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**Color plates: 'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt by Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), MS D 370
from the collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies,
Russian Academy of Sciences (see p. 56).**

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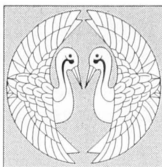
Fol. 34a. The Archangel 'Izra'il, 160 × 124 mm.

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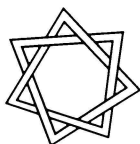
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST.PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 1 No. 1 July 1995



75ESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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THE SOURCES OF "THE TREATISE ON CALLIGRAPHERS AND PAINTERS" BY QĀZĪ AḤMAD QUMĪ

Almost 50 years ago the scholarly world was introduced to the outstanding document of the Persian literary culture "The Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters" by Qāzī Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Qumī (born 17 rabi' I 953/May 18, 1546), which is a bibliographical dictionary of the "book art", that of calligraphers, painters, decorators and masters of ornamentation [1]. The appearance of such a document was a real sensation: for the first time scholars got an original work, where information on the Persian masters of qalam and brush was arranged chronologically up to the end of the 16th century. The material of the "Treatise" considerably expanded our knowledge about the book painting, the volume of book production, the prestige of this kind of labour as well as the popularity of illuminated manuscripts in Iran and among its neighbors in the Middle Ages.

It should be noted, that the name of the author, Qāzī Aḥmad, was well known to the specialists long before the publication of the Russian and English translations of the "Treatise". He and his two works ("Treatise" and the fifth volume of the chronicle "Khulāṣat al-tawārikh") were discussed at length in articles by W. Hintz, B. Zakhoder, C. Edwards, Zohreh Da'i-zadeh, Sh. Qadiri, Gh. Sarvar, H. Nakhchevani and A. Suhayli-Khwansari [2]. The author of the present article has written already on the stages of the making of this work [3], which survived in two versions (1004/1596 — "Treatise" and around 1016/1607 — 8 — "Gulistan-i hunar"), which are called conventionally "the Iranian" and "the Indian" [4]. We should note that the first version is present in two variants: that of 1004/1596 (the original) and of 1007/1598—99 (a considerably expanded original version) [5]. At present we know three copies of the "Treatise", i. e. of the first version, in two variants (Museum Salar Jang, Haidarabad, India, call number T-K.1; the State museum of the Arts of the Peoples of the Orient (GMINV), Moscow, Russia, call number M.Or.156; the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number B 4722. The last two copies present the expanded variant) and eight copies of "Gulistan-i hunar", i. e. of the second version (Museum

Salar Jang, Haidarabad, India, call number T-K.2; the former Library of Saltanati, Teheran, Iran, call number 2286 [6]; six copies belonging to the private collections of Z. Da'i-zadeh (India), A. Iqbal, H. Nakhchevani, M. Bayani, A. Suhayli-Khansari and A. Gulchin-i Ma'ani (Iran). The last three are copies from H. Nakhchevani's manuscript) [7].

As it was mentioned above, the contents of the "Treatise" is a biographical dictionary of the masters of hand-written book (excluding binders) [8]. According to the established professional tradition, Qāzī Aḥmad included there the famous masters of previous generations adding to this pantheon some of his contemporaries. For this purpose he chose only those craftsmen whose work was highly appreciated during their lifetime by connoisseurs, professionals and the patrons of art. It should be noted that the composition of the "Treatise" is close to the prefaces of albums (*muraqqa'*) — collections of works arranged like concertina or made of separate folios (*qit'eh*), which had on one side artistically composed samples of writing by one or several calligraphers, on the other — miniatures or examples of calligraphy. The borders of such a folio, as well as the space between the samples, were filled with the exquisite decorative ornamentation. It is well known that albums of this kind were widely spread among the author's contemporaries belonging to the elite circles.

In other words, the accurate composition, structure and architectonics of the "Treatise" (masters of the classical "six" scripts, *ta'liq*, *nasta'liq*, painters, masters of the "book craft") obviously prove that Qāzī Aḥmad was planning his work within the limits of some well-established genre. Alongside with the fact that his work greatly reminds of a verbose preface to an extensive never-to-be-completed album overloaded with facts and details, Qāzī Aḥmad became the founder a new trend of Persian biographical literature — the biographical dictionary of the masters of manuscripts in a broad context [9]. It is already ascertained that evristics is one of the main components of

the source-analysis of written documents regardless of their genre. It is expected to reveal the sources of the document, its relation to earlier documents, the scale and volume of borrowed facts and materials, its influence on the later documents, etc. This is of special significance if applied, in particular, to the Persian medieval documents, since most of the medieval authors, following their specific idea on the authors' rights and intellectual property, often did not mention their predecessors, whose works and materials were borrowed by them. We have many examples of this in the history of Persian literature. Examples of the opposite are also present (the latter even grow in number in the course of time). Our author was not an exception. There are no references to the sources he used; this research was left to the following generations. Still, he mentioned the poetic work on calligraphers by Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi, apparently because it is included completely into his "Treatise" [10]. Here we shall mention the manuscript sources which were used by Qāzī Aḥmad, and which we managed to identify.

1. "Risāleh" ("The Treatise-address"). The composition does not have the author's title and is identified as "Risāleh-i Ādāb al-khaṭṭ" or "Širāṭ al-suṭūr". "Risāleh" was written in 920/1514 in Meshhed for Muḥammad-Hashim Husaini, the nephew of the author, when Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi was 84 years old. The famous and outstanding Persian calligrapher in the *nasta'liq* style Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi was born in Meshhed in 836/1432—33 [11] and died there on 10 rabī' I 926/February 29, 1520. Later his name was used to indicate the real master of the artistic script. He left a great heritage of calligraphically written copies and individual samples (*qif'eh*).

According to the manuscript from the National Library, St. Petersburg, (call number: Dorn 454) the Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi's autograph of "Risāleh" contains 273 *bait*s and is divided into 34 chapters [12]. This text incorporated by Qāzī Aḥmad into his "Treatise", into its first version, contains 269 *bait*s both in the copy of the GMINV (ff. 31b—42a) and of the SPb FIV RAN (ff. 36b—48b). In these copies of "Risāleh" seven *bait*s of the autograph are missing (81, 97, 104, 184, 188, 207, 212) and three *bait*s are added after the 11th, 33d and 137th *bait*s. The text of the GMINV copy is divided into 30 chapters, while of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (SPb FIV RAN) copy — into 28 chapters. The text of Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi's "Risāleh" in the second version of Qāzī Aḥmad's "Treatise", i. e. "Gulistan-i hunar", includes 278 *bait*s and is divided into 30 chapters. In comparison with the autograph it has 6 additional *bait*s (according to the edition of Aḥmad Suhaili Khwansari 34, 112—113, 124—125, 143) [13] and the 8th *bait* is missing (according to the mentioned edition — between 210th and 211th *bait*) [14]. At present it is difficult to state whether these interpolations and omissions appeared according to the author's will, or were they the result of bookowners' and copyists' work. It is also possible that the National Library's copy is not the only existing autograph of Sultān-'Alī Mashhadi. During six years after he had finished "Risāleh" and till his death the author was returning to his work editing and polishing its contents, adding to the text or simply copying it. In this case textual differences between the undated autograph of the "Risāleh" and the text used by Qāzī Aḥmad in the two versions of the "Treatise",

as well as the text of other copies preserved in several world manuscript depositories, could be explained as the authors corrections.

2. "Muqaddimeh-i muraqqa'-i Amīr Ghaib-bik" ("An introduction to the album of Amīr Ghaib-bik"). This title is conventional, and for the first time was suggested by the Iranian scholar and specialist on calligraphy Maḥdi Bayani [15]. Working in the Istanbul libraries he found separate and mixed parts of this "Introduction" in two albums (*muraqqa'*) kept in the depository of Top-Qapi-seray (Khazineh 2156 and Khazineh 2161). He has made a selective "exact" publication of some fragments from the "Introduction" and "Conclusion" (*khātimeh*) [16]. According to M. Bayani, the famous master of calligraphy mir Sayyid-Aḥmad (died in 986/1578—79) [17] from Meshhed was not only the compiler of the album, which took him three years (971—973/1563—66), but was responsible for its whole making: "he added to it *dibācheh* ("preface"), *muqaddimeh* ("introduction") and *khātimeh* ("conclusion"), which he composed and copied in his elegant handwriting" [18]. For certain formal reasons and contrary to M. Bayani's opinion, we can not identify mir Sayyid-Aḥmad Mashhadi as the author of the "Introduction". According to the published fragments, the samples of calligraphy and paintings were collected by Amīr Ghaib-bik himself — an influential person at the court of Tahmāsb I (1524—76) — with the help of a group of competent specialists and recognized masters [19]. Moreover, the last paragraph of the "Introduction" (just before Sayyid-Aḥmad's remark in the colophon) [20] says that Ghaib-bik was the author of this "Introduction". It should be mentioned, however, that the calligrapher himself in his remarks [21] wrote that he only copied the text (*katabahu*), but not that he compiled it.

Mir Sayyid-Aḥmad calls Amīr Ghaib-bik "the inspirer and initiator" of the album. It is quite true, since Amīr ordered the calligrapher to create the album.

He could, moreover, propose his terms concerning the contents and time limits. Then, after it had been completed, he presented the album to Tahmāsb I in whose presence the problems of the history of calligraphy and painting were often discussed. The process of its making could be seen as follows:

year 971/1563—64 — the masters of decorative ornamentation (*naqqāshān*) and restorators-designers (*waṣṣālān*) finished the decoration and composition of script and painting (*qif'eh*). They arranged everything according to the established order of composition.

Year 972/1564—65 — Sayyid-Aḥmad finished writing the "Introduction". He mentioned it in his remark to the colophon.

Year 973/1565—66 — he compiled and wrote the "Conclusion" (*khātimeh*) to the whole album, putting into it a chronogram (*tārīkh*): *itmām-i in zibā muraqqa'* [22] — date when the work was completed [23]. There is no doubt that Qāzī Aḥmad had the opportunity to hold the album in his hands and to get acquainted with the "Introduction" which he later used in his work. But this time he distributed separate parts and fragments of the "Introduction" over different sections of his "Risāleh", mostly into *dibācheh*, *muqaddimeh*, and *khātimeh* (see the comparative table below) [24]. When doing this Qāzī Aḥmad made some editorial work, mostly stylistic changes,

compositional correspondence, but he had never mentioned the source from which he borrowed.

It is most remarkable that neither Amīr Ghaib-bik, nor Sayyid-Aḥmad worked on the "Introduction", and none of them was the author. One of them committed, as we may say now, "literary robbery". It seems that this was done by Amīr Ghaib-bik, since he is mentioned as the author of the "Introduction" copied by Sayyid-Aḥmad.

It appears that in 964/1557 in Qazwin the court declamator or reciter of epic and heroic stories (*qisṣekhkhwān*) Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad finished an introduction [25] to his album. He compiled it on his own initiative for shah Ṭahmāsb I. Qutb al-Dīn arranged the samples of artistic script and miniatures by his contemporaries, masters of qalam and brush, in chronological order [26]. We know nothing about what happened to the album. The introduction by Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad-*qisṣekhkhwān* came survived in three copies [27], one of which (from the Milli library in Teheran) [28] was published by H. Khadivdjam in Iran in 1967 [29]. This work is not directly indicated in the text, but before *basmala* it is called "Risāleh-i khaṭṭ va khaṭṭātān va naqqāshān" ("The treatise about script, calligraphers and painters"), where Qutb al-Dīn mentions 60 masters of calligraphy and painting without giving any biographical data. The comparison of the fragments of the "Introduction" published by M. Bayani and the "Risāleh" text (according to Milli 691) shows that they are almost identical [30] and differ only in three important points. First, Bayani's text is missing the Qutb al-Dīn's remark about his meeting with Bihzād (died in 942/1535–36). Second, the name of Qutb al-Dīn in the author's colophon is substituted there for the name of Amīr Ghaib-bik. Third, the last *qif'eh* of the "Treatise" is omitted in the text, which contains the chronogram (*tārīkh*) with the final date *farkhandagī* — the date it gives is 964 [31]. Naturally, we do not find the latter in the text of Qāzī Aḥmad, who did not use the work of Qutb al-Dīn, but only Amīr Ghaib-bik's "Introduction".

Another curious detail. It is difficult to say if Qāzī Aḥmad knew that with the "Introduction" he had included into his "Treatise" the fragments of two other compositions about which nothing is said in his work, and which we managed to identify. The first one presents 33 *bait*s from 'Abdī-bik Shirāzī's poem (921–988/1515–1580) "Āyin-i Iskandari", which was finished in 950/1543–44 [32]. The second is a folklore story, originally coming from India, about the treachery of a goldsmith (*zargar*) towards his friend, a painter (*naqqāsh*), and how the latter was avenged. This story became popular through the work of 'Imād Na'arī "Djawāhir al-asmar" [33] and especially due to his stylistic and "elite" edition made by Dhiyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī, which appeared under the title "Ṭūti-nāmeḥ" (730/1329) [34].

3. "Djawāhir al-akhbār" ("The pearls of news") by Būdāq-bik munshī Qazwīnī [35]. Būdāq-bik (born in 916/1510–11) was neither a professional historian or a man of letters, nor was he a court secretary-chronicler who could have access to the state and official documents. Being a secretary-clerk (*munshī*) and an official of the Tax office, he had knowledge and practice necessary for his rank and position. All this enabled him to work as a munshī either in the state offices or in the Sefevīd administration. In other words, Būdāq-bik was a typical representa-

tive of the middle-class official bureaucracy. Būdāq-bik began to write his work during the lifetime of Ṭahmāsb I (1524–1576) and, possibly, finished the draft in 982/1574–75 [36]. He was busy with the proof copy, when the monarch died (16 *ṣafar* 984/May 15, 1576) [37]. Because of the assestion of the new *shah* — Ismā'il II (1576–77), he re-addressed his work (ff. 2b–3a) to the latter. At the same time he made some corrections and additions on the margins to those passages of his work which he did not want to rewrite (there are more than 20 additions of this kind, some of them rather voluminous). He described the events that followed the death of Ṭahmāsb I as an eye-witness (ff. 136b, 335a–336a). The revised "Djawāhir al-akhbār" ends with a small chapter specially dedicated to *shah* Ismā'il II (ff. 336b–339b). Ismā'il II assended to the throne on the 27th of *djumādā* I 984/August 22, 1576 (f. 339b), while the manuscript is dated by the end of that month. Hence, the autograph was completed not later than the 30th of *djumādā*/August 25 of the year mentioned [38]. "Djawāhir al-akhbār" is a concise compendium on general history, 90% of it based on the materials of previous and contemporary authors. As a historical document it left almost no trace in the Sefevīd historiography of the 16th century. At the same time, the compendium by Būdāq Qazwīnī contains some original, fresh and interesting material — his personal observations as an eye-witness, as well as the stories of the participants of the events described. Unfortunately, such passages are not numerous, among them are:

a) Būdāq munshī's ideas about personality and character of *shah* Ṭahmāsb I (ff. 296a–297b) influenced, by the way, by the opinion of 'Abdī-bik Shirāzī in his "Takmilat al-akhbār" [39];

b) the story about the situation at the court just after the death of Ṭahmāsb I and the following coup headed by Peri-khān-khānum (ff. 135b, 335a–336a);

c) the story about Ismā'il II and his assestion to the throne (ff. 336a–339b);

d) Būdāq Qazwīnī's autobiographical sketch about his career as an official (ff. 315a–316a, 317a);

e) marginal remarks on the state finance, income of the officials, amount of financial grants, price of manuscripts, etc. (ff. 284b, 296a–297a, 315a–316a, 317a–334a–b, 109b–113b);

f) notes on the masters of "book craft" (ff. 106a–113b).

Of special interest to us is the last passage, where 57 masters of calligraphy and 14 painters are mentioned.

These notes were finished by Būdāq munshī in 980/1572–73 (f. 113b). They are written by a professional scribe, who loved and knew the fine points of calligraphy, the art so much admired in Iran. In spite of the fact, that some of his judgments are rather doubtful and bear personal colour, we can not but appreciate his independent and ingenuous opinions about his contemporary masters of brush and qalam. Under his pen these artists appear as ordinary people with all their faults and merits, not as some authorised and canonised characters. Iskandar-bik munshī was the only Persian medieval author who wrote about the craftsmen of the book in the same independent manner [40]. Qāzī Aḥmad used the notes of Būdāq Qazwīnī in both versions of his work, but he did not say a word about the source from which he borrowed over thirty percent of his composition. Qāzī Aḥmad was sometimes retelling or

editing the notes, but in some cases copied them word to word.

It is known that Būdāq Qazwīnī presented his work to Ismā'il II in 984—985/1576—77 in the only existing autograph copy, which till 1017/1608—09 was kept in the court library. We are aware that Qāzī Aḥmad completed his extended variant of the first version of the "Treatise" around 1007/1598—99. Due to his father's official position he had access to the court library, so he definitely could have time and possibility to work over the notes of Būdāq munshī or simply to copy them [41].

4. "Ḥabīb al-siyyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar" ("The friend of the life stories about the data on the representatives of mankind") by Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr [42]. This is a well known historical and biographical work; its third version appeared in India around 936/1530. Qāzī Aḥmad borrowed a historical anecdote about the claims of Timur's grandson Bāysunghur-mirzā (799—837/1397—1433) on the poetic name (*takhalluṣ*) of Shāhī, which had been already used by his famous contemporary poet Amīr Aq-Malik Sabzavārī (died in 857/1453) [43]. The author of the "Treatise" also borrowed the stories about Ma'rūf Khattāt Baghdādī, an outstanding calligrapher in *thulth* and *naskh* scripts who was famous for the speed of coping and who originally worked in Shiraz under Iskandar-sultān (killed in 818/1415), then in *Harat* as a personal calligrapher of Shāhrukh (807—850/1405—1447) and who could not establish good relations with the mighty Bāysunghur-mirzā in *Harat* [44].

These passages were partly shortened and stylistically changed by Qāzī Aḥmad.

5. "Tuhfeh-i Samī" ("The gift of Sam") — a well known anthology (*tadhkireh*) of Persian poetry composed by Sām-mirzā Safavī (21 *sha'bān* 923 — *djumādā* II 975/September 10, 1517 — December 1567) [45], the brother of *shah* Tahmāsb I. Qāzī Aḥmad studied this text collecting materials for his own anthology of poets. From the same work he took notes on calligraphers of the *nasta'liq* script style such as Shāh-Mahmūd Nishāpūrī, 'Abdī Nishāpūrī, 'Abd al-Karīm Khwārazmī, Ḥafīz Bābā-Djān, Dūst-Muḥammad Harawī and Majnūn *chapnavīs*-left-hander" [46]. It is obvious, that working for fifteen years on his text (1002—1016/1593—1608) Qāzī Aḥmad could not but use the information on the masters of the "book craft" collected by his predecessors. It seems, that he used everything he could get. He was not an exception in not making references to the sources he used, since he followed the tradition of his literary colleagues, both previous and contemporary.

The practice of direct borrowing of "anonymous" information and materials, in other words "privatization", especially of prosaic works, not speaking about the works of authors already gone, was not criticized by the contemporary public opinion and was not going beyond the ethic frames of literary circles. The mediaeval Muslim society never formed any common attitude either to this phenomenon, or to the legal mechanism protecting one's intellectual property [47].

Notes

1. Kazi Ahmed Kumi, "Traktat o kalligrafakh i hudozhnikakh. 1596—1597/1005". (Qazi Ahmad Qumi, *The Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters*.) Introduction, Russian translation and commentary by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, Isskustvo, 1947). The translation is not complete. Seven pages from "Dibacheh" and "Muqaddimeh" are omitted, as well as two pages between folios 71b and 72a. It should be noted that as early as 1919 the late Prof. A. A. Semenov began to work on his article under titled "The Persian Vasari of the 16th century" devoted to the "Treatise" from the collection of the "Ars Asiatica" museum (now — GMINV) in Moscow. The copy of the manuscript was acquired along with the collection of K. F. Nekrasov, who had purchased it in Iran. The article has not been finished by A. A. Semenov; it contains an introduction and some six lines dedicated to the manuscript. I have got acquainted with this article through the research fellow of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences Malohat Azamova to whom I express my gratitude. See also: B. A. Litvinskij, M. Akramov, *Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semenov* (Moscow, Nauka, pp. 70—1) where the article is mentioned as an accomplished work.

The first complete English translation of the "Treatise" with additions and corrections according to "Gulistan-i hunar", i. e. the second version, was published 12 years later in the USA. The translation done by Prof. V. F. Minorsky also includes his English translation of the "Introduction" by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder.

2. W. Hintz, "Eine neu entdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte Irans in 16 Jahrhundert", ZDMG, XIV, 3/4 (1935), S. 315—328; B. N. Zakhoder, "Iz istorii khudozhestvennoj kul'tury Irana 16 veka. (From the history of the art culture of Iran in the 16th century)", *Isskustvo*, 5 (1935), pp. 121—36; C. Edwards, "Calligraphers and Artists: A Persian Work of the late 16th Century", *BSOS*, X, 1 (1940), pp. 199—212; Da'i-zadeh, "Tadhkireh-i khushnavisan va naqqashan", *Armaghan*, XIX, 5—6 (1317/1938), pp. 344—5; see also: "Ali-Riza va Riza-yi 'Abbasi", *Ruzgar-i naw*, IV, 5 (1324/1945), pp. 68—71; A. Khwansari Suhayli, "Maktub ba Banu-yi fazileh-i Zuhreh Da'i-zadeh", *Armaghan*, XIX, 5—6 (1317/1938), pp. 437—40; Gh. Sarwar, "History of the Shah Isma'il Safavi", (*Aligarh*, 1939), pp. 11—2; Shamsallah Qadiri, "Khulasat al-tawarikh-i Qazi mir Ahmad b. mir Muhammad Qumi", *OCM*, XIX, 3 (1943), pp. 43—4; H. Nakhechevani, "Mu'arrafi-yi kitab-i 'Gulistan-i hunar'", *Nashriya-yi danishkadeh-i adabiyat-i danishgah-i Tabriz*, IX, 1 (1336/1957), pp. 1—12; "Yak nuskhah-i khatti-yi qadimi-yi irani (Risaleh-i 'ilmi dar bareh-i khushnavisan va naqqashan-i Qazi Ahmad)", *Payam-i naw*, 4, pp. 32—6.

3. O. F. Akimushkin, "Traktat o kalligrafakh i hudozhnikakh Kazi Ahmada Kumi. Pervaya redaktsiya. (The treatise on calligraphers and painters by Qazi Ahmad Kumi. The first version.)", *Pis'mennye pamyatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka (PPiPKNV)*, 17, 1 (1983), pp. 63—8; "Haidarabadskij 'avtograf' Traktata o kalligrafakh Kazi Ahmada Kumi. (The Haidarabad 'autograph' of the 'Treatise on calligraphers and painters' by Qazi Ahmad Qumi)", *PPiPKNV* 20, 1, 1986, pp. 98—102.

4. See our article "The Haidarabad 'Autograph'" p. 98. Here under "version" we mean a deliberate interference into the text of the monument done by the author himself or by other person (persons) in order 1. to change its ideological or aesthetic orientation; 2. to modernize its lexicon (or to make look more archaic), if it bears not an occasional, but deliberate character and is done on a large scale (sometimes from the very beginning to the end) in order to satisfy the literary taste of the epoch; 3. to expand the composition with a considerable number of new data not included into author's original version, which considerably changes or extends the subject, topic or

plot of the work. See: D. S. Likhachev, "Tekstologiya. Na materiale russkoi literatury 10—18 vv. (Textology. On the materials of the Russian literature of the 10th—18th centuries)", (Moscow—Leningrad, 1962), pp. 116—7.

5. See our article: "Traktat... Pervaia redaktsiia", p. 66. See also: Y. Porter, "Notes sur le "Golestan-e honar" de Qazi Ahmad Qomi", *Studia Iranica*, 17, 2 (1988), pp. 207—23. The author of this article came to the same conclusions as we had done earlier.

6. B. Atabay, "Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khattī-yi kitābkhaneh-i saltanami. Athar-i adabiyat" (Tehran, 1970), pp. 483, no. 170. The attribution of the fragment is not clear, and it is described under the title "Sharh-i hal-i khattatan" (Biographies of the calligraphers). This fragment dealing with 40 masters of calligraphy (the last one mentioned is Muḥammad-Sharīf) corresponds to pp. 59—61, 84—121, 132—3 of the Teheran edition of "Gulistan-i hunar" (1973). Besides, the manuscript from the Central Library of the Teheran University, inventory number 4283.2 (see: M. T. Danish-Pazhuh, "Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khattī-yi kitābkhaneh-i markazi-yi danishgah-i Tihiran" (Tehran, 1961), xiii, pp. 3252—3), includes two notes from "Gulistan-i hunar": fragment "Risāleh" by Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhādī and "Khātimeh" ("Conclusion") of Qāzī Aḥmad's work. Compare also ff. 45a—55a of the mentioned copy and pp. 68—72, 161—70 of the published edition of 1973.

7. The second version, i. e. "Gulistan-i hunar", was published on the basis of the manuscript from H. Nakhchevani's collection. See: *Gulistan-i hunar. Ta'lifi Qāzī mir Aḥmad munshi Qumī*. Ba Tashih va ihtimam-i Aḥmad Suhaylī Khwansari (Tehran, 1352/1973), p. LXI. The first variant of the version (Haidarabad, T-K.1) contains information on 144 calligraphers and 40 painters and masters of ornament; the expanded variant of this version (GMINV, SPb Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies) — on 153 and 42 respectively. The second version covers 168 masters of qalam and 39 masters of brush and book decoration. Compare with Y. Porter. *Ibid.*, pp. 216—21.

8. Obviously, the albums (*muraqqa'*) presented no samples of artistic binding, hence the lack of data on the binders.

9. Strangely enough, the first work in the same genre giving great attention to the Persian masters of the "book craft" (mentioning 130 calligraphers of whom 26 were masters of "the six" scripts, 89 in *nasta'liq* style and 15 in *ta'liq* style, as well as 43 masters of miniature, ornament, decoration and binding, — altogether 173 masters) appeared on the Ottoman ground. The Turkish writer, poet, biographer and historian Muṣṭafā-'Alī Chelebi efendi (948—1008/1541—1600) produced his work "Manāqib-i hunarvarān" ("The Deeds of the Talented") in 995/1586—87, i. e. ten years earlier than Qāzī Aḥmad. This work was inspired by the treatise on 52 calligraphers "Risāleh-i qutbiya" written in 994/1585—86. Its author was a well known calligrapher mawlānā Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad Yazdī, Persian by origin, who lived in Baghdad in 974/1566—67. Sulṭān Murād III (982—1003/1579—95) came across that book and decided to have it translated into Turkish. Muṣṭafā-'Alī realised the wish of the sultan, added and considerably extended the Qutb al-Dīn's treatise, not avoiding serious mistakes and blemishes. See: Cl. Huart, "Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman" (Paris, 1908), pp. 6—7, 86—7, 235; Muṣṭafā-'Alī, *Manāqib-i hunarvarān*. Edition of Mahmud Kamal-bik (Stambul, 1926), pp. 12, 53.

10. Qāzī Aḥmad completely incorporated the work of Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhādī into the expanded variant of the first version of his "Treatise" of 1007/1598—99. It is missing in the first version of the Haidarabad copy.

11. For details see: Mahdi Bayani, "Aḥwal va athar-i khushhavisān. Nasta'liqnavisan. (Bakhsh-i avval)" (Tehran, 1345/1966), pp. 41—66.

12. G. I. Kostygova, "Traktat po kalligrafii Sultan-Ali Meshhedi (The Treatise on calligraphy by Sultan-'Alī Mashhedi)", Fasc., Russian translation, *Trudy GPh im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina*, 2 (5), *Vostochnyi sbornik* (Leningrad, 1957), pp. 112—63.

13. "Gulistan-i hunar", 66, 70, 71, 73.

14. *Ibid.*, 75.

15. Bayani, i, p. XV, no. 26; p. 49.

16. *Ibid.*, i, pp. 50—4.

17. See: O. F. Akimushkin, "Kāzī Aḥmad o spiske sochineniia Abd ar-Rahmana Djami "Lava'ijh" (Qāzī Aḥmad about the copy of ~Abd al-Rahman Djami. "Lawa'ih")", *Strany Perednego i Srednego Vostoka* (Moscow, 1968), ed. Yu. A. Petrosian, pp. 23—4; Bayani, i, pp. 44—9.

18. Bayani, i, p. 49.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 53—4.

22. The letters in this phrase correspond to numerals, the sum of which is 973 (482 + 61 + 20 + 410).

23. Bayani, i, p. 54.

24. Compare the relation of Amīr Ghaib-bik's "Introduction" to the Qutb al-Dīn's "Introduction" (first comes a page from M. Bayani's edition, then a page from the manuscript of Milli 691): p. 50: 395, 396; p. 51: 396, 397; p. 52: 397, 401, 402, 403; p. 53: 402, 404, 405, 406.

25. The "Introduction" was definitely written by Qutb al-Dīn after the album had been finished. This is proved by his phrase: "yādgār-i ishān dar in muraqqa'st" — "The memory about them is in this muraqqa'".

26. The total number (without repetitions) is 60 persons: 20 calligraphers — masters of the classical "six" scripts, 18 masters of *nasta'liq* style, 7 masters of *ta'liq* style and 15 painters.

27. On these copies see: M. T. Danish-Pazhuh, "Sarguzasht-i namahā-yi khushnavisan va hunarmandan", "Hunar va mardum", 86—87 (1348/1960), pp. 38—9.

28. Manuscript of Kitābkhaneh-i Milli no. 691, pp. 393—506. Copyist — Muḥammad-Rizā b. Ḥājji Ṭahmāsb-Qulī-bik, date of copyng — 8 muḥarram 1057/February 13, 1647 (p. 406). See: A. Anvar, "Fihrist-i nusakh-i khattī-yi kitābkhaneh-i Milli" (1347/1968), ii, pp. 196—7.

29. *Sukhan* XVII, 6—7, (1346/1967), pp. 667—76. See also: *The Houghton Shahnameh*. Introduced and described by Martin B. Dickson and Stuart C. Welch. (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1981), i, p. 242, note 3, p. 245, note 3. We could not find the publication of H. Khadivdjian, so we used a xerox-copy of the manuscript no. 691 from the Milli library (pp. 393—406).

30. Here we give a correspondance table between Qutb al-Dīn's "Introduction" and Qāzī Aḥmad's "Treatise" and "Gulistan-i hunar", i. e. his first and second versions:

"Introduction"	GMINV manuscript	Salar Djang manuscript	Khwansari edition
1	2	3	4
p. 393	f. 1b: 4—7, 11; f. 2a: 1, 4—5.	f. 1b: 4—7, 9—11, 13—15, lacuna.	p. 3: 4—8, 12—14; p. 4: 2—3, 18; p. 8: 12—15.
p. 393	f. 2b: 2; f. 5b: 9—14; f. 6a: 1—5.		p. 9: 1—8.
p. 394	f. 6a: 6—14; f. 6b: 1—8	lacuna	p. 9: 9—23; p. 10: 3—8
p. 395	f. 6b: 9—12; f. 7b: 10—11, 13—14; f. 8a: 1—2; f. 9a: 1—2.	f. 2a: 1, 3—6.	p. 10: 8—14; p. 12: 20—21; p. 13: 3—6; p. 16: 3—7.
	f. 29a: 4—5.	f. 18a: 1—2.	p. 59: 16—17.
p. 397	f. 21a: 11—12; f. 21b: 1—7.	f. 15b: 9—10, 13—19; f. 16a: 1—3.	p. 42: 3—4, 9—12; p. 43: 1—4; p. 128: 4—11.
p. 398	f. 65a: 8—14; f. 65b: 1—14; f. 66a: 1—6.	f. 36b: 1—19 and 7 lines on the borders; f. 37a: 1—5.	p. 128: 14—16; p. 129: 1—16.
p. 399	f. 66a: 7—14; f. 66b: 1—6.	f. 37a: 5—19; f. 37b: 1—5.	p. 129: 17—22; p. 130: 1—9.
p. 400	f. 66b: 7—14; f. 67b: 1—7.	f. 37b: 5—17; f. 38a: 1—8.	p. 130: 10—22; p. 131: 1—5.
p. 401	f. 67b: 7—14; f. 68a: 1—7; f. 68b: 1—2; f. 69a: 1—6.	f. 38a: 8—16; f. 38b: 1—13.	p. 131: 5—22; p. 132: 1—5.
p. 402	f. 69a: 6—9; f. 69b: 1—8; f. 70a: 4—6.	f. 38b: 13—17 and 4 lines on the borders; f. 39a: 1—6, 15—17.	p. 132: 5—12; p. 133: 1—4, 10; p. 134: 12—14.
p. 403	f. 70b: 11—14; f. 71a: 1—3.	f. 40a: 10—16.	p. 138: 3—9.
p. 405	lacuna. See <i>SPb FIV RAN</i> call number B4722 ff. 8b: 1—2; 9a: 1—12.	f. 40b: 12—17; f. 41a: 1—2.	p. 144: 5—22; p. 145: 1—2.

31. See: Qutb al-Din's "Introduction" pp. 402 bottom of page, 405 bottom of page, 406 top of page and M. Bayani, i, pp. 52, 53.

32. See: 'Abdi-bik Shirāzi, "*Āyin-i Iskandari*". Compilation of the text and preface by A. G. Ragimov (Moscow, 1977). Qutb al-Din borrowed 34 *bait*s from these work, Qāzi Ahmad — 33. Compare: 'Abdi-bik p. 103, *bait*s 1879, 1883—6; 1889, 1891—2, 1895; pp. 104—5, *bait*s 1914—8, 1920, 1922—3, 1925, 1929, pp. 106—7, *bait*s 1945—59; p. 109, *bait* 2003 and correspondingly Qutb al-Din's "Introduction" pp. 394, 398, 402—3 and "Gulistān-i hunar" (edition of A. Khwansari) pp. 9, 128—9, 132, 134, 138, 143.

33. 'Imād al-Din Na'ari. "*Zhemchuzhiny besed (The pearls of the night talks)*". Russian translation from Persian by M. N. O. Osmanov (Moscow, 1985), pp. 51—5.

34. Dhiyā al-Din Nakhshabi, *Kniga popugaia (Tuti-nameh) (The book of the parrot (Tuti-name))*. Russian translation from Persian by E. E. Bertel's (Moscow, 1979), p. 37—42. Nakhshabi, as well as Na'ari, substitutes a goldsmith for a carpenter (*durūdgar*).

35. B. Dorn, *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Petersburg*. (Spb., 1852), pp. 288—9, no. 288. See also: Ch. A. Storey, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskii obzor. V trekh chastyakh. (Persian literature. Bio-bibliographical Survey. In three parts.)* Translated from English, edited and completed by Yu. E. Bregel (Moscow, 1972), ii, p. 415—6. On Būdāq munshi see: P. I. Petrov, "*Ob odnom redkom istochnike po istorii sefevidov (About one rare source on the Safavids)*", *SV*, 1 (1956), p. 111—20; R. Savory, "*A secretarial career under Shah Tahmasb I (1524—1576)*", *Islamic studies*, II, 3 (Karachi, 1963), pp. 343—52. The copy 'Dorn 288' from the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, is a complete autograph copy. The second, defective and incomplete copy was included into the reference literature as "Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh" (now kept in Lahore, Pakistan), see our article: "Vtoroj spisok istoricheskogo truda Budaka munshi Kazvini 'Djawāhir al-akhbār' (The second copy of Būdāq munshi Qazwini's historical work 'Djawāhir al-akhbār'))" — *PP i PIKNV*, 16, 2 (1982), pp. 90—5.

36. Manuscript: Dorn 288, f. 296a.

37. *Ibid.*, borders of f. 296a.
38. *Ibid.*, f. 339b.
39. The composition was finished in 978/1570. See: Storey-Bregel, i, p. 404—406; iii, p. 140a.
40. See our articles: "*Iskandar-munshi o kalligrafakh shaha Tahmaspa I (Iskandar-munshi about the calligraphers of shah Tahmasp I)*", KSINA, 39, (1963), pp. 20—32; "*Iskandar-munshi o hudozhnikah vremeni shaha Tahmaspa I Safavi. (Iskanar-munshi about the painters of the shah Tahmasp I)*", Trudy Tbil. GU, 241, (1983), pp. 259—73.
41. Compare notes of Būdāq munshi (Dorn 288, ff. 106a—113b) and corresponding passages from Qāzī Aḥmad's "Treatise" (GMINV, Or. 156): ff. 8a—b, 9a—12b, 13a, 14a—17a, 28b—29a, 29a—31b, 46a—53b, 54a—58ab, 61a, 70ab, 72a—73a, 13a, 21b, 23ab, 24ab; see also the translation by Zakhoder: pp. 66—8, 68—9, 70, 71, 73, 74—6, 76—8, 74, 79, 104, 105, 106—10, 131—7, 137—8, 144—6, 143, 155, 139—40, 143, 155, 139—40, 140—3, 151, 151—2, 152—3, 153, 146—50, 168, 162—3, 182, 182—3, 185, 185—6, 186, 186, 187, 82, 187, 89—90, 90, 91, 91—2, 94, 94.
42. About the author and his works see: Storey-Bregel, i, pp. 379—93; iii, pp. 1398—9.
43. Compare: Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr. *Ḥabīb al-siyyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar*. Ba ihtimam-i Djalāl Huma'i (Tehran, 1333/1954), iv, 18—19 and Qāzī Aḥmad, "Treatise", GMINV, f. 15a; translation by Zakhoder, pp. 75—6.
44. Ḥabīb al-siyyar, published by Huma'i, iii, 616—7 and Qāzī Aḥmad, "Treatise", GMINV, ff. 13a—14a; translation by Zakhoder, pp. 71—3. Khwāndamīr took the story about Ma'rūf Baghdādī from 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī. Compare: *Matla' al-sa'dain va mad-jma' al-bahrain*. Ta'lif-i mawlana Kamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī. Djild-i Duwwum. Ba Tashih-i Muhammad Shafī'. Chap-i Duwwum (Lahur, 1368/1949), pp. 589—90. Compare also a beautiful essay on this subject from Dawlatshāh Samarqandī: *The Tadhkiratu' sh-Shu'ara ("Memoirs of the poets")* by Dawlatshah bin 'Ala'u 'd-Dawla Bakhtishāh al-Ghāzī of Samarqand. Ed. ... by E. G. Browne (London-Leide, 1901), p. 429.
45. See: Aḥmad Gulchin-i Ma'ani, "*Tarikh-i tadhkiraha-yi farsī*" (Tehran, 1348/1969), i, pp. 155—7; Ch. A. Storey, "*Persian Literature. A bio-bibliographical Survey*", i, 2 (London, 1953), pp. 797—800, 1395.
46. Compare: *Tadhkireh-i Tuhfeh-i Sāmi*. Talif-i Sām-mürzā Safavi. Tashih va muqaddimeh az Rukn al-Dīn Humayunfarrukh (Tehran, 1976), pp. 133—4, 134, 135, 135—6, 137, 142 and, correspondingly, the "Treatise" (GMINV) ff. 46a—48a, 45b—46a, 28b—29a, 52b—53a, 52a, 45b.
47. In poetry the public attitude to this question was completely different. See: G. E. von Grünebaum, "*Kontseptsiia plagiata v arabo-musul'manskoi kul'ture. (The concept of plagiarism in the Arab-Muslim culture)*", G. E. von Grünebaum, "*Osnovnye cherty arabo-musul'manskoi kul'tury. Stat'i raznykh let*" (Moscow, 1981), pp. 127—56.