب [۲۸] بعزل کارفرمایان حواس فرمان رانده و در دو طبقی خانه مردم چون دهان غنچه بسته مانده بمقتضی ﴿وَجَعَلْنَا نَوْمَكُمْ سُبَاتًا﴾ بعد از انواع محنت بر بستر استراحت در خواب رفته بود حضرت خاقان سعیدرا دید که بآیین سلطنت براهی می رفت و بفقیر رسید و دست مبارک بر روی

چون والی کالیکوت این اخبار استماع نمود هرگونه تحفه و بیلاک ترتیب فرمود و قاصد روان کرده عرضه داشت که درین بندر جمعه و عید خطبه اسلام می خوانند. اگر آنحضرت رخصت فرمایند بنام و القاب همایون معزز و مشرف سازند (بيت) خوش آمدست جهانرا صدای خطبه او

چنان که زمرة کفار میل آن کردند

و مقاصد او مصاحب ایلیچیان که از بنگاله می آمدند بدرگاه [۲۴] همایون رسید، و امراء عرضه داشت و تحفه او را بموقف عرض رسانیدند، و قاصد او مسلمانی سخن دان بود. در اثنای سخن باز نمود که اگر آنحضرت نسبت با او عنایت فرماید و ایلیچی خاصه برای او ارسال نماید تا او را بموجب ﴿أُدْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحُكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ﴾ بدین اسلام دعوت کرده قفل ظلمت و ضلالت از دل تاریک او گشاید و فروغ نور ایمان و تاب آفتاب عرفان از روزن خاطر او درآید، هرآینه صواب و ثواب خواهد بود. آنحضرت ملتمس او مبذول داشته امرارا فرمود که ایلیچی یراق کنند و رقم تعیین بر فقیر کشیدند، و بعضی ساعی گردیدند بخیال آنکه شاید ازین سفر باز نیاید. این فقیر از آن سفر خطیر بعد از سه سال فرخنده فال باز آمد و ساعیان براه عدم رفته بودند.

في الجملة چون در کالیکوت [۲۵] از کشتی بیرون آمد قومی دید که هرگز مثل آن در خیال نمی گردید (بيت)

عجب گونه قومی، نه مردم نه دیو

که عقل از لقاشان شود در غریو

اگر دیدمی مثل ایشان بخواب

دلم سالها داشتنی اضطراب

مرا انس با روی مهوش بود

نه با هر سیاهی مشوش بود

سیاهانی برهنه اندام لنگوتها از ناف تا زانو بسته در یک دست کتاره هندی چون قطره آب و در دیگری گاو سپری بزرگ چون پاره سحاب. پادشاه و گدا باین صورت باشند، اما مسلمانان جامهای فاخر پوشند بطریق اعراب و انواع تکلف کنند.

در همه باب با جمعی مسلمانان و فوجی کافران ملاقات شده

Now, the ruler of Calicut, having heard of this, gathered all sorts of gifts and tribute and sent a messenger to say that in his port in the Friday prayer and the holiday prayer the *khutba* of Islam was recited, and if His Majesty would allow it, they would recite the *khutba* in his royal name.

The world was so delighted by the sound of his *khutba* that the infidels were inclined to it.

The emissaries and attendants coming from Bengal arrived at the royal court, [24] and the amirs presented the petition and tribute to the royal presence. The messenger was a Muslim who spoke [Persian]. During his speech he represented that if His Majesty favored [the ruler of Calicut] by sending him a special emissary to invite him to accept Islam in accordance with the Koranic verse, "Invite men unto the way of thy Lord, by wisdom, and mild exhortation" [Kor. 16:125], the lock of darkness and error would be loosed from his dark heart and the brightness of the light of faith would enter through the window of his mind. This would certainly be the correct thing to do and would carry great heavenly reward. His Majesty granted his plea and ordered the amirs to outfit an emissary, and the lot fell to me. Some plotted against me, thinking that I might not return from this voyage, but after three years I did return safe and sound from this dangerous trip [to find] that those intriguers had taken the road to extinction.

In short, when I disembarked in Calicut, I saw a people the likes of whom I had never imagined.

A strange nation, neither men nor demons, at meeting whom the mind would go mad.

Had I seen the likes of them in a dream, my heart would have been upset for years.

I am comfortable with those whose faces are like the moon, not with every ill-proportioned black thing.

Naked blacks with loin cloths tied from their navels to their knees, in one hand an Indian *kattara*¹² glistening like a drop of water, and in the other a leather shield as large as a cloud. Both king and beggar look like this, but the Muslims wear fine clothing in the Arab fashion and indulge in ceremony of all sorts.

Having met with a group of Muslims and a horde of

¹²*Kattāra*, from the Sanskrit कट्टार *kaṭṭār*, is a small dagger.

infidels, I was assigned suitable quarters. [26] After three days I was taken to see the king, whom I found to be as naked as other Hindus. There they call the king Zamorin.¹³ When he dies his sister's son takes his place, and [the kingship] is not given to son, brother, or other relative. No one becomes king by force. The infidels are of many sorts, Brahmins, yogins, and others. Although they all share the same polytheism and idolatry, every tribe has a different system. There is one tribe whose women have multiple husbands, each of whom has a specific task to perform. They divide the day and night, and each one goes to the [wife's] quarters at a specified time. So long as [one husband] is there, no other can go in. The Zamorin is of this tribe.

When I met the Zamorin, his assembly was adorned with two or three thousand Hindus. The chief of the Muslims was also present at that assembly. I was seated, His Majesty's document was read and the horse, pelisse, gold-embroidered *dāgālā* and Nawrozi hat were presented. The Zamorin did not pay full respect, and I returned to my quarters from the assembly.

The other group the king of Hormuz had put on the second ship with several horses had been seized at sea by pirates. All their possession were taken, but they escaped with their lives. We rejoined each other in Calicut and were happy to see our dear friends.

Thank God we did not die but saw our friends again and reached our destination.

From the end of Jumada II [November 1442] until the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 1, 1443] we were afflicted by having to stay in that infelicitous place. During this time one night that was as black as the condition of lovers and so long that it would undo the twisted locks of beauties, the victorious sultan of sleep [28] ordered the deposition of the agents of the senses, and the two gates to men's senses were as tightly closed as a rosebud's mouth, in accordance with the Koranic verse, "Have we not appointed your sleep for rest?" [Kor. 78:9] I went to sleep on the couch of rest after various tribulations and saw His Majesty the Felicitous Khaqan walking in his kingly guise. He reached me and patted me with his blessed hand, saying, "Be not dis-

¹³Zamorin, *sāmuri* in Persian, is an ancient title for the Hindu sovereign of Calicut. The word is Malayal, *sāmūiri*, *sāmūri*, probably a vernacular modification of the Sanskrit समुद्रिय *samudriya* 'sea king.' See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 977.

تخمیناً ده گز در ده گز، در ارتفاع پنج گز، مجموع از روی ریخته، چهار [۳۱] صفت و در صفت پیشگاه بتی بصورت آدمی تمام قد از طلا ساخته، و دو یاقوت احمر در دو چشم او چنان لطیف پرداخته که بعینه گوئی نگاه می کند، در غایت دقت و کمال صنعت.

و از آنجا گذشته هر روز بقصبه و دیهی معمور عبور می شد تا کوهی پیش آمد که دامنش بر سر آفتاب سایه می انداخت و تیغش نیام از گردن بهرام می ساخت، کمرش از نگینهای کواکب ثواقب جوزا مرصع، و سرش از افسر مکمل اکلیل ملمع (بیت)

ز بسکه با کمر او مساس کرد فلک

تنش تمام چو برگ بنفشه گشت کبود
و پایان آن کوه بدرختان انبود و اشجار خاردار چنان فراوان که هیچ وقت سواد آن از پرتو شمع آفتاب عالم افروز منور نشده و ابر جهان پرور بر تربیت آن خاک دست نیافته.

و ازین کوه و بیشه گذشته بقریه بیلور که بنیان و خوبانش [۳۲] نمودار حور و قصور بودند رسید. و درین بیلور بتخانه ایست چنان بلند که از چند فرسنگ می نماید. و صفت آن عمارت بی مبالغه بتحریر و تقریر راست نمی آید. مجملآ آن است که در میان آن ده قریب ده جریب قضایست چون باغ ارم دلگشا و درون فضا گلها گوناگون چون برگ درختان بیرون از احصاء، قد سرو بر لب جویبار راست، و چون عکس قامت یار در آب چشمهای عاشق اشکبار می نمود، و چنان تا از شاخ جوانی برخوردار باشد پیوسته دست بدعا می گشود، و سپهر جهان دیده در نظاره آن همه تن چشم گشته گرد سر تازه رخساران چمن میگشت، و از غایت حیرت در مطالعه اوراق ریاحین سرش میگشت، تمام زمین آن سبزه و ریاحین، و اطراف آن طاق نماها از سنگ تراشیده در کمال تزیین.

و در میان آن فضا کرسی بقدر آدمی از سنگ [۳۳] خوب تراشیده و سنگها چنان بمهارت و لطافت بر یکدیگر بسته که گوئی یک تخته سنگ است یا قطعه ایست از سپهر نیلگون بر بسیط ربع مسکون ظاهر شده و در وسط آن کرسی عمارتی سر بیعوق افراشته، گنبدی از سنگ کبود مخروطی انواع نقشها در سنگ سه طبقه نگاشته (قطعه)

بنده مالید و فرمود که «ملول مباش.» صبح بعد از ادای نماز صبح این خواب بخاطر آمده شادمان شد. اگرچه خوابها در اغلب احوال در سلک اضغاث احلام انتظام دارد و صدق آن در حالت بیداری کمتر اتفاق افتاده اما احیاناً آنچه در خواب نموده بعینه موافق آن در بیداری واقع بوده و صنادید آیام بمنزله الهام داشته اند. و خواب حضرت یوسف علیه السلام و خواب عزیز مصر بر عزیزان پوشیده نباشد. با خود درین اندیشه بودم که شاید صبح سعادت [۲۹] از مطلع عنایت طلوع نماید و شب اندوه و محنت پایان آید.

با اصحاب سخن خواب در میان آورده از تعبیر استفسار می نمود که ناگاه کسی آمده خبر آورد که پادشاه بیجانگر که ممکتی وسیع و سلطنتی رفیع دارد قاصد و نشان بنام سامری فرستاده مضمون آنکه ایلچی حضرت خاقان سعیدرا در روز باین جانب فرستد. و سامری اگرچه در تحت حکم او نیست اما ازو بغایت ترسان و هراسان باشد، چه گویند پادشاه بیجانگر سیصد بندر دارد، هر یک قرینه کالیکوت، و در خشکی دو سه ماهه راه شهر و ولایت اوست.

و کالیکوت و چند بندر که متصل آن است تا قایل که در برابر سرانندیب که سیلان نیز گویند واقع است همه را ملیبار می نامند، و جهازات از کالیکوت بمکه مبارکه (زادها الله تعالی تکریماً) میرود و اکثر فلفل می برند، و مردم [۳۰] کالیکوت در دریا دلیر باشند و بچینی بچگان استهوار دارند و دزدان در دریا متعرض کشتی کالیکوت نشوند. و در آن بندر همه چیز یافتست و هیچ عیب نیست بغیر گاو کشتن و گوشت گاو خوردن. و اگر کسی گاو کشد و معلوم شود بی توقف آنکس را بکشند. و گاورا چنان عزیز دارند که خاکستر سرگین او بر پیشانی مالند، علیهم لعائن الله تتری.

فی الجملة فقیر اجازت یافته از کالیکوت بیرون آمد و بکشتی از بندر پندرانه که داخل ملیبار است گذشته به بندر منگلور که سرحد مملکت بیجانگر است رسید. و دو سه روز آنجا بوده بر خشکی روان شد. در سه فرسنگی منگلور بتخانه دید که در همه جهان نظیر آن نباشد. مربعی متساوی الاضلاع

tressed.” The next morning, after the dawn prayer, I remembered this dream and was happy. Although dreams are usually nothing but jumbles, and rarely do they come true in the light of day, occasionally something shown in a dream occurs during wakefulness, and these the great of the age have considered as inspirations. Joseph’s dream and the dream of the ruler of Egypt are not unknown to the learned. I thought thus to myself, “Perhaps the dawn of happiness will break on the horizon of favor, and the night of sorrow and tribulation will come to an end.”

I told my dream to my companions and was asking for an interpretation when suddenly a person came bringing news that the king of Vijayanagar, who held a vast kingdom and magnificent realm, had sent a messenger to the Zamorin to say that His Majesty the Felicitous Khaqan’s emissary should be dispatched thither that very day. Although the Zamorin was not under his jurisdiction he was still in great awe of him, since they said that the king of Vijayanagar possessed three hundred ports, each as large as Calicut, and that it took two or three months to traverse his realm by land.

From Calicut and the several ports adjacent to it as far as Qayil, located opposite Serendip, which is also called Ceylon, is all called Malibar. Ships from Calicut go to Mecca, mostly carrying pepper. [30] The people of Calicut are brave seafarers and are known as *chini-bachchas*.¹⁴ Pirates do not bother ships from Calicut. Everything is to be found in the port, and the only crime is to kill cows and eat beef. If anyone kills a cow and it is found out, that person is immediately put to death. They venerate cows to such an extent that they rub the ashes of its dung on their foreheads (God’s curses upon them).

I was permitted to depart and left Calicut. Passing by ship through the port of Panderani, which is in Malibar, I reached the port of Mangalore, the border of the realm of Vijayanagar. After stopping there for two or three days, I set out by land. Within three leagues of Mangalore I saw an idol temple the likes of which is not to be found in all the world. It was a square, approximately ten cubits on a side, five cubits in height, all [covered] with cast bronze, with four porticos. In the entrance portico was a statue in the likeness of a human being,

full stature, made of gold. It had two red rubies for eyes, so cunningly made that you would say it could see. What craft and artisanship!

As we proceeded, we passed by flourishing towns and villages every day until we came to a mountain whose slopes would cast a shadow over the sun and whose towering peak could be a scabbard hung around Mars’ neck. Its slopes were studded with bezels of shooting stars from Gemini, and its head shone with the constellation Corona as a crown.

The celestial sphere so rubbed against its slopes that its body was all as black and blue as a violet petal.

The foot of the mountain was so crowded with dense foliage and thorny shrubs that its blackness had never been lit by the rays of the world-illuminating candle or its dust touched by the nourishing hand of a cloud.

Passing by this mountain and jungle, we reached the village of Belur, [32] the buildings and beauties of which were like unto the houris and palaces of paradise. There is an idol temple in Belur so tall that it can be seen from several leagues away. Without exaggeration it can be said that no description of that building could do it justice. In summary, in the middle of the village is an open space of nearly ten *jaribs*. It is as pleasant as the Garden of Iram. Within the open space were flowers, as innumerable as the leaves on the trees; cypresses on the bank of a stream appearing as erect as the reflection of the beloved’s stature in the water of a weeping lover’s eyes; plane trees, their hands constantly held aloft in supplication so long as they enjoyed the branch of youth; and the old sphere, its whole body having turned to eyes in order to watch this spectacle, turning around the heads of the fresh-cheeked ones of the meadow: so perplexed was it by regarding the leaves of the herbs that its head was spinning; the entire earth was green and verdant, around it arches of dressed stone most elaborate.

In the midst of the space was a platform as tall as a man, made of beautifully dressed stone, the blocks so expertly and delicately set one on another that one might think it was a single block—or a piece of the blue firmament having appeared upon the carpet of the inhabited quarter of the globe. In the middle of the platform was a building whose head was raised to Capella, a conical dome of dark blue stone with various designs carved on three tiers of stone.

¹⁴Literally “China kids,” if the reading is correct. Elliot speculates that it may be “a compliment to Chinese navigation” (Elliot, *History of India* 4:103, note 1).

لشکر، و در تمام هندوستان رای خودرای تر از او نشان نمی دهند. و پادشاهان آن ولایات را رای خوانند، و براهمه پیش او بر همه مقدم باشند. حکایات کتاب کلیله و دمنه که در زبان پارسی کتابی خوبتر از آن در بیان نیامده و از رای و برهن منقول است همانا از نتایج حکمت دانایان آن مملکت خواهد بود.

و شهر بیجانگر که مردم دیده نظیر سواد آن بچشم ندیده و گوش هوش در همه جهان شبیه آن نشنیده، وضع آن چنان است که هفت حصار و شهر بند گرد یکدیگر کشیده و گرداگرد حصار اول در عرض پنجاه گز همه جا سنگها بقدر آدمی نصفی در زمین و نصفی بیرون نزدیک هم محکم کرده اند چنانچه سوار و پیاده دلیر و آسان نزدیک حصار نتوان رفت.

و اگر کسی خواهد که صورت آن هفت حصار و شهر بند آن را [۳۷] نسبت با شهر هرات در خاطر آرد، چنان بر لوح اندیشه نگارد که حصار اول از کوه مختار و دره دوبراران تا کنار رود و پل مالان که در جانب شرق قریه غیزان و در طرف غرب قریه سینان باشد. حصار است مدور بر سر کوه از سنگ و گچ ساخته، و دروازه های محکم پرداخته، و دروازه بانان حاضر و در جزئیات بچشم احتیاط ناظر. و همچنین حصار دوم از پل جوی نو تا پل درقراه و در شرق پل ریگینه و چکان و در غرب باغ زبیده و قریه حسان. و حصار سیم از مزار امام فخرالدین رازی تا گنبد محمد سلطان شاه. و حصار چهارم از پل انجیل تا پل کارد. و حصار پنجم از در باغ زاغان تا پل آب چکان. و حصار ششم از دروازه ملک تا دروازه فیروزآباد. و حصار هفتم که در میان واقع است ده برابر [۳۸] چهارسوی شهر هرات باشد. و آن درگاه پادشاه است چنانچه از دروازه حصار اول که در طرف شمال است تا دروازه اول که در جانب جنوب است دو فرسنگ شرعی باشد. و همچنین در شرق و غرب. و میان حصار اول و دوم تا سیم مزارع

از آن گنبد چگوم کز لطافت جهان را نسخه خلد برین بود خم طاق بلندش چون مه نو ز رفعت با فلک پهلو همیسود چندان نقش و تصویر بقلم سر تیز و خامه سحرانگیز بر آن خارا بود که مانند آن بر کمخا و خارا نتوان نمود چنانچه از پایان تا بالا مقدار کف دستی بر آن عمارت عالی از نقش فرنگی و خطائی خالی نبود. صورت عمارت چهارصفه طنبی طول سی گز، عرض بیست گز در پنجاه گز ارتفاع تخمیناً (بیت) [۳۴]

تا سرش از اوج بگردون شتافت

گنبد بی سنگ ازو سنگ یافت

سنگ وی از بسکه بخورشید سود

زوزر خورشید عیاری نمود

گر نه خرف شد فلک شیشه ساز

از چه بر آن سنگ شود شیشه باز

و غیر ازین عمارات دیگر خرد و بزرگ مجموع منقش و مصور در غایت لطافت، و در آن مقام صبح و شام بعد از عبادات غیر مقبوله سازها نوازند و پردها سازند و سماع کنند و دعوت دهند و تمام مردم آن قریه را و اطراف و ادارات از آنجا مقررست و از شهرها دور نذرها بانجا آورند و باعتقاد بی دینان کعبه گبرانت.

دو سه روز در آنجا ساکن بوده و بعد از آن مراحل پیموده اواخر ماه ذی الحجه ببلده بیجانگر رسید. و پادشاه جمعی را باستقبال [۳۵] فرستاده بمقام نیکو فرود آوردند.

ذکر تتمه داستان سفر هندستان و صفت شهر بیجانگر و هفت

حصار در گرد یک دیگر

از حکایات سابق و کلمات متناسق سامعان الفاظ و ناظران حروف مطلع و صاحب وقوفند که اخبار سفر دریا باینجا رسیده بود که حاوی اوراق عبد الرزاق بن اسحق بشهر بیجانگر رسید. شهری دید در غایت عظمت و آبادانی، و پادشاهی در کمال سلطنت و جهانبانی، مملکت او از سرحد سرانندیب تا ولایت گلبرگه و از حدود بنگاله تا ناحیت ملیبار زیادت از هزار فرسنگ باشد. بیشتر ولایات معمور و معتبر و موازی سیصد بندر دارد و زیادت از هزار فیل کوه پیکر عفریت [۳۶] منظر، و یازده لک

What can I say of that dome? In delicacy it was a copy of paradise sublime for the world.

The curve of its high arc like a new moon, so tall it rubbed its side against the celestial sphere.

There were so many designs and so much depiction made with sharp stylus in that granite that it was beyond description. From top to bottom of that structure there was not the space of a hand free of *firangi* and *khatai* designs. In shape the structure was a square hall, approximately thirty cubits in length, twenty in width, and fifty in height. [34]

As it raised its head beyond the apex of heaven, the stoneless dome took stones from it.

Its stones rubbed against the sun so much that the gold of the sun appeared to be borrowed from it.

If the glass-blowing celestial sphere is not in his dotage, why is he juggling glass on that stone?

Aside from this structure, there were others, large and small, all decorated and full of pictures of extreme delicacy. In that place morning and evening, after their unacceptable worship, they play instruments and dance. All the men of the village receive salaries and stipends from there, and votive offerings are brought there from distant cities. In the belief of these infidels it is the Ka'ba of the Zoroastrians.

We stayed there for two or three days and then traversed the stages until we reached the city of Vijayanagar at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 30, 1443]. The king sent a group out to meet us, and they escorted us to good quarters.

THE END OF THE JOURNEY TO HINDUSTAN AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF VIJAYANAGAR AND ITS SEVEN CONCENTRIC FORTIFICATION WALLS

From past narratives readers will have learned that the travelogue reached the point at which the writer of these pages, Abdul-Razzaq b. Ishaq, arrived in Vijayanagar. I saw that it was a city of enormous magnitude and population with a king of perfect rule and hegemony whose kingdom stretched from the borders of Serendip to the province of Gulbarga and from the borders of Bengal to the region of Malibar, more than a thousand leagues. Most of his regions were flourishing, and he possessed around three hundred ports. He had more than a thou-

sand elephants with bodies like mountains and miens like demons, [36] and eleven lacs of soldiers; and in all of Hindustan there was no *ray* (raja) more autocratic than he. The kings of those areas are called *ray*. In his presence the Brahmins have great status. The stories of the book *Kalila u Dimna*, than which no more eloquently expressed book has come into the Persian language, and which tells of a *ray* and a Brahmin, sprang from the wisdom of that kingdom's learned men.¹⁵

The city of Vijayanagar, the equal of which no one has seen or heard of, is situated such that the seven fortification walls and the city wall are concentric. All around the first wall, fifty cubits in breadth, are stones the size of a man, half in the earth and half out, placed tightly next to one another so that neither rider nor foot soldier can easily approach the wall.

If anyone wants to imagine the shape of the seven walls and city wall in comparison to the city of Herat, let him picture it thus: the first wall would stretch from Mount Mukhtar and Dara-i-Du Bararan to the bank of the river and the Malan Bridge, with the village of Ghizan the eastern side and the village of Saynan the western side. It is a circular fortification on top of a mountain and made of stone and mortar. It has strong gates, and guards stand watch with the eye of caution for the slightest thing. The second wall would reach from the Juy-i Naw Bridge [in Herat] to the Darqarah Bridge, [and] from the Regina Bridge and Chakan Bridge in the east to the Bagh-i-Zubayda and the village of Hasân in the west. The third wall would reach from the shrine of Imam Fakhruddin Razi to the dome of Muhammad Sultanshah. The fourth would extend from the Injil Bridge to the Kard Bridge; the fifth from the gate of the Bagh-i-Zaghan to the Ab-i-Chakan Bridge; the sixth from the Malik Gate to the Firozabad Gate; and the seventh, the innermost, [38] is ten times the size of the crossroads market in Herat, and that is the king's court. From the gate to the first wall on the northern side to the first gate on the southern side is two statute leagues, and the same from east to west. Between the first, second and third walls are orchards, gardens, and

¹⁵*Kalila u Dimna*, the Panchatantra tales, were translated from Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic version into Persian by Abu'l-Ma'ali Nasrullah ca. A.D. 1140. Dedicated to the Ghaznavid Bahram Shah and known as *Kalila u Dimna-i Bahramshahi*, Nasrullah's translation remained the standard Persian version until it was revamped by Husayn Wa'iz Kashifi as *Anwar-i Suhayli* at the end of the fifteenth century.

در دندان، طراوت رنگ ترش در چهار فصل بر یک آب، سبزه نورسته از نضارت آن در لرزه و تاب.

و در آن فضای دلگشا و درگاه سلطنت پناه آبهای روان بسیار و جویهای خوب از سنگ تراشیده هموار. [۴۱] و بردست راست ایوان سلطان دیوانخانه ساخته بغایت معظم، صورت چهل ستونی. و در پیش دکانی بلندی زیادت از قامت آدمی بسته اند در سی گز طول و شش گز عرض، و دفترخانه و نویسندگان آنجا باشند.

و نوشتن ایشان دو نوع باشد: یکی بر برگ جوز هندی که دو گز درازی دارد و دو انگست پهنا، بقلم آهن نقش میکنند و هیچ رنگ نیست، و این مکتوب کم بقا باشد. و دوم جنس سفیدی را سیاه کنند و سنگ نرمی دارند، همچو قلم تراشند و بآن می نویسند و از آن سنگ رنگ سفید برین جنس سیاه می آید و بسیار می ماند. و این دفتر معتبر باشد.

و در میان آن چهل ستون بر دکانی خواجه سرائی دنیا یک نام تنها با استقلال دیوان نشینند. و در پایان دکان چویداران صفها کشیده ستاده اند. هر کس را [۴۲] مهمی باشد بمیان چویداران درآمده محقر تحفه گذارند و روی بر زمین نهاده باز بر پای ایستد و سخن عرض کند. و دنیا یک بقاعده که در آن ملک بعدل مقررست حکم کند و دیگر کسی را مجال سخن نباشد. و چون دنیا یک از دیوان برخیزد چند چتر ملون پیش او می برند و نفیر می کشند و از دو طرف مدآحان دعا می کنند. و تا پیش پادشاه هفت جا دربان نشسته باشد. چون دنیا یک روان شود بر هر دری چتری باز ایستد چنانچه از در هفتم دنیا یک تنها درون رود و مهمات عرض کرده بعد از زمانی بیرون آید. و در قفای درگاه پادشاه خانه و جای دنیا یک باشد بردست راست.

و بردست چپ درگاه پادشاه ضرابخانه است، و زر ایشان [۴۳] سه نوع طلاء مغشوش باشد. یکی را وره گویند، قریب مثقالی بده دینار کپکی. و دوم را پرتاب خوانند، نصف آن. و سه دیگر را فتم نامند، عشر آن. از همه رایج تر فتم است. و شش یک فتم از نقره پاک سازند و تار گویند. و آن نیز بغایت رایج است. و سه یک تار از مس باشد، چتل خوانند. قاعده آن ملک

و باغات و عمارات است. و از سیم تا هفتم غلبه بسیار و دکان و بازار.

و بر درگاه پادشاه صورت چهار بازار برابر یکدیگر واقع شده. آنکه بر جانب شمال است ایوان کیوان، یعنی سرای رای، و بر سر هر بازار طاقی رفیع و رواقی بدیع برآورده اند، اما ایوان پادشاه از همه عالیست.

و بازارها بغایت عریض و مستطیل باشد چنانچه گل فروشان در پیش دکانها تختهای بلند نهاده اند و از دو طرف گل فروشند. و در آن شهر بیوسته گل خوشبوی تازه روی باشد چنانچه طعامی را ضروری دانند بی گل نیز صبر نتوانند. و اهل حرفه هر جماعت [۳۹] دکانها متصل یکدیگر دارند. جوهریان مروارید و الماس و یاقوت و زمرد در بازار آشکارا فروشند. و مرواریدهای آبدار و درهای شاهوار که غواصان دریای بصارت شبیه و نظیر آن ندیده و نشنیده جوهری فلک هر حبه را از آن حبه القلب بها در میان آورده، و از غیرت هر دانه آن آتش در خرمن ماه چهارده افتاده، آن کره نقره خنگ دریائی که جولانگاه او تاج شاهانست و میدان آن کف دست بحر نوال سلطانزاده کان نه، اما مدام در دکان قرار و آرام او، و صاحب عزلت نه، اما در گوشها مقام او، یاقوتهای رمانی که از غیرت رنگ او دل نار خون شده، و از شرم فروغ او جرم آتش در سنگ نهان گشته، مهر خورشیدش بصد خون جگر پرورده، و کوه سنگین دلش درون سینه بصد ناز برآورده، آتشی است که از هیچ آب فروغ او نمیرد، آفتابی که از کسوف تغییر نپذیرد، الماسهای پیکانی که سهمش [۴۰] از کمان رعد چون برق رخشان جسته و بهر جا رسیده سوخته و خسته، در بریق و لمعان زبانه سنان آفتاب نزد او الکن، و در حدت و شدت حسام بهرام پیش او پاره آهن، عجب نباتی که در دل حرقت زهر هلاهل اندازد، و طرفه زینتی که چراغ جان بی تاب و فروغ سازد، اورا بجو فروشند اما در بها صد برابر طلاست، بظاهر رونقی ندارد اما شعاع باطنش رشک زهره زهراست، زمردهای سبز ریحانی که در نظاره آن چشم بینندگان حیران است و از صورت آن معنی «الخضره تزید فی البصر» بر مردمان عیان اعیان جهان از مشاهده لطافت آن انگشت تعجب

buildings. From the third through the seventh is very crowded, with shops and bazaars.

At the king's gate is [a structure] shaped like four bazaars situated opposite one another. The one on the northern side is the king's portico, that is, the *ray's* palace. Atop each bazaar a tall, lofty arch has been raised, but the king's portico is the tallest of all.

The bazaars are extremely broad and long. Flower sellers have high platforms in front of the stalls, and on both sides they sell flowers. In that city there are aromatic flowers continually in bloom, and as necessary as they deem food to be, they cannot bear to be without flowers. The practitioners of every craft have stalls adjacent to one another. The jewelers sell pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds openly in the bazaar....¹⁶ [40]

In that pleasant open space and royal court is much flowing water and nice streams made of evenly dressed stone.

To the right of the sultan's portico has been built a huge audience hall shaped like a roofed colonnade; in front of it they have made a tall plinth, higher than a man, thirty cubits long and six cubits wide. The halls of records and scribes are there.

They have two types of writing, one on coconut fronds two cubits long and two fingers wide on which they write with an iron stylus, without color (ink). This type of writing is impermanent. In the second type they dye white stock black. They have a soft stone they carve into a stylus with which they write. From this stone a white color comes off onto the black stock. It lasts a long time, and this type of record is of importance.

In the middle of the colonnade a eunuch called Dhannayak¹⁷ sits on a platform in independent judgment. At the foot of the platform staff holders stand in rows. [42] Anyone who has business comes among the staff holders, presents a small gift, places his head on the ground, stands up again, and pleads his case. Dhannayak makes a judgment according to the rules that pass for justice in that kingdom. No one else has an opportunity to speak. When Dhannayak rises from the divan they carry multi-

colored parasols before him and cry out, while on both sides eulogists utter benedictions. Before reaching the king there are gatekeepers stationed in seven places. As Dhannayak proceeds, one of the parasol-bearers stops at each gate, so Dhannayak enters the seventh gate by himself and transacts his business. After a time he comes out. Dhannayak has quarters behind the king's court, to the right.

To the left of the king's court is the mint. They have three types of gold alloy. One is called *varaha*,¹⁸ nearly a *mithqal*, or ten Kepeki dinars. The second is called *partab*,¹⁹ half of the former. The third is called *fanam*, a tenth of the [*varaha*]. The coin most current is the *fanam*. They make a sixth of a *fanam* from pure silver and call it a *tar*. It too is much in currency. There is a third of a *tar* made of brass; it is called a *chital*.²⁰ It is

¹⁶Deleted in translation is a long rhetorical "fugue" on gems and jewels.

¹⁷The name is variously spelled in the MSS, but the spelling *DNAYK* is the most promising, perhaps for धन्नायक Dhannāyāk.

¹⁸Abdul-Razzāq's *varaha* is वराह *varāha* 'boar,' for the Boar of Vishnu that appears on some coins.

¹⁹Abdul-Razzāq's *partāb* is for प्रताप *pratāp* 'splendor,' a reference to the legend on coins (which the Portuguese called *pardao*). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 673.

²⁰*Chital* may be from चिटला *chiṭlā*, which means 'small.'

بند نهد.

حکایت

[۴۶] گویند فیلی از بند گریخته بصحراء و جنگل رفت و فیلبانان در عقب رفته در راه و چاه کنند (بیت)
دل فیل از آن حیلها می هراسید چو آهوی از دام صیاد جسته
چوبی مانند عصا در خرطوم گرفته پیش پیش نهاده احتیاط
می کرد و بآب می رفت. فیلبانان از گرفتن او عاجز شدند، و
پادشاه میل گرفتن او داشت. فیلبانی بر بالای درختی که فیل از
پایان او می گذشت پنهان شد و در وقت گذشتن فیلبان خود را از
بالای درخت بر پشت فیل انداخت و ریسمانی سطر بر پشت و
سینه فیل می بندند. و هنوز آن ریسمان بسته بود محکم گرفت.
فیل هر چند خود را جنباند و گلاند و خرطوم انداخت، فائده
نداشت. بر پهلو غلطان شد. [۴۷] بر هر پهلو که غلطان شد
فیلبان بر پهلو دیگر جست. و درین اثنا چند نوبت قلابهای
محکم بر سر فیل زد چنانچه فیلک زبون و منقاد گشت و تن به
بند و گردن به کمند نهاد. و فیل را پیش رای آوردند. پادشاه در
باره او انعام تمام فرمود.

و پادشاهان هندوستان به شکار فیل روند. یک ماه و بیشتر
در صحراء و جنگل باشند و فیلان گرفته بآن مباحات کنند. و
گاهی گناهکاران را در پای فیل اندازند تا بزانو و خرطوم و
دندان ناچیز سازند. و تجار فیلان از سیلان بولایتها برند و گز
در گز اعتبار کرده فروشند.

و در برابر ضرابخانه شحنه گاه است. گویند دوازده هزار
عسس مقرر است که هر روز اجرت ایشان دوازده هزار فتم از
حاصل خرابات دهند.

و شرح تکلف عمارات خرابات و بیان حسن دلبران و غمزه و
اشارات ایشان [۴۸] از حد شرح و بیان متجاوز است. فی
الجملة قصیرة عن طویلة شرح شمه از آن اینست که در قفای
ضرابخانه صورت بازاریست، طول آن زیادت از سیصد گز و
عرض فزون از بیست گز، و در دو طرف خانها و صفها، و در
پیش خانه بمنزله کرسی عمارت دکانچها از سنگ خوب بلند
ساخته اند و هر دو طرف راه خانها صورت شیر و پنگ و ببر و

چنان است که تمام ولایات بمیعاد مقرر زر بضرابخانه آورند و
هر کرا از دیوان زر نویسند بر ضرابخانه حواله دارند، و سپاهیان
هر چهار ماه مرسوم گیرند. و کسی را بر ولایت چیزی ننویسند.
لاجرم آن مملکت بنوعی معمور است که شرح و بسط در آن باب
موجب مزید اطناب است. و خزانه پادشاه خانها باشد مانند
خوضها پر از طلا گداخته یکپاره، و تمام خواص و عوام آن دیار
تا محترفه بازار جواهر و مرصعات در گوش [۴۴] و گردن و بازو
و سر دست و انگشت کنند.

و در برابر دیوانخانه فیل خانه است. اگرچه پادشاه را در
مملکت فیل بسیار باشد اما فیلان بزرگ را بر درگاه نگاه دارند
و در درون حصار اول و دوم میان شمال و غرب فیلان توالد کنند
و فیل بچگان حاصل شود. و پادشاه را فیل سفیدیست بغایت
جسیم و جا جا مقدار عدسی بوررنگ، هر روز صباح او را پیش
رای آورند و رای دیدن او را بفال نیک دارند. و فیلان درگاه را
کچری دهند. چنانچه کچری پزند و پیش فیل از دیگ بیرون
کرده نمک ریزند و شکر تری پاشیده ممزوج سازند و قلولها هر
یک نزدیک بدو من در روغن فرو برده در دهان فیل نهند. و اگر
ازینها یکی فوت شود فیل قصد فیلبان کند و پادشاه قهر کند.
روزی دو نوبت این نوع غذا دهند، و هر فیل را خانه جدا باشد.
[۴۵] دیوارها بغایت محکم و بالا بچوبهای قوی پوشیده و
نجیرها که در گردن و پشت فیل بسته باشد سر زنجیر را بر بالای
بام استوار کنند. و اگر جای دیگر بندند فیل آسان گشاید و بر
نستهای او نیز زنجیر نهند.

و گرفتن فیل چنان باشد که در راهی که بآب می رود چاهی
گشاده فرو برند و سر چاه را سست پوشند. چون فیل در آنجا
افتد دو سه روز هیچ کس گرد فیل نگردهد و بعد از آن شخصی
آید و چند چوب محکم بر او زند. ناگاه کسی آید و زننده را دور
اندازد و چوب را گرفته پرتاب دهد و قدری علف پیش او
انداخته باز گردد. و همچنین چند روز شخص اول فیل را می زند
و دوم منع می کند تا به شخص دوم انس گیرد و او باهستگی
نزدیک فیل رود و میوهائی که مرغوب فیل باشد پیش او برد و
ورا خارش و مالش دهد تا باین نوع ریاضت رام شود و گردن به

the custom in that realm for all the provinces to bring gold to the mint at an established time, and anyone who has a [voucher] for gold from the divan redeems it at the mint. The soldiers receive their salaries every four months, and no one writes them drafts against the provinces. As a consequence the kingdom is so flourishing that any description would take too long. The king's treasury consists of chambers like pits full of gold melted into a single block. All nobles and commoners of the region, even the craftsmen of the bazaar, wear pearls and jewels in their ears, [44] around their necks and on their arms, wrists, and fingers.

Opposite the mint is the elephantorium. Although the king has many elephants throughout the kingdom, they keep his great elephants at court. Within the first and second walls, on the northwestern side, the elephants breed and produce their young. The king has a huge, white elephant, with albino spots the size of lentils all over its body. This elephant is taken every morning into the *ray*'s presence, for the *ray* considers the sight of it a favorable omen. They give the court elephants kedgerree. As the kedgerree is cooked and dished out of the cauldron for the elephants, they pour on salt, sprinkle on white sugar, mix it up and dip hunks of it, two maunds each, in oil and put it in the elephant's mouth. If any of the [ingredients] is left out, the elephant will attack its keeper and the king will be angry. They feed the elephants this sort of food twice a day. Every elephant has a separate stall. The walls are very strong and high and covered with strong timbers. The chains that are fastened around an elephant's neck and back are firmly attached to the roof. If they were attached anywhere else, an elephant could easily break them. They also put chains around its legs.

Elephants are captured in the following manner. They dig a pit along a path leading to water, and the pit is lightly covered. When an elephant falls in, no one approaches it for two or three days. Thereafter someone comes and beats it several times with a stick. Suddenly another person comes and pushes the beater away, seizes the stick and throws it away. He throws some fodder to the elephant and goes away. For several days this is repeated: the first person beats the elephant and the second stops him so that the elephant forms a bond with the second person. Slowly he approaches the elephant, offers some fruit elephants like and scratches and rubs the elephant. By this regimen it is tamed and submits to captivity. [46]

It is said that once an elephant broke its bonds and ran away into the wilderness and forest. The elephant keepers went after it and dug a pit in its path.

The elephant's heart fears those tricks like a gazelle escaped from a hunter's snare.

With the branch of a tree held in its trunk like a staff it proceeded cautiously and entered the water. The elephant keepers were unable to capture it, but the king was desirous of having it caught. An elephant keeper hid in a tree beneath which the elephant was going to pass, and as it passed the keeper jumped down from the tree onto the elephant's back. The rope around the elephant's back and chest was still there. The keeper grabbed it tightly, and no matter how the elephant shook and flayed its trunk, it was to no avail. It rolled on its side, but no matter which side it rolled on, the keeper leapt to the other side. In the meantime he got several grapples on the elephant's head so that the poor elephant had to give in and return to captivity. They took the elephant before the *ray*, who rewarded the keeper.

The kings of Hindustan hunt elephants, spending a month or more in the wilderness and jungles, and they boast of the elephants they have captured. Sometimes they cast criminals beneath an elephant's feet so they can be crushed by the elephant's legs, trunk and tusks. Elephant merchants take elephants from Ceylon to other regions. They measure them cubit by cubit and sell them.

Opposite the mint is the police station. They say twelve thousand patrolmen are stationed there. Their daily wage is twelve thousand *fanams*, which they receive from the revenue on brothels.

Any description of the elaborateness of their brothels or of the beauty, blandishments and attraction of their courtesans is beyond my ability to express. [48] In short, "brevity will take the place of longwindedness." Behind the mint is a place shaped like a bazaar. Its length is more than three hundred cubits, and its width more than twenty cubits. Along both sides are chambers and platforms. In front of the chambers, in place of plinths, are raised stone platforms, beautiful but small. Along both sides of the road are pictures of lions, leopards, tigers

و کلمه چیرا گفت «خاطر ما خوش وقت گشت که پادشاه بزرگ برای ما ایلچی فرستاد.» [۵۱] و چون فقیر از گرمی و تعدد جامها عرق بسیار کرده بود، پادشاه کرم و مرحمت نمود و بادزنه خطائی که در دست داشت عنایت فرمود. و طبقی آوردند و دو دسته تنبول و بسته پانصد فم و مقدار بیست مثقال کافور جودانه. و اجازت یافته بوئاق آمد. علوفه هر روز دو گوسفند و چهار جفت مرغ و پنج من برنج و یک من روغن و یک من شکر و دو ورهه زر آورده بودند. و همچنین هر روز می آوردند. و هفته دو نوبت آخر روز می طلبید و احوال خاقان سعید می پرسید. و هر نوبت بسته فم و دسته تنبول و چند مثقال کافور می آوردند، و کلمه چیرا می گفت «پادشاهان شما ایلچی را دعوت دهند و خوان نهند. چون ما و شما طعام یکدیگر نمی خوریم،

این بسته زر دعوت ایلچی باشد» [۵۲]

تنبول برگیست مانند برگ نارنج، درازتر، و در هندوستان و اکثر بلاد عرب و مملکت هرموز آن برگ را بسیار معتقد باشد، و واقع که جای اعتقاد است. و بیان تناول آن چنانست که مقداری فوفل که آنرا سپاری نیز گویند شکنند و در دهان نهند، و یک برگ تنبول را که برابر ارزنی آهک تر کرده برو مالند پیچیده در دهان نهند. و همچنین تا چهار برگ در دهان می نهند و می خایند، و گاهی کافور بآن ضم می کنند، و گاهی آب دهان سرخ شده می اندازند. رخسارها برافروزد و سرخوشی مانند شراب تصور شود، و گرسنگی را تسکین دهد و سیررا راغب طعام سازد. و بوی دهان ببرد و دندان محکم کند. و در تقویت و انگیز صحبت شرح پذیر و قابل تحریر و تقریر نیست. و این ابیات اثبات و اظهار [۵۳] بعضی اسرار او می کند (نظم)

بیره تنبول که صد برگ بست چون گل صد برگ برآمد بدست
نادره برگی چو گل بوستان خوبترین نعمت هندوستان

دیگر جانوران چنان متحرک و شبیه تصویر کرده اند که گوئی جان دارند. و بعد از نماز پیشین بر در خانها که بغایت پاکیزه باشد کرسیها و صندلیها نهاده و قجگان برا آنجا نشینند، هر یک بدر و جواهر توانگر، و لباسهای فاخر در بر، بغایت خردسال، در کمال حسن و جمال، و یکدو جاریه پیش هر یک ستاده و صلاهی عیش در داده و درهای عشرت گشاده و اسباب طرب [۴۹] آماده نهاده، هرکس در آنجا آید و هرکرا خواهد باو خوش برآید. و اهل خرابات هرچه مهمان داشته باشد محافظت نمایند. و اگر چیزی گم شود از عهده بیرون آیند. همچنین درین هفت حصار خرابات بسیار باشد و از همه که دوازده هزار فم حاصل میشود مرسوم عسسان است.

و کار عسسان آنست که از قضایا و مهمات این هفت حصار بیرون آیند و بر خبر باشند و هرچه گم شود یا دزدند ایشان پیدا کنند. و اگر نه، تاوان دهند. چند برده که رفقای فقیر خریده بودند گریختند و بشحنه رسانده حکم کرد که عسسان آن محله [که] مسکن مسکینان بود پیدا کنند یا تاوان دهند. عسسان قیمت معلوم کرده تاوان دادند.

اینست صفت شهر بیجانگر و شرح احوال پادشاه

و حادی اوراق، عبد الرزاق، که اواخر ذی الحججه بشهر بیجانگر رسیده بود و در وثاقی بغایت عالی که در هرات بجای بالای دروازه ملک باشد [۵۰] ممر جمهور خلائق بموجب تعیین اقامت نمود و چند روز از کوفت راه برآسود. و هلال محرم در آن شهر معظم و منزل ضلال جمال فرخفال نمود. روزی قاصدان از درگاه پادشاه آمدند و فقیر آخر روز بدرگاه رفت و پنج سراپ خوب و دو تقوز کمخا و اطلس پیش برد، و پادشاه در چهل ستونی بعظمت تمام نشسته بود، و بریمین و یسار غلبه بسیار حلقه بسته و پادشاه قبای اطلس زیتونی در بر و از مرواریدهای آبدار بل درهای شاهوار که جوهری عقل قیمت آن دشوار داند گردنبنند ساخته. سبزرنگ، لاغراندام، مایل به بلندی، و بغایت جوان بود، و بر عارض غبار خطی، و بر ذقن هیچ نه، صورتی بغایت مطبوع. فقیررا پیش او بردند و سر فرود آورد. و او التفات نموده نزدیک خود نشاند و نشان همایون را ستانده سپرد.

and other animals depicted with such movement and verisimilitude that one would think they were alive. In the evening chairs and seats are placed at the doors of the chambers, which are as clean as can be, and there the prostitutes sit. Each is arrayed with costly pearls and jewels and fine clothing; they are quite young and extremely beautiful, and with each stand one or two serving girls. Ready for pleasure, revelry and enjoyment, they are willing to dally with anyone who enters and anyone they wish. The brothel keepers guard their customers' belongings, and if anything is lost they make it good. There are many similar brothels in these seven walls, and from the taxation on all the brothels, twelve thousand *fanams*, the wages of the patrolmen are paid.

It is the job of the patrolmen to look after affairs within these seven walls. If anything is lost or stolen, they find it. If they do not, they pay a compensation. Several slaves that my companions had bought ran away. When it was reported to the chief of police, he ordered the patrolmen of the quarter where the poor lived to find them or else to pay compensation. When the patrolmen ascertained the price, they paid compensation.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF VIJAYANAGAR AND ITS KING

The writer of these pages, Abdul-Razzaq, arrived in the city of Vijayanagar at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 1443] and took up residence as assigned in extremely fine quarters, the equivalent of which in Herat would be located over the Malik Gate, [50] the main thoroughfare. I rested for several days from the weariness of the journey. The new moon of Muharram appeared in that magnificent city, abode of error.

One day messengers from the king's court came, and the next day I went to court, taking five fine horses and two *toquzes* of damask silk and satin.²¹ The king was seated in a splendid colonnade. To his right and left he was surrounded by the throng. He wore a tunic of Zaytoni silk and a necklace of lustrous pearls, the worth of which the jeweler of the mind could scarcely appraise.²²

²¹The *toquz* is the Turkic set of nine. Gifts were given in sets of nine to assure auspiciousness.

²²Zayton, which Marco Polo called Çaiton," is Ch'üan-chou (泉州), the modern Quanzhou in Fujian.

He was dark of complexion, slender, on the tall side and quite young. He had traces of down on his cheek but no beard. His face was pleasant. They brought me before him. I bowed. He turned his attention to me, seated me beside himself, took my imperial letter of credentials and turned it over [to another]. To the interpreter he said, "We are pleased that the great padishah has sent us an emissary." Since I was perspiring profusely from the heat and all the clothes I was wearing, the king graciously gave me the Chinese fan he was holding. A platter was brought with two bunches of betel-leaf, a package of five hundred *fanams* and three ounces of camphor balls. Having received permission to withdraw, I returned to my quarters. My daily allotment consisted of two sheep, four pairs of fowl, five maunds of rice, one maund of oil, one maund of sugar, and two gold *varahas*. These were brought to me every day. Twice a week at the end of the day [the king] summoned [me] and asked about His Majesty [Shahrukh]. Each time they brought a package of *fanams*, a bunch of betel-leaf, and several ounces of camphor. He would say to the interpreter, "Your kings invite emissaries to banquets. Since you and I do not eat the same food, 'let this package of gold be the emissary's banquet.' " [52]

Betel is a leaf like orange leaf but longer. In Hindustan, most of the Arab countries and the kingdom of Hormuz this leaf is highly valued, and in fact it is worthy of this esteem. It is taken in the following manner: a bit of betel-nut, which they also call *supari*, is crushed and placed in the mouth, and quick-lime about the size of a grain of millet is wet and smeared on a betel-leaf, which is wrapped up and put in the mouth. They do this with up to four leaves and put them in their mouths and chew them. Sometimes camphor is added, and from time to time they spit the reddened saliva from the mouth. The cheeks grow red, and a pleasant sensation, like that of wine, is produced. It assuages hunger and makes one who is already satiated desirous of food. It eliminates unpleasant odor of the mouth and makes the teeth strong. There is no need to describe its ability to strengthen and stimulate health. The following lines confirm some of its mysteries:

A chew of betel-leaf bound into a hundred leaves
came to hand like a flower with a hundred
petals.

Rare leaf, like a flower in a garden, the most
beautiful blessing of Hindustan.

بر آن خون گرفته می خواند که

باز آمدنت نیست چو رفتی رفتی

و از آواز دهل و شور و شغب هیچ آفریده غیر معدودی چند [۵۶] ازین حال خبر نداشت تا هرکرا اسمی و رسمی بود از میان برداشت و مجلس را همچنان گرم گذاشته متوجه درگاه پادشاه شد. و جمعی نگاهبانان که بر درگاه بودند همه را بچرب زبانی دعوت کرده در پی دیگران روان ساخت و درگاه را از مستحفظان باز پرداخت. و پیش پادشاه درآمد، طبقی تنبول در دست و کتاره چون برق در زیر آن نهان. پادشاه را گفت «مجلس مرتب شده موقوف مقدم همایون پادشاه.» بموجب فرموده اربابُ الدؤلُ ملهْمون گفت «مزاج من ناخوش است. شما خوش باشید که من نمی آیم.» (بیت)

باز به بط گفت که صحرا خوشست

گفت سبت خوش که مرا جا خوشست

برادر نامهربان چون از آمدن پادشاه مایوس شد کتاره [۵۷] برآورده فرود آورد و چند زخم عظیم زد چنانچه پادشاه در قفای تخت افتاد. آن غدار پادشاه را کشته انگاشته از معتمدان خود کسی را باز داشت که سر پادشاه را جدا سازد. و خود بیرون آمده بر ایوان درگاه برآمد و آواز برآورد که «پادشاه و برادران و فلان امیر و بهمان وزیر و باقی سرداران را کشتم. و اکنون پادشاه منم.» و چون معتمد او بقصد پادشاه پیش تخت رفت پادشاه که در قفای تخت افتاده بود تخت را چنان بر سینه آن غدار زد که بر قفا افتاد و با یکی از جانداران که از هول واقعه در گوشه پنهان شده بود غدارک را بقتل آورد و از راه حرم بیرون آمد. و برادر بر سر ایوان همچنان مردمان را بیادشاهی خود می خواند، پادشاه آواز داد که «من زنده و سلامتم. بگیری این حرامزاده را!»

تیز چو گوش فرس تیزخیز
تیسری او آلت قطع جدام
بر رگ و در رگ نه نشانی ز خون
طرفه نباتی که چو شد در دهن
خوردن او بوی دهان کم کند
سرخ رویش زد و خدمت گرش
طرفه که با این دو شریکش ز پس
گرچه بآبش نبوی هست بیش
[۵۴] گرچه که از آب شود زرد رو
برگ عجب بین که گسسته ز بر
حرمت ازین بیش که بیگاه و گاه
در دهنش گیر و بصحبت خرام
همانا که به پشتی این برگ و قوت این نبات پادشاه آنجارا
حرما بسیار است چه گویند هفتصد خاتون و قما دارد. و در
مجموع حرماهای او پسری که ده ساله باشد محرم نیست، و هیچ دو
عورت در یک خانه نباشد و مهمات هر یک را مضبوط دارد. و در
تمام مملکت او هر جا دختر خوبی باشد پدر و مادر دختر را راضی
ساخته دختر را بتجمل تمام بحرم آورد و بعد از آن او را کسی
نبیند اما بغایت عزیز و مکرم باشد.

قصه قصد پادشاه بیجانگر و شرح آن

در آن زمان که حادی اوراق هنوز در شهر کالیکوت بود، در شهر [۵۵] بیجانگر قصه غریب و صورتی عجیب روی نمود. و شرح آن چنانست که برادر پادشاه وثاقی نو ساخت و پادشاه و ارکان دولترا طلب داشت. و عادت کفار آنست که در حضور یکدیگر طعام نخورند. متعینان را در دیوان بزرگ نشاندند هر زمان خود می آمد یا کسی می فرستاد که فلان بزرگ آید تا دعوت خورد و درین حال هرچند دهل و نقاره و برغو و نفیر که در شهر بود جمع آورده بقوت و صلابت میزدند. هرکس را که می طلبید و بخانه معین در می آورد دو غدار ستمکار از کمینگاه قفای در بیرون آمده و کتارها در آن شخص نهاده پاره پاره میکردند و اعضاء بل اجزای او را برداشته دیگری را می طلبید. و هرکه در آن قتلگاه درآمد چون مسافران راه آخرت از کسی خبر نیامد و زبان زمان

Sharp like the ear of a swift-rearing stallion; sharp
 in both shape and taste.
 Its sharpness an instrument for the eradication of
 leprosy, as the Prophet has said.
 Full of veins, and in the veins no trace of blood,
 but from the veins its blood races out.
 Wondrous plant, when placed in the mouth, its
 blood comes out of its body like a living thing.
 To chew it reduces the odor of the mouth and
 strengthens weak teeth.
 Redness of face comes from its two servants:
 quick-lime and betel-nut produce the color.
 As marvelous as it is with these two comrades,
 status and name belong to it alone. [54]
 Although it becomes pale from water, its honor is
 from its paleness.
 See this amazing leaf that, broken from its fruit,
 after six months becomes fresher.
 What greater honor could there be than that it is
 honored by both beggar and king?
 Take it in the mouth and experience good health
 so that you may see its amazing work, and
 good-bye.

By relying upon this leaf and the strength this plant gives, the king has many wives. It is said that he has seven hundred ladies and concubines. There is not a single male child older than ten who is intimate with his wives, and no two women share living quarters. He keeps strict control over the affairs of each one. Throughout his realm wherever there is a beautiful girl, he persuades the girl's mother and father and has her brought with much celebration to his harem. Thereafter no one sees her, but she is kept in great honor and veneration.

AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON THE KING OF VIJAYANAGAR

The writer was still in Calicut when a strange and remarkable thing happened in Vijayanagar, as follows.

The king's brother built new quarters and invited the king and his ministers. It is customary among the infidels not to eat in each other's presence. The guests were seated in a large divan, and [the brother] himself continually came in or sent someone else to announce to such-and-such a grandee to go partake of the banquet. While this was going on, all the drums, tympani, and trumpets that had been gathered in the city were being

beaten for all they were worth. As each guest arrived and entered the chamber assigned him, two treacherous murderers emerged from hiding behind them, stabbed them with *kattaras* and ripped them to shreds. As the limbs of one were taken away, another was summoned. Nothing more was heard of any who entered this place of massacre as travelers along the path to the next world, and the tongue of fate cried out to the murdered men, saying,

There is no return for you. When you have gone,
 you have gone.

Because of the racket made by the drums and the commotion, only a very few knew of this affair. [56] Finally, all who held any position of authority had been eliminated, so [the king's brother] left the assembly heated as it was and proceeded to the king's court. The guards stationed at the gates he charmed and invited to partake of the feast, dispatching them like the others, thus emptying the court of guards. Entering into the king's presence with a plate of betel-leaf in his hand and a *kattara* flashing like lightning concealed beneath, he said to the king, "The assembly is ready and waiting for the royal advent." In accordance with the dictum, "Lords of state are inspired," the king said, "I am not feeling well. You go enjoy yourself. I'm not coming."

The hawk said to the duck, "The desert is pleasant."

[The duck] said, "And a pleasant night to you. I like it where I am."

When the treacherous brother despaired of the king's coming, he drew the *kattara* and struck, making several deep wounds. As the king fell behind the throne, the traitor thought he was dead. Sending one of his henchmen to sever the king's head, he left and went onto the balcony of the portico and cried out, "I have killed the king, his brothers, the general, the minister and all the officers. Now I am king." When his henchman approached the throne to cut off the king's head, the king, who had fallen behind the throne, pushed the throne against the man's chest and knocked him off his feet. Then, with the help of a guard he found cowering in a corner, he put the miserable traitor to death and came out through the harem. The brother was still in the portico exhorting the people to accept him as king, but the king cried out, "I am alive and well. Seize this bastard!" The subjects gathered, immediately pulled him down

چون جرسش در روش آواز داد گنبدِ گردنده صدا باز داد
 بانگِ بلندش زده با رعد کوس ابرِ بلندش بقدم داده بوس
 گر بغان برکشد آوا بلند گوشِ فلک نشنود الا بلند
 چون سرداران لشکر و گردنکشان هر کشور و دانایان برهنم و
 فیلان چون اهرمن بر درگاه فرمانفرمای زمین و زمن بموعده معین
 جمع آمدند، سه روز متعاقب در آیام بیض ماه رجب در فضای
 بسیار وسیع و مقامی بغایت بدیع از کثرت آن سواد [۶۱] و
 فیلان کوه نهاد امواج بحر اخضر و افواج دشت محشر معاینه بود
 و صورت ﴿وَإِذَا الْوُحُوشُ حُشِرَتْ﴾ بی شبهت روی نمود (بیت)
 هیکلِ فیلان بزمین خم فکند زلزله در عرصه عالم فکند
 زان همه دندان که بلاسنج بود روی زمین عرصه شطرنج بود
 از حشم و پیل در آن پیل مال حشرِ جسد ثابت و سیر جبال
 و در آن فضای دلگشا چهارطاقهای جانفزا بسته بودند، سه طبقه
 و چهار طبقه و پنج طبقه، از بالا تا پایان تصویر مجسم کرده هر
 صورتی که در خیال آید از آدمی و وحوش و طیور و سایر
 حیوانات تا مگس و پشه همه در غایت دقت [۶۲] و حذاقت
 ساخته. و بعضی چهارطاقها چنان پرداخته که گردان بود و هر
 ساعت روی دیگری می نمود و از منظرها و غرفها هر لحظه
 ماهروی دیگر چهره می گشود. و در پیشان آن میدان چهل ستونی
 نه طاق در کمال لطافت ترین داده و تخت پادشاه در طاق پنجم
 نهاده. مقام فقیر در طاق هفتم مقرر فرمودند، و غیر یاران فقیر
 هر که در آن طاق بود اخراج نمودند.

و میان چهل ستون و چهارطاقها در میدانی بغایت پاکیزه
 مطربان و قوالان خوانندگی و گویندگی کنند، و بیشتر مطربان
 دختران باشند. جمعی دختران ماهرخسار و چهرهای خوشتر از

رعیت جمع شده در حال اورا فرود آوردند [۵۸] و بقتل
 رسانیدند. و بطلب باقی برادران و سایر امراء فرستاد. همه را
 کشته بود مگر دنایک وزیر که پیش ازین واقعه بطرف سیلان
 رفته بود. پادشاه قاصدی بطلب او دوانید و اورا از حقیقت آن
 واقعه آگاه گردانید و هرکرا در آن قضیه شائبه موافقتی بود از
 بنیاد برانداخت و بسیاری کشته و پوست کنده و سوخته
 خاندانهارا بکلی مستاصل ساخت. و کسی را که جهت دعوت
 جغرات آورده بود بقتل آورد. دنایک از راه برگشته و شرح واقعه
 دانسته متحیر ماند. و شرف پایبوس یافته بر صحت ذات پادشاه
 بمراسم شکر قیام نمود و بآیین جشن مهناومی بیشتر از پیشتر
 اهتمام نمود.

ذکر جشن مهناومی که پیش کفار اعتبار بسیار دارد

[۵۹] کفار تسلط شعار آن بلاد و دیار از روی تکبر و اقتدار و
 تجبر و افتخار سالی یکبار جشنی پادشاهانه و بزمی خسروانه مهیا
 می نمایند و مهناومی می نامند و آن چنانست که پادشاه بیجانگر
 فرمود که از تمام ممالک او که سه چهار ماهه راهست سرداران و
 کلانتران روی بدرگاه پادشاه آورند و هزار فیل چون دریای
 جوشان و ابر خروشان سلاحهای آراسته و صندوقهای پیراسته و
 بازیگران و نطفاندازان در آن باز داشته، و بر روی و خرطوم و
 گوش فیلان صورتهای غریب و نقشهای عجیب بشنگرف و غیر آن
 نگاشته حاضر ساختند (بیت)

فیل چو کوهی که بود بیستون چار ستون زیر گهی بی ستون
 وان جل زربینش بفسر و شکوه سایه همیکرد بیالای کوه
 زان سپر انگیزی سهمناک در ته پایش سپری گشت خاک
 [۶۰]

سوده بگردون سرِ شنگرف سای رنگ شفق زو شده شنگرف زای
 پیچشِ خرطوم بسانِ کمند اژدری افتاده ز کوه بلند
 گر بدلِ غار بود جای مار زو بدلِ مار شده جای غار
 کشتی عاجست تو گویی روان گشته دو گوشش ز دو سو بادبان
 گوش که با چشم همی کرد لاغ مروحه بود به پیش چراغ
 روی چو در حمله نهاده گاه کین ز آدمیان حامله گردد زمین
 برکشد از تارک بدخواه مغز وز بُن دندان کند این کار نغز

and put him to death. [58] Then [the king] summoned his other brothers and all the officers, but they had all been killed—save Dhannayak, the vizier who had gone to Ceylon before this happened. The king sent a messenger to summon him and acquaint him with the disaster. All suspected of having a hand in the affair were brought down. Many were killed, their skins stripped, their bodies burned, and their families reduced to desperation. Even the person who had brought the sour milk as invitation for the banquet was executed.²³ Dhannayak returned and was astonished to learn of the affair. Prostrating himself before the throne, he offered thanks for the king's health and well-being and gave more significance than ever to the rituals of the Mahanavami festival.

A MENTION OF THE MAHANAVAMI FESTIVAL,
WHICH IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE INFIDELS

The infidels of those areas and regions, in their pride and puissance, celebrate once a year an imperial festival, a princely feast they call Mahanavami.²⁴ It was celebrated as follows.

The king of Vijayanagar ordered that from all his realms, which would take three or four months to cross, the leaders and chieftains should come to court. They brought a thousand elephants roaring and raging like mountains and thunderclouds, adorned with weaponry and embellished with howdahs, with acrobats and pyrotechnists, and on the elephants' heads, trunks and ears amazing pictures and strange designs painted in cinnabar and other [colors].

Elephant like a mountain without pillars, four pillars beneath a Mount Besutun.

Its golden covering in splendor cast a shadow over the mountains.

The earth was trod flat under those awesome feet.
[60]

Its cinnabar-stained head rubbed against the heavens: from it sunset derives its vermilion hue.

The twisting of its lasso-like trunk is a dragon fallen from a high mountain.

A serpent's place is in the heart of a cave, but with [the elephant] a cave is located in the heart of the serpent.

A ship of ivory in motion, you would say: its ears sails on either side.

When the ear plays with the eye, it is a fan before a lamp.

When it charges in vengeance, the earth becomes pregnant with men.

It tosses them nimbly over its malevolent head with its tusks.

When its bell cries out in motion, the spinning dome [of heaven] echoes.

Its loud trumpet sounds with the thunder of the drum; high clouds kiss its feet.

If it cries out in a loud voice, it deafens heaven's ears.

When the commanders of the army, the heroes of every land, the wise Brahmins and demonic elephants were thronged at the appointed time, for three days continually during the full moon of Rajab [November 1443] the gate of the ruler of the earth was as crowded with people and elephants as the throng of resurrection.

The elephants' bodies bent the earth and engendered earthquakes throughout the world.

With all that monstrous ivory the face of the earth was like a chess board.

So many retainers and elephants that bodily resurrection and moving mountains were certain.

In that pleasant space there were raised pavilions of three, four and five stories, completely covered from top to bottom with pictures, every picture that could be imagined, of humans, beasts, birds, and all other animals, even flies and mosquitoes—all executed with precision and mastery. [62] Some of the pavilions were made so that they revolved and every so often showed a different side, every moment a different beauty revealing her face from the belvederes and chambers. In the foreground of the field was a roofed colonnade with nine arches decorated with perfect subtlety, and the king's throne was placed in the fifth arch. My place was in the seventh arch. Aside from my companions, everyone else was expelled from the arch.

Between the colonnade and the pavilions singers and reciters were performing. Most of the singers were girls. A group of girls with cheeks like the moon and pages more beautiful than early spring, with beautiful gar-

²³Apparently someone had been sent around with sour milk as an invitation to the banquet.

²⁴For the Sanskrit महानवमी Mahānavamī, the ninth day in the light half of the month of Asin.

می‌رود، و فیل در آن مقام

چنان بلند که آنجا نمی‌رسد آواز

راه اهل ساز نگاه داشته حرکات باصول می‌کند.

و هر جماعت خوانندگی و بازی کنند پادشاه ایشان را هم در

مجلس زر و جامه بخشد. سه روز پیوسته از آن زمان که طاوس

آفتاب عالمتاب بر میان آسمان در جلوه بود تا آن هنگام که غراب

ظلام شام بال و پر گشود صورت جشن پادشاهی بخوبتر وجهی

روی نمود شرح انواع آتشبازی و موشکسازي و اصناف لهو و لعب

دیگر موجب مزید اطنابست.

روز سیم در وقتی که [۶۶] پادشاه برخاست فقیر را پیش

تخت بردند. تختی دید از طلا در غایت بزرگی بجواهر نفیس

مرصع ساخته و دقایق لطافت و صناعت در آن پرداخته و همانا

در ممالک روی زمین بهتر از آنجا ترصیع کاری نکنند. و در پیش

تخت بالش اطلس زیتونی انداخته و سه قطار مروارید آبدار

غیرت در شاهوار بر اطراف آن دوخته. و پادشاه درین سه روز

پشت بر تخت بر بالای آن بالش می‌نشست.

و پادشاه بعد از فراغ از جشن مهنامی نماز شامی بطلب فقیر

فرستاد. و چون بدرگاه رسید بچهار صفه درآوردند. ده گز در ده

گز تقریباً، و تمام سقف و دیوارها در تخته طلا مرصع گرفته هر

تخته بسطبری پشت شمشیری، و بمبخیهای مطلا محکم ساخته، و

در صفه پیشگاه تخت پادشاه بغایت بزرگ از طلا نهاده، و

پادشاه [۶۷] بر آن بعظمت تمام نشسته احوال حضرت خاقان

سعید و امراء و لشکرها و عدد اسپان و اوصاف بلدان چون

سمرقند و هرات و شیراز پرسید. و بیش از حد اظهار محبت

فرمود و گفت که «چند زنجیر فیل و دو طوقوز خواجه سرا و

دیگر تحفها در صحبت ایلچی دانا می‌فرستم.»

و در همان مجلس یکی از مقربان بزبان ترجمان از لطافت

چهار صفه مرصع استفسار نمود بآن معنی که «در ملک شما

نمی‌تواند بود.» فقیر بموقف عرض رسانید که «شاید در آن

ملک نیز امثال این توان ساخت اما رسم نیست.» پادشاه تحسین

بسیار نمود. چند بسته فتم و تنبول و میوه‌ها خاصه عنایت فرمود.

نوبهار با جامهای زیبا و صورتهاء دلبر با بسان گل تازه در پس

پرده نازک می‌آمدند تا برابر پادشاه. ناگاه پرده را که دو طرف

گرفته‌اند براندازند، و دختران راه پاکوفتن سازند بنوعی که

عقل از هوش رود و روح مدهوش گردد (نظم) [۶۳]

صد زن مطرب به نوای پروری انجمنی پر ز مه و مشتری

پرده بر انداخته از آفتاب کرده بیک غمزه جهانی خراب

روی چو خورشید بر افروخته جان کسان ز آتش خود سوخته

از رخشان کآمه مقنع فرود رفته بچه ماه مقنع فرود

قامتشان بود بپاکوفتن گیسوی مشکین بزمین روفتن

رقص کنان چون بزمین پا زدند در حق ناهید لگدها زدند

از روش و جنبش و دستانشان مجلسیان هر همه حیران نشان

بازی گران بازیهای غریب کنند. سه چوب نهند پیوسته بهم، هر

یک گزی طول و نیم گز عرض و سه چهاریک ارتفاع، و دو چوب

دیگر بر بالای دو چوب اول نهند بدرازا و پهنا نزدیک بآنها و

یک چوب نهند بر بالای چوب دوم که بر بالای چوب اول است

اندک خردتر چنانچه از چوبهای اول و دوم دوپایه شود [۶۴]

بنسبت چوب سیم که بر بالای همه است. و فیل بزرگ را

آموخته‌اند که از چوب اول و دوم بر بالای چوب سیم رود که

گشادگی روی آن چوب اندکی از کف یک دست فیل زیادت

باشد، و چون فیل خود را بچهار دست و پا بر آن چوب نگاه دارد

باقی چوبهارا از قفا بردارند، و فیل چون بز بر سر آن سه چوب

باشد. و هر اصولی که مطربان سازند و نوازند فیل آنرا بخرطوم

نگاه دارد و ملایم آن جنبش نموده خرطوم برآرد و فرود آرد.

دیگر عمودی بر پا کنند در بلندی ده گز و چوبی دراز چون

شاهین ترازو و میان سوراخ بر سر آن عمود راست سازند. بر

یک سر آن چوب شاهین بوزن فیل سنگ بسته و بر سر دیگر

مقدار یک ذرع تخته پهن ساخته. سری که تخته دارد بریسمان

پایین کشند و فیل روان بر آن تخته رود و فیلبان آهسته آهسته

ریسمان راست می‌گذارد تا هر دو طرف چوب [۶۵] در ده گز

ارتفاع چون شاهین ترازو طیار راست ایستد و پیوسته آن چوب

که بر یک طرف فیل است و بر دیگری همسنگ آن سنگ چون

نصف دایره نیم دوری در برابر پادشاه بر زمین و یسار می‌آید و

ments and enchanting countenances like fresh roses, came up to the king behind a thin curtain. Suddenly they pulled aside the curtain, which they were holding on either end, and the girls began to dance in an astonishingly enchanting manner.

A hundred female singers, a crowd filled with moons and Jupiters.

When they removed the veil from the sun, with one wink they destroyed the world.

With countenances shining like the sun, they scorched people's souls with their fire.

When the veil was dropped from their faces, the moon went veiled into a pit.

When they danced, their musky locks swept the ground.

When they struck the ground with their dancing feet, they kicked Venus from the competition.

The audience were all astonished by their motion and movement.

The entertainers perform marvelous tricks. They place three boxes next to each other, each one a cubit in length, half a cubit in width, three quarters [of a cubit] high, and then they place two more boxes, about the same size, on top of the first two boxes. Then they place a somewhat smaller box on top of the second row, which is on top of the first, so that the first and second rows form steps up to the third, [64] which is the highest of all. They have trained a huge elephant to go up the first and second boxes and stand on the third, the area on top of which is just slightly larger than the bottom of one of the elephant's feet. When the elephant has balanced itself on top of the box, they remove the other boxes and the elephant is left [perched] like a goat on top of the three boxes. Every rhythm the musicians play the elephant imitates with its trunk, raising and lowering its trunk in time

Another trick is as follows. They erect a pole about ten cubits tall. Another long wooden piece like the balance rod on a scale is set through a hole in the first pole. To one end of the cross piece is attached a stone as heavy as an elephant, and on the other end is a platform about a cubit wide. The platform end is pulled down with a rope, and an elephant goes onto it. The trainer slowly releases the rope until both sides are ten cubits in the air, like a balance rod, and the two sides, one with the elephant and the other with the stone, describe arcs up and down before the king. The elephant in that posi-

tion

So high that no sound can reach it

moves rhythmically with the entertainers.

Every group that sings or performs before the king is rewarded with gold and garments during the assembly. For three days straight, from the time the peacock of the sun stands in the midst of heaven until the raven of evening spreads its wings, the regal celebration is conducted. It would take too long to describe all the acrobatics, fireworks, and different types of entertainment.

On the third day [66] when the king arose, they took me to the throne. It was immense, of gold studded with precious gems, and minutely embellished with artifice. There is no place on the face of the earth where they do gem-studding better than there. In front of the throne was a pillow of Zaytoni silk with three rows of lustrous pearls sewed around the border. For three days the king had sat on the throne reclining on this pillow.

When the Mahanavami festival was concluded, the king summoned me after the evening prayer. When I reached the court I was taken into a hall about ten cubits square. The ceiling and walls were entirely studded with sheets of gold, each sheet as thick as the broad side of a sword, and fastened with golden nails. In the facing recess was set the king's magnificent golden throne, on which the king sat in all splendor. He asked about His Majesty the Felicitous Khaqan, the amirs, the army, the number of horses, and a description of the cities of the realm like Samarkand, Herat, and Shiraz. He was extremely affable and said, "I am sending several elephants, two *toquzes* of eunuchs and other gifts in the company of a wise emissary."

During the assembly one of his intimates inquired through the interpreter concerning the delicacy of the gem-studded hall, as if to say that in my country there could not be such a thing. I replied, "Perhaps in that country too such a thing could be made, but it is not our custom." The king applauded my answer and rewarded me with several sacks of *fanams*, betel-leaf, and special fruit.

هرموزیان مجال خباثت یافته شیطنت که در طینت ایشان مخمّر بود بظهور آوردند و بجنسیت شرارت با همنمبه بزیر زیر اندر زیر یار شده گفتند فقیر فرستاده حضرت خاقان سعید نیست و سوداگریست حکم آنحضرت بدست آورده. و دروغی چند بسمع کفّار رسانیدند و در ضمیر شاه جایگیر شد، و چند گاه بجنین حال تباہ در آن کفرستان حیران بود. و درین حیرت چند نوبت پادشاه در اثنای راه [۷۱] رسید و عنان عنایت باز کشید و احوال پرسید. و فی الواقع حاوی بدایع اخلاق بود.

گر همه عدل است همین بس بود

و دنیای اطراف گلبرگه تاخته و عاجزی چندرا اسیر و زبون ساخته باز آمد. و از جهت ناساختن جزئیات فقیر همنمبه بزیرا ملامت فرمود و گفت که هفت هزار فتم بر ضرابخانه نوشته در روز وصول یافت.

و دو ایلچی خواجه مسعود و خواجه محمد هم از مردم خراسان که در آن ولایت بودند باندک بیلاک و قماش برسالت مقرر شدند، و فتح خان از نسل سلطان فیروزشاه که پادشاه مملکت دهلی بود قاصدی خواجه جمال الدین نام با عرضه داشت و بیلاک ارسال نمود. و پادشاه در روز اجازت با فقیر [۷۲] گفت که «ترا گفتند حضرت میرزا شاهرخ نفرستاده و اگر نه، ترا زیادت رعایت می نمودیم. اگر بار دیگر باین مملکت آئی و دانیم که آنحضرت فرستاده، شاید که آنچه مناسب سلطنت ما باشد بظهور آید.» و زبان حال می گفت (بیت)

دیگر بغریبی نروم همره شاهی

از بادیه عشق تو گر با وطن آیم

و در مکتوبی که بآنحضرت نوشته بود سخن خباثت هرموزیان درج نمود باین عبارت که «ارادت آن بود که بحضرت خلافت به تحف و هدایای پادشاهانه توسل جویم فاما جمعی گفتند که عبدالرزاق از ملازمان آن حضرت نیست، و در اوصاف حضرت خاقان سعید نوشته بود که مآثر ملکانه و مفاخر پادشاهانه با صفوت انبیا و صفت [۷۳] اولیا مجتمع ساخته چنانچه بر السنه صغیر و کبیر و رقم تقریر هر خبیر و قلم تحریر هر دبیر این معنی نقش پذیر است» (نظم)

جمعی هرموزیان که در آن بلده بودند از استماع التفات پادشاه و داعیه ایلچی فرستادن بدرگاه سلاطین پناه اضطراب عظیم نمودند و در اندراس این اساس طرحی انداختند و از کمال [۶۸] شرارت و خباثت این سخن ساختند که فقیر فرستاده حضرت خاقان سعید نیست و این سخن بسمع امیر و وزیر رسید

چه جای میر و وزیر، این سخن بشاه رسید

چنانچه بعد ازین گفته شود انشاء الله.

و درین ایام دنیایک وزیر که حسن اهتمام بحال این فقیر داشت رایت عزیمت بصوب مملکت گلبرگه برافراشت، و سبب این عزیمت آن بود که پادشاه گلبرگه سلطان علاء الدین احمدشاه خبر قصد دیورای و کشته شدن ارکان دولت او شنید. بغایت منبسط گردید و قاصدی زبان آور فرستاد و پیغام داد که «هفت لک ورهه تسلیم نمای و الا لشکری جهانگشای بآن ولایت روان سازم و قاعده کفررا [۶۹] از بنیاد براندازم.» پادشاه بیجانگر دیورای

برآشت آشتنی خشمناک

و گفت «چون من زنده ام اگر نوکری چند کشته شد باک نیست

نوکر اگر هزار بمیرد مرا چه باک

بیک دو روز صد از آن توان ساخت

چون بود خورشید تابان، ذره بی پایان بود

و اگر ضعف و قصور و عجز و فتور تصور کرده اند چنان نیست

طالع قوی و سعد قرین است و بخت یار

اکنون ایشان هرچه از ولایت من توانند گرفت غنیمت دانسته بسادات و علماء خود دهند که من هرچه از آن مملکت در قبضه اقتدار آرم بزنازداران و براهمه خواهم داد.» و از طرفین لشکرها فرستاده در اطراف ممالک یکدیگر [۷۰] خرابی بسیار کردند. و پادشاه در دیوان زنازداری همنمبه بزیر نام قائم مقام دنیایک گذاشت که او نیز خودرا عدیل وزیر میداشت. قصیری، شیریری، نحسی، نجسی، عبوسی، منحوسی، همه اوصاف ذمیمه درو حاصل و همه اخلاق حمیده ازو زایل. آن ناپاک چون مسند دیوان را پلید ساخت علوفه یومی را بی جهتی برانداخت.

A group of Hormuzis who were in that country were greatly upset when they heard of the king's kindness and his intention to send an emissary to His Majesty's court. They plotted to undermine this plan and, [68] in all vileness and wickedness, fabricated a rumor that I was not His Majesty's emissary. They caused this rumor to reach the hearing of amir and vizier—

What of amir and vizier? It reached the king!

This will be dealt with later.

During these days Dhannayak, the vizier who paid kind attention to me, decided to go to Gulbarga. The reason for this trip was as follows. The king of Gulbarga, Sultan Ala'uddin Ahmadshah, received news of the assassination attempt on Dev Ray and the murder of his ministers of state. He was delighted by the news and sent a messenger to say, "Pay seven lacs of *varahas* or I will send a conquering army to your country to eradicate your infidel rule."

The king of Vijayanagar, Dev Ray, flared up in anger and said, "So long as I am alive, what does it matter that a few servants have been killed?"

If a thousand servants die, what does it matter to me?

In a day or two one can make a hundred of them.

When the sun is shining, there is no end to dust motes.

And if he imagines that there is any weakness or despondency, it is not so.

Ascendant is strong, the lucky stars are in conjunction, and fate is smiling.

Whatever he can take of my kingdom he will consider booty and give to his sayyids and ulema, just as I will give whatever I can seize of his kingdom to the high castes and Brahmins."

The armies of the two sides were dispatched and wrought much havoc in each other's realms. [70] The king left his country in the care of Dhannayak's deputy, a high-caste Hindu named Hamba Nurir,²⁵ who considered himself equal to a vizier. But he was a short-statured, evil man, a vile, penny-pinching wretch possessing all bad qualities and devoid of any redeeming

features. When this wretch polluted the chair of the divan, he unjustifiably stopped my daily allotment. The Hormuzis, realizing the opportunity for vileness, showed the mischief that was ingrained in their nature, connived with Hamba Nurir and said that I was not the Felicitous Khaqan's emissary but a merchant who had gotten hold of His Majesty's document and told lies to the infidels and wormed my way into the king's confidence. For some time I was reduced to misery in that abode of infidels. During my misery the king came across me several times on the street and drew his reins to inquire after my condition. Truly he was of exceptionally good character.

If he is all justice, it is enough.

Dhannayak raided the borders of Gulbarga and returned with a few poor wretches taken captive. He chided Hamba Nurir for neglecting me and ordered a draft for seven thousand *fanams* written against the mint, and it was honored that very day.

Khwaja Mas'ud and Khwaja Muhammad, who were both from Khurasan and happened to be in that country, were appointed and sent as emissaries with a few gifts and goods. Fath Khan, a descendant of Sultan Firozshah, the king of Delhi, sent a messenger, Khwaja Jamaluddin by name, with a petition and gifts.

On the day I was given leave to depart, the king said to me, [72] "They say you were not sent by His Majesty Shahrukh; otherwise we would have favored you greatly. If you come again to this realm and we know that you have really been sent by His Majesty, perhaps that which is appropriate to our sovereign dignity may be manifested." To myself I said:

I will go into exile no more in company of a king
if I come home from the wilderness of loving
you.

In the letter he wrote to His Majesty he included the vileness of the Hormuzis, saying, "It was [our] desire to forward to the caliphal court regal presents and gifts. However, some have claimed that Abdul-Razzaq is not among His Majesty's attendants. It has been written in description of His Majesty the Felicitous Khaqan that in him kingly traits and imperial characteristics are mixed with the purity of the prophets and the character of saints."

²⁵Reading the name from Elliot, *History of India* 4:122. The name is garbled in the text of *Matla'-i sa'dayn*.

نوح خلیل خلتی، خضر کلیم حالتی

احمد عرش هیبتی، عیسی روح منطری

ربع زمین ز درگهت ثلث نهند و بعد ازین

زین سوی خط استوا در خط حکم آوری

و چون آن ولایت بزعم آن طایفه داخل ممالک خط استواست ذکر خط استوا در خط حکم آوردن مناسب واقع است.

و فقیر جزئیات ساخته بطرف ساحل عمان روان شدند. [۷۴]

ذکر مراجعت از مملکت هندوستان و سرگذشت موج دریا و

قصه طوفان

آفتاب عنایت از مطلع سعادت برآمد، و نیر اقبال از مشرق آمال طلوع نمود، و لوازم انوار بهجت و سرور در اثنای شب دیجور بموجب ﴿اللَّهُ وَلِيُّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا يُخْرِجُهُم مِّنَ الظُّلُمَاتِ إِلَى النُّورِ﴾ ظهور یافت، و لیالی محنت و ملال در آن وحشت آباد کفر و ضلال بطلوع صبح سعادت و فروغ آفتاب دولت نزدیک رسید، و شام غم انجام ناتوانی بایام مسرت و کامرانی مبدل گردید (بیت) مقدار شب از روز فزون بود بدل گشت

زاید همه اینرا شد و ناقص همه آنرا

[۷۵] اگرچه بواسطه آن که شهری بود در اقصی ممالک هندوستان و تمام ولایت کافرستان اسباب سفر که داشته پایمال حوادث گشته (مصراع)

چگویم شرح آن حالت که در گفتن نمی آید

اما باوجود اختلال احوال (بیت)

نه از جایی امید توشه راه

بجز ﴿لَا تَقْنَطُوا مِن رَّحْمَةِ اللَّهِ﴾

با دلی قوی و املی فسیح رو براه بفضل و مرحمت اله آوردم، و دوازدهم شعبان باتفاق ایلچیان از شهر بیجانگر بر جناح سفر طیران نمود، و هژده شبانروز منازل و مراحل پیمود تا غره رمضان بساحل دریای عمان و بندر باکنور رسید. و در آن جا بصحبت شریف امیر سید علاء الدین مشهدی مشرف شد. سیدی یکصد و بیست سال [۷۶] از عمر او گذشته، و سالها معتقد اهل اسلام و کفار آن دیار گشته، سخن او در آن ولایت بمنزله نص قاطع بود، و کسی از فرموده او عدول نمی نمود. و یکی از ایلچیان بیجانگر

خواجه مسعود نام بیچاره در آن مقام فوت شد. (بیت)

که داند درین دیر کینه سرشت

که مارا کجا زیر سر ماند خشت

و در باکنور بآداب عید صیام قیام نمود و جهت سرانجام کشتی به بندر هنور آمد و توشه دریا چهل روزه برای بیست نفر مقرر ساخت. و در آن ایام که داعیه کشتی نشستن داشت روزی فال حضرت امام جعفر صادق علیه السلام که مشتمل بر آیات قرآنی بود گشاد و آن فتح نوید بشارت [۷۷] داد و این آیت برآمد که ﴿لَا تَخَفُ نَجْوَتَ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾ از موافقت فال باحال بغایت متعجب شد، و دغدغه که از بیم دریا در دل بود بکلی زائل گشت و به یکبارگی دل در خلاص و نجات بست.

و بیست و پنجم ذیقعه در کشتی نشسته روان شد. و در نظاره ﴿وَلَهُ الْجَوَارِ الْمُنشَآتُ فِي الْبَحْرِ كَالْأَعْلَامِ﴾ آثار قدرت عالیها ظاهر می دید، و گاه گاه از جمعی همراه بدائع اسمار و غرائب آثار می شنید، و ارواح را ارتیاح و اشباح را انشراح حاصل می آمد (شعر)

عینُ الحوادثِ والأشرارِ راقدةٌ والدَّهْرِ فِي غَفْلَةٍ وَالشُّمْلِ مُشْتَمَلُ
[۷۸] تا آن جهاز بهزاران اهتراز بمیان دریا رسید (بیت)

ز روی بحر ناگاه باد برخاست

ز هر سو نعره و فریاد برخاست

شب و کشتی و باد و بحر گرداب

حوادث را مهیا گشته اسباب

ناگاه از بادهای مخالف چون جرعه نوشان کشتی باده تغیر بآن کشتی راه یافت، و تختهای آن که چون خط مسلسل بهم پیوسته

A Noah as intimate with God as Abraham; a
Khizr in station like Moses; an Ahmad as awe-
some as the divine throne; a Jesus in spiritual
demeanor.

The inhabited quarter of the globe places a third
[of its wealth] at your gate, and then you bring
into your realm from this side of the equator.

Since that realm is claimed to be an equatorial land, the
mention of the equator in the letter was appropriate.

I gathered my belongings, and we set out for the
coast. [74]

MY RETURN FROM HINDUSTAN AND ADVENTURES ON THE STORMY SEA

The sun of favorability rose on the horizon of felicity,
and the luminescence of good fortune rose in the orient
of hopes, and through the dark night the lights of joy
appeared, in accordance with the Koranic verse, "God is
the patron of those who believe; he shall lead them out
of darkness into light" [Kor. 2:257]. The nights of tribu-
lation and discomfort in that terrible place of infidelity
and error approached the dawn of happiness and the
splendor of the sun of fortune. The evening of grief was
exchanged for the day of happiness and success.

The length of night was greater than day, but that
has changed: an increase has been added to the
latter and a decrease to the former.²⁶

If it were not enough that it was a city in the farthest
reaches of Hindustan, and the entire realm an abode of
infidels, the travel gear I possessed had been trampled
by untoward events.

How can I describe a situation that cannot be spo-
ken of?

Nonetheless, despite my miserable situation,

No hope from anywhere of provisions for the road
save the words, "Despair not of the mercy of
God" [Kor. 39:53].

With strong heart and high hopes I set forth by God's
grace and mercy. I began my journey on the twelfth of
Sha'ban [December 5, 1443] in the company of the
emissaries from Vijayanagar. For eighteen days we

traveled until we reached the seashore and the port of
Bacanor on the first of Ramadan [December 23]. There
I was honored to meet Amir Sayyid Ala'uddin Mash-
hadi. The sayyid was more than a hundred and twenty
years old [76] and had spent many years revered by the
Muslim people and the infidels of that region. His
words in that region were as weighty as holy writ, and
no one deviated from his command. One of the emis-
saries of Vijayanagar, Khwaja Mas'ud by name, poor
thing, died there.

Who knows where in this spiteful monastery of
the world we shall lay down our heads?

We fasted [during the month of Ramadan] in
Bacanor. For the last leg of the journey a ship came to
the port of Honavar, and I arranged for provisions for
twenty persons for forty days. During those days, when
I was expecting to travel by ship, one day I opened the
[book of] presages by Imam Ja'far Sadiq, which is
comprised of Koranic verses, and received good news.
This verse came up: "Fear not; thou hast escaped from
unjust people" [Kor. 28:25]. I was astonished how well
the presage fitted my situation, and the fear and dread I
had of the sea was completely dispelled. Suddenly I had
every expectation of deliverance and redemption.

On the twenty-fifth of Dhu'l-Qa'da [March 15, 1444]
I boarded ship and set forth. I saw plainly manifestation
of great power in the verse, "His also are the ships, car-
rying their sails aloft in the sea, like mountains" [Kor.
55:24]. From time to time I listened to strange tales and
marvelous stories from those with me, and these gave
rest to my spirit.

The eye of untoward events and evils is asleep.
Fate nods and all is well.

[78] The ship, with thousands of shivers, reached the
midst of the sea.

From the surface of the sea suddenly a wind
arose. From every direction arose cries and
shouts.

Night, a ship, wind, and churning sea: all the ele-
ments ripe for calamity.

All of a sudden from adverse winds, like those who
have quaffed a bowl of wine, a change took place in the
ship, and the planks, which had been joined together
like the letters in a flowing script, almost flew apart like

²⁶Line by Anwari, *Diwan*, p. 9, line 7.

کجا دانند حال ما سبکساران ساحلها
 آب صافی عیش بکدورت دریا مکدر گشته، و آینه روشن رای از
 تری آب و عفونت هوا زنگ بسته، هر لحظه که مردم دیده در آن
 آب تیز می‌دید از غایت مهابت شمشیر آب داده می‌نمود، و از
 اندوه بادهای سخت دریا تیر آهی که از دل می‌کشیدم پیکان
 جان‌شکاف بود، چون از همه باب درماندم و در امید از همه سو
 بسته دیدم با چشم پرآب و دل پرآتش در حضرت [۸۲] ایزدی با
 نیاز تمام بآیت ﴿وَلَا تُحْمِلُنَا مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ﴾ زبان گشادم، و از
 حضرت بخشنده بی‌منت درخواستم که نهال وجود مرا از دریای
 بیکران احسان خویش سرسبز و سیراب گرداند، و گرد کدورت
 عیش را از چهره احوال من بآب عنایت پاک بشوید. و در اثنای
 این حالت اندیشه می‌کردم که این چه بی‌راهیست که از دور چرخ
 آبگون مرا روی داد؟ و این چه خجالت است که از مخالفت زمانه
 غدار و روزگار خاکسار آبروی من برده؟ نه جان گرامی از امواج
 هلاکت بیرون بردم، و نه گوهر سعی خویش در اتمام جزوی
 مصلحت ملکی بر روی آب آوردم، چه نفس شریف در ادای
 حقوق منعم خویش هیچ دقیقه فرو نگذارد، و جهت برآمدن مهم
 ولی نعمت جان عزیز خوار شمارد، و مخلص پادشاه را اگر در
 آتش حوادث افکنند یا قوت مثال باید که ذره [۸۳] تغیر در طبع
 او ظاهر نگردد بلکه زر اخلاص او چون زر خلاص خالص عبارتر
 شود.

در همین اندیشه بودم و اظهار اضطراب و اضطراب می‌نمودم
 تا بمقتضی وعده ﴿أَمْ مَنْ يُجِيبُ الْمُضْطَرُّ إِذَا دَعَا وَيَكْشِفُ السُّوءَ﴾
 ناگاه از مهب ﴿لَا تَيَأْسُوا مِنْ رَوْحِ اللَّهِ﴾ نسیم صباء کرم نامتناهی
 الهی وزید و صبح مسرت از مطلع سعادت دمید، و میسر بخت
 مساعد بشارت ﴿وَإِذْ فَرَقْنَا بِكُمْ الْبَحْرَ فَأَنْجَيْنَاكُمْ﴾ بگوش جان

بود نزدیک شد که چون حروف مقطوع جدا گردد، و علامت
 ﴿يَغْشَاهُ مَوْجٌ مِنْ فَوْقِهِ مَوْجٌ مِنْ فَوْقِهِ سَحَابٌ﴾ آشکارا گشت، ملاح
 جهاز که در سیاحت آب مثال ماهی بود خواست که لنگرآسا در
 قعر دریا فرو رود، و معلّم که تخته علم سفر مجمع‌البحرین
 می‌آموخت دفتر دانش را [۷۹] بشوراب دیده پاک شست، و
 بادبان چون گریبان عاشق در هوای معشوق چاک شد، تیر مانند
 کمان ابروی جانان از صدمت باد خم گرفت (ع)
 تَجْرِي الرِّيحُ بِمَا لَا تَشْتَهِي السُّفُنُ

طبقه مسافران که در آن خانه روان مقیم بودند اموال بسیار در
 دریا ریخته بشعار صوفیان خود را مجرد ساختند. مال و قماش را
 چه قدر جائی که جان شیرین را خطر باشد؟ من در آن حالت از
 مشاهده احوال بحر محیط بآب دیده دست از جان عزیز شستم و
 از غایت حیرت و حسرت دریا مثال با لب خشک و دیده تر
 ماندم، و رقم ﴿رَضِينَا بِقَضَاءِ اللَّهِ﴾ بر لوح ضمیر ثبت کردم. گاه
 از تلاطم موجهای چون کوه [۸۰] آن جهاز با چرخ دولابی همراز
 میگشت و گاه از صدمت بادهای سخت مانند غواص در قعر آب
 غوطه می‌خورد (بیت)

گهی بر فرازی که نعل مه نو
 همی سود بر دست و پای مراکب
 گهی در نشیبی که اموال قارون
 همی برگذشت از رکاب رکاب
 از بی‌نمکی شورهای آب دریا تن بسان نمک در آب می‌گداخت،
 و طغیان طوفان صبر دستگیر و عقل ثابت‌قدم را مانند یخ در
 تابش تموز بی‌تاب و ناچیز می‌ساخت (شعر)
 لَقَدْ أَصْبَحْتُ مُضْطَرَبًا فَوَادِي كَحُوتٍ فَارَقَ الْمَاءَ الزَّلَالَا
 [قطعه] [۸۱]

خراب باد ز سیل فنا مبانی چرخ
 که ریخت آب بلا موج موج بر سر من
 بر آب خویش نماندم چو داد چرخ بآب
 نفیس گوهر صبری که بود زیور من
 بارها با خود می‌گفتم و در این نظم بزبان حال می‌سفتم (بیت)
 شب تاریک و بیم موج و گردابی چنین هایل

cut-out letters. The purport of the words, “[the deep sea,] covered by waves riding on waves, above which are clouds” [Kor. 24:40], became clear. The ship’s helmsman, who knew how to travel through water like a fish, wanted to sink to the bottom of the sea like an anchor, and the captain, who had mastered the knowledge of traveling to the “confluence of the two seas,” washed clean the ledger of his knowledge with the turbulent water of his eyes. The sail ripped like the collar of a lover impassioned by his beloved, and the mast bent under the impact of the wind like the bow of a beauty’s eyebrow.

The winds blow with what ships desire not.

The passengers who were resident in that moving house cast away much of their belongings into the sea and, like Sufis, disencumbered themselves of possessions. What worth have goods and property when one’s precious life is in danger? I myself, seeing the state the sea was in, washed my hands of my life with the tears of my eyes and stood, dry of lip and wet of lash like the sea, transfixed in awe at the sea. I inscribed the words, “We submit to God’s destiny,” on the tablet of my mind. Sometimes, as mountain-like waves rose, [80] the ship was carried to the level of the celestial sphere, and sometimes, with the clashing of the violent winds, it sank to the bottom of the water like a diver.

Sometimes lifted up so high that the horseshoe of
the new moon rubs against the mounts’ hooves.
Sometimes sunk so low that the riches of Corah
rise above the steeds’ stirrups.

The briny sea was so convulsed that the body melted like salt in water. The violence of the storm reduced to naught assisting patience and firm-footed intellect like ice under the heat of the mid-summer sun.

I have become distressed, my heart like a fish out
of limpid water.

From the torrent of annihilation be the founda-
tions of the sphere destroyed, for the water of
catastrophe has been poured in waves over my
head.

I am no longer myself since the sphere has cast
into the water the precious essence of patience,
which was my adornment.

Time and again I said to myself, repeating this line of
poetry:

Dark night, fear of waves, and whirlpool so
frightening: how can those on the shore whose
burdens are light know of our condition?²⁷

The clear water of pleasure was sullied by the murki-
ness of the sea, and the bright mirror turned rusty from
the wetness of the water and the turbidity of the air.
Every moment the pupil of my eye gazed into that salty
water, there appeared from extreme fright a glistening
sword; and in fear of the violent sea winds, the arrow of
the cry that came from my soul was a soul-piercing
shaft. Since there was nothing I could do, and I saw the
gate of hope closed in every direction, with eye full of
tears and heart filled with fire I turned in prayer to the
divine presence [82] and recited the verse, “O Lord, do
not make us to bear what we have not strength to bear”
[Kor. 2:286]. From him who bestows without obligation
I requested that he make green and verdant the sapling
of my existence from the shoreless sea of his benefi-
cence and that he wash clean with the water of favor the
dust of unpleasantness from the face of my condition.
During this I wondered what sort of ill luck this was
that had happened to me from the revolution of the blue
sphere and what sort of embarrassment this was that
had dishonored me through the adversity of treacherous
fate and mean destiny. Neither was I to escape with my
life from the waves of destruction nor was I to emerge
from the water with the pearl of my endeavors to bring
to completion the small state business on which I was
engaged, because not for a second would I spare my
life to repay my benefactor, and to execute the affairs of
my patron I counted my life as negligible. If I, a
devotee of the padishah, were cast into the fire of
untoward events, I should emerge like a ruby, not one
iota of my nature changed but rather more purified than
the purest gold.

I was immersed in these thoughts and exhibiting
traces of fright and terror when suddenly—“who
heareth the afflicted, when he calleth upon him, and
taketh off the evil which distresses him?” [Kor.
27:62]—“despair not of the mercy of God” [Kor.
12:87]—the zephyr of infinite divine grace began to
blow, and the morning of joy broke over the horizon of
happiness, the bearer of glad tidings of auspicious luck
whispered into my ear, “We divided the sea for you and
delivered you” [Kor. 2:50]. The cold, adverse wind

²⁷Hafiz, *Diwan*, p. 3, line 5.

زاغ و گنجشک و غیرها آشیان داشتند همه مرده در پای درختان
فتاده بودند، و بی تکلف درین شائبه تکلف نیست (بیت)
ز آتش گرما که شده میوه نغز
بلبل و گنجشک شده خشک مغز
بر سر هر شاخ ز گرمای گرم
مرغ شده پخته چو حلوی نرم
و مرغان بی جان در پای درختان چندان فتاده بودند که محاسبان
بسرحد شمار آن پی نمی بردند.

و از خورفغان باز کشتی روان شده بدوازدهم ماه صفر روز
جمعه چاشتگاه [۸۷] بشهر هرموز رسید. و از بندر هنور تا
بهرموز مدت هفتاد و پنج روز آمد.

و درین روز در دارالسلطنه هراة از غرایب کرامات صورتی
عجیب رو نمود. و آنچنان است که حضرت شیخ الاسلام قدوة
ارباب الکشف والالهام، مظهر عنایت الملک الاکبر، بهاء الحقیقة
والدین شیخ عمر در همین جمعه چاشتگاه از قریه جغاره که
مسکن آنحضرت بود بجهت اقامت صلوة جمعه عزیمت شهر
نموده در اثنای راه ناگاه از جناب مخدومی اخوی مولانا
شریف الدین عبد القهار استفسار نموده که از حاوی اوراق
عبدالرزاق چه خبر است. برادر عرضه داشته اند که «مدت سه
سال می شود که از و اثر و خبر نیامد.» حضرت شیخ [۸۸]
فرموده اند که «ظاهراً بهموز رسیده.» و جناب اخوی این معنی
در قلم آورده بود و فقیر نیز بهر شهر که رسید تاریخ آن ثبت
نمود. و چون بخدمت برادر مشرف گردید این دو تاریخ بی کم و
زیاد موافق افتاد (بیت)

بصدق دین پیمبر بعزت داور

که هرچه نقل کنند از ولی کنم باور
و انواع امداد و معاونت که از حضرت ارشادمنزلت در آن سفر
خطیر به این فقیر حقیر رسید زیاد از تحریر و تقریر است، و
تفصیل آن شاید که سبب مزید انکار منکران گردد و موجب
شقاوت ایشان شود (ع)

هرکه آنکار ندانست در انکار بماند

رسانید، و صرصر مخالف بباد موافق بدل گردید، و طغیان
طوفان بیابان رسید، و دریا چنانچه دل می خواست آرمید.
و اهل کشتی عید اضحی در دریا کرده اواخر ذی حجه قلعات
کوه را دیدند و از محنت بحر برحمت بر رسیدند. و در آن ایام
[۸۴] هلال محرم سنه ثمان بسان خیال ابروی جانان در دریا
نمود (بیت)
زورق زرین چو در گرداب این دریای نیل
غرق شد، موجی ازان بر روی دریا دیده اند

بقیه قضیه سفر دریا و رسیدن بهموز بعنایت الله تعالی

قضیه سرگذشت دریا باینجا رسیده بود که هلال محرم مکرم در
اثناء دریا غره غرا نمود و چند روز دیگر کشتی در دریا بود و
بمسقط آمده لنگر انداخت، و کشتی را که از جهت طوفان نقصان
یافته بود مکمل ساخت و باز بکشتی درآمده روان [۸۵] شد
(نظم)

بسته بزنجیر مسلسل دراز

بحر روان زو شده زنجیرساز
بربرد از جای نجنبیدنی
نیست درین هیچ پرانیدنی
مرغ که او از پرچوبین پرد
طرفه پرد لیک نه چندین پرد
همچو کلنگان بهوا سرفراز
پر حواصل ز دو سو کرده باز
تخته شدش پیش معلم درست
طرفه که صد تخته بیک آب شست

و کشتی از مسقط سفری شده به بندر خورفغان آمد و یکدو روز
آنجا توقف شد. و در آن اثنا شبی چنان گرم گشت که هنگام
صبح گفتی آسمان آتش در جهان افروخت، و از گرمی هوا مرغ
تیزیر در اوج سما و ماهی در قعر دریا می سوخت. صبح را از گرما
نفس در دم فرو رفته و از شعله خورشید آتش در عالم گرفته،
جهان از تاب حرارت آفتاب خیال برودت شب را [۸۶] جز
بخواب نمی دید، و صبح از بیم گرماء روز شب را بچراغ
می طلبید، صباح هرچند مرغ که بر درختان از فاخته و قمری و

changed into a favorable breeze, and the tyranny of the storm ended. The sea turned as calm as the heart could have wished.

The people on the ship celebrated the Feast of the Sacrifice on board, and when Mount Qalhat was spotted at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, we reached the mercy of dry land through the trial of the sea. During those days [84] the new moon of Muharram [84]8 [April 20, 1444] appeared over the sea like a phantom of the beloved's eyebrow.

When the golden barque sank in the whirlpool of the indigo sea, they saw a ripple from it on the surface of the sea.

CONTINUATION OF THE STORY OF MY SEA VOYAGE AND MY ARRIVAL AT HORMUZ THROUGH DIVINE FAVOR

The story of my adventures at sea had reached the point at which the new moon of Muharram showed itself across the water, and the ship continued on the water for several days more. Having arrived in Muscat we dropped anchor and repaired the ship, which had suffered damage during the storm. Boarding the ship again, we set forth.

Bound with long, wavy chains, the flowing sea became a chain-maker by it.
It flies away without budging; there is in it nothing to make it fly.
A bird that flies on wooden wing—an unusual wing, yet it does not fly so much.
Like a crane, head held aloft in the air, with pelican's wings spread on both sides.

From Muscat we sailed to the port of Khurfughan, where we remained for a day or two. During that time it turned so hot one night that at dawn you would think the sky had kindled fire in the world. The air was so hot that birds flying swiftly in the sky and fish at the bottom of the sea burst into flames. It was so hot that the morning itself gasped for breath, and fire caught in the world from the sparks of the sun. Because of the heat of the sun, the world could not even dream of the cool of evening, [86] and the morning in fear of the heat of the day was searching for night with a lamp. Whatever birds were nested in the trees, doves, ravens, sparrows, etc., fell dead at the base of the trees, and in this there is

no exaggeration.

From the fire of the heat, from which fruit became luscious, the nightingale and sparrow's brains were fried.

From the heat birds on every branch were cooked like soft halva.

So many lifeless birds fell around the trees that accountants would have been unable to number them.

From Khurfughan the ship set sail, and midmorning on Friday the twelfth of Safar [May 31, 1444] we reached Hormuz. From the port of Honavar to Hormuz it had taken seventy-five days.

On this very day a most amazing thing happened in Herat. At midmorning on that very Friday His Excellency Baha'uddin Shaykh Umar set out from the village of Jaghara, where he lived, for the city to perform the congregational prayer. Along the way he chanced upon my brother Mawlana Sharifuddin Abdul-Qahhar and asked him what news there was of the writer of these pages, Abdul-Razzaq. My brother stated that he had had no news of me for three years. [88] His Excellency the shaykh said, "Apparently he has reached Hormuz."

My brother wrote this down, and I had kept a record of the day on which I passed through every city. When I met my brother, we found that the two dates coincided exactly.

By the truth of the prophet's religion, by the majesty of God, I believe everything told of the saints.

All the aid and assistance I received from that guiding saint during my dangerous voyage are beyond description, and the details might possibly increase the incredulity of the incredulous.

Anyone who has not experienced this labor will remain incredulous.

In Hormuz news was received of His Majesty's indisposition, and all around the realms of Iraq, Fars, and the Persian Gulf coast there was trembling in fear of this catastrophe. The merchants from the climes of the world who were in that great port necessarily ceased their activity, and consequently I was stuck involuntarily in the agonizing heat of Hormuz for seventy days until the news of the royal person's recovery was verified through the rulers of the province of Lar. I departed through the port of Awghan and reached the

گفت «خوش سودائست، پنجاه هزار دینار دادن و ده هزار دینار ستدن!» گفتم «حضرت خاقان سعید بازرگان نیست که این حسابها کند. گاه شانقاری می آورند و آنحضرت در برابر زیادت از پنجاه هزار دینار می دهد. من از سرحد سراندیب سگه و خطبه و تحفه و ایلچی می برم. این صورت در نظر آنحضرت ملایم تر از آنست که در خزانه پنجاه هزار دینار باشد.»

فی الجملة فقیر هم از راه بیابان لوط که رفته بود [۹۲] بطرف قهستان معاودت نمود، و منتصف رمضان بدارالسلطنه هراة رسید و آیه ﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَذْهَبَ عَنَّا الْحُزْنَ إِنَّ رَبَّنَا لَغَفُورٌ شَكُورٌ الَّذِي أَحَلَّنَا دَارَ الْمُقَامَةِ مِن فَضْلِهِ﴾ بادا رسانید، و شکایت محنت شبهاء هجران و نکایت فرقت اخوان و خلان بر زبان نمی آرم (بیت)

شکایت شب هجران فرو گذاشته به

بشکر آنکه برافکنند پرده روز وصال

و روز دیگر در بارگاه اعلی بشرف تقبیل انامل فیاض سرافراز شد و با آنکه در آن پیشگاه گردون سرکش خمیده پشت ایستاده بود بنده نواخت نشستن یافت، و احوال آن ولایات و سرگذشت دریا و کشتی و هرگونه حکایات بموقف عرض رسانید. و ایلچیان خواجه محمد و خواجه جمال الدین بوسیله امراء عظام بیایه سریر اعلی [۹۳] رسیدند و بسعادت دستوس که غایت مقصود سلاطین روی زمین همان تواند بود مستسعد شدند. و هرگونه بیلاک سه انگشتی یاقوت و ده شتر بار عقاقیر هندی گذرانیدند، و بسیار ملایم مزاج همایون آمد چه از آن بلاد در مدت دوست سیصد سال منقول نیست که ایلچی باین مملکت آمده باشد. و ایلچیان را هفته دو نوبت بدرگاه سلاطین پناه طلب می داشتند و در مجلس همایون مجال نشستن می یافتند. و آنحضرت چند نوبت در حضور و غیبت فقیر را تحسین فرمود. و ساعتی که از کلیات مهمات ممالک صورت فراغی روی می نمود از احوال آن بلاد و دیار و اطراف سواد دربار و شرح و غرایب مملکت کفار استفسار واقع می شد، و آنچه مطابق واقع بود بمحل عرض می رسید.

و ایلچیان تا آخر ماه ذی الحجة الحرام [۹۴] در دار السلطنه

و در هرموز خبر ضعف مزاج همایون حضرت خاقان سعید رسید، و اطراف ممالک عراق و فارس و سواحل دریابار از نهیب [۸۹] این واقعه چون بید می لرزید، و تجار اقالیم عالم که در آن بندر معظّم بودند از روی اضطراب توقف نمودند، و فقیر هم ازین جهت هفتاد روز در آن گرمای جانسوز هرموز بی اختیار ماند تا خبر صحت ذات همایون صفات از اخبار اخیار ولایت لار بصحت پیوست، و فقیر از راه بندر اوغان بیرون آمده بسبب ضعف بهرگونه مشقت و زحمت بقلعه ترزک رسید. و آنجا چندان توقف نمود که قاصدان و عرضه داشت که بیایه سریر اعلی فرستاده بود باز آمدند و نشانها برحسب دلخواه آوردند، مضمون آنکه حکام و عمال ولایات علوفه ایلچیان و کرایه ده شتر بار بموجب نوشته فقیر از مال دهند و چهارده اسب یام، ده جهت خاصه نفران فقیر و چهار برای ایلچیان، تسلیم نمایند.

و از ترزک براه میمند [۹۰] و فرغان بسبب ضعف در محفه روان شد، و بولایت سیرجان آمده سعادت زیارت حضرت شاه شجاع کرمانی (علیه الرحمة) که از کبار مشایخ مقدم و انبای ملوک معظم بود دریافت. و نظاره قلعه سیرجان که در همه جهان بدل ندارد نمود، و در قریه مشیز دولت ملازمت شیخ بزرگوار و ولی روزگار مولانا شمس الدین محمد اسفاخی (رحمة الله) که در قافله حضرت شیخ الاسلام بهاء الدین شیخ عمر (قدس سره) بحجاز فرموده بود از مکه بمصر رفته و زیارت انبیاء (علیهم السلام) دریافت و از راه دریا بهرموز آمده بود و ملازم رکاب آنجناب بهراة رسید.

القصة، بکرمان آمد و داروغه آنجا امیر حاجی محمد از جانب فقیر رنجیده خاطر بود چه در وقت عزیمت هندوستان از اوضاع کرمان و اطوار امیر شکایت گونه ارسال نمود و در مزاج [۹۱] همایون حضرت خاقان سعید مؤثر افتاد، و امیر را بدارالسلطنه هراة طلبید و خدمتش بآن سبب مذلت و خواری کشید. چون در کرمان باو ملاقات شد روزی بر سر دیوان پرسید که «مولانا، چه مقدار خرج شما و ایلچیان در رفتن و آمدن شده باشد؟» فقیر گفت «قریب پنجاه هزار دینار.» گفت «آنچه می برید چه مبلغ بوده باشد؟» گفتم «ده هزار دینار.» خدمتش

fortress of Tarzak with much difficulty because I was ill. There I stayed until the messengers who had been dispatched to the capital returned bringing edicts, as requested, to say that the governors and tax collectors of the provinces should disburse from the tax revenues against my signature fodder for the emissaries and the hire of ten pack animals and hand over fourteen post horses, ten for my own personal retinue and four for the emissaries.

From Tarzak I traveled through Maymand [90] and Farghan in a litter because of my indisposition. Reaching the province of Sirjan, I was honored to visit the tomb of His Excellency Shah-Shuja' Kirmani, one of the great shaykhs of yore. I also toured the fortress at Sirjan, which has no equal in all the world. In the village of Mashiz I was honored to join the retinue of the great shaykh Mawlana Shamsuddin Muhammad Isfakhi, who had been in the Shaykh al-Islam Baha'uddin Shaykh Umar's caravan to the Hejaz and gone from Mecca to Egypt and made a visitation to the prophets and come via the sea to Hormuz. In his company I reached Herat.

In short, I came to Kirman. The military governor there, Amir Hajji Muhammad, was ill-disposed toward me because when I set out for Hindustan I had sent a complaint about the conditions in Kirman and the amir's conduct, and my complaint had been influential upon His Majesty's royal mind. He had summoned the amir to Herat and subjected him to humiliation and disgrace.

When I met him in Kirman, he asked one day in the divan, "Mawlana, how much has been spent on your and the emissaries' going and coming?"

"About fifty thousand dinars," I answered.

"How much is what you are carrying worth?" he asked.

"Ten thousand dinars," I said.

"A nice business," he said. "He gives fifty thousand dinars, and you get ten thousand dinars."

"His Majesty is not a merchant," I said, "to reckon thus. Sometimes they bring a hawk, and His Majesty gives in return more than fifty thousand dinars. I am bringing coinage and *khutba* [in his name], and gifts and emissaries from the farthest reaches of Serendip, and this is more valuable in His Majesty's opinion than to have fifty thousand dinars in the treasury."

In short I returned to Quhistan through the Lut Desert, [92] as I had gone. In the middle of Ramadan

[December 26, 1444] I reached Herat and pronounced the words, "Praise be unto God, who hath taken away sorrow from us! verily our Lord is ready to forgive the sinners, and to reward the obedient, who hath caused us to take up our rest in a dwelling of stability through his bounty" [Kor. 35:34f.]. I make no complaint of separation from my friends and loved ones.

It is better not to complain of the night of separation.

Be thankful to him who takes away the veil on the day of union.

The next day I was honored to kiss the hand of the emperor at court. Although I stood with bent back in the presence of that majesty, I was asked to sit and told him of the rulers of those realms and my adventures on the sea and in the ship. The emissaries, Khwaja Muhammad and Khwaja Jamaluddin were escorted to the foot of the throne by the great amirs, and they attained the felicity of kissing the hand, an honor desired by all the rulers on the face of the earth. They presented the gifts they had brought, three ruby rings and ten loads of Indian aromatics. This greatly pleased the royal mind, for within the last two or three hundred years it was not recorded that any emissaries had come from that country to this. The emissaries were summoned to court twice a week and were allowed to sit in the royal assembly. His Majesty praised me several times, both in my presence and in my absence, and during times that he was not occupied with weighty matters of state he asked me about those countries and the novelties of the infidels' realm. I narrated in conformity with actuality.

The emissaries stayed in Herat until the end of the month of Dhu'l-Hijja [April 1445], [94] when they

حکم همایون هرموزیان را شنواند، و در دیوان هرموز دست در میان خواجه محمد بغدادی زد و گفت «نشان عالم مطاع آنست که ترا بدرگاه عالم پناه برم تا در دیوان اعلی تقصیر و تأخیر ترا پرسند.» پادشاه و امرا در میان آمده درخواست نمودند. آخر سخن آنکه «مارا چندان مجال کرم فرما که صورت حال عرضه داشت پایه سریر اعلی نمایم، و بهرچه حکم شود در مقام سرانجام آن آییم.» و برای استرضاء فقیر پنج سر برده حبشی و هفت طاق صوف مربع و سته عشر و صد طاق گلشن فرستادند. و حاجی یوسف و همراهیان [۹۷] او را برده و قماش و هرچا چیزی دادند، و همه مضبوط بهراه رسید. و فقیر حاجی یوسف را که از هرموز باز آمده بود بحضرت اعلی نمود و موافق خاطر خطیر آمد. مأمول از ارباب الباب ﴿طَوْبَى لَهُمْ وَحَسَنُ مَا بَرَك﴾ آنکه در داستان سفر هندوستان هرچند باطناب کشید و بدور و دراز انجامید بچشم عیب نظر نفرمایند، و در تفصیل حکایات و تطویل عبارات اشارات المأمور معذور اعتبار نمایند (ع)
من نمی گویم اگرچند که من می گویم

هراه مقام داشتند و عاطفت پادشاهانه ایشان را رخصت معاودت فرمود، و هر یک را اسپ و زین و دگله نوروزی و سه هزار دینار کپکی، و ده نوکر ایشان را قبا و چهارصد دینار انعام و عنایت فرمود، و علوفه و اسپ یام تا بندر هرموز مقرر شد.

و فتح خان نبیره سلطان فیروزشاه دهلوی که خواجه جمال الدین را فرستاده بود عرضه داشت نیز ارسال نمود، مضمون آنکه «در وقتی که موکب ظفر نشان حضرت صاحب قران عزم بلاد هندوستان فرمود از سلاطین ما کسی که نامی داشته باشد در حیات نبود تا شرط انقیاد و وظیفه خدمت بتقدیم رساند. ملو و سارنگ از سر جهل و پندار حشری ساختند و بنیاد آن خاندان برانداختند، و این ضعیف نحیف مدّتیست که در دیار غربت بصد گونه کربت می گذرانند. متوقع از بندگان آستان سلطنت نشان آنکه بنده را بدرگاه سلاطین پناه طلبند تا باشد که بیمن دولت آنحضرت بوطن مألوف رسد» (مصرع)

غریب را دل آواره با وطن باشد

[۹۵] حضرت خاقان سعید بیجانگر نوشت که چنین استماع افتاد که فتح خان از فرزندان سلطان فیروزشاه پناه بان درگاه آورده اکنون اگر توانند او را بمملکت پدران او رسانند و الا، او را بدرگاه همایون فرستند تا لشکرهای جهان همراه او ساخته بعد قضاء الله تعالی او را بولایت آباء و اجداد او رسانند و بر سریر سلطنت نشانند (بیت)

شاهرخ خسروی که بنده او در جهان پادشاه نشان باشد و مولانا اعظم نصرالله جنابدی برسم رسالت معین گشت و برای مولانا انعام و احکام و علوفه و اسپ یام و جهت پادشاه بیجانگر بیلاک و تحفه یراق فرمودند و مولانا بموجب فرمان روان شد.

و نوبتی حضرت خاقان سعید از موجب توقف در ولایت هرموز پرسید و فقیر شکایت گونه از حکام آنجا بعرض رسانید. آنحضرت را خاطر همایون از خبائث هرموزیان دگرگون شد و حکم جهانمطاع [۹۶] از موقف جلال نفاذ یافت که وزیر هرموز خواجه محمد بغدادی بدیوان اعلی آورد و از موجب تأخیر که نسبت به فقیر واقعه شده تفحص بلیغ نمایند. و فرستاده فقیر حاجی یوسف بولایت هرموز رفته نشان برایشان خواند و مضمون

were graciously given permission to return. Each one was given a horse, a pelisse, a Nawrozi tunic, and three thousand Kepeki dinars. Their ten servants were each given a cloak and four hundred dinars, and fodder and post horses were arranged as far as the port of Hormuz.

Fath Khan, the grandson of Sultan Firozshah of Delhi, who had dispatched Khwaja Jamaluddin, also sent a petition with the following contents: "When the victorious train of His Highness the Sahib-Qiran came to the land of Hindustan, there was none among our renowned sultans then alive to make obeisance and render fealty to him. With hubris Mallu and Sarang²⁸ gained a following and effaced the foundation of the dynasty. This humble one has suffered much misfortune in exile for a long time now but hopes that the servants of the royal threshold will summon me to court so that perhaps through His Majesty's good fortune I may be restored to my native land."

The exile's wandering heart is with his native country.

His Majesty then wrote to the king of Vijayanagar, saying, "It has reached our hearing that Fath Khan, one of the sons of Sultan Firozshah, has taken refuge at your court. Now, if you can, restore him to the land of his fathers; otherwise, send him to our court that we may equip him with soldiers of the world and, God's destiny willing, return him to the land of his fathers and forefathers and seat him on the throne of the sultanate."

Shahrugh is such a monarch that his slave is kingly in the world.

Mawlana Nasrullah Junabidhi was appointed as emissary, and he was outfitted with the necessary money, orders, fodder, provisions, and post horses, as well as gifts and presents for the king of Vijayanagar. The mawlana set out as ordered.

Once His Majesty asked me about my stay in the province of Hormuz. I complained of the governors, and His Majesty was angered by the Hormuzis' vileness [96] and ordered that the vizier of Hormuz, Khwaja Muhammad Baghdadi, be brought to court and that an investigation be made into the cause for the delay I experienced there. My messenger, Hajji Yusuf, went to Hormuz and read the edict to them. In the Hormuz

divan he seized Khwaja Muhammad Baghdadi by the belt and said, "It is His Majesty's command that I bring you to court so that you may be questioned in the Supreme Divan about your shortcomings and causing delay." The padishah and his amirs intervened and made a request, saying finally, "Be gracious enough to allow us to petition the throne. We will submit to whatever is commanded." To gain my good will they sent five Abyssinian slaves, seven bolts of various sorts of wool, and a hundred bolts of brocade. They gave the slaves, cloth, and everything else to Hajji Yusuf and his comrades, and they brought them under seal to Herat. When Hajji Yusuf returned from Hormuz, I took him to His Majesty, and it was resolved to the royal satisfaction.

It is hoped that my noble readers will not regard the story of my voyage to Hindustan, long and tedious though it may be, with an overly critical eye and that they will give weight to the dictum, "He is excused who is carrying out orders," for the detail of my narration and lengthy expressions.

It is not I who speaks even if it is I who speak.

²⁸Mallū Khān and Sārang Khān were amirs of Sultan Firozshah Tughluq.

طبقه اوروغ نامدار سلطان غازی امیر تیمور کورکان

استانبول، طوپ قپو سرای کتبخانه سی، بغداد

۴۱۱، برگ ۱۵۹

چون حضرت سلطان غازی در سنه ثلث و سبعین و سبعمیه هجری مطابق ایت ییل تخت ماورالنهررا از دست امیر حسین بن مسمی بن قزاغان استخلاص فرمود سمرقندرا تخت گاه کرده و بارو کشید و کرباس و ارگ درانجا بساخت.

سال دیگر زنده حشم خروج کرد و دیگر مسخر شد. بعد از آن حضرت سلطان غازی متوجه مغول شده و تا حدود سکر^۱ یاغاج رفته ایل بسیاررا فتح کرد و از آنجا در وقت مراجعت امیر موسی و زنده حشم و سادات ترمذ و شیخ ابولیت^۲ سمرقندی غدر کردند و ظاهر شد حضرت سلطان غازی زنده حشم را بکشت و دیگرانرا متعرض نشد و متوجه خوارزم گردیده آن بار بصلح باز گردید.

بعد از آن توقتمش از اروس خان گریخته پناه بحضرت سلطان غازی آورد. اورا مرفه ساخته بحکومت ترکستان فرستاد. او دیگر بار منهزم شده بیامد. حضرت سلطان غازی دیگر بار فرستاد. این بار خود نزدیک بمرگ شده در جایی زخم دار افتاده بود که ایدگو برلاس یافته بحضرت آورد. کرت سوم حضرت سلطان غازی توقتمش را رعایت کرده پیش خود نگاه داشت. اروس خان و حضرت سلطان غازی را بواسطه توقتمش نزاع در میان آمد و مابین اوترار و سغناق هردو لشکر فرود آمدند.

^۱ در اصل «سنکر».

^۲ در اصل «ابولیس».

^۳ در اصل «سلاس».

قضارا بارند گیهاء سخت شد چنانکه چهار ماه امکان تردد نبود. اوروس خان و حضرت سلطان غازی جنگ نا کرده بازگشتند. حضرت سلطان غازی تا حدود جیران قامیش بار دیگر تاخت کرد و توقتمش را در صاوران بر تخت نشانده بازگردید. اوروس مرده بود و تیمور ملک بر تخت بود. تیمور ملک بر دست توقتمش کشته شد و تخت اوزبک برو صافی شد.

بعد از آن حضرت سلطان غازی متوجه خوارزم شد و در سنه ثلاث و ثمانین و سبعمیه فتح کرد و داروغه نشانده بازگردید و قلعه قبه الخضرا کش را بنا فرمود و هم دران زمستان تمام کرد و سال دیگر خراسان را از دست بنی کرت مستخلص ساخت و سال دیگر کلات و ترشیزرا فتح نمود و سال دیگر سیستان و گرمسیر و قندهار را بستد و سال دیگر مازندران را بستد و تا سلطانیه بگشاد و بازگردید. توقتمش دران سال عاصی شد و بیامد و تبریزرا خراب کرد.

حضرت سلطان غازی در سنه سبع و ثمانین و سبعمیه دیگر بار متوجه ایران زمین شد و تبریز و خوبی و سلماس^۳ و ارویی اوسین و ارانات و موقانات و شروانات و گرجستان را فتح فرمود. توقتمش باز بلب آب کر بیامد و با مقدمه لشکر سیاهی دیده منهزم شده بازگردید. حضرت سلطان غازی بعد از فتح آن

ANONYMOUS SYNOPTIC ACCOUNT OF THE TIMURID HOUSE

The following document, written anonymously in 816/1413 and preserved among the pages of a dismantled anthology in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, B.411, folio 159a), gives a synoptic account of the House of Temür from Iskandar-Sultan's point of view, according to which the Timurid empire had been bequeathed to him by his grandfather, Amir Temür.

This synopsis was written at the height of Iskandar-Sultan's power over Fars and Persian Iraq, but already his suspicions of Shahrukh, who one year later defeated Iskandar-Sultan and had him blinded, were aroused. The observations on his cousins' physical characteristics and conduct reflect an understandably unfriendly attitude.



The Renowned Family of the Sultan Ghazi Amir Temür Kürägän.

When, in the year of the Hegira 773 [A.D. 1371–72], corresponding to the Year of the Dog, His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi**¹ seized the throne of Transoxiana from Amir Husayn b. Musma b. Qazaghan, he made Samarkand his capital and built a rampart, palace, and citadel therein.

The next year Zhanda-Hasham revolted and was put down. Thereafter His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** set out for the Moghuls, going as far as Säkkiz Yaghach and subduing many tribes. As he was returning from there, Amir Musa, Zhanda-Hasham, the sayyids of Tirmidh, and Shaykh Abu-Layth of Samarkand mutinied and went out against him. He killed Zhanda-Hasham but took no retribution upon the others. He set out for Khwarazm and returned peacefully that time.

¹Amir Temür is referred to throughout as "Sultan Ghazi." Words written in gold and red in the original are in boldface in the translation.

After that, Toqtamish fled from Urus Khan and sought refuge with the **Sultan Ghazi**, who welcomed him and sent him as governor of Turkistan. However, he returned in defeat. His Majesty the Warrior Sultan sent him back, and this time [Toqtamish] almost died, having fallen wounded in a spot where Edigü Barlas found him and brought him back. A third time His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** favored Toqtamish and retained him, but on account of Toqtamish contention arose between His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** and Urus Khan. The armies camped between Otrar and Sighnaq, but by chance such hard rain fell that no movement could be made for four months. Finally Urus Khan and His Majesty both withdrew without fighting. His Majesty raided once more as far as Jeran Qamish and withdrew, having installed Toqtamish upon the throne in Savran. Urus Khan had died in the meantime, and Temür Malik was on the throne. Temür Malik was killed by Toqtamish, who then assumed the throne of the Uzbeks unchallenged.

Thereafter His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** set out for Khwarazm, which he conquered in the year 783 [1381]. Having installed a military governor there, he withdrew and ordered the construction of the citadel at Kish, which was completed that very winter. The next year he wrenched Khurasan from the hands of the Kart dynasty, and the following year he conquered Kalat and Turshiz. The next year he seized Seistan, Garmser and Qandahar. The next year he took Mazanderan and conquered up to Sultaniyya. During that year Toqtamish revolted and sacked Tabriz.

In the year 787 [1385] His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** went once again to Iran, conquering Tabriz, Khoy, Salmas, ..., Arran, Muqan, Shirvan, and Georgia. Toqtamish came again to the banks of the Kura but retreated in defeat after seeing only the vanguard of the army. After those victories His Majesty

اوزک در قفای اوزبک برفت. قضارا در خراسان حاجی بیگ و ملوک و عیسی ترکان خروج کرده بودند. امیرزاده میرانشاه را با لشکر خراسان بدفع ایشان بازگردانید و خود با دیگر لشکرها سی [؟] کرده شده از همه راهه‌ها مغولستان جرکه انداخته | اولوس مغول را بتمام زیر و زیر کرده بازگردید.

در سنهٔ اربع و تسعین و سبعمایه با همه لشکرها متوجه دشت قیچاق شد و تقاتل را بشکست و غارت و اسیر بسیار بیاورد و در سنهٔ اربع و تسعین و سبعمایه دیگر بار عازم ایران شد و مازندران را فتح کرده روی بفتح فارس نهاد و تبریز را به امیرانشاه داد | و خود از راه خوزستان بشیراز آمد و منصور را بکشت و فارس را بحضرت امیرزاده عمر شیخ داد و اولاد محمد مظفر را بتمام سیاست کرده از راه عراق به آذربایجان رفت و دیار بکر و جزایر را فتح کرد و خواست که متوجه شام شود. حضرت امیرزاده عمر شیخ را طلب فرمود. امیرزاده عمر شیخ حضرت | سلطان اسکندر را در فارس گذاشته از راه بغداد متوجه شد. در راه بحکم قضا در محلی مختصر حضرت امیرزاده عمر شیخ شهید شد. امیرزاده پیرمحمد بشیراز بازگشت و حضرت سلطان اسکندر متوجه آورد و گردیده در الا [ت] باق بحضرت سلطان غازی ملاقات کرد. حضرت سلطان غازی چون نور دولت | و اثر سعادت و فرسلطنت در بشره مبارک او مشاهده کرد، بجهت ضبط ماوراءالنهر و محافظت سرحد مغول بازگردانید و خود از راه دربند به تخماق رفت و در لب آب تن با تقاتل مصاف داد و او را بشکست و روس و چرکز و تمام دشت قیچاق را از شهر و ایل و اولوس و صحرا قاعاً صاف کرده | در وقت مراجعت مجموع پیرامون البرزکوه را تاخت و غارت نموده بازگردید و از راه دربند گذشته متوجه سمرقند شد.

و در سنهٔ ثمانمایه طوی مبارک کرده بیکسی سلطان را بحضرت سلطان داد. در احدی و ثمانمایه متوجه هندوستان شده آن حدود را تا لب رودخانه گنگ فتح نموده فیول و غنایم بسیار بیاورد و مسجد جامع جدید سمرقند را بنا فرمود. ناگاه خانزاده برسید و تقریر کرد که دماغ امیرانشاه مخبط شده یاغی گشته است و آذربایجان بهم برآمده ضرورت حضرت سلطان غازی به آذربایجان آمد و امیرانشاه را مفلوک کرده سال اول گرجستان را

دیار از راه دروگرد و نهاوند و خرم آباد آن نواحی را فتح کرده ملک عزالدین را با پسرش سیدی احمد گرفت. متوجه اصفهانی [کذا] شد و آن جای را قهرماً قهرماً قتل عام کرده متوجه فارس شد و بستد. قضارا درین تاریخ توقتمش از راه ترکستان مصاحب آق خواجه اوغلان لشکری سنگین بماوراءالنهر فرستاد. امیرزاده عمر شیخ در تخت گاه بود. امرای سمرقند مثل عباس و سلیمان شاه و برات خواجه با حضرتش ملحق شده در موضعی که بجکلک موسومست در سنهٔ ثمان و ثمانین و سبعمایه با تخماق مصاف دادند و امرای سمرقند شکسته شده هزیمت کردند. حضرت امیرزاده عمر شیخ با مخصوصان خود بسیار جهت فرمود. چون شکست جنانرا بهم بستن میسر نشد بطرف اوزکند برفت. توقماق روی بطرف سمرقند کرده | قرش و بخارا و توابع را غارت و اسیر کردند. قضارا درین ولا [۱] نکه تورا به اوزکند آمد حضرت امیرزاده عمر شیخ با او در مقابله و محاربه شد. بعد از جنگ بسیار یاغی را براند. چون حضرت سلطان غازی در فارس این اخبار را بشنود یحیی بن مظفر بن محمد مظفر را در شیراز بگذاشت و مراجعت فرمود. توقتمشیان چون خبر وصول حضرتش یافتند بگریختند. لشکر حضرت سلطان غازی تا دوری ایشان را تیکامیسی کردند. حضرت سلطان غازی متوجه خوارزم شد. سلیمان شاه و ایل ییغمیش که درانجا بودند شهر را بطرح ریخته بگریختند. حضرت سلطان غازی ازین بار ﴿عَالِيهَا سَافِلَهَا﴾ ساخت.

اما میرکه بن شیر بهرام که | داماد حضرت سلطان غازی بود یاغی شده بود و حضرت امیرزاده عمر شیخ بر سر او رفت او را بکشت و مملکت بهم برآمده را اطمینان داد. ایل بوردای نیز یاغی شدند. جهان شاه چاکو ایشانرا دفع کرد. قندهار نیز یاغی شد. اقبوغا از هرات برفت و فتح کرد. درین سال سیورغتمش بمرد و سلطان محمود را | که پسر او بود پادشاه نشانندند. ناگاه در میان زمستان توقماق بیامد. لشکرهای حضرت سلطان غازی متفرق بود. با الجکی ایو اوغلی استقبال نمود و در کنار آب خجند منگغلائی یاغی را که ایل ییغمیش سرکرده آمده بود بشکست و قتل کرد. توقتمش بمجرد شنودن خبر شکست ایشان نه ایستاد | و بازگردید. حضرت سلطان غازی ازانجا تا ساریغ

the **Sultan Ghazi** returned via Burujird, Nihawand, and Khurramabad, which regions he conquered, taking prisoner Malik Izzuddin and his son Sidi-Ahmad. Then he headed toward Isfahan, which he devastated by massacre. Next he took Fars. By chance at that time Toqtamish had dispatched a large army to Transoxiana under the leadership of Aq Khwaja Oghlan. **Prince Umar-Shaykh** was in the capital [Samarkand]. The amirs of Samarkand, like Abbas, Sulaymanshah and Barat Khwaja joined His Highness, and in 788 [1386], in a place called Chugalak, they gave battle to the Toqmaq. The amirs of Samarkand withdrew in rout. His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** and his men made a valiant showing, but since it was not possible to regroup in the face of such a rout, he went to Uzjand. The Toqmaq headed for Samarkand, raiding and taking prisoners in Qarsh[i], Bukhara, and dependencies. Just then, by chance, Anga Tura came to Uzjand, and His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** faced him in battle. After much fighting he drove the rebel away. When His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** heard this news in Fars, he left Yahya b. Muzaffar b. Muhammad Muzaffar in Shiraz and set out to return home. When the Toqtamishites learned that His Majesty was approaching, they fled. The imperial army pursued them for a great distance. His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** headed for Khwarazm. Sulaymanshah and Elyighmish, who were there, abandoned the city and fled. His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** "turned [the city] upside down" [Kor. 11:82].

Mirka b. Sher Bahram, who was His Majesty's son-in-law, rebelled, and His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** went to attack him. He killed him and pacified the realm that was at unrest. The Boraldai tribe also rebelled, but they were put down by Jahanshah Chäkü. Qandahar also revolted, and Aq Buqa went from Herat and triumphed over them. During this year Soyurghatmish [Khan] died, and his son Sultan-Mahmud was installed in his stead. That winter the Toqmaq appeared without warning, while the armies of His Majesty were scattered. He met Ichki Ev-oghli and defeated and killed the rebel vanguard led by Elyighmish on the banks of the Khujand River. Toqtamish, merely hearing of their defeat, decided not to make a stand and beat a retreat. His Majesty pursued the Uzbek from there to Sariq Özän. By chance, Hajji Beg, Muluk [Sarbadar], and Isa Tärkän rebelled in Khurasan. [His Majesty] sent Prince Miranshah

back with the Khurasan army to put them down while with the remaining army he himself encircled Moghulistan, completely overthrew the Moghul *ulus* and withdrew.

In the year 794 [1392] he set out with the entire army for the Qipchaq Steppe, where he defeated Toqtamish and took much plunder and many prisoners. In 794 he went once again to Iran and, having conquered Mazanderan, headed to triumph over Fars. He gave Tabriz to Miranshah and went himself via Khuzistan to Shiraz, where he killed Mansur. Fars he gave to **Prince Umar-Shaykh**. After executing the sons of Muhammad Muzaffar, he went via Iraq to Azerbaijan and conquered Diyarbekir and Mesopotamia. As he was about to head to Syria, he summoned **Prince Umar-Shaykh**. Prince Umar-Shaykh left **Sultan Iskandar** in Fars and set out via Baghdad. Along the way, in an obscure place, His Highness **Prince Umar-Shaykh** was martyred. Prince Pir-Muhammad returned to Shiraz, and **Sultan Iskandar** set out for the *ordu*, meeting His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** in Ala Tagh. Since His Majesty recognized the light of fortune and felicity and the aura of rule in him, he sent him back to consolidate Transoxiana and to guard the borders against the Moghuls, proceeding himself via Derbent to the Toqmaq. On the banks of the Don he did battle with Toqtamish, whom he defeated, completely overthrowing the Rus, Circassians, and all the Qipchaq Steppe—city, tribe, nation, and nomad. Upon his return he raided and plundered all around the Alburz Mountains. Passing through Derbent he headed for Samarkand.

In the year 800 he held a great feast at which Begisi Sultan was married to His Highness the **Sultan**. In 801 he set out for India, conquering those realms up to the banks of the Ganges. Returning with many elephants and much booty, he ordered the construction of a new Friday mosque at Samarkand. Without warning Khanzada arrived to report that Miranshah's mind was deranged, that he had rebelled and that Azerbaijan was in turmoil. Consequently His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** went to Azerbaijan and reduced Miranshah to nought. The first year [of this campaign] he conquered

شعب فرزندان امیرزاده عمر شیخ

چون حضرت عمر شیخ بهادر وفات یافت فارس را حضرت سلطان غازی به امیرزاده پیرمحمد ارزانی فرمود و حضرت سلطان اسکندر و احمد و رستم و سید احمد و بایقرا را بسمرقند برد و از میان همه شاه زادگان که بود حضرت سلطان اسکندر را گزیده بنظر دولت و التفات سعادت ملحوظ و محظوظ گردانیده امید کلی به فرهنگی او بگماشت | و از بدبختی اولاد جهانگیر یکی آن بود که محمد سلطان حضرتش را بقصد برخاست و انواع فتنها از شامت او درمیان آمد و بواسطه آن حضرت سلطان غازی را در همدان گذاشت.

چون حضرت سلطان غازی وفات یافت و اولاد میرانشاه | در آذربایجان بنیاد فتنه کردند حضرت سلطان فکر فرمود که نباید که ناگاه برادران حضرتش نیز نادانستگی کرده بدنام شوند از همدان بفارس آمد و آن ممالک را ضبط کرده برادران را استقرار داد. چون مملکت بصلاح | آمد و اطمینان یافتند و همه عالم را بوجود حضرت سلطان امید کلی پیدا گردید و عاقبت مملکت فارس و عراق بیایه بخت و دولت ارحمندش مشرف و مزین گردید و مملکتها که بواسطه اختلاف همه فرزندان میرانشاه از دست | بدر رفته بود دیگر بار بدست آورد و معتصم را که امید مظفریان برو بود بکشت و لشکر ترکمان را بشکست و اصفهان را از دست متغلبان بیرون آورد و بعد از آن مجموع لرستان و دیگر ولایات را تا در تبریز بگشاد و از حد مکه | شریف و مدینه مبارک تا کیچ و مکران و از خراسان تا دربند باب الابواب همه ضبط نموده داروغگان خود بنشانند و از سن ده سالگی تا این دم منشور تیغ نامدار و بازوی کامکارش در ایران و توران و زمین و زمان منتشر شد و الوس | مغول از صدمت ضرب شمشیر اوست که تا این زمان چون یاجوج و ماجوج در پس سد خوف و هراس مانده اند و هر بار که او بهاء سر خشک شده دلاوران خود می پسند چون دیو از شهاب و دیوانه از آب محترر شده بازپس تر می روند و تا پادشاه خطای که جای نشستن فغفور و خاقان و افراسیاب | خود را هوادار این دولت و خدمتکار این حضرت دانسته از دوساله راه همه وقتی ایلیچیان و پیشکشها می فرستند و همه سلالگان خاندانها دولت

فتح کرد و سال دوم متوجه شام شد | و فتح کرد و سال سیوم قتل بغداد کرد و چهارم روم را مستخلص گردانید و پنجم و ششم بضبط انجاها بود و مراجعت کرد و در بازگشتن عمر را در تبریز و ابابکر را در بغداد و حضرت سلطان را در همدان و رستم را در اصفهان و امیرزاده پیرمحمد را در شیراز گذاشت و امیرانشاه پیش ابابکر بازداشت | و چون بسمرقند فرود آمد طوبهء بزرگ بکرد و محمد ترغای بن شاهرخ و سید احمد و بایقرا بن عمر شیخ بهادر و ایجیل بن امیرانشاه و ابراهیم بن شاهرخ و ایلانگیر بن ابابکر بن امیرانشاه را متاهل کرد.

و در اول زمستان سنه سبع وثمانمیه یراغ ده ساله کرده متوجه ممالک خطای گردید و در اوترا [ر] زمستانگاه | کرد و بحکم تقدیر لم یزل ولایزال در چهاردهم شعبان آن سال بمرض اسهال دعوت حق را اجابت فرمود انار الله برهانه و دولت بزرگ خود را بحضرت سلطان اسکندر میراث گذاشت که از عمر و دولت متمتع و برخوردار باد بمنه وجوده و کرمه. ه

بغایت عادل و نیکودل و نیکواعتقاد و بهادر و بزرگ دولت و سخی و خوش سخن و نیکواعتقاد بود. از خصایل حمیده و اخلاق پسندیده هیچ چیز خدای ازو دریغ نداشته بود و امنیت در زمان او بمشابه بود که از خطای یا [تا] ساحل فرنگ همه یک قلم | و یک قدم شد و مردمانی که نام ممالک همدیگر را در کتب بعجایی می شنودند هم سفره و هم کاسه گردیده رسم و آئین بد همدیگر گذاشته طریق و اخلاق نیکو از همدیگر باز گرفتند و روی زمین بالکلی خوش شد و همه کس همه استعدادی و هنری | ورزیده بیاموختند و مجموع فنون بدرجه کمال برسید. اما از فرزندان چون جهانگیر را مملکت علیحده نبود و ازو و فرزندان او هیچ کاری مستحسن بظهور نیامد، جدول شعبه او نکشیدیم اما شعب دیگر شاه زادگان را علی سبیل الترتیب ثبت کرده | شد و سیرت هرکس چنانک بود ذکر رفت.

Georgia; the second year he headed for Syria, which he conquered; the third year he massacred Baghdad; the fourth year he liberated Anatolia; and the fifth and sixth years he consolidated his gains and returned. During his return he placed Umar in Tabriz, Aba-Bakr in Baghdad, His Highness the **Sultan** in Hamadan, Rustam in Isfahan, and Prince Pir-Muhammad in Shiraz, with Miranshah in Aba-Bakr's charge. When he reached Samarkand he held great banquets at which were married Muhammad Taraghay b. Shahrukh, Sayyid-Ahmad, and Bayqara b. Umar-Shaykh Bahadur, Ejil b. Miranshah, Ibrahim b. Shahrukh and Elängir b. Aba-Bakr b. Miranshah.

At the beginning of the winter of 807 [1404], having mustered and provisioned for a ten-year campaign, he set forth for the realms of Cathay. While overwintering in Otrar he was afflicted with dysentery and responded to God's invitation on the fourteenth of Sha'ban [February 15, 1405]. He left his great empire as a legacy to His Highness **Sultan Iskandar**—may he enjoy long life and great fortune.

[His Majesty] was extremely just, good-hearted, orthodox, heroic, mighty, generous and well spoken. Of praiseworthy qualities and good characteristics God withheld none from him. Safety and security reached such a level during his time that from the borders of Cathay to the Frankish shores everything was of one stripe and all were in step with each other. People who had only heard of the names of each other's countries as marvelous things in books sat around the same tables and drank from the same cups. Abandoning their bad manners and customs, they adopted good manners and qualities from each other. The whole face of the earth was bright, everyone cultivated his talents and skills, and all arts and crafts reached the degree of perfection.

As for his sons: inasmuch as Jahangir did not have an independent domain, and neither from him nor from his sons did any good works issue, his branch has not been diagrammed. However, the other princes' houses have been arranged graphically,² and the career of every individual has been mentioned as it was.

The Sons of Prince Umar-Shaykh

When His Highness Umar-Shaykh Bahadur died, His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** gave Fars to Prince Pir-Muhammad and took Sultan-Iskandar, Ahmad, Rustam, Sayyid-Ahmad, and Bayqara to Samarkand. From among all the princes His Majesty chose Sultan Iskandar to view with favor and attention and set all his hopes upon his glory. One of the misfortunes of the sons of Jahangir was that Muhammad-Sultan rose up to attack His Highness, and much sedition and strife came about because of his disgraceful action. For that reason His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** put [Sultan-Iskandar] in Hamadan.

When His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** died, Miranshah's sons laid the foundations of sedition in Azerbaijan. Lest his own brothers act untimely out of ignorance and disgrace themselves, His Highness the **Sultan** [Iskandar] came from Hamadan to Fars, seized control of the area and confirmed his brothers there. When the realm was pacified and calm and all the world had placed its hopes upon His Highness the **Sultan**, the realms of Fars and Iraq were adorned by his felicitous fortune and state, and he once again gained control of the realms that had been lost by the contention of Miranshah's sons. He killed Mu'tasim, the last hope of the Muzaffarids, defeated the Turcoman forces, and wrenched Isfahan from the hands of its usurpers. After that he conquered all of Luristan and other provinces up to the gates of Tabriz, and from Mecca and Medina to Kuch and Makran, and from Khurasan to the Iron Gates of Derbent, all were under the control of prefects appointed by him. From the age of ten until this very moment the wake of his renowned sword and his successful arm has spread through Iran and Turan and across time and space. The Moghul nation is held back by the force of his sword like Gog and Magog behind a dam of fear and trembling. And whenever they encroach, his heroes arrive like demons from lightning bolts and madmen from water and drive them farther back. The Emperor of China, the heir of Faghfur, Khaqan, and Afrasiyab, recognizes his suzerainty to this state and acknowledges himself a servant of His Highness, and his emissaries travel for two years bearing gifts and tribute. All the scions of royal families, like Ahmad of Baghdad and other monarchs too, prostrate themselves

²See p. 95.

| خلاصه این دودمان و نقاوه این خاندان حضرت سلطان جلال الدین اسکندر بود و گویی سبب خلعت شعبه ترک و قبیله یافت بن کنعان [کذا] بل که واسطه آفرینش عالمیان ظهور ذات شریف و عنصر لطیفش بوده که اگر بقهقرا تا زمان | آدم علیه السلام هر چند که در تخمها و کیان و خواقین و سلاطین نظر کرده می شود البته هیچ یک از ایشان (مصراع) بویی ز بهار ما ندارد، و چنان که حضرت عزت جل جلاله بی شبه و بی نظیرست او نیز بعینه سایه همان ذات | و مظهر همان صفات واقع شده خاصیتی در دولت بلند و سعادت آرجمندش مودع است که هر یک شب بکینه او بختند تا قیامت بر نخاست و هر که سر از حکمش بتافت گردنش بشکست و هر که قدم در ملازمتش راست نهاد | قدم اش قلم گشت و چون قلم سیاه روی در دوزبانی بدنش شق شده و از نظر التفات مبارکش بعوذ بالله هر که محروم شد روی خوشی ندید و روز خوش نیافت.

و آثار عالی که تا غایت بمدت اندک سال بر روی روزگار بیادگار | گذاشته مثل قلعه جلالی در دارالملک شیراز و کرباس و قصر و عمارات عالی انجا و قلعه قصر زرد و قلعه اسکندریه دارالامان اصفهان و قلعه اسکندراباد لرستان و قصر و باغ دلپذیر گیتی نمای و قصر و باغ عظیم النظیر | دلستان گلستان دارالعباده یزد و گلشن دلکش ابرقوه و چندین مساجد و مدارس و خوانق و بقاع خیر و ابواب البر و رباطات و سایر دیگر عمارات که فرموده که اگر از مجموع سلاطین روی زمین میسر شده و شود و شد که در عمرها | هزارساله و کم و بیش عشر عشیر این آثار بیادگار گذارد.

و چون نوبت سخن سرایی و وصافی بمحانه علیه و مناقب سنیه حضرتش میرسد شرم می دارم که با وجود اوصاف و صفات خصایل حمیده و فعال جمیله او نام هیچ یک از سلاطین | بزبان ارم ولی چون کنم که باوجود این از حکم و یرلیغ بزرگ تجاوز کردن مقدور نیست فاما اگر قصص دیگر نیز چون شبه شبه در رسته رشته درر منخرط نگردد بس فرق و تمیز از چه کنند و بچه کنند و ازینست که گفته اند (مثنوی) |

گر گل ز میان خار باشد این لطف کی آشکار باشد
درست درون قعر دریا لعلست میان سنگ خارا

مثل احمد بغدادی و دیگر خواقین نیز بتمام باستان زرین او سپرد نمودند و اگرچه کارنامه جند بزرگ از سلاطین ماضی و خواقین | سابق بروی روزگار بود حضرت سلطان غازی و حضرت امیرزاده عمر شیخ منسوخ و عاطل و باطل گردانیدند و دوکان بالای امکان گشادند حضرتش خود کاری چند در میان آورد و کارنامه چند بجهان درآورد که آن همه کمال هردو سلطان و چندین هزار سلاطین دیگر نیز از صفایح | ضمیرها و دفاتر خاطرها محو شد و فراموش گردید و از علوم الهیات و حکمیات و ارثاطیقات و ریاضیات و کشفیات و عقلیات و نقلیات و دیگر فنون نفیس غریب آنچه همه صنفی از اصناف امم را در کار باشد و دانند و کنند و بکار دارند مجموع را از صاحبان آن فنون | و مخترعان آن قانون گذرانیده صد هزار نکات و دقات و نزاکت و لطافت در هر یک از آن مزید و مستزاد گردانید و هر هنری را چنان باوج کمال و ذروه غایت و درجه منتهی رسانید هیچ مزیدی برآن متصور نباشد حتی که در علوم مثل سید نورالدین نعمه الله و سید شریف و خواجه | صدرالدین ترکه و شیخ محمد جزری که هر یک در چندین هزار فنون و علوم ید بیضا و دم عیسی دارند خود را در جرکه شرف استفاده و افاده می گیرند و هر اشکال که درین مدت بر هر یک از ایشان در علوم دینی و یقینی دست داده بود یک یک را بعز عرض رسانیده حل و کشف می کنند | و همه طوایف امم و اصناف خلائق عالم بظاهر و باطن بر وجود باوجودش سجد خلافت و عبودیه ولایت می کنند و از همت دولت بزرگوارش امداد و استمداد می طلبند و سر و جان و عمر و حیو و دین و دنیا و امن و استقامت و نام و کام و جاه جلال خود را در قبول | و عنایه و فضل و صدقات او دانسته عذاب ابد و عقوبت سرمد و مذلت روز بد خود را در تحت... می شناسند و می بینند بیت

نیک خواهانش بعیش و دولت و عزت عزیز
بدسگالانش بدرد و رنج و خوف و قهر خوار
باد لطفش چون وزد خاک سیه گردد بهشت
آتش قهرش برارد از دل دریا غبار
تا که باشد تاج و تخت و بخت بخش خسروی
باریش از تاج و تخت و بخت برخوردار دار

at his golden threshold. Although there are great records of past sultans and emperors, His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** and His Highness Prince Umar-Shaykh annulled them all and established records impossible to equal, yet His Highness has achieved such works and left such a record of deeds in the world that all the perfection of the [aforementioned] two sultans and so many thousands of other rulers would also be effaced from the pages of the mind and the ledgers of thought. Of the sciences of divinity, philosophy, arithmetic, mathematics, revelation, rational and traditional sciences, and other rare accomplishments, of what every class of the nations of the world employ, know, do and use, he has surpassed the totality of the masters of those arts and founders of those canons and added a hundred thousand points and subtleties to each of them. He has elevated every art to such an apogee of perfection, unsurpassable apex and degree of absoluteness that no addition can be imagined. Even in the sciences, the likes of Sayyid Nuruddin Ni'matullah, Sayyid Sharif, Khwaja Sadruddin Turka, and Shaykh Muhammad Jazari, each of whom is miraculous in several thousand arts and sciences, consider themselves honored to benefit from his assembly, and every problem that has presented itself during this period of time to each of these men in the religious and mystical sciences, they have reported to him one by one and discovered a solution. All the various nations and classes of creatures of the world, externally and internally, bow to his generous existence in fealty and obedience and seek from his highminded great fortune assistance and aid. They recognize that their lives, religion, worldly goods, safety and security, fame and status depend upon his grace and favor, and they acknowledge that eternal torment and humility hang upon disobedience of his command.

His wellwishers are honored with pleasure, fortune and might; his detractors are humbled by pain, fear and wrath.

When the breeze of his beneficence blows scorched earth turns into paradise; the fire of his wrath raises dust from the heart of the ocean.

As long as crowns, thrones and empire are princely lots, may the Creator favor him with crown, throne and fortune.

The finest offspring of this house, the cream of this family, is His Highness **Sultan Jalaluddin Is-**

kandar. It is as though he is the reason for the favor enjoyed by the Turkish branch of humanity and the tribe of Japheth son of Canaan [*sic*]. Indeed the reason for the creation of worldlings was the appearance of his noble essence, for regardless how one looks backward to the time of Adam and searches through past princes, kings and emperors, not one of them "has even a scent of our spring." Just as the Divine Majesty is without equal or peer, so too is he the shadow of that very essence and the manifestation of those very attributes. So exalted is his quality of dominion and so great his felicity that anyone who goes to sleep by night suffering his wrath will not awake until resurrection, anyone who refuses to obey his command will have his neck broken, and anyone who does not keep his feet firmly in fealty to him, his foot will become like a reed and, like a black reed pen, will be split up through his body. Anyone who—God forbid—is deprived of his glance of favor will never see the countenance of happiness.

The sublime monuments he has until now in the space of a few years left as a memorial upon the face of time—such as the Jalali Fort in Shiraz, a palace, a castle and splendid buildings there, the fort at Qasr-i Zard, and the Iskandariyya Fort at Isfahan, the Iskandarabad Fort in Luristan, the palace and lovely Gitynumay Garden, the incomparable Gulistan palace and garden at Yazd, the Dilkash Garden at Abarquh, and numerous mosques, madrasas, khanaqahs, charitable institutions, hospices, caravanserais, and other buildings he commanded built—if all the rulers on the face of the earth who are and ever have been had lived for a thousand years, they would not have been able to leave behind them a decimal of a tenth of these monuments.

Now that it is time for panegyric and praise of his good qualities, I am ashamed to mention the name of any ruler in the same breath as his praiseworthy qualities and attributes and wonderful deeds, but what am I to do? It is impossible to transgress his great order and command. If other comparisons are not made, like black jet strung on a cord of pearls, then how can the distinction be made? It is for this reason that it has been said that:

If a rose were not among thorns, how could its subtlety be apparent?

It would be a pearl amidst the bottom of the ocean, a ruby in granite stone.

شومی او از در ساوه تا حد افرنج و شام که قریب یکهزار فرسخ طول و عرض | دارد و ممالک مال گزار و خراج سپار مجموع بدست بیگانگان افتاد و دوستان که دو روز مجال اقامه در یک منزل نمی توانستند که یابند هر موری ماری و هر خاشاکی خاری گردید و بی ناموسی ازین دست داد (تمت)

چون حضرت سلطان غازی را آن واقعه دست داد از شاه زادگان خلیل و احمد و بایقرا در آوردو بودند همه بر خلیل بیعت کردند و ملک و لشکر و آن همه خزاین و دقایق و مال عالم بدست آورد همه را ایلاف [اتلاف] خاک سیاه ساخت و از لشکر آنچه سرداران عراق و اقوام تاتار و قبایل جونی غربان روی گردان شد خداداد حسین و شیخ نورالدین نیز بخلف کردند و باوجود که تومان آقارا بشیخ نورالدین داد نیز فایده نکرد مجموع مال بخرج رفت و لشکر نیز روی گردان | شدند چنانکه خدایداد با سه هزار مرادبین هزار مرد اور[ا] شکست اورا دست گیر کرد و سمرقندرا بدست فروگرفت. امیرزاده شاه رخ لشکر بر سر او برد و سمرقندرا استخلاص نمود. خدایداد با خلیل با مغول پیوست و خدایداد بر دست | مغول کشته شد. خلیل گریخت به ... ان رفت و ازانجا پیش شیخ نورالدین بیامد و ازانجا نیز گریخته با امیرزاده شاه رخ پیوست و ازانجا به راه برگشتند. خلیل بهانه آنک متوجه آذربایجان گردد لشکری تمام از امیرزاده شاه رخ بستند و از ری خواست که با آن لشکرها بمدد رستم آید. لشکر خراسان تخلف کردند خلیل بیامد و از واسطه آن مکر و خطا خراب و مستهلک شده بهزار حیل خودرا بیرون انداخت. ناگاه در پیرامون مهاباد عبدالله درخان که یکی از | غلامان حضرت سلطان است بدو باز خورد و خواست که دستگیر کرده به آورد آورد. خلیل بزاری و شفاعت و درد دل پیش ایستاده از ممر صدر حضرت سلطان زینهار خواست عبدالله از سر او درگذشت خلیل به ری رفت و درانجا بیمار شده بمرد و استخانش بمشهد حضرت رضا بردند و ازانجا بسمرقند آوردند.

و ایجیل امروز در بدخشانست و چهار پسر دیگر امیرزاده میرانشاه در خراسانست یکی سیورغتمش و او هفده ساله است و سلطان محمد هشت ساله است و محمد تیمور هفت ساله است و سیدی احمد پنج ساله است و سه دختر نیز دارد یکی بیگی

ایزد تعالی دیر دیر سال تا انقراض عالم این سریر سرور و سروری را بر مسند هنرپروری مخلصد و موبد دارد بالنبی و آله الایجاد [الامجاد] |

طبقه اولاد امیرزاده میرانشاه

چون قضیه هایل دلدوز حضرت سلطان غازی به عمر رسید نخوت و تکبری بخود راه داد که در حد وصف راست نیا | ید و جهان[شاه را که رکن اعظم دولت بود از خود برمانید تا عاقبت | چندان خون واقع شد و امرای عراق مثل شیخ ابراهیم و کوستندل و سید احمد و اولاد سعد و ویرک و جالیغ و بسطام و محمد دواتدار مجموع از دیوان و درگاه باز کشیدند. بعد از آن پدر خودرا نیز از مملکت براند و برادررا بگرفت | و چون بران حکایات اقدام نمود نزدیکانش نیز ازو دل سرد کردند و چون برادرش مجال یافت و از بند بدرآمد لشکرها از عمر بریده با او پیوستند. او نیز تقصیر نکرد و هر سرداری را که بود بتمام بکشت و روی به تبریز نهاده در ارسپار | با ترکمان جنگ کرد و باوجود آن همه لشکر که داشت از بی سرداری و بی سرانجامی خود بخود بشکست و بازگردید و چون در چورس فرود آمدند و تتمه آنچه داشتند درانجا به آوازه دروغ که یاغی رسید تمام بر زمین گذاشت و به تبریز آمده تبریزرا غارت کرده باز گردید و دیگر بار بجنگ ترکمان رفت و پدر خودرا چنان مفلوک کرد که در جنگ بر اسبی لاغر سوار کرده نه ترکش و نه جیبه و نه هیچ چیز ازین مقول بدو نداد تا در زیر دست و پای دو لشکر کشته شد و مجموع اهل و عیال ابابکر | و امیرزاده میرانشاه و دیگر سی هزار خانه دار الوس چغطای اسیر ترکمان شدند و خود ازان جنگ خراب و مستهلک به سلطانیه آمد و آنچنان جای را گذاشته بکرمان رفت. اولاد ایدگو اورا معزز داشته کلید شهر و خزاین بدو تسلیم نموده خودرا بنده و خدمت کار نمودند. ابابکر در خفیه غدر کرد که ایشانرا بگیرد | و بکشد. ناگاه هم از معتمدان او ایشانرا خبر کرد و کیفیت بگفت. اورا بدر کردند ازانجا بسیستان رفت و با ملک سیستان نیز غدر اندیشیده گریخته بکرمان آمد و بدست پسران ایدگو کشته شد. القصه از

May God preserve him for ever and ever—until the disintegration of the world—upon the throne of patronage of the arts, through the prophet and his glorious family.

The Sons of Prince Miranshah

When the news of the terrible and tragic death of His Highness the **Sultan Ghazi** was received by Umar, he allowed himself to be duped by conceit and vain-glory beyond description. He alienated Jahanshah [Chäkü], who was the greatest proponent of the state, with the result that so much blood was shed, and the amirs of Iraq, like Shaykh Ibrahim, Kustandil, Sayyid-Ahmad, the sons of Sa'd, Verk [Berk Bahadur], Jaligh, Bistam and Muhammad Dawatdar all withdrew from his divan and court. After that he drove his father from his domain and imprisoned his brother [Aba-Bakr]. When he continued on that path, those close to him also lost confidence in him. When his brother had a opportunity and escaped from his bondage, the armies broke with Umar and joined him. [Aba-Bakr] killed every general he had and, heading for Tabriz, did battle with the Turcoman at Uruspar. Despite all the soldiers he had, he defeated himself because there were no generals and no organization. When they camped at Chors, they left on the ground the rest of what they had when they heard the false news that the rebels were close at hand. Coming to Tabriz, he plundered the city and withdrew. Once again, two years later, he led a group of the Jäüni-Qorbanis astray and went to battle the Turcoman. He reduced his father to such a state that in battle he mounted him on a skinny horse with no quiver, no mail or anything of the sort so that he was killed by two soldiers. All of Aba-Bakr and Prince Miranshah's family and retainers, along with thirty thousand householders of the Chaghatay *ulus*, were taken prisoner by the Turcomans. Himself devastated by this battle, [Aba-Bakr] came to Sultaniyya and then, leaving that place, went to Kirman. Edigü's sons honored him and turned over to him the keys to the city and treasury, pandering to him like servants. Secretly Aba-Bakr plotted to have them seized and killed, but one of his trusted men informed them of the plot, and they drove him away. He went to Sistan, where he

contemplated doublecrossing the Malik of Sistan before fleeing and going to Kirman, where he was killed by Edigü's sons. In short, because of his perfidy, from the gates of Sawa to the Frankish borders and Syria, nearly a thousand parasangs in length and breadth of revenue-producing, taxable domain, fell into the hands of aliens, and enemies who had never been able to stay for two days together in one place ceased being harmless and turned into dangerous foes—and disgrace ensued.

When His Majesty the **Sultan Ghazi** died, the princes Khalil, Ahmad, and Bayqara were in the *ordu*. All made obeisance to Khalil, who gained possession of kingdom and army, with all the treasures and hoards—the wealth of the universe—which he promptly squandered. The generals of the Iraq army, the Tatar tribes and the Jäün-Qorban tribes were left in the lurch. Khudadad Husayn and Shaykh Nuruddin rebelled, and although Tüman Agha was given in marriage to Shaykh Nuruddin, it was to no avail. All the wealth was spent, and the army too was in such disarray that Khudadad with three thousand men defeated his thousand men, imprisoned him, and took control of Samarkand. Prince Shahrukh led his army against him and seized Samarkand. Khudadad took Khalil and joined the Moghuls, by whom Khudadad was murdered. Khalil fled to Alan and from there to Shaykh Nuruddin. Fleeing from there too, he joined Prince Shahrukh and accompanied him back to Herat. On the pretext of going to Azerbaijan Khalil took a huge military contingent from Prince Shahrukh, but when he reached Rayy he wanted to go to assist Rustom. The Khurasan army refused to go. Khalil went and, devastated by that deceit and mistake, managed to extricate himself with a thousand guiles. In the vicinity of Mahabad, Abdullah Tarkhan, one of His Highness the **Sultan's** slaves, came upon him and wanted to take him prisoner back to the *ordu*. Khalil pleaded, and Abdullah let him go. Khalil went to Rayy, where he fell ill and died. His bones were taken to the Shrine of Imam Riza, and from there they were transported to Samarkand.

Ejil is today in Badakhshan. The other four sons of Prince Miranshah are in Khurasan: (1) Soyurghatmish, who is seventeen years old; (2) Sultan-Muhammad, eight years old; (3) Muhammad-Temür, seven years old; and (4) Sidi-Ahmad, five years old.

و طبقه رعایت صورت شرع و عرف را نیک داند و از هیچ علمی از علوم و فنی از فنون شروع نکرده است و از هنرها که دارد بهترین و پسندیده | ترین آنست که حضرت سلطان اسکندر را بغایت دوست می دارد و بدل و جان دولت خواه و یکجهتست چنانکه هر سال چند کورت ایلچی و مراسلات و مکاتبات بحضرت سلطان فرستاد و طبقه اخلاص ورزی و محبت مسلوک دارد و اختیار | جزویات را بدست امرا افکنده است اما در کلیات هیچ آفریده را مدخل نمی دهد و بخود سرشروع کند و مجموع لشکر او اقطاع خورند و بدان قناعت نمایند.

و رسم مرسوم و انعام که حضرت سلطان از فضل صدقات خود بر خاص و عام فرموده است او را و هیچ آفریده را نیست و کس یاد ندارد ایزد تعالی وجود باوجود حضرتش را دیر دیر سال بر سر سرب سلطنت و عظمت مخلد و مؤبد دارد بحق من لا نبی بعده.

تحریراً فی وقت عشاء یوم الثلثا الحادی والعشرون من ربیع الاول سنه ست و عشره و ثمانمائه هجریه حامداً لله و مصلياً و مسلماً علی نبیه بدار الامان اصفهان صانها الله تعالی عن الحدثان .

سلطان و دوم قتل سلطان و سیوم اغا بیگی و هر سه در خراسانند.

شعبه اولاد امیرزاده شاه رخ

خراسانرا نیکو ضبط کرد و باوجود | که چند فتنه بزرگ مثل خروج سید خواجه و بغی حسن جاندار و جهانملک که قطعاً پای از جای خطا نکرد و دیگر بار فتنه عمر که از همه بدتر بود و دفع کرد و آن چنان بود که عمر شکسته و ریخته در استرآباد بدو ملحق شد امیرزاده شاه رخ مازندران | را تمام بدو داد بعد ازان که یکسال درانجا اقامت کرد و قوت گرفت یاغی شد و بسیار ایل را خراب کرده متوجه هرات شد و بمهبوط پسر پیرعلی تازرا فرستاد و بدو قرار داد که پدر خود را بران دارد تا پیرمحمد جهانگیر را بکشد و ازان طرف متوجه هرات شد. امیرزاده شاه رخ باوجود که خبر حرکت پیرعلی را بشنود ملتفت او نشده به استقبال عمر آمده در ناحیه بیورد که از مضافات جام هرات است باهم رسیده مصاف داد و او را بشکست. عمر تلاش بلخ کرد و ناگاه در حدود چیچاکتو بگله بانان مضراب بازخورد و خواست که اسبان را براند. گله بانان او را در شمشیر پیچیده فرود آوردند و به او زدند و براند. چون زخمی بدبر سر داشت بدان بمرد اما زخم بسیار کس چنانست که میل در جراحت سرش فرستاده مغز او را خراب کردند تا بمرد. مدفنش در خیابان هراتست. دیگر چون خبر کسر او منتشر شد پیرعلی پیرمحمد را کشته بود و میخواست که روی بطرف هرات کند. نتوانست و بخود درماند که چه کند. امیرزاده | شاه رخ روی بدو نهاد و او را از شهر بلخ آواره کرده بلخ را بقایدو داد که پسر پیرمحمد بود. قایدو دران وقت که امیرزاده شاه رخ به سیستان رفته بود با خلیل متفق شد و بنیاد فتنه آغاز نهاد. امیرزاده شاه رخ بلخ را ازو بستند و بیسر خود داد ابراهیم سلطان | و قایدورا به کابل و غزنی فرستاد و امروز از دامن ناحیه کاشغر تا حدود قومس و طبرستان این همه ممالک را ضبط نموده چندان خزاین و تمول برهم بسته است که زیاده بران تصور نتوان کرد والله اعلم بالصواب تمت و غیر ازینها نیز جوکی نام پسری دارد که از گوهرشاد متولد شده و سه دختر دیگر نیز هم از گوهرشاد دارد.

He also had three daughters, Begi Sultan, Qutlugh Sultan and Agha Begi. All three are in Khurasan.

The Sons of Prince Shahrukh

[Shahrukh] has ruled Khurasan well, and although he was plagued by several large-scale rebellions, such as Sayyid Khwaja's revolt and Hasan Jandar and Jahan Malik's mutiny, he did not give up an inch. Another time he had to fend off Umar's sedition, which was the worst of all. When Umar was defeated, he joined [Shahrukh] in Astarabad. Prince Shahrukh gave him all of Mazanderan. After one year of residence there, during which he gained power, he rebelled and caused much devastation as he set forth for Herat. At Mahbut he dispatched Pir-Ali Taz's son, telling him to persuade his father to kill Pir-Muhammad b. Jahangir, and then he set out for Herat. Although Prince Shahrukh heard of Pir-Ali's movement, he paid no attention and went out to meet Umar. In the vicinity of Bivard, a dependency of Jam they encountered each other and a battle ensued in which [Shahrukh] defeated Umar, who headed to take refuge in Balkh. In the Chechäk Tu region Umar ran across some of [Amir] Mizrab's herdsmen and wanted to rustle the horses. The herdsmen surrounded him with swords, brought him down, and took him to the camp. Since he had a bad wound on his head, he died of that; however, many people claim that during surgery a needle was driven into his head, destroying his brain. His tomb is on the Khiyavan in Herat. When the news of his defeat was published abroad, Pir-Ali killed Pir-Muhammad and wanted to head toward Herat, but he was unable and remained uncertain what to do. Prince Shahrukh came out toward him and drove him into exile from Balkh. He gave Balkh to Qaydu, Pir-Muhammad's son. While Shahrukh was in Seistan, Qaydu connived with Khalil and laid the foundations of sedition. Prince Shahrukh took Balkh from him and gave it to his own son Ibrahim-Sultan and dispatched Qaydu to Kabul and Ghazni. Today he has consolidated from the piedmont of Kashghar to the borders of Qumis and Tabaristan and has amassed treasures and wealth beyond the imagination.

Aside from the [ones given below], he has a son named Juki, born of Gawharshad, and three daughters, also by Gawharshad.

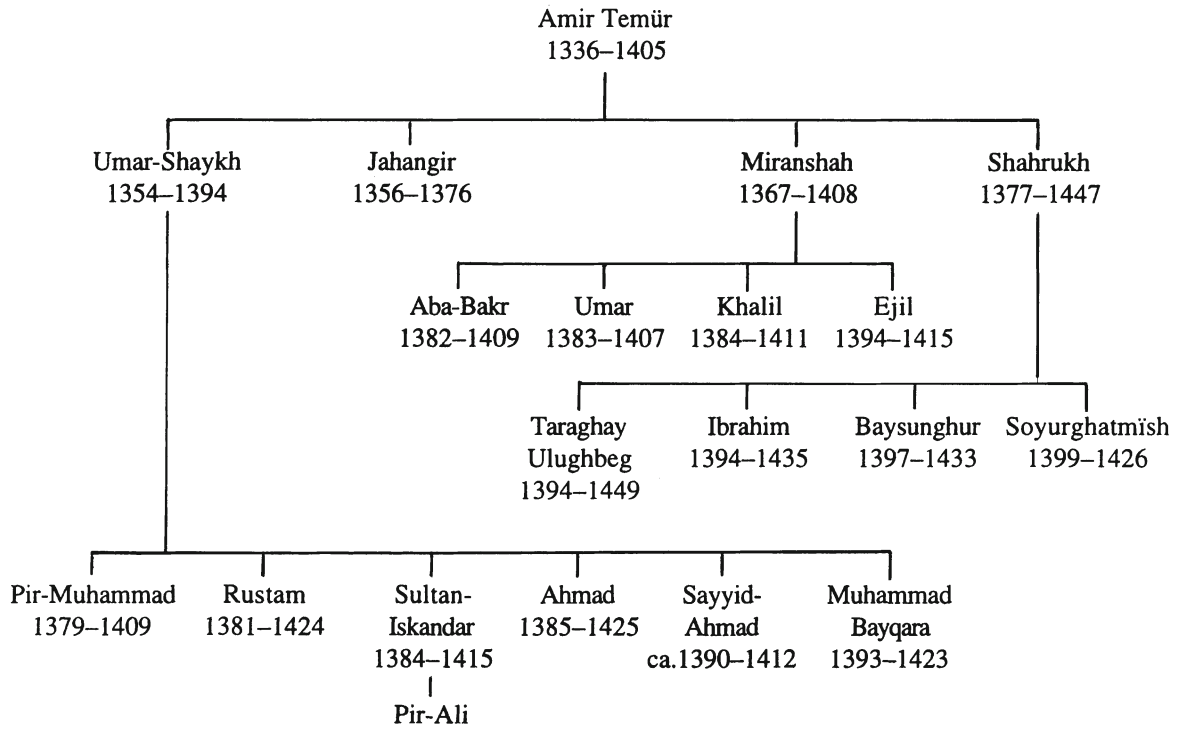
[Shahrukh] knows well how to maintain the exter-

nals of the religious and customary law, but he has not embarked upon any particular science or art. The most outstanding virtue he possesses is that he loves His Highness **Sultan Iskandar** extremely well, wishes him well and supports him heartily by sending several times a year emissaries, messages, and correspondence to His Highness the **Sultan**, treading the path of devotion and affection. The details of rule he has entrusted to his amirs, but he allows no creature to interfere in the overall planning, which he executes himself. All of his military live from fiefs, and they content themselves with that.

The salaries and gratuities that His Highness the **Sultan** has allowed by his great charity to both elite and commonfolk no one has ever matched, and no one can remember anyone else's having done so. May God the Exalted maintain His Highness's existence for long years upon the throne of rule and majesty, through him after whom there will be no prophet.

Copied on Tuesday evening, the 21st of Rabi' I 816 [June 21, 1413], praising God and praying for his prophet, at the Abode of Security Isfahan—may God preserve her from calamity.

The charts given in translation on the following pages occur interspersed in the text of the anonymous synopsis in TSM B.411. Below is a genealogical chart of the persons named in the charts.



NAME	Temür	Umar-Shaykh	Jahangir	Miranshah	Shahrugh
FATHER	Taraghay	Temür	Temür	Temür	Temür
MOTHER	Täkin	Tolun ¹	Öjijäy ²	Menglichä	Taghay Tärkän
LAQAB	Shuja'uddin	Qutbuddin	—	Mu'izzuddin	Mu'innuddin
FEATURES	Handsome and of good height	Tall and well spoken	Short, weak constitution	Handsome	Tawny
LENGTH OF LIFE	73	42	19	42	37
YEAR OF ACCESSION	773 [1371]	770 [1368]	none	781 [1379]	798 [1395] ³
YEAR OF DEATH	806 [1403] ⁴	796 [1394]	782 [1380] ⁵	810 [1408]	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	Illness	Shot by arrow	Dysentery	Killed	—
SEAL			—	Abu'l-Fath Miranshah	... Shah-Rukh
CONDUCT	Just and truthful	Just and brave	Unscrupulous	Generous but debauched	Parsimonious, no redeeming quality
BURIED AT		Samarkand	Shahrisabz	Shiraz	—
LENGTH OF RULE	37 years	24 years	—	30 years	18 years
VIZIERS		Hajji Sayfuddin	—	Yamin (?) Simnani	Sayyid Fakhruddin

¹In text, TWMLWN, a conflation of Tüman and Tolun.

²Elsewhere Jahangir's mother is given as Turmish Agha (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 99).

³Shahrugh is said to have begun his rule in 798 and to have ruled for eighteen years, making the 816 date of the synopsis correct. However, the ages given for Shahrugh's sons are all two years less than they should be.

⁴The conventional date of Amir Temür's death is 1405.

⁵Given elsewhere as 777 [1376].

NAME	Pir- Muhammad	Rustam	Sultan- Iskandar	Ahmad	Sayyid- Ahmad	Muhammad	Pir-Ali
FATHER	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh	Umar-Shaykh	Sultan- Iskandar
MOTHER	Malikat Agha	Nana Khatun ⁶	Malikat Agha	Malikat Agha	Tughluq Sultan	Malikat Agha	Jan Malik Agha
LAQAB	Ziya'uddin	Azududdin	Jalaluddin Sultan	—	—	Bayqara	Qutbuddin
OFFSPRING	2 sons, 1 daughter	2 sons	1 son	—	—	—	—
FEATURES	Squint-eyed, light-skinned	Sallow	Incomparable	Rosy white	Light-skinned, green-eyed	Tawny	Like his father
YEAR OF ACCESSION	783 [1391]	807 [1404]	793 [1391]	807 [1404]	—	—	804 [1401]
LENGTH OF LIFE	32 years	—	God willing, he will reach old age.	—	20 years	—	May he reach old age under his father's protection.
LENGTH OF RULE	18 years	3 years	Whole life	Whole life	6 years in Sirghan	—	Whole life
DATE OF DEATH	817 [1409]	—	—	—	815 [1412]	—	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	Killed by his slave	—	—	—	Illness	—	—
CONDUCT	Lived respectably in Shiraz	Did not possess dominance	Without equal	A compas- sionate man	Of consider- able talent	Seditious and impudent	Like his father
BURIED AT	Shiraz	—	—	—	Herat	—	—
SEAL	Pir- Muhammad	Rustam	Iskandar	Ahmad	Sayyid-Ahmad	Muhammad	Pir-Ali b. Iskandar
VIZIER	Ruknuddin Kirmani	Qazi Ahmad	Tahir b. Hajji Sayfuddin	—	—	—	Isma'il b. Abdul-Samad

⁶I.e., Qutlugh Tarkān Khatun (*Mu'izz al-ansab*, fol. 101).

NAME	Aba-Bakr	Umar	Khalil	Ejil
FATHER	Miranshah	Miranshah	Miranshah	Miranshah
MOTHER	Urung Sultan	Urung Sultan	Sevinch Beg	Tini (?) Beg
LAQAB	Muzaffaruddin	—	Burhanuddin	—
FEATURES	Possessed the features of Haydaris	Weak and ill formed	Tawny, handsome	Like his father
OFFSPRING	4 sons, 1 daughter	—	3 daughters	—
YEAR OF ACCESSION	805 [1402]	805 [1402]	807 [1404]	—
LENGTH OF LIFE	32 years	27 years	29 years	22 years
LENGTH OF RULE	9 years	6 years	5 years	—
YEAR OF DEATH	811 [1409]	810 [1407]	814 [1411]	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	Killed in Kirman	Killed in Herat	Fell ill in Rayy	—
CONDUCT	Unjust, unenlightened, perfidious	Conceited and base	A mindless prodigal	Impudent and seditious
BURIED AT	Shiraz	Herat	Samar kand	—
VIZIER	Nawroz	Qutbuddin Awbihi	Ala'uddawla Simnani	—

NAME	Taraghay	Ibrahim	Baysunghur	Soyurghatmish
FATHER	Shahrukh	Shahrukh	Shahrukh	Shahrukh
MOTHER	Gawharshad	Tuti ⁷	Gawharshad	Gawharshad
LAQAB	Ulughbeg	—	—	—
FEATURES	White-skinned	Tawny	Tawny, Turkish features	Tawny
YEAR OF ACCESSION	812 [1409]	812 [1409]	—	—
LENGTH OF LIFE	18 years	19 years	15 years	almost 14
LENGTH OF RULE	4 years	4 years	—	—
YEAR OF DEATH	—	—	—	—
CAUSE OF DEATH	—	—	—	—
CONDUCT	Most incompetent	Calm and placid	Impudent and lazy	Jovial and dignified
PLACE OF RULE	Samarkand	Tokharistan	—	—
SEAL	Muhammad Sultan Ghazi	Ibrahim	—	—
VIZIER	Ali Simnani	Hajji Yusuf	—	—

⁷Tuti Khatun, according to *Mu'izz al-ansab* (fol. 133), of the Narin tribe of the Moghuls.

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