duction increased in the second quarter of the century, when Shiraz was in the hands of the Injuid dynasty, a family who had been assigned to supervise the royal estates (Arab. īnḫu) of the Ilkhanids, but who by ca. 1235 had become virtually independent rulers of Fars province. The Injuids were great patrons of the arts, and under their auspices in the 1330s a number of illustrated manuscripts were produced in a distinctive local style (see below). A good example of the type of bowl produced in Shiraz is the large one made for the Injuid ruler Shahr rh Abu Ishaq (r. 1343–53), with mounted figures in the roundels [27]. Both made later in the century become increasingly straight-sided and higher in proportion to their width. The figures become taller and slimmer, as in contemporary manuscript painting, and the teicrissed Mongol hat is replaced by a smaller cap set on the back of the head. Inscriptions similarly become more attenuated and a second line of writing in a stylized angular script is often superimposed on the stems of the first.26

Wood continued to be used in the Ilkhanid period for architectural fittings as well as portable objects. Minbars in the congregational mosques of Nayin and Isfahan in central Iran are the most important pieces to survive from the early fourteenth century. They are both similar in form, but the one in Nayin has a canopy.27 It was ordered in 1311 by a merchant and was signed by Mahmud Shah b. Muhammad, the designer (nasqīb) from Kirman. The triangular sides are composed of rectangular panels with shallow beveled style arabesques within a mottled frame. The minbar from Isfahan has complex designs of octagonal tracery and intaglio carving. The carving on the geometric panels resembles that on the minbar from Nayin, but the decoration includes two new elements found in contemporary carved stucco: inscriptions in a stylized square script and naturalistic leaves in high relief. Many of these features can be found on other contemporary pieces of woodwork, such as the doors to the mosque in the shrine of Bayazid at Bastam (1307–9), a group of cenotaphs from the area around Sultaniyah, and a folding Koran stand made by Hasam b. Sulayman al-Islahānī for an unidentified madrasa in 1359 [28]. They all show great technical ability and a rich decorative repertoire; the Koran stand in particular has deeply undercut naturalistic flowers, inscriptions, and arabesques worked in two levels. Perhaps the most unusual piece is the Cenotaph of Esther from the Mausoleum of Esther and Mordecai at Hamadan. All its decorative motifs and forms are typical of early fourteenth-century Persian woodwork except for the Hebrew inscription.5

ARTS OF THE BOOK

Illustrated and illuminated books had been produced for centuries in the Islamic world, but following the Mongol conquests in Iran they became more numerous and larger in size. Surviving examples from the period show that the book was conceived as a complete work of art, with every step—transliteration, illumination, illustration—with the text to form an integral part of the whole. It is possible that books had been conceived in this way somewhat earlier, but no examples have survived. Surviving works also show that larger, more heavily illustrated books were produced at the beginning of the fourteenth century and intended to comment visually on contemporary society.24 Few details about production practices of this major art form are known, and it is only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the steps of production are clear (see Chapters 5 and 12).

Bookbinding was still relatively straightforward, to judge from one of the earliest surviving Iranian examples. It conforms to the standard arrangement of Islamic books, with the spine on the right and forehead and envelope flaps attached to the back cover on the left. It covers a text by Bakhtshī’s Mawṣūlāt al-bayānī ("Benefits of animals") which was copied at Maragha, one of the Ilkhanid capitals in northwestern Iran, in 1297 or 1299 (the last digit of the date is unclear) and seems to be contemporary with the text.29 Measuring 33.9 by 25 centimeters, the dark reddish-brown leather covers are decorated with blind tooling applied with a small number of punches. The front and back covers have almand-shaped medallions with three different radiating elements. All the patterns are symmetrical, except two graceful arabesques on the flap. The total effect is of austere dignity.

The greatest calligrapher of the thirteenth century, and perhaps the greatest of all times, was Jalal al-Dīn Abu Majd b. Abūl'āl al-Mawsili, known as Yaqut al-Musta’sī (1211–88). He is secretary to the last Abbasid caliph of Baghdad, al-Musta’sī, hence the sobriquet. Yaqut perfected the proportioned script developed by Ibn Muqla (d. 940) and refined by Ibn al-Bawwah (d. 1042) in which letters were measured in dots, circles, and hexagons formed by the nib of the pen. By cutting the pen at an angle, Yaqut created a more elegant ductus, for which he earned the epithets "sultan," "cycoon,'" and "qibla" of calligraphers. He was master of the six canonical scripts (naskh, ruq‘ah, naskhī, tawqī, šī‘ra, and nasta‘līq). Although he reportedly copied two Koran manuscripts per month, surviving works are rare. It was prized by later collectors and calligraphers, and many fine calligraphic specimens have been attributed to him.32 He had six famous pupils, from whom most later calligraphers in Iran and Turkey traced their descent. These six not only executed works on paper, but designed inscriptions in other media: Haydar, for example, designed the stucco inscriptions at Nastaran and Jamshidieh.

Under Ilkhanid patronage at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a group of some dozen monumental Koran manuscripts was produced whose size, format, and magnificence surpassed all previous examples known. The most impressive are five manuscripts made in Mosul and northwestern Iran for Sultan Ulujaytu or his vizier Rashid al-Dīn.33 Each is a thirty-volume set, with five lines of writing on large-format folios. Four of them measure approximately 54 by 38 centimeters, and one, made at Baghdad and endowed to the sultan’s mausoleum at Sultaniyah [29], is smaller, measuring 29 by 17 cm. One of the smaller manuscripts, also made at Baghdad, show that Ahmad b. al-Suhrawardi, one of the six pupils of Yaqut, took four years to transcribe and illustrate it and Muhammad b. Aybak eight years to decorate it.34 The same team was probably responsible for the enormous manuscript made for the mausoleum at Sultaniyah. This copy may well have taken a few years longer to produce (1306–13) as it is not only larger but each folio has three lines of majuscule muḥaqqaq script in gold outlined in black alternating with two lines of a more fluid šī‘ra muḥaqqaq script in black outlined in gold, one of the most spectacular examples of monumental Koranic calligraphy. The illumination, executed in a wide range of colors, is equally elaborate, although perhaps not as successful. Verses are marked by rosettes, and groups of five and ten verses are marked in the margin by medallions decorated with arabesque scrolls. Chapter headings are written in a contrasting cursive script on a ground of arabesque scrolls framed by a gold braid and marked by a marginal palmette. All of these imperial Koran manuscripts have magnificent double frontispieces with self-contained geometric designs that often recall contemporary architectural decoration. The frontispiece in a manuscript done for Rashid al-Dīn in 1315 has a pattern of alternating stars and crowns like the one used in tile revetment, and the frontispieces to a multi-volume manuscript done at Hamadan in 1313 have often been compared to the patterns painted in the vaults of the sultan’s mausoleum at Sultaniyah [27]. Illustrated manuscripts had been produced in Baghdad before the Mongol invasions, and despite the political interruption, they continued to be produced there in the same style. The double frontispiece to a manuscript of the Rasūl al-ahmar al-ṣahīḥ ("Epistles of the sincere brethren"),

28. Koran stand, Iran or Central Asia, 1339. Wood. 130.2 x 20.7 x 41.0 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
completed in Baghdad in 1287, depicts the five authors seated in a brick arcade and surrounded by scribes, students, and servants [16]. The painting follows the tradition known as classical antiquity of inserting author portraits at the beginning of the text and represents the full maturity of the style developed in Mesopotamia before the Mongol invasions, without any hint of Far Eastern motifs or pictorial concepts.

These new motifs and concepts begin to appear in the illustrations of the manuscript of Ibn Bakhtishu’s Manazil al-hayawan in the late 1290s. According to the preface, the text was translated from Arabic to Persian on the orders of the Ilkhanid sultan Ghazan. It describes the nature and habits of man, animals, birds, reptiles, insects, and aquatic creatures. It was embellished with ninety-four paintings of varying sizes, which are set off from the text and show the various species in naturalistic landscape settings. Those on the first folios follow the conservative Baghdad style of large-scale figures set in a simple landscape of grassy turf and stylized plants. The plain paper serves as ground, and there is no attempt to depict illusionistic space. Other paintings later in the manuscript [17] have smaller figures integrated into more developed landscapes, with gnarled trees, convoluted clouds, and rocky mountains; these features add a new sense of atmosphere and space and show an awareness of Chinese painting. In the later paintings figures at the edge of the picture are sometimes cropped, thereby suggesting a world beyond the small picture plane.

The same mixture of traditional and new pictorial devices is seen in a manuscript of al-Biruni’s Ishâr al-kâfiya (“Vestiges of the past”) copied by Ibn al-Kutbi in 1307-8. Composed around the year 1000, the text discusses various calendrical systems used by pre-Islamic peoples, and twenty-four paintings, framed with gold rulings and patterned borders, illustrate some of the historical events that occurred in connection with these calendars. Simple symmetrical compositions, halved figures with turbans and robes, and patterned drapery are typical of the earlier Mesopotamian style, but such motifs as convoluted clouds and colored ground are new. The image of The Encirclement of ‘Ali at Ghadir Khumm [32] shows three figures flanking the Prophet, who raises his hand to ‘Ali’s shoulder. The static figures derive from earlier Near Eastern painting, but the drama is enhanced by direct eye contact and the swirling red and gold clouds set against a dark sky. The unusually large size, the complexity of the pictorial conception, and the fine quality of this painting distinguish it from others in the manuscript and reflect contemporary interest in a variety of religious movements, most notably Shi’ism.

The quality and style of these manuscripts indicate that they were produced for discerning patrons associated with the Ilkhanid court, but the identity of the individual patrons remains a mystery. Matters of patronage, provenance, and production become much clearer in the second decade of the fourteenth century, when the vizier Rashid al-Din established a scriptorium at his charitable foundation in...
Chinese emperors. Although the colophon to the manuscript has not been preserved, the date 1314-15 later added to the manuscript can be regarded as plausible.

In contrast to illustrations in earlier manuscripts, which are generally square, most of the illustrations to the historical text are horizontal strips occupying about one-third of the written surface. One possible source for this unusual format was Chinese pictorial handscrolls, which would have been available in Ilkhanid Iran. Only certain kinds of compositions were effective in these strongly horizontal frames: the most common for indoor scenes is a tripartite one with a central figure or group flanked by other figures, often separated by columns or other architectural devices. Outdoor scenes are more varied in composition and relate the space beyond the picture plane with a variety of pictorial devices. Figures at the sides are often cropped, and the husas and hooves project beyond the frame into the text area, and figures occasionally turn directly toward or away from the viewer. Such landscape elements as clouds, trees, mountains, and water (depicted as imbrications) are frankly inspired by Chinese prototypes, but occasionally a model from European or Byzantine manuscript painting was used, particularly if the subject was new to the Islamic tradition.

The representation of The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad in this example, is broadly based on a depiction of the Nativity of Christ, but on the left three women have replaced the Magi and on the right "Abd al-Mutallih, the Prophet’s grandfather, has replaced Joseph. Whereas earlier Islamic manuscripts had paintings executed in opaque pigments, the paintings in this manuscript are done in black ink heightened with colored washes, also a Chinese technique. Another new feature is the selection of certain narrative cycles for illustration so that the illustrations are a visual commentary on the text. The section on the Ghaznavid dynasty of Afghanistan (977-1186), for example, has the most, the largest, and some of the most inventive and dynamic illustrations in the manuscript, while the long section dealing with the history of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad (749-1258) has no illustrations at all. The decided preference for the Ghaznavids, who in the larger scheme of things were less important than the Abbasids, is undoubtedly due to the way the Mongols saw themselves as heirs to the great Turkish tradition of military conquest exemplified by the Ghaznavids. Finally, the sheer number of illustrations in the volume shows the increased importance of the art of the book as a means of expressing concepts not necessarily inherent in the text itself.

This interest in expanding the potential of the illustrated book culminated in the most magnificent manuscript of the fourteenth century, a monumental copy of the Shihâna (“Book of kings”). The manuscript originally had some three hundred folios in large format (written surface 41 by 25 cm) with six columns of thirty-one lines each. It was bound in two volumes and was planned to have nearly two hundred illustrations, although it is unlikely that all were completed. It seems to have remained in Tabriz at least until the early sixteenth century; at the beginning of the twentieth century, what remained of the manuscript was broken up for sale by the Parisian dealer Georges Demotte, after whom the manuscript is often known. The remaining fifty-eight...
illustrated folios and a handful of text pages are scattered in museums and private collections in Europe and North America. The Great Mongol Shāhnāma is even larger than the manuscripts made for Rashīd al-Dīn, and its illustrations are taller and squarer in format. Most of them occupy four or six columns of text, and a few have stepped or shaped compositions which emphasize the action more effectively than in other manuscripts. Several figurative types, such as that of Mahmūd of Ghazna Crossing the Ganges, and landscape elements, such as gnarled tree trunks and intricate designs for water, are derived directly from the Rashīdīyāt illustrations, but the compositions have been expanded to include more figures and more space. The greater size of the illustration seems to have encouraged artists to integrate larger figures into more developed landscapes than are found in earlier illustrations. For example, the representation of the Bier of Alexander [355] is still based on a tripartite scheme, but the central space dominates the composition, which is unified by the figures arranged in a circle around the bier. Some of the figures, particularly the veiled mourners in the foreground and Alexander's mother lamenting over the coffin in the center, are inspired by figures in Western represen-
tations of the Lamentation, but the artist has recombined individual elements to create a dramatic sense of pictorial space unknown in the earlier Rashīdīyāt illustrations.

Outdoor scenes are even more inventive. In the depiction of Bahram Gur Killing a Wolf [356], the protagonist, who is barely contained by the picture plane, is mounted to one side; on the other the vanquished beast sprawls on its back, gushing blood and writhing in agony around the gnarled trees. This sense of emotion and drama is unique to this manuscript. Surviving evidence suggests that it was an experiment which was rarely repeated in Iranian book-painting. The experimental nature of the manuscript is also apparent in the wide variation in the quality of conception and execution of the illustrations. Some of the compositions are quite prosaic, and the quality of the drawing varies. Figures wear a wide range of costumes, including some thirty-seven types of hat and eight different styles of leap. Some paintings are executed in line and colored washes; others use opaque colors, but these range from cool greens and muddy browns to bright reds and vivid blues. The choice of pigments also seems to have been experimental, for in some cases they have flaked or deteriorated badly. The range of painting styles has led some scholars to suggest that many artists were involved in the project, but their attempts to identify individual hands have not met universal agreement. Such experimentation may have been due to the historical situation leading up to the creation of this manuscript and to the role it was expected to play. It may have been commissioned by Rashīd al-Dīn's son, Ghiyath al-Dīn, who became vizier to Abu Sa'id in 1328, engineered the appointment of Arpa as sultan, and was himself put to death in May 1336. It would have been meant to commemorate Ghiyath al-Dīn's power as a kingmaker, with the illustrations chosen with reference to contemporary events. As in the Jāmī al-Tabarānī, the rate of illustration was extremely variable, with some episodes, such as the Alexander sequence, illustrated on almost every folio, and others, even such famous ones as the Rustam cycle, less well represented. The images were chosen to emphasize several themes, such as the enthronement of minor kings, dynastic legitimacy, and the role of women as kingmakers, that would have been particularly appropriate in the unsettled political circumstances. The illustrations designed especially for the model of a great, state-sponsored manuscript but also, and more importantly, to glorify a moribund dynasty and to connect it with the glorious rulers of the Iranian past. The formerly private art of the book thereby took on a more public and rhetorical function. It is not surprising that this new role grew directly out of the experiments of the Rashīdīyāt school some decades earlier, for in the eyes of the Ilkhāns the Shāhnāma was history as was Rashīd al-Dīn's Jāmī al-Tabarānī. Many of the novel features of the later manuscript, such as the interest in space, the emotionalism, and the emphasis on death and mourning, are featured in the drawing of the Bier of Alexander; but the illustrated manuscript continued to play its new public role as important figures deemed it essential to commission illustrations to affirm their status. Later generations looked back on this period as a watershed in the history of Persian painting. When Dust Muhammad (fl. 1510–65) was asked to compile a complete and probably new illustrated copy of the Al-Farābī, he compiled it for Bahram Mirza, brother of the Safavid shah Tāhmasp, the painter, calligrapher, and chronicler who wrote that during the reign of Abu Sa'id, "Māster Ahmad Musa lifted the veil from the face of dephtion and the [style of] depiction that is now current was invented by him." This movement marked the beginning of a continuous tradition of manuscript painting which was passed from master to pupil. This monument style of manuscript illustration continued despite the chaos that ensued with the dissolution of the Ilkhānid power. As with the Mongol conquest of Baghdad nearly a century before, political upheaval was not reflected immediately in the arts. Features that characterize the Great Mongol Shāhnāma, such as spatial complexity, large figures, and integrated Chinese motifs, are also seen in several fragmentary manuscripts produced in the middle decades of the fourteenth century. In his album Dust Muhammad included paintings from a dispersed Ilkhānīgan ("Book of the [Prophet's] Ascension") and assigned them to the hand of Ahmad Musa. Whether or not one accepts the attribution, the style of the paintings is consistent with a date in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Illustrations from another fourteenth-century manuscript, a copy of the animal fables Kalila and Dimna, were included in another album prepared for Tāhmasp I and probably date from the middle of the fourteenth century.** The interior scenes, especially enthronements, are comparable in composition, spatial interest, figural groups, and sartorial detail to the Shāhnāma illustrations, but the exterior scenes [37] show an interest in the representation of landscape only latent in the earlier manuscript. Landscape elements spill out of the confines of the picture frame into the margin. In outdoor scenes, the vertical ruling between text and border marks the division between interior and exterior space; in outdoor scenes the ruling dissolves beneath a riot of landscape details which engulf the image. As befitting the subject of the manuscript, animals are represented with extraordinary naturalism, sensitivity, and skill. The clearest evidence for the continuation of this court style of painting after the fall of the Ilkhānids is a manuscript of the Ganjāhāna dated July 1354, which has space for many more illustrations than the few that were completed.35 They are similar to, albeit less refined than, those in the Great Mongol Shāhnāma, but the smaller, more stilted and formal figures and the projection of the images into the margin anticipate later developments.

The history of Persian manuscript illustration in the third quarter of the fourteenth century is extremely speculative and controversial. According to Dust Muhammad, the mantle passed from Ahmad Musa to Amir Dawlat Yar, a slave of Abu Sa'id, who specialized in ink drawing (Pers. kalamsīyāh). One of his students, in turn, was Shams al-Dīn, who trained...
during the reign of the Jalayirid sultan 'Ubayd (1356–74) and who made scenes in a square-format Shāhāma. Shams al-Din was followed in turn by two pupils: 'Abd al-Hayy, who worked under and instructed 'Ubayd’s son Ahmad (r. 1382–1410), and Junayd of Baghdad. Manuscript paintings later mounted in albums have often been attributed on stylistic grounds to this period, but their identification and exact chronology remain matters of debate. 49 Only with the reign of Ahmad Jalayir at Baghdad does the evolution of Persian illustrated manuscripts become clear, because there are complete, dated manuscripts, and they contain paintings that can be linked to the names mentioned by Dust Muhammad.

The earliest illustrated manuscripts from the library of Ahmad Jalayir are a copy of Nizami’s Khamsa (“Five poems”) dated 1386–8 and a cosmological manuscript adapted from al-Qazwini’s A’yan al-maddahina (“The wonders of creation”) dated 1388. 50 The tiles show the increased range of manuscripts chosen for illustration in a royal library. The slanting calligraphy of the text, the high horizons, the semi ground scattered with vegetation, and the smaller figures in the illustrations are distinctly new features which would later characterize the Jalayirid style, but the general conception and execution are somewhat rough, particularly in contrast to the superb polish and refined elegance of the acknowledged masterpiece of the style, a copy of Khwaju Kirman’s Divan (“Collected poems”), made at Baghdad in 1396. 48

This manuscript, which measures 32 by 24 centimeters, now contains nine illustrations. The one illustrating Humay on the Day after his Wedding [38] shows the princess seated in her bed on the left; the window grille above her head bears the signature of Junayd, “the royal painter,” the first unquestionably genuine signature in Persian manuscript painting. 49

All the paintings of the Khwaju Kirman manuscript are executed in the same style. The images engulp the text, spilling from the text block into the margins and filling the entire page. The picture plane is conceived as a flat backdrop against which the small and slender figures are posed in a circle. The depiction of architecture is particularly elaborate, with geometric tile dawans, floral arabesque archways, compartment carpets, and carved plaster grilles displayed in a dazzling array of brilliant blues, oranges, and reds. The illustrations are some of the most romantic in Persian manuscript painting and contrast sharply with the big figures, emotionalism, and drama in the illustrations to the Great Mongol Shahnama. This world of eternal lyricism in which flowers bloom and birds sing forever is the most characteristic features of Persian manuscript painting in the following century.

One illustrated folio depicting an Angel Seen in a Dream [39] was removed from the Divan, probably in the early sixteenth century, and included in the album prepared by Dust Muhammad. 50 Although the painting is executed in the same style as the others in the manuscript, Dust Muhammad’s elaboration heading at the top paradoxically attributes the work to ‘Abd al-Hayy, the other pupil of Shams al-Din active during the reign of Ahmad Jalayir. Dust Muhammad’s attribution may well be due to one feature not found in the other paintings: the wall at the rear contains a fine drawing of a woman and an infant standing in a rocky landscape studded with plants and trees. Later generations associated ‘Abd al-Hayy’s name with the techniques of line drawing and wall painting, so Dust Muhammad may have been led to conclude that this illustration was his work. 51 It is more probable that the painting is, like all the others in the manuscript, by Junayd, who included in it a witty visual quotation of the work of his contemporary.

‘Abd al-Hayy’s renown as a master of drawing may well have made him the artist responsible for the other masterpiece surviving from the reign of Ahmad Jalayir, a manuscript of the sultan’s own Divan. 52 Eight of the 337 folios (179a, 178a, 174, 172b, 172a, 172b, 172a, 174, and 215b) have marginal drawings, exquisitely rendered with fine brushwork in black ink and slight touches of blue and gold. The first [40] shows a pastoral scene with a flock of geese flying overhead. On the left an old man leaning on a staff accompanies a woman carrying an infant; below are several pairs of water buffalos and a herdsman. These drawings are unusual in technique, location, and meaning. Unlike earlier and contemporary paintings executed in opaque pigments, they are executed exclusively in line, without the washes of the Rashiditiya school, and they were conceived independently of the text-block: the mystical poems exalt love and praise the Creator, but the images seem to have little to do with the ostensible meaning of the poetry. The images may parallel the mystical themes of the poems by depicting the seven stages in the