LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

The Paintings of al-Āthār al-Bāqiya of al-Bīrūnī:
A Turning Point in Islamic Visual Representation

By

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A thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Islamic Art

School of Architecture and Design
May 2021

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Thesis Title: The Paintings of al-Āthār al-Bāqiya of al-Bīrūnī: A Turning Point in Islamic Visual Representation

Program: Islamic Art

Department: Architecture and Interior Design

School: School of Architecture and Design

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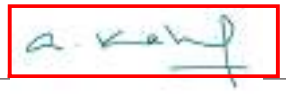
Signature:  Date: 26 / 05 / 2021 (Day / Month / Year)

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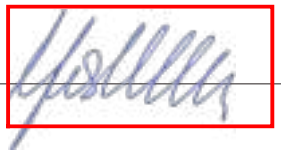
Signature:  Date: 27 / 05 / 2021 (Day / Month / Year)

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The Paintings of al-Āthār al-Bāqiya of al-Bīrūnī: A Turning Point in Islamic Visual Representation

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ABSTRACT

Painting in Islamic art witnessed a major development in the aftermath of the Mongol conquest in the middle of the thirteenth century. A new style matured toward the end of the fourteenth century after passing through a period of survival of pre-Mongol style, established in various places during the last fifty years of the Abbasid period, into the post-Mongol paintings. The main aspect of this development was the introduction of Chinese pictorial elements and manner of rendering into Islamic painting.

The subject of this thesis is the paintings - twenty-five in total - in an illustrated manuscript of *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya* for *Abū Rayḥān Muhammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī*. This study explores the coexistence of pre- and post- Mongol aspects that constituted a hybrid style, in light of the earlier style and the possible Chinese sources.

Keywords: al-Bīrūnī, religions, civilizations, Islamic Painting, Abbasid, Mesopotamian, Pre-Mongol, Post-Mongol, Persian Miniature, Chinese Influence, Baghdad, Far-eastern Elements, Composition, Fauna, Flora, Architectural Setting, Human Figures, Characters, Eclectic Style, Stylistic Traits.

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Note on Abbreviations

BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
ATH	Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʻan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya
MAQ	Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
DMM	De Materia Medica

Note on Transliteration

a	ء
ā	آ
b	ب
t	ت
th	ث
j	ج
ḥ	ح
kh	خ
d	د
dh	ذ
r	ر
z	ز
s	س
sh	ش
ṣ	ص
ḍ	ض
ṭ	ط
ẓ	ظ
ʿ	ع
gh	غ
f	ف
q	ق
k	ك
l	ل
m	م
n	ن
h	ه
ū or w	و
y	ي

Chapter One

Introduction

The illustrated version of *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya* for *Abū Rayḥān Muhammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī*,[1] in the Edinburgh University Library [Or. Ms. 161], is a significant manuscript in the development of Islamic painting in a period of stylistic changes in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The manuscript was copied by *Ibn al-Kutubī*, as stated in the colophon of the manuscript, in the year A.H. 707/ A.D. 1307-1308.[2] Unfortunately, the identities of the artist/s and the patron, as well as the place of production are unknown. The paintings are painted in a hybrid style which includes pre- and post-Mongol invasion features.

The text of this manuscript, known in the English language by 'The Chronology of Ancient Nations', or 'Vestiges of The Past' in Edward Sachau's translation in 1879,[3] is a scientific text.[4] It describes, historically and technically,[5] the various calendrical systems and the associated festivals of various religious and ethnic groups known to the author from ancient eras onwards, as well as accounts of a theological, ethnographic and geographical nature.[6] Several copies of the text exist,

1. See Appendix A for the biography of al-Bīrūnī, which includes his education, work, relationships, as well as highlights on various aspects and experiences of his life. In addition to his overall significant intellectual and scientific production, by where he is regarded as a pioneer of Islamic civilization and prolific author.

2. Gregorian calendar will be adopted for the dates throughout the paper, and accordingly, Hijri calendar dates will be converted.

3. Sahau praises al-Bīrūnī for his interest and desire to understand the history and traditions of other religious and ethnic groups [Sachau 1879, viii].

4. Teresa Kirk, "The Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Holistic Study of its Design and Images."*Persica* 20 (2005): 59. https://doi:10.2143/PERS.20.0.2005884.

5. See Appendix B for a commentary on al-Bīrūnī's first major work, as a literary text, on the origin of its production and sources., on the value of the text as it is still considered as one of the most reliable sources on ancient and medieval chronology, on the content which is a compilation of historical material on calendars and chronologies used by several religions and ethnicities, and the related festivals.

6. Robert Hillenbrand, "Edinburgh Biruni Manuscript: A Mirror of Its Time?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26, no. 1-2 (2016): 172 https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186316000018

but only two are illustrated, the subject of this study,[7] and another one in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris [Arabe 1489], perhaps a mid-16th century Ottoman copy.[8]

Historians of Islamic art referred to the manuscript in several publications including survey books, discussing some of its characteristics, its stylistic features, or examining a specific painting. Ernst Grube defined the paintings of this manuscript as an example of the early formative years of "Persian painting."[9] whereas Richard Ettinghausen and Arnold Walker Thomas thought the paintings are an archetype of late "Arab painting" with the inclusion of Chinese pictorial devices and motifs such as landscape elements.[10] This interpretation which has been widely held, and was repeated in many publications.[11] Basil Gray also shared this opinion and he pointed out that the manuscript greatly depends on the "Mesopotamian school."[12] Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom regarded it to be similar to a slightly earlier manuscript, *Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān* (The Usefulness of Animals), in regard to the inclusion of the "Arab style" of painting with Chinese pictorial motifs.[13] Nevertheless these general characterizations were not discussed in detail in regard to what is in these painting considered "Arab", or other characterizations used such as "Mesopotamian," and

7. See Appendix C for a clarification about its secured dating and hypothetical provenance, the physical condition and setting such as binding, foliation and script. The tables, diagrams, paintings included, and gaps located within the manuscript are also considered.

8. Marianne Barrucand, "Kopie - Nachempfindung oder Umgestaltung: Am Beispiel arabischer mittelalterlicher Bilderhandschriften und ihrer osmanischen Kopien" in *Bamberger Symposium: Rezeption in der Islamischen Kunst: vom 26.6. - 28.6.1992,* ed. Barbara Finster et al. (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 22.

9. Ernst J. Grube, *Persian Painting in the Fourteenth Century: Studies in Islamic Painting* (London: Pindar Press, 1995), 172.

10. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 137; Thomas Walker Arnold, "The Caesarean section in an Arabic manuscript 707 A.H.," in *A volume of Oriental studies presented to EG Brown,* eds Thomas Walker Arnold and Reynold Alleyne Nicholsoneds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 7.

11. Teresa Kirk, "The Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Holistic Study of its Design and Images." *Persica* 20 (2005): 41. https://doi:10.2143/PERS.20.0.2005884.

12. Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (n.p.: Skira, 1961), 26.

13. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 26.

what is Chinese and how all of these elements were brought together in one manuscript.

It is evident that the paintings are rendered in two styles: 1) a formerly established one associated with the pre-the Mongol conquest which is about varieties of style that share some characteristics and were developed in Iraq and Syria, described as Abbasid, Mesopotamian, Arab and Seljuk;[14] 2) a newly originated style at the date of the manuscript execution related to the post-Mongol period which relies on borrowing elements from Chinese origin. In this paper, I aim to explore the elements of each painting and analyze them in relation to these two models. I will investigate the two predominant styles in the paintings. An approach that has been applied by authors who have addressed specific paintings of the manuscript, or its conclusion might have been taken for granted by those who have thoroughly studied the manuscript**.** Henceforth, I would expect to discuss that overlooked correlation.

Three scholars have discussed aspects of the paintings in the manuscript on five different occasions. Priscilla Soucek explored in "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations," the relation between the subjects of the paintings with the corresponding texts for a better understating of whether they correspond to the text of al-Bīrūnī or they may reveal a broader familiarity of the events from the artist's perspective, and from the way they were understood in the fourteenth century.[15] According to her, al-Bīrūnī's discussion of the events are usually brief and insufficient,[16] therefore she refers to *Ibn Hishām, Ibn Isḥaq*, *Yaʿqubī* and to other historians in order to summarize and explain the text of the concerned illustration, for a clear understanding of the scene in question. She follows that with an analysis of the correlated illustration by investigating the artistic, cultural, and historical context of the manuscript, as well as the significance of the

14. According to David Talbot Rice, in his 1971 book 'Islamic Painting', western scholars such as Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray favored the term 'Mesopotamian'. Others like Lorey, Martin, Sakisian and Schultz preferred 'Baghdād'. As for Arnold and Stouchkine, they used 'Abbasid' and Kuhnel and Monneret de Villard the word 'Seljuk'.

15. Despite the fact that Soucek expresses her intention to discuss twenty-four illustrations, the total of illustrations she investigates are twenty-five.

16. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations," in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Bīrūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 104.

paintings themselves. While in some paintings, al-Bīrūnī's text has been sincerely transmitted by the artist, Soucek states that in others, a certain type of familiarity or a contemporary understanding of the event has been exposed, in some kind of a reflection of the new atmosphere revealed as an interest of the religious tendencies of different periods and cultures.[17]

In a later article "The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions", P. Soucek discusses the significance of the earliest known illustrations that depict events from the life of the prophet Muhammad in the development of Islamic art, in al-Bīrūnī's *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khaliyā*, and two other manuscripts.[18] In the article, the author considers the cultural and historical context of the periods during which those manuscripts were produced, and suggests that when studied in relation to each other, the illustrations could reflect controversies of their contemporary world as they were used to strengthen and support a particular view existing at the time of the manuscript's production.[19] In the case of al-Bīrūnī's manuscript, Soucek suggests that the illustrator seems to reflect more Shīʿite sympathy for understanding of Islamic accounts than the author himself, whose text reveals a remarkable affection for the Prophet's family.[20] Such episodes of symbolic importance that highlight religious and political importance of ʿAlī and his descendants, were among the portrayed themes favored by the surrounding community.[21]

Robert Hillenbrand in "Images of Muhammad in al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations", only commits to the illustrations depicting the life of the prophet in the Edinburgh manuscript, and does not relate the paintings to other paintings

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17. Soucek, 156.

18. The two other manuscripts are produced in Iran during the thirteen and fourteenth centuries: the *Balʿamī's* translation of *Ṭabarī*'s *Tārīkh al-Rusul wal-Mulūk*, and the *Rashīd al-Dīn*'s *Jāmiʿ al-Tawāhrīkh*

19. Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 205.

20. Soucek, 199.

21. Such topics were stressed in polemical literature produced by *Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī* and *Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥili*, Shīʿite theologians active in Mongol court circles (Soucek 1988, 205).

from the same period. He sorts the illustrations as a set - notably the last two - whose content has a message that can change the emphasis of the text.[22] The last two, according to him, reflect some shīʿite favoritism and have been executed alongside the manuscript, during the reign of Oljeītū (r. 1304 - 1316), the eighth ruler of il-Khanid dynasty.[23] Therefore, Hillenbrand connects the historical event of Oljeītu converting to shīʿism three years after the manuscript was completed, the shīʿite prejudice of the illustrations, and the shīʿite sympathy of al-Bīrūnī.[24] He studies the relationship of the text with the illustrations, whose impact could not only illustrate the main topic of the accompanying text, but can also give it completely new and unpredicted turn, 'rendering it relevant for contemporary concerns.'[25]

Teresa Kirk in "The Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Holistic Study of its Design and Images", approaches the manuscript and its paintings, as a whole.[26] She argues that in light of the temptation of the uniqueness of the paintings as each one illustrates a specific part of the text, scholars and art historians who tend to favor painting, have already paid a great deal of attention to the illustrations of the manuscript. As a consequence of their method of writing on the subject matter, on the style and on the significance of the paintings, a substantial portion of the manuscript has been left unexamined. Accordingly, since images are not just individual entities, and rather than treating each painting separately, the holistic approach applied by Kirk is an attempt to collectively explore some of the paintings as a pictorial program, given that similar arrangement and related themes recur throughout them. Therefore, the value of investigating the relationships between

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22. Robert Hillenbrand, "Images of Muhammad in Al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations," in *Persian Painting from Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 129.

23. The Il-Khanids are of Mongol origin, who ruled much of Iran and Iraq, after the Mongol conquest from 1260 to 1350.

24. Robert Hillenbrand, "Images of Muhammad in Al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations," in *Persian Painting from Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 135.

25. Hillenbrand, 130.

26. Teresa Kirk, "The Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Holistic Study of its Design and Images." *Persica* 20 (2005): 43. https://doi:10.2143/PERS.20.0.2005884.

images in that manner is for their possible significance, and their role and overall impact on the reader's perception of the text.[27] Considering that the manuscript is not a religious book, and its text is of a secular and scientific nature that deals with calendars and astronomy, displaying tolerance, objectivity and open-mindedness;[28] illustrations instead, and by emphasizing certain areas of the text, bring to the reader's attention some hidden themes through the thriving religious expressions highlighted in them.

According to Kirk, the interest is broader than the concern of merely paintings. Every other constituent part of the manuscript such as layout design, display of tables, configuration of diagrams, calligraphy, illumination, ornament, and even quality of the paper, display a careful arrangement and skillful execution of the manuscript, and show that every page has been taken great care of, to make it interesting and beautiful to look at. Thus, the concern for the design and artistic effect is not limited to the paintings, and as much as they would be admired, the overall aesthetic feature is also to be appreciated.[29] A detailed examination regarding design and layout in order to form an understanding of how the manuscript was put together, is necessary to provide some insight into the manuscript's production and to appreciate it. She starts by considering how the 'whole' has been seamlessly combined by numerous different visuals, then she shifts to less seamless parts. She also investigates the visual distinction and diversity found within the manuscript. And finally, she comments on the overall appearance of the manuscript and its impact on the viewer.

Recently, Hillenbrand once more investigated the manuscript in the "The Edinburgh Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Mirror of Its Time?" This time, he addresses the iconographic characteristics of national sentiment; ethnography and the distinctive approach to religion; three themes he assumes the illustrations project.[30] These

27. Kirk, 47.

28. Kirk, 59.

29. Kirk, 54.

30. Robert Hillenbrand, "Edinburgh Biruni Manuscript: A Mirror of Its Time?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26, no. 1-2 (2016): 172. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186316000018

themes are manifested in a pictorial program that acts far more than simply illustrating the text. They also highlight the subject matters of particular interest to either the patron, or the painter, or both. The case, according to the author, is similar to what al-Bīrūnī did in his writing by reflecting the intellectual interest of his time. Therefore, the manuscript executed some three centuries after its composition, mirrors al-Bīrūnī and Mongol Iran in wide perspectives, indicating the manuscript is a forerunner of religious painting in Islam.[31] He considers the impact of the iconographic aspect by integrating the illustrations in a purposeful cycle such as the strategical location of paintings depicting the Prophet and Islam roughly at the beginning, middle and end of the book, which appear very favorable to that faith, giving the book an overall Islamic context.[32] In that sense, it projects specific ideas such as the supremacy of Islam and its victorious force, while depictions of other religions seem far less favorable and merely reflect or acknowledge their existence.

In this paper, I will discuss in chapter two, the development of paintings in manuscripts and its historical context in the pre- and post-Mongol invasion periods. In chapter three, an outline of the major characteristics of the recurrent style of each period, will be followed by an examination of the stylistic components of the paintings of the Edinburgh manuscript, and a demonstration on how and why they match the corresponding style. Composition, landscape, flora, fauna, human figure, architecture, furniture, fabric and color; all will be addressed in order to be able to distinguish and classify them accordingly while exhibiting some parallel examples from other manuscripts that share similar features.

31. Hillenbrand, 199.

32. Robert Hillenbrand, *Studies in The Islamic Arts of The Book* (London: The Lindar Press: 2012), 155.

Chapter Two

The Development of Illustrated Book and the Two Styles

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the flourishing of the tradition of illustrated books in West Asia,[33] and in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, it reached its full bloom in Baghdad. The best known example of the maturity of style in painting is seen in the paintings of the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* by *al-Wāsiṭī* in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France [Arabe 5847], in which "Arab Painting"[34] during the Abbasid period, reached its apogee.[35] Several major studies have carefully considered the contribution of artists working in Baghdad, to the development of 'Arab painting' in the first half of the thirteenth century, and even of Jalāyirid painting at the end of the fourteenth century.[36] A flourishing school of miniature

33. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 59.

34. According to Oleg Bolshakov, the term 'Arab Painting' is conditional, as the involvement of practitioners of different nationalities is to be considered, when any cultural phenomenon such as literature or figurative art is approached on the basis of national origin.(Bolshakov 2018, 9) But, as much as it is a convenient division, it would be misleading to divide the study of Islamic illustrated books along ethnic lines, considering that paintings produced in Baghdād in the thirteen, fourteenth, and fifteenth century are considered respectively Arab, Persian, and Turkish. (Bloom and Blair 2009, 1:194) Instead, and given that not many works are signed, and others are anonymous, Bolshakov considers the language of the illustrated compositions to be the indicator for labeling pictorial works, so non-Arab or non-Muslim identities of the artists would not be ruled out. Whereas Bloom and Blair believe that the linguistic division can be deceptive.(Bloom and Blair, 2009, 1:195) Bolashkov, even counted on contrasting illustrations of Arabic-language compositions with Iranian painting, to call them 'Arab'.(Bolshakov 2018, 9) The medieval painting of the East, according to Grabar, had no specific condition or criteria to be a part of Arab culture.(Grabar 2007, 19) Therefore, the notion of the term 'Arab painting' is quite complex and intriguing.

Regardless of Bolshakov's suggestion to define them by territorial markers as it would be more reliable, (Bolshakov 2018, 10) scholars have often debated the classification and the labeling of the style of the thirteenth century Mesopotamian school of painting. Several theories regarding influence of Byzantine versus Mesopotamian Jacobite, have been formulated.(Day 1950, 279). Even centers of execution were assigned by some, to Baghdād, some to Mosul and its region, and others attributed it to Basra and Kūfa where important workshops are believed to be have been located, as well as certain places in Upper Mesopotamia like Diyarbakir, and in northern Syria, in the region of Aleppo.(Rice 1965, 100) In spite of that all, this art has all the characteristics of an art which has reached high point of its development. (de Lorey 1933, 1).

35. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 104.

36. Marianna Shirva Simpson, "The Role of Baghdād in The Formation of Persian Painting" in *Art et Société dans Le Monde Iranien*, ed. Chahrayar Adle (Paris: Editions Recherche sur Les Civilisations, 1982), 115.

painting that developed - in Baghdad and Tabriz, under the Jalāyirids, a dynasty of Mongol origin that succeeded the il-Khans as of mid-1330s until the early 1432 in Iraq, and north-western of Persia - the concept of perspective in miniature painting in a rudimentary method.

Since manuscripts were extensively produced, the subject matters of early illustrated manuscripts are diverse. Most of what was documented are technical and scientific, and the themes covered were related to astronomy, cosmology, botany and pharmacology, medicine, engineering, military, zoology and hippology.[37] They comprise of, in addition to medical works of pseudo-Galen *Kitāb al-Diryāq* and Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica (Kitāb al-Ḥashā'ish)*, the treatise on Automata, *Kitāb fi Maʿrifat al Ḥiyal al Handasiyya*. Others, about precious stones *Manāfiʿ al-Aḥjār*, animals fables *Kalila wa Dimna,* and a treatise on veterinary *Kitāb al-Bayṭara*. Another popular type is a variety of literary and poetic writings which fall under the genre of 'adab' or 'belles-lettres', such *Kitāb al-Aghāni* and *Maqāmāt al-Ḥariri*.

Richard Ettingshausen, in his book *Arab Painting* drew attention to the presence of Byzantine, Persian, and Arab features in the manuscripts of the pre-Mongol period. Those appear either separately in different miniatures, or they are skillfully blended in single paintings.[38] In the outcome, he identified four early established centers of manuscript illustration. Syria, where architecture setting and human figures are treated to a higher degree in reference to the classical approach, at length for a while.[39] Northern Iraq, where Islamic and Christian manuscripts produced there, reveal a strong dependency on Persian representation, specifically Sassanian. The most descriptive of all schools is the one of Baghdad and possibly in other towns in Central and Southern Iraq, where architectural framework and descriptively rendered

37. Oleg G. Bolshakov, "Arab Painting and the St. Petersburg Manuscript of the 'Maqamat' of al-Hariri," in *Miniatures of the St. Petersburg Manuscript of the 'Maqamat' of al-Hari*ri, ed. Oleg G. Bolshakov (Slavia: St. Petersburg, 2018), 10.

38. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 161.

39. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, "Illustration," in *The Grove encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture,* ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:196**.**

landscapes, play a significant role in the integration of figures with their setting, and a fourth center in Spain and Morocco. Ettinghausen considered Egypt to be a later fifth active center only as of the second quarter of the fourteenth century onwards.[40] However, the lack of information about the methods of how artists worked in the medieval Islamic world has complicated the identification of schools.

The subjects of the 'Abbasid' manuscripts are divvied into scientific and literary ones. In scientific works, the material of figures is rich intellectually, and the drawings are mostly of an explanatory nature. These figures developed out of a tradition of scientific and technical illustration and were designed as practical aids only to understand and express visually the information transmitted verbally in the text (Figure 1). Some diagrams from manuscripts of a specialized or technical nature were even later copied without modification into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[41] Literary works, on the other hand, often make use of precise occasions and experiences to make their impact (Figure 2).[42] Bloom and Blair assume that illustration in literary works are diagrammatic with simple indications of setting, space, action, and detail.[43]

The subjects of the illustrated manuscripts from the pre-Mongol period spread over a wide array of scientific, literary and narrative areas. A comprehensive catalogue of observations and descriptions of stars, *Kitāb Suwār al-Kawākib al-Thābita* (Book of the fixed stars).[44] A bestiary manuscript that contains paintings of horses' physique and appeal, along with veterinarians' practices to treat them, is *Ibn*

40. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 181.

41. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, "Illustration," in *The Grove encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:194.

42. Oleg Grabar, *The Illustrations of The Maqamat* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 3.

43. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, "Illustration," in *The Grove encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:194.

44. It is extant in extant in three copies. One in the Bodleian Library in Oxford [Marsh 144] dated 1009-1010. The second in the Topkapi Palace Library in Istanbul [A. 3493] dated 1131, drawn with northern Mesopotamian features, and the third one dated 1170-1171 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford [Hunt 212] executed in Mosul, with Classical tradition features.

al-Aḥnaf's Kitāb al-Bayṭara (Book of Farriery).[45] An important mechanical treatise of that period and a popular one, not only because of its scientific significance but also for its role in entertaining, is the *Kitāb fī Maʿrifat al-Ḥiyal al-Handasiyya* (Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices or Automata),[46] written by *Badīʿ al-Zamān Abul-ʿIzz Ibn Ismaʿīl Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazrī* for the Artuqid ruler *Nasir al-Dīn Maḥmud* (r. 1219–1234). A medical manuscript on how antidotes are discovered and the way they are prepared, exist in two copies of the Pseudo-Galen text *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (Book of Antidotes).[47] An additional medical manuscript is the Arabic translation of *De Materia Medica* for Dioscorides, *Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish*.[48]

As for the literary manuscripts, a twenty-volume copy of *Abu al-Faraj al-Iṣfahāni's Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Book of songs) is an important manuscript for its

45. One copy dated 1208-1209, exists in the Egyptian National Library and Archives in Cairo [Khalil Agha 8f]. A second one, executed one year later available in Istanbul at the Topkapi Sarayi Museum [A. 2115]. In it, the artist placed the animal and human figures in a new Islamic setting within a narrative scene. (Bloom and Blair 2009, 1:210). Both are copied by the calligrapher *ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibatallah*.

46. A copy of the manuscript dated in 1206 by *Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn ʿUthman al-Ḥisnkayfi* is present in Istanbul at Topkapi Palace Libray [A. 3472]. In which, technical diagrams follow the model of classical predecessors, but its color and stylization reflect of that of the period. Despite stylistic changes, copies that have survived over the centuries are closely related, and figures maintained their essential Classical ties; possibly, due to the complexity and intricacy of the mechanism and subject matter of the treatise.

47. The 1198-1199 in the Biblioteque Nationale de France [Arabe 2964], and the thirteenth century copy in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna [A.F. 10]. Both are almost identical in content of contemporary agricultural activities, but they slightly differentiate in style of depiction of plants, drapery, proportions of figures, and color.

48. The first is in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum [Ayasofya 3703], has a colophon stating that it was terminated in August 1224-1225 by the scribe *Abdallah ibn al-Fadl*. It has been dismantled, and most of the miniatures that are still bound, are drawings of plants, and few ones contain figural representations. Whereas most of the about thirty miniatures which were in Dr. Martin's possession and later dispersed in different public and private collections, are scenes that include figures. (Buchthal 1942, 20) The second is in Oxford at the Bodleian Library [Cod. Or. Arab. d. 138], whose colophon states that it was copied in 1239-1240, in Baghdād. Despite the high realistic manner of figural scenes, they are easily comprehended for their simple and clear representation. While vegetation is stylized, the author-portrait and depiction of plants rely on antique models. The naturalist representation of plant following the classical tradition have been partially continued in the Arabic translations of the works of Dioscorides. But the strictly scientific attitude was soon to be abandoned, and botanical depictions turned into less precise ones, in favor of more inclusion of narrative images such as figures of physicians preparing and administering medicines, and the elaborate representation of fully equipped pharmacies which go well beyond the demands of the text. (Bolshakov 2018, 10) This could be seen in another copy in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum [Ahmet II 2127], which is signed by the painter *ʿAbd al-Jabbar ibn ʿĀlī*, executed in 1229.

surviving illustrations,[49] and *Kalila wa Dimna*, a moralistic animal fables written by *Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, which is considered as one of the most popular literary works and survives in many copies.[50] The potentials of the cycle of illustrations were soon expanded and developed in *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* which best exemplifies the pre-Mongol style.[51] One more manuscript that has a close affinity to the classical tradition of figural types, compositions and iconographic groupings, is the *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam wa-Maḥāsin al-Kalām* (Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings).[52]

The Abbasid period ended with the Mongol invasion and the capturing of the City of Baghdad among other cities in Mesopotamia and Iran. Life in Iran changed drastically as the conquest of the Mongols was carried out by a succession of raids from 1220 to 1258. There are various assessments to the results of the Mongol conquest. Some accounts refer to disastrous consequences, others are less dramatic.[53] The il-Khans, as the conquering Mongols became known, slowly adapted to the cultures and religion of their subjects. Despite the damage created by the two waves

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49. The manuscript is thought to be made between 1216 and 1220, for *Badr al-Din Lu'lu'*, the regent to the last Zangids in Mosul. Out of the preserved six volumes in different locations, five contain frontispieces depicting courtly life, and typical royal activities.

50. The earliest copy of this Arabic prose fiction dates between 1200 and 1220 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris [Arabe 3465]. The Classical tradition of zoological illustration is apparent in the depicted characters, in addition to the emergence of the tradition of pictorial representation in Central Asia.

51. Three copies in Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The [Arabe 6094] executed in 1222, [Arabe 5847] which not only the date of its completion is identified as May 3, 1237, but the name of the calligrapher and illustrator is also recognized, *Yaḥyā bin Maḥmud bin Yaḥya bin Abī-l-Ḥasan al-Wāsitī*, and [Arabe 3929] of an unknown date of execution. The Sūleymaniye Library in Istanbul possesses also a copy [Esad Efendi 2916], which on the basis of an inscription in (Figure 3) bearing the name of the last ʿAbbāsid ruler *al-Mustaʿṣim*, is dated to his rule 1242-1258. This copy, according to Bolshakov, could not have had an inscription earlier to the date of production, approximating it to a similar situation in [Arabe 5847] which was produced during *al-Mustanṣir* reign, 1226-1242, and contains an inscription of his name in (Figure 4). (Bolshakov 2018, 10) In addition to a copy in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburgh [C. 23]. Based on the uniformity of the subject matter, the work of *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* in its several copies, permit to trace the development of style and to analyze the depictive technique. (Bolshakov 2018, 10) As well as to track the variances of contemporary different artistic centers, resulting from them, diverse schools of paintings with different artistic sources. (Buchtal 1940, 216)

52. It is written by the Fatimid prince *al-Mubashir ibn Fātik* in the eleventh century and contains biographies and sayings of great Greek physicians, philosophers and scientists such as Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Socrates and Solon. It is available in n the Topkapi Palace Museum [A. 3206].

53. Marianna Shirva Simpson, "The Role of Baghdād in The Formation of Persian Painting" in *Art et Société dans Le Monde Iranien*, ed. Chahrayar Adle (Paris: Editions Recherche sur Les Civilisations, 1982), 92.

of invasions, mosques and madrasas were founded, and literature and sciences flourished.[54] Il-Khanid ruler *Ghazān Khān* (r. 1295 - 1304) was a generous patron of the arts.[55] Following his reign, a surge of artistic production occurred, and during the first half of the fourteenth century, some of the most superb examples of Islamic painting in the history of the art were produced. It is, therefore, not surprising that from the closing years of the thirteenth century, a school of painting was initiated in Maragha, the scientific center of il-Khanids, and in Tabriz, their summer capital city and a cultural and commercial hub. In addition to a later prolific workshop in *Rabaʿ Rashīdī*, which was attentively endorsed and patronized by the scholar *Rashīd ad-Dīn* till his fall in 1336.

The relationship between the flourishing of the art of illustrated book in the fourteenth century in the eastern Islamic world, and the Mongol control of much of the region, has been considered in light of the connection with China, where illustrated texts as well as painted scrolls have been a major art form.[56] This phenomenon was not due only to the economic ties previously established through trade, but also as a result of the political bonds exemplified by the Mongol conquest to Chinese lands. The three-way interaction within the early Mongol empire, between North China, eastern Central Asia, and the Iranian world, would summarize the East-West cultural exchange.[57] This was evident in other artistic production such as metalwork, ceramic and textile decoration[58].

The definite effect of the Mongol invasion on culture on arts, according to Oleg Grabar, remains a complicated subject.[59] Paintings were now, executed in a way that

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54. Sheila R. Canby, *Persian Painting* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 25.

55. Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (n.p: Skira, 1961), 22.

56. Jonathon Bloom and Sheila Blair, "Illustration," in *The Grove encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture,* ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:192.

57. James C.Y. Watt, "A Note on Artistic Exchanges in the Mongol Empire" in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, ed. Linda Komaroff et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 68.

58. Watt, 70.

59. Oleg Grabar, *The Illustrations of The Maqamat* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 170, n.27.

reveals in different degrees, connections with the pre-Mongol style, as well as indications of new influences which began to be felt when Mongol invasions opened up interactions and exchanges across the continent.[60] In many paintings, representation of space for example, which determines in the first place, the order of all works, was altered. The horizon lines, receding contours of hills, clouds, lotus blossoms and trees, and birds, are among the Far Eastern motifs that belong notably to the environment or landscape setting, along with other distinguished elements.

One of the earliest examples of this implementation referred by Richard Ettinghausen as dichotomy of styles,[61] are the paintings in a manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* (History of the World Conqueror) of *ʿAlā ad-Dīn ʿAtā Mālik Juvaīnī*.[62] (Figure 5, Figure 6) Two unique complementary paintings appear on the manuscript double frontispiece. Both are not included within a frame. Unfortunately, this painting is slightly damaged but could be still examined.[63] It is worth looking at this painting attentively. On the right-hand side, a squatting groom holding a large caparisoned light-bluish horse, of which the saddle looks flat. On the left-hand side, a standing figure in a gold-edged, blue-lined patterned surcoat - presumably, the author, who was chief vizier to the il-Khanid court - dictating to a scribe who is wearing dark-blue undecorated coat seated on a medium-blue pillow with a snail-like design in gold.[64] The scribe is sitting under a pomegranate tree with dark-brown branches and fruit, three light-brown flowers and light-green leaves. Matching the tradition of the pre-Mongol style, figures are placed on the page without any indication of spatial depth. The same implies for the grass line and the tree, but the latter is slightly treated in a different manner. On the other hand, the characters

60. Laurence Binyon, and J.V.S Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 29.

61. Richard Ettinghausen, "On Some Mongol Miniatures" *Kunst des Orients* 3, (August 1959): 45, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752311.

62. It is present in in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France [Suppl. Pers. 205] scribed by *Rashīd al-Khwafī* and finished in 1290, in Baghdād [Simpson 1982, 115].

63. The acidity of the verdigris green partly damaged the painted areas of leaves, grass and the garment of the groom, as well as the human faces and the head of the horse which are scratched [Ettinghausen 1959, 45].

64. Richard Ettinghausen, "On Some Mongol Miniatures" *Kunst des Orients* 3, (August 1959): 48, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752311.

feature and attires, the drawing of the horse and the outstretched hand of the prince**,** are of Far Eastern origins. The large Chinese flowers on the tree, and the motif of the flying birds among clouds, all are new.[65]

In the period of post-Mongol invasion, Chinese ways of representation and Chinese elements found their way in many Islamic paintings. An important manuscript, in which the Chinese motifs and pictorial rendering begin to appear, is the 1298 Persian translation of *Ibn Bakhtīshuʿ's* Arabic bestiary, *Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān* (Usefulness of Animals).[66] While the pre-Mongol style is preserved on the paintings on the first folios of the manuscript, through placing the figures in a symmetrical composition where the color of the plain paper serves as a background, with no attempt to represent space; the paintings on the latter folios of the manuscript include elements that emulate the Chinese painting. A new sense of setting and space is noticeable with a more developed landscape incorporating new motifs such as gnarled trees and convoluted clouds, commonly called Chinese cloud. The figures are more integrated into the scene and appear smaller in scale. They are occasionally cut off at the edge of the picture-plane, suggesting a world beyond its narrow plane.[67]

Marzbānnāma of *Saʿd al-Dīn al-Warāwīnī* is another manuscript closely related to court-sponsored manuscripts of the post-Mongol period of the il-Khanids.[68] The paintings are placed within thick gold borders in a conventional composition, the three characters are illustrated with new features of overlapping robe, looped coiffures and diverse hats.

The tendency of including Chinese elements continued in later paintings. A well-studied example of this type is the celebrated manuscript of the Arabic version *Rashīd al-Dīn*'s *Jamiʿ al-Tawārīkh,* whose fragments are split between the Edinburgh University Library [Arabe MS. 20] and the Nasser Khalili collection

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65. Ettinghausen, 51.

66. This illustrated manuscript of ninety-four paintings now in the Morgan Library, New York, [MS. M.500], was commissioned by *Ghazān Khān*, and was copied in Maragha, one of the Il-Khanid capitals.,

67. Stefano Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation and The Singularities of The Paintings: A Study of The Il-Khanid London Qazvini* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 42.

68. It was completed in Baghdād in May 19, 1299, present in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum Library [MS. 216].

[MSS 727]. The paintings are spread across the page in a narrow horizontal format, imitating the characteristics of large-format copies of Chinese scrolls.[69]

It should be mentioned that the city of Baghdad continued to play a significant role in two concurrent waves, as a source of transition in the formative phase of il-Khanid painting and as a foundation for the development of early Persian painting. The *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* dated 1290 and the *Marzbānnāma* dated 1299, both introduce the stylistic direction of il-Khanid painting in the fourteenth century, and this may support the notion that Baghdad was the birthplace of the Persian art of manuscript painting at least ten years before the ateliers of the Rashīdiyya outside the il-Khanid capital of Tabriz were even conceived.[70] These securely dated manuscripts are important for the study of this period, in which the visual aspects of the book were given a greater role,[71] and the pattern of illustrated manuscripts produced from about 1290 in Iranian lands was rapidly developing.[72]

We may define this style as a hybrid style that combines methods of drawing, coloring, and elements, from both of, the 'Abbasid' tradition, and the new influences from Chinese painting. Basil William Robinson characterizes it as monumental in appearance, melancholic in feeling, slightly heavy and stiff in drawing, and subdued in color.[73] Paintings, subsequently adapted the visual forms from the cultural environment of the Mongols. According to Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, examples that survived from that period, demonstrate that each phase of transcription, illumination, illustration, and binding, had a fundamental role of the

69. Jonathon Bloom and Sheila Blair, "Illustration," in *The Grove encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture,* ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:216.

70. Marianna Shirva Simpson, "The Role of Baghdād in The Formation of Persian Painting" in *Art et Société dans Le Monde Iranien*, ed. Charayar Adle (Paris: Editions Recherche sur Les Civilisations, 1982), 115.

71. Sheila Blair, "The Development of The Illustrated Book in Iran," *Muqarnas*, 10, (1993): 268. https://doi.org/10.2307/1523191

72. Ernst J. Grube, *Persian Painting in the Fourteenth Century: Studies in Islamic Painting* (London: Pindar Press, 1995), 171.

73. Basil William Robinson, "The Mongol Period" in *Islamic Painting and the Art of the Book*, ed. Basil William Robinson (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1976), 133.

whole book making, which was regarded as a complete work of art.[74] This period is significant for the development of painting that would lead in part, to the birth of the fully-developed il-Khanid style exemplified by works such as the Demotte Shahnāmeh, and which would culminate in the foundation of what is later known as classical Persian style.[75]

From the paintings of *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya* and other examples, it is evident that the Mongol invasions did not put an end to the previously established style of painting under the Abbasids. The survival of the tradition of pre-Mongol style which has been established and matured in the early thirteenth century in the Abbasid capital and in the provinces of Mosul and Jazira, lasted after the Mongol invasion as the case of the well-known *Rasāi'l Ikhwān al-Safā* (Epistles of The Sincere Brethren) executed in Baghdad in 1287. This copy (Figure 7), now in the Suleimaniya Library in Istanbul [Esad Efendi 3638], demonstrates that the high 'Abbasid' standards have survived.[76] The fine quality of the workmanship and richness of the palette of the manuscript's double-page frontispiece, continued the mode of painting practiced in Baghdad before the Mongol period.[77] It also ascertains that Baghdad - previously a great center for 'Arab painting' - did not shortly cease to provide an environment for illustrated manuscripts after the downfall of the Abbasids.

74. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 24.

75. Richard Ettinghausen, "On Some Mongol Miniatures" *Kunst des Orients* 3, (August 1959): 44, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752311.

76. Marianna Shirva Simpson, "The Role of Baghdād in The Formation of Persian Painting" in *Art et Société dans Le Monde Iranien*, ed. Chahrayar Adle (Paris: Editions Recherche sur Les Civilisations, 1982), 94.

77. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 100.

Chapter Three

The "Hybrid Style" in *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya*

In the following chapter, the paintings will be analyzed according to the constituent elements such as composition, landscape, flora, fauna, human figure, architecture, furniture, fabric and color, in order to distinguish and classify them as pre- or post-Mongol, by comparing them to paintings from other manuscripts.

Two paintings of the twenty-five paintings of the manuscript of *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya*,[78] are in the pre-Mongol style. Nineteen are depicted in pre-Mongol style with some elements of post-Mongol style are included, and four of them are highly affected by the post-Mongol style. None of the paintings could be solely attributed to the post-Mongol style.[79]

Composition

An essential characteristic of the works of the pre-Mongol period and one of the essential features that strikes the composition of this period, is the unrestricted placement of the painting on paper as can be seen mainly in the early works, for example in the fifteenth *maqāmāh* (Figure 8) of [BNF Arabe 3929] painted in the first quarter of the thirteen century, or in the "Purple Betony" (Figure 9) in Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica* (1224), where figures are simply placed on a background in which the color of the paper is visible. Frequently, characters are arranged on a simply rendered elements along a horizontal line (Figure 10), or on an expansion of an element of the painting (Figure 11). Over time, this feature underwent a major development, with characters and figures arranged on a narrow band representing the ground, or water in some cases. This band, on which the pre-Mongol composition develops, can be considered as one of its constructive principles. The most common feature that indicates the ground is a sort of grass rug

78. See Appendix D for a description and explanation of the miniatures of *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya*.

79. Check Appendix E for a detailed distribution of the sources of the constituent elements of the paintings.

as in the “Physician Preparing an Elixir” (Figure 1) in the 1222 *De Materia Medica*, where occasionally, some flowers or few scattered plants adorn the setting. The aquatic setting whether rivers, oceans, or pools, is represented following a single common representation method of a stack wavy lines flanked or surrounded by grass or rocks,[80] as seen in the painting of twenty-second *maqāmāh* (Figure 12) in [BNF Arabe 6094] of 1222-1223. In other cases, the text requires the landscape to be substituted by an interior setting, as in the forty-second *maqāmāh* (Figure 13) in [BNF Arabe 5847] of 1237, where the band of landscape is replaced by a carpet.

In the manuscript *al-Āthār*, the subject of this study, the figures in “Abel visits Adam and Eve” (Figure 110) are placed on a background in which the color of the paper is visible. They are scattered in an arrangement similar to the fourth, eighteenth and thirty-second *maqāmāh* in (Figure 14, Figure 15, Figure 16) [BNF Arabe 3929]. In *al-Āthār* too, slightly comparable examples could be found but with a minor difference where the frame plays as a support, in “Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians” (Figure 101), “The Death of Māni” (Figure 102), and “The Feast of Sada” (Figure 111). In those paintings, figures would look placed on paper without any support, if frames are removed.

As a change of the arrangement of paintings in a manuscript, occurred in the post-Mongol period, paintings are placed within a frame, which separates the paintings from the text, as seen in the *Marzubānnāma* (Figure 17, Figure 18, Figure 19), in the Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul. Out of the twenty five frames in *al-Āthār*, twenty two are painted gold within black outline (Figure 97 - Figure 113**,** Figure 117 **-** Figure 121), and the remaining three are adorned with a pattern. (Figure 114, Figure 115, Figure 116).

A characteristic in the composition of some miniatures of the pre-Mongol style is the equivalent arrangement of two corresponding events, either vertically in *Varqa and Gulshāh* of ca. 1250 (Figure 20, Figure 21) in the Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul [Hazine 841], or horizontally in the detached leaf of *De Materia Medica* date 1224 at The Metropolitan Museum, the “Preparing Medicine from Honey”

80. Oleg Grabar, *The Illustrations of The Maqamat* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 118.

(Figure 22). In the bipartite composition “Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox” from *al-Āthār* (Figure 114), the arrangement of the two scenes is sequential, as the activity taking place on the right side occurs at a later time of the activity on the left. In the other bipartite composition “The Annunciation to Mary” (Figure 118), the two scenes complement each other with a narrative aspect. The angel standing in the outdoor scene, on the right, is interacting with Mary sitting in an indoor location on the left.

. The use of one singular plane is another essential feature that characterizes the composition of the works of the pre-Mongol period. It revolves on the concept of the band previously explained, and the alignment and arrangement of figures on it. Figures are arranged at an equal distance or roughly distant from the spectator view and repeated overlapped to show degrees of distance. This rendition of depth created by the harmony of surfaces and lines, affects the setting by taking a decorative appeal. The harmonic composition is achieved by the attitudes and movements of human figures and by curved trees in rhythm within the landscape. In the composition of the thirty-seventh *maqāmāh* (Figure 23) in the al-Wāsiṭī *Maqāmāt* of 1237 [BNF Arabe 5847], each of the curves produced by the complacent neck of a camel are confirmed by another who repeats it, and at the same time, slightly changes the inflection. Thus, the upper part is a coming and going of undulating lines, which imperceptibly and gracefully turn around an invisible axis, and the slender legs of the camels that intersect abruptly, stop this movement and show interest of the rendering.

Placement of figures in *al-Āthār* on one singular plane without differentiation of foreground and background, is stressed in the composition of “The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand” (Figure 112). Though the illustrator seems to give the impression that some buildings appear to be in front of others, the whole composition looks to be flat, unlike the smooth and clever implementation of the artist in the *Maqāmāt* (Figure 24), where the artist placed several elements in successive horizontal bands to give the feel of depth.

In the post-Mongol period, the significant feature of singular plane in the composition of the pre-Mongol style, exemplified by a narrow strip, is now modified and substituted with the use several planes, on which the arrangement of figures

occurs on wider strip, split into several longitudinal sections. The representation of the land, changes in the same influence. This arrangement created a gradual transition to the horizon that enhanced the depth. Accordingly, the various elements of humans, and fauna and flora, befall now with ease on these several sections as in Chinese scrolls for Guo Xi and Zhao Mengfu (Figure 25, Figure 26, Figure 27). Two paintings in *al-Āthār* employ this feature considerably, and two others to a lesser extent. "Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna" (Figure 100) depicts human characters dominating the foreground, by placing them against the landscape situated far in the background. (Sketch 1) This impression is given by the expanses of blank space separating the lower and upper land masses, where the trees are placed, by separating the two planes with a stroke and wash of color given to the edges.

Similarly, in "The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm" (Figure 121), upper and lower land masses are separated by expanses of blank space (Sketch 2). The foreground is given over to the five characters, and the background is used for the natural setup of prairie and clouds. The division of planes in the background is projected as in the handscroll of Wang Ximeng (Figure 28), by the stroke and wash of color given to the edges.

This feature also occurs but to a lesser extent, in "The Punishment of Pederast" (Figure 107) where a stroke divides the two defining planes of sky in the background and the land in the foreground. The use of gradience in the color of the earth as well as the distribution of grass tufts, enhance perspective and depth. this is evident also in the "Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox" (Figure 114), where the human figures who dominate the right side, are placed in a similar manner of the pre-Mongol style, of people gathering around a lecturer. Yet, the position of the ground lines with the grass evokes the impression of multiple planes on which the young attendees are scattered around the old man (Sketch 3).

Landscape

In the work of the pre-Mongol style, nature forms an unusual set. Scenery and setting are reduced to a schematic rendering. Ground is represented in a no less conventional form. It spreads under the human, floral and faunal components as well as architectural elements, in a narrow strip band serving them and the composition as a support. The characteristic of the earth band is modified depending on the

requirements of the composition. When the depicted subject is intended to be exposed on the same plane, the artist uses a horizontal band (Figure 29, Figure 30), or an arched band when it comes to create a third dimension for the setting (Figure 31, Figure 32).

Accordingly, vegetation, architectural entities, and animated beings appear in the distance, are arranged. When representing greenery, the band is treated in different ways. Either reduced to several, or to a single clump of grass laid in bunches next to the figures, or it is covered with various combined and intertwined flowers and foliage which give rise to an elegantly designed sheaf. Though vegetation plays a greater role, it still belongs to the decorative theme. Those plants and foliage - even illustrated in various forms - share a certain number of fundamental types; but they are usually difficult, if not impossible to define. Flowers plentifully adorn the dark greenery, whether placed between the grass when spread out on the ground, or with high stems rising above the grass rug. Fruits follow the same model to the point that it is hard to distinct them from the flowers. In addition to the numerous trees which their forms are greatly modified and stylized. Few trees especially those based and modified from classical models could be recognized, but one type, the palm tree, that is distinctive and typical to the Arab region is realistically represented as in the forty-third *maqāmāh* (Figure 24) of [BNF Arabe 5847] of 1237. Though different in size and positioning, the palm tree (Sketch 4) in "The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand" (Figure 112) is placed to enhance the landscape scenery of the architectural setting; in spite of the event is taking place in Mount Demavand where climatic conditions are hard for a palm tree to grow.

The representation of landscape in the post-Mongol period has changed under the same influence of the composition treatment. It is highlighted by including multiple planes and wider strip indicating the earth which intensifies the depth in the surface by producing a gradual distance to the horizon. This method of painting the landscape in the post-Mongol style, might have been a product of il-Khanid ateliers.[81] The lines which determine the land, are not drawn with precise strokes but highlighted with large floating outlines. The executed landscape of *al-Āthār* is

81. Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 148.

depicted in a technique of colored washes that is derived from Chinese brush painting,[82] as in the 1296 Zhao Mengfu's "Autumn colors on the Qiao and Hua mountains" (Figure 27); noticeably, in "Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna" (Figure 100), "The Baptism of Christ" (Figure 117), and "The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm" (Figure 121).

The flora in its turn has been subject to modifications in the style of representation, owing it to the Chinese influences on the formation of grass convention. In addition to some light strokes, the leaf or the stem is sketched with a single brushstroke, according to the rules of Chinese Impressionism.[83]

Treatment of vegetation (Sketch 5, Sketch 6) in the foreground of (Figure 100, Figure 104, Figure 114, Figure 120, Figure 121) appear as the tufty grass are placed on double horizontal or diagonal outlines, indicating different ground levels. The grass is arranged in small clumps with each blade is depicted in double quick stroke outline, by means of impressionistic brush strokes and repeated at regular intervals. The role it plays in the composition, is highlighting the multiple planes of ground. This type of rendering mirrors the rendering technique of petals in several Yuan scrolls. In "The Baptism of Christ" (Figure 117), the treatment slightly differs, where tufts of grass emerge from a curling strip of pale green color that is drawn with thick darker green edges (Sketch 7).

Trees got a wrinkled bark, and the branches were squeezed and contorted in acute angles in order to fit into the composition. Trunks, branches and leaves are sketched with a large brush of uneven and thick contour lines, according to the Far Eastern technique. In that manner, trees in *Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān* (Figure 33, Figure 34) were drawn with root-like forms to accentuate different ground level, and skillfully drawn fissures that appear in the barks of the trees by using vertical black lines; in a way that differs singularly from the style of the previous era. However, trees in the manuscript of *al-Āthār* (Sketch 8, Sketch 9, Sketch 10) are drawn in a less conventional way, in which shades of wash inside the bark are contoured by a thicker outline from the outside, similar in form to those in the 1296 Zhao Mengfu's

82. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, "Illustration," in The Grove encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture, ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1:194.

83. Ivan Stouchkine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous Les Derniers 'Abbâsides et les Il-Khâns.* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1936), 114.

handscroll “Autumn colours on the Qiao and Hua mountains” (Figure 35). As for the leaves in “Behāfarīd talking to the Peasant” (Figure 104) and “The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm” (Figure 121), they are colored with simple green wash with bold darker unprecise outlines.

In the post-Mongol paintings, Chinese flowers replace the unidentified shaped flowers which decorated the trees of the previous landscape style. A tendency of leafless and flower-covered spring shrub in the Far East would appear and remain applied in the Persian painting of the subsequent periods. Numerous flowers on the field composed of various forms of petals are arranged in radial compositions and are usually united in clumps or in bouquets. Fruits are abundantly present and shown in spots of various colors with either outlines of darker color or black such as in the painting of “Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna” (Figure 100), and “Behāfarīd talking to the Peasant” (Figure 104). Flowers in “Isaiah’s Prophecy for Muhammad” (Figure 98) are simply presented as colored dots (Sketch 11). But in “Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox” (Figure 114), the artist seemed to pay attention to the text which specifies the period during which the event occur, and deliberately drew flowers in a more elaborate manner (Sketch 12) to describe the spring period with peony-like shape flower dangling from the tree. On the bottom right, the type of the depicted flowers could be identified, and the ones on the left, are drawn in more impressionistic way with quick brushstrokes of alternating light and dark stain of same color.

Stones, rocks, and mountains, in the post-Mongol style, occupy an important position. The various attributes they take, could be traced, either to a combination of the indigenous tradition with the Chinese influence or a direct inspiration from Chinese models.[84] (Figure 26, Figure 28) In the midst of this contribution, landscape does not lose the function it used to occupy during the pre-Mongol period as a background to the figures, which constitute the main subject of the composition. The sharp contours stones, the contorted lines with the unusual curves of the rocks, the angular, nebulous and broken outline of peaks or the calm silhouettes of the distant peaks, and the empty spaces arrayed between the various planes of the painting; all

84. Ivan Stouchkine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous Les Derniers 'Abbâsides et les Il-Khâns.* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1936), 124.

are formulas that can be described as Chinese. Accordingly, mountains could be associated with those depicted during the Sung and Yuan periods, wherein continuous flat ground which characterized the unified space between the foreground and the distant mountains of the Sung paintings, has been broken up in the new Yuan handscrolls by a series of splits of lands, marked by clumps of grass.[85] (Figure 28, Figure 36)

The painting of "Ahrīmān Tempts Mīshyāna" (Figure 100) is the only painting which includes a drawing of a mountain. It is likely that the painter modified a composition found in Byzantine manuscript to make it suitable to the text of al-Bīrūnī.[86] In this respect, the setting of the painting most closely resembles the Christian representations of Adam and Eve in the story of the judgment in which the event is usually set against a lush background representing paradise, but the landscape background in the Edinburgh manuscript shows a different tradition, as it appears to be derived from some type of Chinese landscape painting. The rocky backgrounds, painted in notable ink that specify the summits and suggest the light outlines in addition to large floating ones determining the ground (Sketch 13), are exhibited by intense deep colors and not by careful brush strokes. The steep flanks are left blank interrupted by some shapes like holes and with no division to the ground, in what appears to show a hilly terrain resembling the 'high distance', this akin to the way of representing perspective in the northern Sung period. A practice in which rocks are rendered in double bold outlines, with some patterns and forms on the surfaces, either representing concavities and Taihu-like holes (Figure 37) or suggesting the existence of shimmering surfaces and lichens.[87] Cluster of plants and flowers, and trees are added to improve the appearance of the rock modeling. Comparable execution could be seen in the Chinese handscrolls (Figure 36, Figure 38). The conventions used here of successive planes of space, emphasized by clumps

85. James C.Y. Watt, "A Note on Artistic Exchanges in the Mongol Empire" in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, ed. Linda Komaroff et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 72.

86. Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 113.

87. Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 134.

of vegetation, and of trees with gnarled roots can also be found in the late thirteenth-century *Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān,* produced in Maragha.[88]

The representation of wildlife in pre-Mongol period, is abundant in scientific manuscripts of zoological themes, and in literary ones of narrative features. The depiction of animals with realistic tendencies confirms the direct observation of the model. This is described by the lively look, the variety of attitudes, the spontaneity of the movements, and the precision of the figures.[89] The artists display animated animals in an expressive and vivid image, associated with the daily life activities, for example, in the *Maqāmāt* [BNF Arabe 5847] of 1237, camels are sometimes depicted in movement in the forty-fourth *maqāmāh* (Figure 39) of, trotting, or kneeling as well in (Figure 29).

Three kinds of animals appear in *al-Āthār*, camels, horses, and a mule. In the section citing a chapter of Isaiah from the bible to portray the prophecy of Muhammad, the miniature "Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad" (Figure 98). On the left-hand side of the miniature, a camel and a mule drawn in profile (Sketch 14, Sketch 15) bears respectively the prophet Muhammad and al-Masīḥ. The camel is tied by his nose to the rope, and not by his muzzle, and the legs of the mule are disproportionate, perhaps to fit into the frame with the character riding it. However, the two animals in this painting are executed according to pre-Mongol decorative scheme reminiscent to the horse in the twenty-fifth *maqāmāh* (Figure 40) in the [BNF Arabe 5847] of 1237, and to the camel in the eighteenth *maqāmāh* (Figure 41) in the [BNF Arabe 3923] of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. They are distinguished by the calm line, the precise drawing and carefully studied movements, and retain the realistic tendencies.

Two horses (Sketch 16) appear in the painting of the "Seize of al-Muqannaʿ" (Figure 105). One visible is almost fully hiding the other, has its backside cut off because of the frame limitations. While the horse is drawn with raised legs as he is in action reminiscent to two horsemen in 1209-1210 *Kitāb al-Bayṭara* of (Figure 30) in

88. Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (n.p.: Skira, 1961), 21.

89. Ivan Stouchkine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous Les Derniers 'Abbâsides et les Il-Khâns.* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1936), 122.

the Libray of the Topkapi Sarayi Museum; the look of its head seems to be sturdy, as he is in a resting position. On the other hand, the mane of the horse in *al-Āthār* is depicted in a more precise. Illustration of camels emerge once again (Sketch 17) - this time partially - in a miniature for "The Fair of ʿUkāẓ" (Figure 119). The heads of two camels and an unrecognized animal (Sketch 18) are visible in the background of a setting dominated by tents in which people are seated.[90] This fractional appearance of animals heads, is not unfamiliar in these frequent similar encampments scenes that occur in different *Maqāmāt* manuscripts (Figure 42, Figure 43, Figure 44). Though, details depicted might resemble, the atmosphere of the encampment differs in *al-Āthār* from the on in the *Maqāmāt.*

Birds in the pre-Mongol style have been rendered in realistic manner, either by placing them on house tops (Figure 24), on plants (Figure 45), even flying as a device to fill a space (Figure 46). But what is new post-Mongol style, is the motif of flying birds between clouds.[91] In *al*-Āthār birds appear twice. Once, they are shown flying around the flame (Sketch 19), over which the picnickers in "The Feast of Sada" (Figure 111), and once flying over Christ (Sketch 20) in "The Baptism of Christ" (Figure 117). They share the appearance, specifically in the brushstroke of the creature on a Jar from Yuan dynasty (Figure 47), though, the latter is a dragon, which with the phoenixes gained a more aggressive look in the Yuan dynasty, in comparison to those from previous periods of where they might have originated in China and have been later transmitted into Central Asia.[92]

The surfaces of seas, rivers or fountains are figured by large wavy lines of varied thickness, as could be seen in (Figure 48, Figure 49). And in some instances, the crossed patches in the center by a sinuous line, suggest the flickering of the waves and the reflection of the currents, as in "The Hare and The Elephant" (Figure 50) of *Kalila wa Dimnah* attributed to the first quarter of the thirteenth century [BNF Arabe

90. Soucek assumes it is a donkey. (Soucek 1988, 113).

91. Richard Ettinghausen, "On Some Mongol Miniatures" *Kunst des Orients* 3, (August 1959): 51, https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752311.

92. Laurie E. Barnes, "Yuan Dynasty Ceramics," in *Chinese Ceramics: From The Paleolithic Period Through The Qing Dynasty,* ed. Zhiyan Li et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 358.

3467], and in (Figure 46, Figure 51) of the 1237 *Maqāmāt* [BNF Arabe 5847]. That could be understood with the help of the text, is a rendition of "The Baptism of Christ" by John (Figure 117). The water (Sketch 21) is rendered in a vivid color of relatively thick brush lines. However, Yuka Kadoi notes that the rendering of water on the left side of the river is inspired by Chinese water sprays.[93] In Chinese art, interweaved shapes usually cover or the surfaces of water that is surmounted by foam bridges, imitating large waves.[94]

Clouds are the main innovation brought to the celestial domain to the post-Mongol style. Previously, the blue sky - if it existed in paintings - was almost a segment of gold stars. Now, clouds of a distinctly Chinese origin, brighten the paintings in vast. They are wrapped and twisted with long ribbons floating behind them. This motif is however challenging to associate with precedents in Chinese paintings. It is most likely that it was developed and modified from Chinese decorative arts through ceramics executed in the period of Yuan dynasty or earlier (Figure 52, Figure 53). The motif of the Chinese cloud has numerous variants. The most common type is a conventional convoluted blue cloud with white outlines often adorned with tail-like appendices. They are featured in earlier works of the Mongolian school from the fourteenth century onwards, either against a blue sky or a blank background or slightly one. this looks to have a parallel appearance in the Morgan manuscript.

Most of the outdoor scenes of *al-Āthār* manuscript (Figure 98, Figure 99, Figure 104, Figure 105, Figure 107, Figure 113, Figure 120, Figure 121) include the conventional model of cumulus-like convoluted form (Sketch 22 - Sketch 24), occasionally with a tail appendices.

In "The Death of Mani" (Figure 102), the blue color of the clouds is substituted with a yellow/gold. Soucek and Kadoi assume that the frightening thunder clouds tinged with red and gold set against a dark blue sky over the heads of the prophet and his family in the scene of the "Day of Cursing" (Figure 120), is an exception and

93. Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009). 148.

94. Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), 35.

conveys a certain symbolic meaning, and for visualizing metaphorically the high tension of this ceremony.[95] The purpose, according to the author, is to distinguish the two opposing groups of the scene, the prophet and his family on the right, and the three Christians on the left. An intentional act by the artist to intensify the dramatic moment of the encounter of the two groups, in order to dramatize a theological debate between them.[96] If this is the case, the same interpretation could be applied to the painting of "The Investiture of ʿAlī" (Figure 121), as an identical rendition of cloud is placed in the middle, and over the heads of the prophet and his family who occupy the full frontal plane of the scene. However, the two facing groups in the painting, are not opponents as in "Day of Cursing".

Architecture

Architectural components take part in the composition of several paintings of *al-Āthār*. In the pre-Mongol style, the backgrounds of paintings were occasionally enriched with architectural elements and motifs, and many compositions are even placed against a background of completely an architectural decoration. Most of them suggest longitudinal sections of buildings against which the characters are placed (Figure 54, Figure 55), or façades where a theatrical setting is displayed (Figure 56). The exterior of the buildings which are shown in front or side view, keeps a flat appearance. Angular and angled representations which suggest volumes and depth, are carefully avoided, butt occur in few exceptions as in (Figure 57). In some cases, a sense of realism appears in the conventional representation of architecture, giving the setting a feel of depth. This is realized in the forty-third *maqāmāh* (Figure 24) of [BNF Arabe 5847] of 1237, in which a mosque with its yellow walls and turquoise blue cupola is flanked by a palm tree, between little pink houses in front of the puddle serving the goats; and in the scene of a cemetery of greyish yellow mausoleums of the eleventh *maqāmāh* (Figure 58) of the same manuscript.

95. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations," in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Bīrūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 154; Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 148.

96. Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 148.

The space is often made a decorative backdrop, composed of figures and elements arranged in series, and superimposed from the nearest at the bottom to the more distant at the top, according to the degree of their distance as in the forty-third and eleventh *maqāmah* (Figure 24, Figure 58) in [BNF Arabe 5847] executed in 1237. The subject is represented, unfolded on a single plane, either in width or in height, and the most varied images are based on the latter. The superposition of subjects reflects a conventional expression of a third dimension, giving the illusion of depth.

In some paintings (Figure 4, Figure 55, Figure 59), the private charm of an inner courtyard scene is reflected. Buildings preserve a conventional form, and the impression of an interior setting is introduced by including additional traits. Thus, the interior of a mosque is indicated by a mihrab, a minbar (Figure 59), or, simply by the suspended lamps from the ceiling (Figure 54), as the shop of a bookseller or a library could be recognized by the stacked books on the shelves (Figure 60). The same as the interior of a flat ceiling or an arch sitting on columns is enough to evoke, either, a rich or modest home. A throne may suggest the palace of the prince, or a table garnished with food and flanked by curtains may suggest the banquet hall. It varies, according to the dwelling, from a simple setting to a complex adorned one.

In the painting of "Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad" in *al-Āthār* (Figure 98) the rendition of an architectural element which dominates the right side of the painting is rather simple. A brick wall representing a watchtower is interrupted by a trabeated window, from which a watchman is looking out. The bricks are highlighted with horizontal and vertical lines forming rectangular and square forms, the latter are emphasized with red crosses. The wall is shown as being formed by stacking rows of horizontal and square dressed bricks, using two contrasting colors to designate the brick and the plaster, imitating the rendering of the plaster-bond technique. A technique in which a small gap is left between each brick to be filled with plaster,[97] and it is widespread not only in the Iranian world, but also in Anatolia and Syria also from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries.[98] The red crosses that highlight the

97. Stefano Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation and The Singularities of The Paintings: A Study of The Il-Khanid London Qazvini* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 85.

98. Donald Newton Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il-Khānid Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 48.

square shapes create a decorative effect imitating walls that have been often created in actual architecture, in the method of brick-end plugs, in which cavities created by raking the wider rising joints of a brick wall or cutting away part of a brick along a vertical joint, and they are filled with a variety of patterns that vary between geometric design, floral motifs, or sacred names.[99] (Figure 61).

The fortified enclosure in "The Seize of al-Muqannaʿ" (Figure 105), where al-Muqannaʿ is supposedly residing, is kindly reminiscent to the previous architecture unit through the rendition of the bricks. In this painting, colored crenellations are added to the roof of the enclosure, as well as to the elaborated parabolic entrance with ornamented spandrels (Sketch 25), an unbizarre practice to that period (Figure 62). A similar representation of walls occurs in the "The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand" (Figure 112).

The miniature "The Death of Māni" (Figure 102) illustrates a combination of two accounts given by al-Bīrūnī. The embellished door with geometric pattern similar to the one on the minbar of (Figure 97), has a parabolic form, creating two ornamented spandrels (Sketch 26), but with color variation of the spandrel in (Figure 105). Above it, the frieze is embellished with what could be interpreted as writing which is not legible. The walls of the city, adjacent to the gate, are illustrated in the same manner of the tower in (Figure 98), interrupted by an open window. But the bricks which are arranged in similar way of the previously discussed paintings, miss the red crosses.

An architectural structure which is identified as *Bayt al-Muqaddas* from an inscription on the drum, is represented in "Nebuchadnezzar orders the destruction of the Temple" (Figure 116), the structure which is not well defined except for the dome and columns. Soucek assumes that the painter tried to represent a similar structure to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.[100]

Spandrels appear in three miniatures as a compositional element of the painting. It is considered as an ordinary practice, since the use of plain or decorated spandrels is

99. Wilber, 80.

100. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations." in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Birūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 146.

not peculiar to the manuscripts of this period (Figure 63 - Figure 68), and its placement usually assists in identifying the interior setting of the illustrated scene. On the sides of the composition of "Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians" (Figure 101), two blue spandrels decorated with floral motifs (Sketch 27) are placed in a setting which would convey to be inside a Buddhist temple according to the text, but the statues which suggest to be Buddhist from their postures, lack the distinctive physical of Buddha himself, and instead resemble shaved headed Buddhist monks or sages. So, the spandrels on the upper corners of the miniature tend to signify the location as an interior of the temple.

"A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh" (Figure 108), according to the accompanying text, is supposed to be located in the courtyard of the royal residence. The festivity which is depicted as an enthronement scene, gives the impression to be in an indoor setting is portrayed by the placement of the spandrels, which are decorated with a slightly small floral motif (Sketch 28) reminiscent to the one in (Sketch 27).

A comparable situation is the scene of "Abel visits Adam and Eve" (Figure 110). The motif of this spandrel (Sketch 29) is similar to the motifs (Sketch 25, Sketch 26) on the gate spandrel, respectively in (Figure 105, Figure 102).

The changes brought to the new visualization of space in the post-Mongol period, are no less apparent in the architectural representation. But in the manuscript under study, they are few. Modifications could be seen on the arch under which Mary is seated in the "Annunciation to Mary" (Figure 118). in which the reflection of the Byzantine tradition continues by surrounding the Virgin with an architectural frame, elevated on two columns highlighted with vertical and oblique lines to give the impression of volume, the voussoirs are laid with care with an apparent keystone in ogee shape or a four-centered arch. The spandrel is ornamented with a pattern that is not well defined due to the factor of preservation. As for the frieze, it is decorated with pseudo writing. The shape of the arch is mostly reminiscent of the characteristic of Seljuk architecture seen in many of the architectural monuments such Kharraqān towers (Figure 69, Figure 70). The il-Khanids - now the ruling dynasty - have adopted and developed this style especially in the mihrab decoration as could be seen in the mihrab of Mashhad-i Bayazid Bastami (Figure 71), undertaken by *Muhammad*

ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī Talbod Damghān, whose name is inscribed along the date of A.H. 699 equivalent to A.D. 1299.

In "Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox" (Figure 114), the simple indoor structure of *buyūt al-ibadat* (places of worship) on the left does not appear to be a Buddhist or Hindu temple since it lacks an idol.[101] It is reminiscent of a mosque. It has a bipartite arrangement that includes an entrance and an interior. The entrance is depicted with a riser, an open door, a knotted curtain to one side for access, and a decorated frieze topped with an ogee arch with laid voussoirs that rest on columns with diagonal lines to give the effect of cylindrical columns.

Human figures

The human presence in *al-Āthār* manuscript is ubiquitous, and none of the paintings lack a human figure. Most postures, garments and hairstyle of human figures, as well as their arrangement in the composition. are depicted in a typical pre-Mongol manner. Most of them, according to Ettinghausen, adhere to the tradition of 'Arab painting'.[102] For Eva Baer, one of the miniatures "The Prophet prohibits Intercalation" (Figure 97), could not be hesitated to be attributed to the Mesopotamian Maqāmāt.[103] Priscilla Soucek noted that this miniature and the other three illustrating the Prophet Muhammad, do not present a precedent in depicting the prophet.[104]

Most of the represented human figures in pre-Mongol paintings are bearded and turbaned young and elderly men. Occasionally female and young boys are also visible. Normally the heads are often adorned with golden halos which are borrowed

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101. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations." in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Birūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 141.

102. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 137.

103. Eva Baer, *The Human Figure in Islamic Art: Inheritances and Islamic Transformations* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2004), 27.

104. The 1200-1250 illustrated book, attributed to Konya, *Warkah and Gulshāh*, contains the two earliest known Islamic depictions of Muhammad, along with 1299 *Marzubānnāma*. Five other manuscripts from this period are known to contain depictions of events from his life. Eight examples are found in a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century copy of *Balʿami's* translation of *Ṭabarī's Tārīkh al-Rusul wal-Mulūk*, seventeen occur in three different manuscripts of *Rashīd ad-Dīn*'s *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārikh*. The tradition continues later with the *Miʿrajnāma*, and *Siyar-i Nebī*.Priscilla (Soucek 1988, 194)

from the Byzantine art,[105] and their faces are mostly drawn in a three-quarter view. Costumes are broadly monochrome with an attempt to depict the folds in several techniques or to reproduce the patterns of the fabric from which the costumes are made. With no shadows produced, their own luminosity is the unique source, and its colors keep an immutable brilliance. The often-used tones of color palette are crimson red, lemon yellow, light blue slightly greyish, olive green, dark green, pink, purple, brown, black and white. Gold, used with discretion, is added to them. These colors combine and oppose each other in a variety of harmonies, the most typical of which - with their discreet hues - melt into a dominant tone.[106] In the composition of "The Doctor's Office" (Figure 72) from *Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish* of 1224 in the David Museum, the characters sparkled with gold and brilliant colors, are made of a single brush with a rapid precision. A sensitive and expressive line surrounds the body indicating the form, with no detail in the shape that could interrupt the movement or stop the gaze. Similarly, one may observe the way in which the folds are treated on fabrics. The surfaces of costumes are often covered with stylized motifs of foliage, which embellish the bodies they dress and which they aim to decorate, transforming them into an ordinary surface without depth.[107] (Figure 10)

In *al-Āthār,* various ethnic individuals - as it is narrated in the text - show similar features in the paintings, and they are standardized as Arabs or Muslims**.** One may wonder whether this is conscious decision or a question of drawing skills. Who are supposed to be Zoroastrian priests in "Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials" (Figure 113), are portrayed similar to regular Muslim characters in other paintings. And who are supposed to be Indians in "Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox" (Figure 114), follow the same archetype. In this painting, characters on the right side of the miniature, are portrayed as Muslims wearing turbans and regular Muslim

105. According to Britannica, halo or nimbus is a radiant circle or disk of pagan origin symbolizing light, that surrounds the head of a figure, to characterize the spirituality of a holy person. It has been used throughout Hellenistic and Roman art, until the Early Christian period where it was abolished. However, Christ, the angels, and Mary were later adorned with its appearance from the fourth, fifth, sixth century respectively and onwards.

106. Ivan Stouchkine, "Les Manuscrits Illustrés Musulmans de la Bibliotèque de Caire," *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts* 13, no. 1 (1935): 139.

107. Eustache de Lorey, "La Peinture Musulmane, L'école de Baghdad," *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts* 10, no. 6 (1933): 12.

clothing, contrary to the practice of showing Indians bare-headed.[108] This generalization applies also in "Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians" (Figure 101), where the idols of the Sabians are anachronistically depicted as Buddhist devotional images.[109]

In pre-Mongol style, representation of human figures relied on historical references of classical antiquity or oriental traditions, and on stylistic references of realistic inspirations or decorative tendencies,[110] either applied separately or combined. The appearance of some characters recalls precedent models; however, it did not prevent the innovation and the originality of a new figural prototype for the contemporary period. Rendering of clothes was also subject to some phases of modifications. Folds were portrayed according to certain anatomy, and later replaced by a more decorative design with ornamental motifs spread all over the fabric without dents. The facial and gestural rendition has also adapted the same scheme. Depicted expressionlessly at first, it showed a significant uniformity guided by the classical inspiration with some characteristics typical of its kind to each illustrated category. Then a livelier form touched with more realism was implemented, and later, depictions acquired a more stylized form.[111] Each aspect of the arrangement of figures in the manuscript, the treatment of the draperies and its folds, and the facial treatment would be observed.

The arrangement of the human figures in *al-Āthār* consists of placing them either individually or grouped. An attentive examination shows that the proportions, as well as the very particular artistic anatomy of these human figurations is unproportioned. A striking feature at first sight, is that the scale of the head is disproportioned with the scale of the body. This impression is strengthened by the short and thin legs, ending with too small feet. It might be an intentional attempt by the artist to draw the

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108. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 118.

109. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations." in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Birūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 117.

110. Ivan Stouchkine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous Les Derniers 'Abbāsides et les Il-Khāns* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1936), 212.

111. Stouchkine, 214.

attention of the viewer on the face. The arms too, are long as the legs or even exceeding them sometimes. Gestures are reflected primarily by the play of the arms and hands; but all is reduced to the basic gestures of speech or action.[112]

Facial treatment is an essential aspect of defining a style, and in the paintings of *al-Āthār*, it does not miss out the impact of Mesopotamian effect.[113] Male model portrayed in many attitudes, plays the most active role in the paintings of pre-Mongol art. Frequently used with minor variations, the types of faces are limited to the young and old men with a black or white beard. In addition to the depiction of teenager without a beard, and the female figure with a round face. Representation of human faces exhibited, at the beginning, a significant uniformity guided by the classical inspiration mainly in the two *Maqāmāt* manuscripts, the [BNF Arabe 6094] of 1222-1223, and [BNF Arabe 3465] of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Figures were usually depicted in a depersonalized manner, however each category whether old mature man, young one, or woman is typical of its kind through some characterization. The shape of the beards barely changed, only color might differ men from each other and indicate the age. As for woman and young boys, the round shape is common. With regard to the facial expressions, they are impassive with attitude of calmness and seriousness., and movements portray the full body with reflective gestures. Tendency shifted later into in a livelier manner touched by realism with more inspiration from the surrounding world in al-Wāsitī M*aqāmāt* [BNF Arabe 5847] of 1237. Masculine forms gained larger variations with a freer outline of the face, sometimes barely as a sketch, and beards got different forms as well. On the other hand, the form of teenagers and women did not change. The attitudes portrayed are simple and natural, and the movements depicted are spontaneous, away from any pose. Regarding the representation of expressions, the artist attempted to reflect more the human feelings through collective appearance rather than individual one, as could be seen from the speaker's effort to stimulate the crowd, and the concentrated attention of his listeners (Figure 73, Figure 74). Under the effect of stylization, the outlines and the features of the faces became subject to

112. Eva Baer, *The Human Figure in Islamic Art: Inheritances and Islamic Transformations* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2004), 27.

113. Baer, 29.

the decorative tendency, eliminating any alive expressions.; subsequently, they varied in length and shape. Beards which were distinguished only by their white or black color, got a stylized appearance, showing impersonal varieties.

The illustrated characters in *al-Āthār* follow the second group of models explained beforehand, which are portrayed in livelier form. Their faces are either round or slightly elongated and presented with an alteration of flattened or aquiline noses (Sketch 30, Sketch 31, Sketch 32, Sketch 33).

The illustrations of females are quite limited to few characters, generally following the pre-Mongol model (Sketch 34), as seen in the woman giving birth in "The Birth of Caesar" (Figure 99), Mīshyāna in "Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna" (Figure 100), Eve in "Abel visits Adam and Eve" (Figure 110), and a girl in "The Day of Cursing" (Figure 120). In order to indicate the age of the woman on the left in "The Fair at ʿUkāẓ" (Figure 119), the artist modified the lines of the typical round face model to more edgy ones, similar to the figures in (Figure 23, Figure 43). Of those listed female characters, two appear nude in (Figure 99, Figure 100), - attributable to the events chosen to be illustrated - in which dark colored hair falls freely over the shoulders of Varqa and Gulshāh in 'Varqa pays a farewell visit to his lover Gulshāh before his departure for Yemen' (Figure 75) in the Topkapi Palace Library. Otherwise, all other women are shown with a veil.

The character of a young man or boy follow the typical model of beardless round face (Sketch 35) and appear in several miniatures. Many seem to be anonymous, the audience in "The Prophet prohibits Intercalation" (Figure 97), the attendees of a ruler in "A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh" (Figure 108), and in "Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk" (Figure 109), and warriors in "The Seize of al-Muqannaʿ" (Figure 105); on the other hand, the identity of others could be guessed or speculated by relying on the text. The young man destroying the idols of the Sabians in (Figure 101) is evident to be Abraham, similarly applied to Abel in "Abel visits Adam and Eve" (Figure 110). And it could be speculated that the two boys in "The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama" (Figure 103) are the Prophet's grandsons, who also appear in "The Day of Cursing" (Figure 120).

The positioning of the legs is contrasted by the play of arms and hands, contributing in an important role in the painting, as both play an active part in any conversational setup between characters, and reflect their various movements. Either

moving or resting, open or closed, they are represented to support the gestures of the discussers, and to indicate the cause of their activity. And when characters are not riding horses, camels or mules, they are represented standing, lying down or crouching. The latter, one of the most familiar postures, is treated in all its nuances. Thus, movement is principally reflected by the gestures of arms and hands, and restricted to basic ones It is expressed accordingly, as per the way each of the drinkers is holding his cup or bottle, or the characters playing the lute and flute (Figure 76). As well as in the expressive gestures of musicians in their way of beating the drums or grasping the trumpets and horns (Figure 77). It is noticeable also in the group of men conversing under the tree (Figure 73, Figure 74).

Several miniatures of the manuscript under study include gestures of speech or action. The prophet addressing to the attendees in "The Prophet prohibits Intercalation" (Figure 97), Isaiah pointing towards the prophet in "Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad" (Figure 98), the doctor bending forward and pulling the child's head in "The Birth of Caesar" (Figure 99), and the reactions of the spectators. Gestures are observed in the way Ahrīmān is offering the fruit of knowledge to tempt Mīshyāna in "Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna" (Figure 100), and the gestures of Mīshā and Mīshyāna which suggest they are about to eat the fruit; the motion of Abraham while destroying the idols in "Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians" (Figure 101); the hand gestures and the looks of the attendees in "The Death of Māni" (Figure 102); the movements of Behāfarīd and the peasant (Figure 104) reflect the conversational aspect of the setting, it worth mentioning that the posture of the peasant has a parallel rendition in the *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (Figure 78). In "The Seize of al-Muqannaʿ" (Figure 105), the gestures of the attackers and the guards imply the beginning of a battle. The gestures of the characters in "The Execution of al-Hallāj" (Figure 106) and in "The Punishment of Pederast" (Figure 107), as well as their facial expressions, propose a dramatic atmosphere of the scene. Another dramatic scenery could be revealed by the gestures of the attendees is "The Death of Eli" (Figure 115). The three characters in "Abel visits Adam and Eve" (Figure 110) show with their arms and hands reflecting their inability to speak as per al-Bīrūnī's account.[114] The diverse gestures and actions

114. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations." in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Birūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 130.

of the characters in “The Feast of Sada” (Figure 111) are reminiscent of those in (Figure 76). Conversational gestures also appear in “Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox” (Figure 114) and “The Annunciation to Mary” (Figure 118).

Physical activity reflected by gestures, occur in “Nebuchadnezzar orders the destruction of the Temple” (Figure 116), “The Baptism of Christ” (Figure 117), and “The Fair at ʿUkāẓ” (Figure 119). On another attribute, the minimal rendition of gestures and the distribution of two set of characters on each side of the miniatures enhance the antagonism of the two sides groups “The Day of Cursing” (Figure 120).

The paintings depicting enthronement scenes “The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama” (Figure 103), “A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh” (Figure 108), “Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk” (Figure 109), “Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials” (Figure 113) share a similar composition, in which the ruler appears to be in dialogue with the audience who in their turn, face or look in the direction of the enthroned character, and act in response, with upturned palms and open arms.

Clothing in the pre-Mongol painting, developed under twofold influences: the classic tradition, and the revival of the ancient oriental traditions, and the latter overcame the former.[115] Within this context, not only facial treatment in *al-Āthār* is prone to this impact, but it is obvious in the depictions of wardrobe and garment too.

The earliest tradition in drawing the costumes is characterized by a plain fabric deprived of ornamentation, in which folds are treated in a rather realistic manner. Moving and resting bodies were dressed up in floating clothes and loose drapes of distinct fabric color with folds rendered by black and white lines (Figure 79, Figure 80). Under the effect of stylization, folds were later represented in a more conformist manner, and executed with overlaid shades (Figure 29). Afterwards, and in a more highly stylized phase, folds appeared as a series of knots wrapped around each other or in superimposed panels lined in the bottom of a wide color band (Figure 57). Without consideration for the body movement and position, folds were faded by covering the fabric in an uninterrupted way with intricate ornamentation of floral or geometric pattern.

115. Ivan Stouchkine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous Les Derniers 'Abbāsides et les Il-Khāns* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1936), 82.

Throughout al-Birūnī's manuscript, most of the figures share similar representation of clothes. Plain fabric dresses of a distinct color with folds shaped by overlapped shades, create a kind of moiré pattern. Garments, in some instances, are decorated with a round band at the shoulders, that could be interpreted as a *tiraz*. While some are blank, others are embellished with what might be a pseudo kufic inscription (Sketch 36, Sketch 37, Sketch 38).

Soucek notes that counter to the rituals followed during the pilgrimage, where male attendees are required to be wearing a special white garment and would have been bare-headed; both, the prophet and his audience in "The Prophet prohibits Intercalation" (Figure 97) wear ordinary clothing as they are in a regular sermon.[116]

To a similar degree of the interpretation of garments, turbans follow the same model. Most characters wear the typical turban (Sketch 39) of various types. The majority is of small size with great attention given to details, in which parallel folds are stressed by the outline, and it is tightened around the head by a band of fabric in (Figure 99, Figure 102, Figure 109, Figure 111); the seated black bearded man in (Figure 108). Similar to this type of headdress but larger in size (Sketch 40) could be identified in (Figure 114, Figure 115), and John in (Figure 117). A distinct rendering of a turban (Sketch 41) is one of larger radius in (Figure 114), shown as tightly wrapped with highlighted manifolds by a thick outline. Another type is a loosely wrapped turban folding on the neck called *dhuʿaba* (Sketch 42) is another variation of the turban, with a characterization of either one end floating or hanging on the shoulders.[117] It appears in (Figure 115, Figure 116) and in the last two paintings (Figure 120, Figure 121).

An unidentified type of turban is worn by the watchman in "Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad", and by Ahrīmān in "Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna" which looks unusual and seems to be loose on the head and not firmly tightened (Sketch 43, Sketch 44).

116. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations." in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Birūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 104.

117. Stefano Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation and The Singularities of The Paintings: A Study of The Il-Khanid London Qazvini* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 110.

The use of haloes is one of the features of the period of the pre-Mongol period. In some manuscripts such as the *Maqāmāt* of 1222 [BNF Arabe 6094], and the 1237 one by al-Wāsiṭī [BNF Arabe 5847], the human heads are not adorned with haloes. Whereas in the *Maqāmāt* of 1242-1258 [Esad Efendi 2916], and of the first quarter of the thirteenth century [BNF Arabe 3929], and the *Materia Medica* of 1224, human figures are portrayed with haloes. This tradition could be an effect of the Byzantine influence, however, its religious meaning applied in Byzantine art has been lost in Islamic art.[118] As for its appearance in *al-Āthār*, the shape varies a little, but it always retains the form of a disc or a ring of golden color. It is framed by a double thin black border surrounding the head and almost the shoulders of the figure. But it appears that, the artist did not follow a systematic scheme to apply the nimbus. As in some miniatures, it is granted not to all characters but only to some, which the painter might want to distinguish; and in others, the halo is totally missed. The principle on which the artist relied on, to apply the halo, is not defined. For instance, "The Seize of al-Muqannaʿ" (Figure 105) and "The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand" (Figure 112), does not contain any halo at all. If the basis is that none of the characters depicted in these two miniatures, are of a prominent status; the watchman who has a subtle role in (Figure 98), is illustrated along with Isaiah and the Prophet with a halo; as well as the peasant in "Behāfarīd talking to the Peasant" (Figure 104). In another occurrence, the attendees of the Prophet's sermon in (Figure 97), are adorned with halo like him.

Halo in *al-Āthār* is portrayed randomly - a common practice in Arab miniatures[119] - as inconsistency and discrepancy are apparent regarding gender, character, or prophetical status of the adorned figure. Figures with haloes include Caesar's mother (Figure 99), Mary (Figure 118), Christ in "Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad" (Figure 98), Daḥḥāk in (Figure 109), in addition to the envoys of Musailama (Figure 103). While halo is absent on Mashyāna in (Figure 100), Christ in "The Baptism of Christ" (Figure 117), Māni (Figure 102), al-Hallāj (Figure 106), Pederast (Figure 107).

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118. Ivan Stouchkine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous Les Derniers 'Abbâsides et les Il-Khâns.* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1936), 135.

119. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira, 1962), 96.

Enthronement scenes also contain some discrepancies in depicting the halo. The reason is that in two similar enthronement setting, an anonymous ruler in (Figure 108) and Farīdūn in (Figure 109) are depicted identically but the latter might have escaped from the artist task, in which he omitted the halo. Muhammad in a comparable setting (Figure 103), is illustrated with a halo, but Pīrōz in "Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials" (Figure 113), has no nimbus. This behavior from the artist perception could be interpreted as previously mentioned, as a result to the loss of the iconographic meaning of the halo in Islamic art.

In the early paintings after the Mongol conquest, the treatment of the face remained faithful to the old Iranian formulas.[120] But some distinctive elements of new and foreign influences later appeared, such as the overlapping robes fastened under the armpit, tall black boots, and hats, which are apparent in the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*; in addition to the facial treatment of some characters.

In the depiction of fabrics, the new influences from the East are apparent. Even though most of the figures in the *al-Āthār***,** wear similar type of garment of pre-Mongol style, several other characters wear different garment, that resembles more the consistently represented il-Khanid costumes, which share some basic characteristics with the Yuan costumes.[121] The anonymous king in "A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh" (Figure 108), Farīdūn, and two of the attendants behind his throne in "Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk" (Figure 109), Pīroz and one of the attendant in "Pīroz interrogates the Temple Officials" (Figure 113), all wear a similar overlapping dress type with loose ends, which is fastened under the right armpit. The three enthroned characters in the mentioned paintings, are dressed with a short sleeve robe reaching their feet, distinct from the Mongol *deel* which is a long-sleeve apparel reaching to below the knees and fan out at the bottom, and is bound at the waist with a wide band, similar to the costume in the "Portrait of Ni Zan" (Figure 81).[122] This type of dress does not escape the influence of Chinese

120. Ivan Stouchkine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous Les Derniers 'Abbâsides et les Il-Khâns.* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1936), 124.

121. Ildikó Oka, "Mongol Clothing in The Yuan Period" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung* 68, no.4 (2015): 408. https://doi: 10.1556/062.2015.68.4.2

122. The painting is a copy of a previous work by an anonymous artist in the Yuan dynasty.

fashion, and could be attributed to the Yuan wall paintings of the first quarter of the fourteenth.[123] The short sleeved tunic of Pīroz, on the other hand, differs from other garments in the additional peculiar square decoration on the chest area, close to a mandarin ornament (Sketch 45).

Eli, the Jewish high priest is shown dead at the foot of a throne in "The Death of Eli" (Figure 115), wears Mongol boots and a dress that looks similar to the one of the character in (Figure 82); except for the embroidered waist decoration, as it is believed that waist decorations and the '*Xian Bian ao*' decoration are not to be part of the characteristics of, or common to the il-Khanid costumes.[124]

Other modifications of this period into *al-Āthār* are apparent in the hairdressing. The four-lugged *shovgor* or *toortsog* (Sketch 46), a kind of unique hat introduced by the Mongols,[125] worn by one attendee in "A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh" (Figure 108), and two other in "Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk" (Figure 109). Its extended slits at the base, allow the sides to be turned up as brims, exposing the interior fabric and color.[126]

Besides hats, crowns in some miniatures are subject to changes. The unidentified ruler, Farīdūn, and Pīrōz in (Figure 108, Figure 109, Figure 113) respectively, share the similar depiction of the crown (Sketch 47)

The intriguing headcloth (Sketch 43, Sketch 44) worn by the watchman in (Figure 98) and Ahrīmān in (Figure 100) was considered previously to be a wrapped around the head to protect from sunlight. Nevertheless, it could be resembled with a difference of the opening on the rear side, to the fabric worn by one of the characters in the Chinese handscroll "The Immortal Yunfang Initiating Lu Chunyang into the Secret of Immortality" (Figure 83)

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123. Eva Baer, *The Human Figure in Islamic Art: Inheritances and Islamic Transformations* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2004), 48.

124. Ildikó Oka, "Mongol Clothing in The Yuan Period" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung* 68, no.4 (2015): 408. https://doi: 10.1556/062.2015.68.4.2

125. Along various other types and shapes, Mongolians use hats according to several customs. They are worn depending on the season, and they classify age, gender, as well as a primary representation of the social status of the individual.

126. David Pingree, "Crown iv. Of Persian rulers from the Arab conquerors" in *Encylopedia Iranica*, VI/4, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/crown-iv (accessed May 3, 2019).

In an indication of direct Chinese influence in the post-Mongol, the Virgin (Sketch 48) and the angel (Sketch 49) in "The Annunciation to Mary" (Figure 118), are shown having Chinese facial features. In this painting also, a significant modification occurs in the depiction of the angel, in comparison to the Early Christian representational model which this genre of painting follows. The head of the angel is encircled by a flaming halo, and in his left hand he holds garlands that surround his head. Other garlands emerge from a knot on the waist and float around the body. It could be traced to a practice in Buddhist art, assigned mainly to Buddha and Bodhisattva.[127] (Figure 84).

Many distinctive elements, which are considered to be associated with the new influences of the post-Mongol style, appear in the Edinburgh *al-Āthār*. In "The Annunciation to Mary" (Figure 118) is the floating streamers or ribbons embellishing the angel (Sketch 50). Its source appears to be Buddhist art, and could be compared with images (Figure 85, Figure 86) from a series of Buddhist images attributed to the artist Chang Sheng-Wen and dates back to the years between 1173 and 1176. This series, which record some aspects of the historical and religious history of South China, exposes the particular stylistic characteristics and Chinese Buddhist iconographical features during the Tang and Sung periods.[128]

Fire (Sketch 51) is represented in "The Feast of Sada" (Figure 111), "The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand" (Figure 112), and "Nebuchadnezzar orders the destruction of the Temple" (Figure 116). Several paintings with the theme of encampment or preparation of medicine in *Maqāmāt, Kitāb ad-Diryāq,* and *Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish*, include fire, however, none of those is as representative as the one in al-Bīrūnī's manuscript. Similar to the loss of the iconographic significance of the Byzantine haloes in Islamic art, the usually depicted flame with conventional Chinese dragon motifs on ceramics and textiles, lost its symbolic meaning. Artists

127. Helen B. Chapin and Alexander Coburn Soper, "A Long Roll of Buddhist Images I" *Artibus Asiae* 32, no. 4 (1970): 291. https://doi: 10.2307/3249507

128. Helen B. Chapin and Alexander Coburn Soper, "A Long Roll of Buddhist Images II" *Artibus Asiae* 32, no. 2/3 (1970): 158. https://doi:10.2307/3249551

began to incorporate fire into some animals other than the dragon motifs which were developed during the Southern Sung period, especially among Chan painters.[129]

Soucek refers to the two snakes growing from Daḥḥāk's shoulder - who appears as a white-bearded man, kneeled and topless in "Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk" (Figure 109) - as a contemporary popular convention at the time of *al-Āthār*, not only in manuscript illustration but in ceramic decoration too.[130]

Furniture

Richly embroidered cushions, doormats and curtains, ceiling lamps, vases filled with flowers or loads of fruits and dishes, all complete the furnishing of the interior setting of a scene. Sometimes the scene is made up of tent or, when the subject matter requires, is enriched scenes with furniture, mainly princely thrones.

In *al-Āthār*, furniture is not missing, and owing to the tradition of squatting on carpets or cushions spread on the ground, thrones or ceremonial seats belonging to princes and high dignitaries, are the most common furniture.

During his farewell pilgrimage, the Prophet Muhammad received a revelation prohibiting intercalation. He, subsequently, announces it and explains it in a sermon.[131] But the illustrated subject is set in a totally different scenery, as Muhammad would have stood with no minbar, before the ground-seated pilgrims. However, he was depicted standing on a minbar during a regular sermon in a mosque (Figure 87), as suggested by the wardrobe of the attendees and the lamp hanging over-head. This type of depiction of location could be compared to the illustrated sermons in the *Maqāmāt* (Figure 54, Figure 55, Figure 56), but in *al-Āthār*, it has a simpler rendition. The minbar is embellished with geometric pattern similar to the one on the city gate in (Figure 102).

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129. Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 145 n. 102.

130. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations." in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Birūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 133. *n.116.*

131. ابن هشام، السيرة النبوية ج.٤ (بيروت: دار الكتاب العربي: ١٩٩٠)، ٢٤٨

Enthronement scenes are popular in Islamic art. These ay have derived from Byzantine and Sasanian princely representations.[132] Out of the five enthroning scenes in *al-Āthār*, three include similar throne type reminiscent of the thrones in [BNF Arabe 3929] and [BNF Arabe 6094] (Figure 88, Figure 89). The paintings of "The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama" (Figure 103), "A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh" (Figure 108), and "Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk" (Figure 109), share similar composition in which a main character appears to be in dialogue with an audience. The character being the keyperson, is situated at the left-hand side of the scene, and is marginally larger in size than other characters. The characters who are situated on the extreme left of the picture plane are most probably, the attendants due to their proximity to the main character. The remainig audience occupy the center and the right-hand side of the picture plane.

In "The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama" (Figure 103), the two envoys of *Musailama* are placed in the right edge of the painting. Muhammad - clustered around him are five members of the Muslim community - dominates the painting, occupying the bulk of the left-hand side of the page. The painter has portrayed the event as a customary throne scene, based on his own interpretation of the event, and placed the prophet on a throne (Sketch 52) very similar to that used by rulers.[133]

The anonymous king in "King Celebrates Mihrjān" (Figure 108) is placed on a throne (Sketch 53) similar to the one (Sketch 52) the prophet is sitting on in (Figure 103). Another identical throne seat (Sketch 54) to the previous two, is located in the "Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk" (Figure 109).

As for the seat (Sketch 55) which Mary sits on in the "Annunciation to Mary" (Figure 118), it is less austere and ascetic in shape to the previously discussed thrones and bit reminiscent to the one in Varqa and Gulshāh (Figure 90) , but its decoration differs. Instead of the floral motif, a horizontal band located approximately above the middle is made of lines surrounding an undulating spiral

132. Teresa Kirk, "The Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Holistic Study of its Design and Images." *Persica* 20 (2005): 47. https://doi:10.2143/PERS.20.0.2005884.

133. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations." in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Birūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 128.

pattern, appearing similar to the curtain design in (Figure 114). The remaining part of the seat is adorned with scattered crosses.

In three paintings, folding curtains appear similarly in a manner that the interior is exposed to the exterior and can be accessed. However, variation occurs in the decoration. In "Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians" (Figure 101), two large curtains ornamented with floral motifs are placed on both sides of the miniature. As in "A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh" (Figure 108), the low tonality curtain is placed on one side with a similar motif of the previous one (Figure 101). On the contrary, the miniature "Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox" (Figure 114) includes a colored curtain that is placed in a clearly identified space, in front of a door, outside the place of worship. An identical band appears on the upper and lower parts, consisting of unrecognized pattern surrounded by two horizontal lines. Similar arrangement of the curtain appears in the *Maqāmāt* scenes (Figure 91, Figure 92).

Lamps appear in two miniatures, "The Prophet prohibits Intercalation" (Figure 97), and "Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox" (Figure 114), almost identical in shape (Sketch 56, Sketch 57), but they differ in the way they are hanged to the ceiling and in slightly in the decoration. The visual of lamp follows the model of the ones in *Maqāmāt* (Figure 3, Figure 4, Figure 54, Figure 55, Figure 65, Figure 66).

In the manuscript under study, changes of the post-Mongol period brought to the furniture, are few and limited. Pīroz in "Pīroz interrogating the Temple Officials" (Figure 113), is illustrated similarly - in term of composition - to the previous discussed enthronement scenes, however, on a throne seat that is different. In al-Bīrūnī's description, Pīroz sits on a *danbakā* which is usually found in an honorable fire temple, and it is made of gold, and is similar to a bed but smaller in size.[134] The throne is illustrated with pattern of spiral rippling on the back, and with carefully rendered curved finials and lobed feet (Sketch 58), but Pīroz posture looks awkward, as he looks floating on the throne instead of sitting on it. This type of throne is used

134. أبي الريحان محمد بن احمد البيروني، *الآثار الباقية عن القرون الخالية* (ليبزغ: أوتو هاراسويتز، ١٩٢٣)، ١٢.

by the Mongol rulers of Iran,[135] and might have developed in the contemporary period of *al-Āthar* (Figure 93 - Figure 95) form a Chinese throne seat prototype (Figure 96).

Unlike other similar scenes discussed so far, in which the throne seat is usually placed to the left-hand side of the picture plane. In "Death of Eli" (Figure 115), it is placed in the center of the composition. This dramatic change in the layout according to Soucek, arrests the eye.[136] Surrounded by four spectators with gestures of surprise, the throne has no prominent figure seated on it (Sketch 59). The reason is that the miniature illustrates the moment of high priest Eli falling down dead in front of the throne, after receiving the news that *Banū Isrā'īl* have occupied the ark.

Other modifications on furniture that can be recognized through the decoration of the thrones in the scenes of princely audiences, is the distinctive stylized lotus motif, which is marked by high fidelity to Chinese prototypes. It consists of a stamen of teardrop shape with six or eight petals. It appears infrequently, on the bottom of draperies, carpets, cushions or on walls. No certain fixed date for when this type of lotus decoration appeared first on the Iranian decorative repertoires, but according to Peter Morgan, it began to be incorporated no later than the second half of the thirteenth century. The luster tiles of 1267 from Immazada Jaafar at Qumm could be the earliest dated examples to incorporate it.[137]

The lotus motif as ornamentation, owes it to China as the real point of departure, but its foundation goes back to India, where Buddhism is a major religion and in which the lotus has an important role in the Buddhist iconography. It appeared in different rendering on statues and monuments as a symbol of rebirth and purity of the Buddha. Then, as Buddhism moved eastwards into China, this foreign lotus motif became truly Chinese by the tenth century. But Iranian culture was aware of the significance of the sacred plant, long before the Mongol period,[138] and this is highly

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135. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations." in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Birūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 139.

136. Teresa Kirk, "The Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Holistic Study of its Design and Images." *Persica* 20 (2005): 51. https://doi:10.2143/PERS.20.0.2005884.

137. Peter Morgan, "Some Far Eastern Elements in coloured-ground Sultanabad Wares" in *Islamic art in the Ashmolean Museum,* ed. James Allan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 32

138. Morgan, 43.

probable as Buddhism spread from India to Central Asia, predating the Mongol invasion.

In three different scenes of a parallel composition, “The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama” (Figure 103), “A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh” (Figure 108), “Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk” (Figure 109), the seated characters are placed on a similar throne, whose back is decorated with the colored lotus motif in yellow with a red outline, on a blue background. The difference is that the bottom of the seat in the first miniature, is colored in yellow on a dark yellow background; and in the other two paintings, it is not (Sketch 60). The motif of stylized lotus can be also seen on the spandrel and on the curtain (Sketch 61) in “Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians” (Figure 101), and “ A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh” (Figure 108).

Chapter Four

Conclusion

In this paper an analysis of stylistic differences in the twenty-five paintings of *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya* in the Edinburgh University Library [Or. Ms. 161], have been investigated. The constituent elements of the miniatures were compared in order to classify them according to which style of painting they belong to. Whether the pre- or post-Mongol style, the two great currents during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

It might be that some paintings of this incomplete manuscript have been chosen to highlight themes of special contemporary interest, either to the patron or the painter or both.[139] And as much as they would be admired, the overall aesthetic feature of the manuscript is also to be appreciated according to Teresa Kirk, since the concern for the design and artistic effect is not limited to the paintings.[140] Therefore, as much as the manuscript offers an intellectual aspect, it is considered to be a sophisticated luxury item that presents an aesthetic experience which pleases the reader.

On stylistic grounds, it is easy to identify some eclectic qualities as well as various elements associated with different styles, and to assign the manuscript accordingly to the pre-Mongol period, or the early post-Mongol period, which Yuka Kadoi defines it as the formative period of il-Khanid painting.[141] Paintings are heavily dependent on the first style. It is therefore Laurence Binyon might have included the manuscript in the chapter concerning Mesopotamian paintings.[142] But stylistically also, the paintings of *al-Āthar* document the integration of pictorial

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139. Robert Hillenbrand, “Edinburgh Biruni Manuscript: A Mirror of Its Time?” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26, no. 1-2 (2016): 172 https://doi.org/10.1017/S1356186316000018

140. Teresa Kirk, "The Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Holistic Study of its Design and Images." *Persica* 20 (2005): 48 https://doi:10.2143/PERS.20.0.2005884.

141. Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 147.

142. Laurence Binyon, and J.V.S Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 32.

devices and motifs inherited from Far eastern mainly Chinese, with the 'Arab style' of painting.[143]

In the paintings of *al-Āthār*, consistency is apparent: with the use of the single plane, the arrangement of either single figures or groups taking up most of the space and disposed along the frontal plane, the poses of figures aligned in one singular plane, the haloed figures wearing traditional turbans and robes with highly conventionalized folds of drapery, the shading and high lighting of the costumes, the facial treatment, the sharp and thin lines of equal thickness in which the figures are drawn, the solid rendering and two-dimensional architectural settings, and the bright color palette, and the skillful order of the characters and their movements, along with the landscape that harmoniously frames them.

The image in pre-Mongol period, is essentially graphical art with a preference for a strong graphic line deprived from depth, realized in “The Prophet prohibits Intercalation”, “Abel visits Adan and Eve”, “The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand”. The human figure is distinguished by its anatomy. And despite the unusual proportions of bulky characters with big heads on small bodies, they are depicted in natural attitudes and spontaneous gestures within daily life scenes of that time, and they are given an expressive look which would introduce a hue of realism such in “The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama”, “A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh”, “Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk”. All figures nearly are adorned with haloes, which is attributed to Byzantine influences. The clothing also owes it to the predecessors, and to foreign influences. Characters were dressed in “old-fashioned” dresses, resembling Greek philosophers.[144] Some of the Hellenistic elements has been transmitted through Byzantine art. The folds of the costumes imitate byzantine models, and the general style is closely related to that of the *Maqāmāt* manuscripts. Christian elements occur in the “Annunciation to Mary” scene, in addition to its iconographical source that is present in “Ahrīmān tempts Mīshā and Mīshyāna”.

143. Sheila Blair and Jonathon Bloom, *The art and architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 26.

144. Ivan Stouchkine, “Les Manuscrits Illustrés Musulmans de la Bibliotèque de Caire,” *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts* 13, no. 1 (1935): 136**.**

In the last decade of the thirteenth century, artists began to absorb Far Eastern elements,[145] which led to a shift in the characteristics, and many features exceptionally differed. The implementation of numerous planes is one of the new modifications. Newly inspired motifs inherited from the Chinese landscape traditions are either inaccurately reproduced, or completely reinterpreted.[146] The use of brighter palette and monochrome painting which makes its appearance, completes in the color field of the introduced innovations. The old fashion of fine lines gives way to a new method of using wash and rough lines. A picturesque drawing with nerve, imprecise lines, with increasing and decreasing in thickness, replaces the sharp, thin lines of equal thickness of the earlier graphics.

Instead of arranging and aligning them in a single line and on one plane, or on a narrow band according to the pre-Mongol model, components in the new composition are now staggered or dispersed on several levels or planes as in "Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox". In a way that develops a more sophisticated setting which assures the grouping of figures as well as the arrangement of the decorative elements in very extensive possibilities.[147] This is achieved by means of Far Eastern landscape elements, particularly those borrowed from the Chinese art. The Chinese influence plays a major role in the formation of the art of this period and is of a paramount importance. Its effects as a "backstage" plan space that serves as the basis for the new composition are evident in "Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna" and "The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm", in an attempt to create notion of depth, by way of generating a third dimension of space.

Nature in the pre-Mongol style was mostly a creation of the artist's imagination. Trees with lobbed flowers and foliage spread like in an herbarium were drawn to an exaggerated stylization that transferred them into decorative motifs. In the new composition, they are absented and replaced by bulbous mountains and rocks inspired by the nebulous peaks from the Sung and Yuan landscape, and by steppes of receding ground lines covered with light grassy tufts to create a sense of space. In

145. Sheila Blair, "The Development of The Illustrated Book in Iran," *Muqarnas*, 10, (1993): 266-274. doi: 10.2307/1523191

146. Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 148.

147. Robert Hillenbrand, *Studies in The Islamic Arts of The Book* (London: The Lindar Press: 2012), 157.

addition to the contorted pines and knobbly trees with pendant foliage of a wholly far Eastern character, which add a realistic approach to the landscape. Noting that trees in the "Behāfarīd talking to the Peasant", "Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna", "The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm", are more conformist than those in contemporary manuscripts.

A noteworthy feature of *al-Āthar*, is the colored skies shading gradually from deep blue at the top to the plain paper below that enhance the drama of the two last paintings, "The Day of Cursing" and "The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm". Another addition to the significant element is the elaborately convoluted and swirling red, blue, and gold clouds with white linings that turn into garlands and are set in the space or against the dramatic sky in some paintings. From this time on, this kind of cloud convention was frequently used, though not so prominently in Persian miniatures.[148]

The influence of arrangement of the autochthonous forms, classical Byzantine, Chinese impressionist tendencies, or heterogeneous elements, is twofold: their iconographic type and the way they are drawn. In the context of the discussion on contributions and influences, the Byzantine influence is recognized in paintings by the haloed figures, folds of the clothes, with the observation of its development in phases, as well as imaginings borrowed from biblical iconography. The Chinese contribution played a similar role in certain images, through the tradition of multiple planes of the backgrounds, the tree-trunks, the pendant foliage, and specific facial treatment. In this aspect, several mediums of pictorial arts such as handscrolls, wall painting, and woodblock painting contributed in its transmission; it is significant to consider the appearance of Buddhist elements amongst other features in the manuscript.

In light of the discussion on influences, David Talbot Rice and Thomas Arnold considers the contribution of Manichaean art, which gives rise to the question of Central Asian influence and more particularly to the role played by Uighur artists.[149] But Binyon suggests that the human form mentioned by Arnold, is admittedly

148. Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (n.p.: Skira, 1961), 27.

149. David Talbot Rice, *Islamic Painting: A Survey* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 84.

Zoroastrian in origin; stressing that it is practically certain that there were many more Mazdeans than Manicheans in Persia by that date, and that the baptism scene looks closer to Armenian original than to the fragments of Manichean painting from Turfan.[150]

The scientific and secular *al-Āthār* manuscript that deals with calendars and astronomy is not unusual for its time. The surviving manuscripts of this type of treatise datable between 1275 and 1315 indicate its popularity during il-Khanid times as in the thirteenth-century Iraq.[151] And besides the diverse hypothetical attributions given to the provenance, diverse components came together harmoniously in the outcome of the manuscript not only to reinforce the iconographic attitudes whether derived from Islamic, Christian and Buddhist sources, but also to strengthen its stylistic features and the way those elements are drawn. The combined effect of different influences and characteristics recounts on several occasions in different miniatures. The hybrid style is not exclusive and limited to *al-Āthār*. The manuscript shares this artistic continuity with the other two contemporary il-Khanid manuscripts, *Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān* in the Morgan Library and the *ʿAjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* in the British Library.

In conclusion, investigating the various elements of the paintings of *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya*, and analyzing them in relation to the formerly established painting model and the newly originated one, and exploring further to which style and how these components do correspond, have covered the overlooked association by those who have thoroughly studied the manuscript and briefly considered the stylistic features within the paintings, or by those who have addressed specific paintings and examined a particular stylistic feature. The paintings of this manuscript are valuable work in showing the transition from one style to another, a rare example in the history of art where two styles co-exist. The detailed description

150. Laurence Binyon, and J.V.S Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 31.

151. Robert Hillenbrand, *Studies in The Islamic Arts of The Book* (London: The Lindar Press: 2012), 154.

was needed to underline the difference in styles and pictorial elements from the two artistic traditions, the pre-Mongol and the Chinese traditions.

The experimental character of these paintings, whether by choice or by coincidence provided rich material for the study of Islamic art and it formed a clear example on how styles influence each other, for the fourteenth century paintings in the following periods. These elements and style of rendition seem coherent and flowing. The Chinese influence constituted a major catalyst for the understanding of a new space in what became later known as the Classical Persian painting.

The study exposed the manuscript's position in the field of Islamic art, that is much appreciated for the eclecticism that characterizes it, whether executed as an experimental project or as establishing for an upcoming model. In light of that, the circumstances and conditions during which this manuscript was produced, are worth investigating through newly discovered historical evidence to know whether executed as an experimental project or as establishing for an upcoming model.

The transformation discussed above are similar to earlier transformations that took place in Islamic art, in particular in the formative periods. Works that survived from the Umayyad period were clearly influence by Byzantine art, and so the early Abbasid work took off from Sassanian achievements.

This kind of study may encompass all the available paintings from this transitional period so a comprehensive understanding of the changes may be established. Perhaps new information about the artists, their identity and sources may surface one day.

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Appendix A: The Author Biography

His Life

Abū Rayḥān Muhammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī was born on A.H. 4 *Dhū al-Hijjah* 362 /A.D. September 4, 973.[152] and grew up in the outer suburb of Kāth, as his agnomen "Bīrūnī" which indicates in Persian language, as outer.[153] Kāth is located in the region south of the Aral Sea known as Khawārizm as the capital of the Afrighīd Khwārazmsāhs, a native Iranian dynasty who ruled over the ancient kingdom of Khawārizm.

Yāqūt Shihāb al-Dīn ibn-ʿAbdullāh al-Rūmī al- Ḥamawī includes in his book *Muʿjam al-Udabāa*, a poem wrote by al-Bīrūnī himself at a later stage of his life, in which he lists the patrons he had worked for.[154] He praised *Banū ʿIrāq*, recognized as the Afrighīds, particularly *Abū Nasr Mansūr* for nurturing him in the field of sciences.[155] A political upheaval had come about the year 995 followed by an erupted civil war led to the overthrowing of the Afrighīds by their rivals, the Maʾmunids dynasty of Gurgānj on the left bank of Oxus. Al-Bīrūnī went into hiding and was forced to flee his homeland, presumably to Rayy near modern Tehran.[156] Several sources indicate that after he flew from Kāth, al-Bīrūnī has worked for the Sāmānīd amir *Manṣūr II bin Nūḥ II* (r. 997-999) in Bukhāra, by referring to the poem previously mentioned. In fact, *'Manṣūr'* is stated in the same verse in which he praises *Banū ʿIrāq* as being one of them. Therefore *'Manṣūr'* is most probably the

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152. Michio Yano, "Bīrūnī: Abū al-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī" in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, eds. Thomas Hockey et al. (New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 2014), 131, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-9917-7.

153. رياض حمودة ياسين، البيروني ودوره في الكتابة التاريخية (٢٠١٠: دار يافا العلمية)، ٢٢

154. شهاب الدين أبو عبد الله ياقوت بن عبد الله الحموي، *معجم الأدباء*، م.١٧ (القاهرة: دار المأمون للتراث، ١٩٣٨)، ١٨٧

155. Abū Naṣr Manṣūr ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿIrāq was an astronomer and a mathematician, pupil of Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Būzjānī. He is referenced as prince (*al-amīr)* suggesting he was a member of the Banū ʿIrāq dynasty.

156. Edward Stewart Kennedy, "Al-Bīrūnī.", in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Vol. 4, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie, (New York: Charles Scibner's Sons, 1982), 148.

same person who points out to him as being his teacher and *mawla* (servant)[157] A*min al-Mu'minīn*.[158]

Roughly two or three years after the escape, al-Bīrūnī was welcomed to work under *Shams al-Maʿālī Abul-Hasan Qābūs ibn Wushmakīr ibn Ziyār* (r. 978-981 & 997-1012), during his second reign. Previously a Ziyārid ruler of Gorgān and Tabārestan, he succeeded to restore the throne and reestablish himself as ruler of Gorgān, following several years of exile in his overlord Samanid territories, *Qābūs* was acknowledged for being a significant cultural and literary advocate. In around the year A.H. 1000, al-Bīrūnī dedicated to him his earliest extant major work *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khaliyā*.[159] His stay at the Ziyārid court came to an end by year 1003-1004 as he went back to his homeland, Khwārazm.[160] There, he reconciliated with the Ma'munids, who defeated a previous patron of him, and started to work under the service. As mentioned in the poem, he served the sons of Ma'mūn, the Khwārazmāshah *Abūl-Ḥasan ʿAlī and Abūl-ʿAbbās Ma'mun*, the latter for seven years as stated in his book *Al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdi fi al-Hay'a wa al-Nojūm*.[161]

Meanwhile, both Ma'munids brothers were in affinity by marriage with the ruler *Maḥmūd* from the powerful state of Ghaznā, the Ghazni of present-day Afghanistan. But political relations deteriorated between both parties. Hence, *Maḥmūd of Ghaznā*, a keen warrior who previously routed Samanid armies in 999,[162] invaded the Ma'mūnīds kingdom and would eventually take control. Al-Bīrūnī, along with several other scholars moved to the Ghaznāwid capital, Ghazna, where he got

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157. In spite of Sachau in his 1879 Chronolgy of Ancient Nations, p. 167, translates the word *mawla* as 'freedman', I took the liberty of using the term 'servant'.

158. أبي الريحان محمد بن احمد البيروني، *الآثار الباقية عن القرون الخالية* (ليبزغ: أوتو هاراسويتز، ١٩٢٣)، ١٨٤

159. Edward Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London: W.H. Allen & Co, 1879), viii.

160. Edward Stewart Kennedy, "Al-Bīrūnī.", in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Vol. 4, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie. (New York: Charles Scibner's Sons, 1982), 149.

161. أبي الريحان محمد بن احمد البيروني، *القانون المسعودي*، الجزء الأول (حيدر أباد الدكن: مطبعة مجلس دائرة المعارف العثمانية)، ٢

162. Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Civilization in Thirty Lives: The First 1,000 years.* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2016), 107.

appointed as the court astrologer.[163] He accompanied *Maḥmūd* on his invasions into India, living there for a few years. After the death of *Maḥmūd* in the spring of 1030, al-Bīrūnī served several of his successors of. His final work on pharmacology is not dedicated to anyone, which indicates that he may have either lost his patronage or no longer cared to appease royalty in his waning years. He died circa 1050.

His Works

Bīrūnī, a scholar and polymath, is a pioneer of the Islamic fourth century with a considerable significance of productions in several scientific fields. In 1036. at the age of sixty-three years old, he composed *Risāla fī Fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī*, a bibliography of the works of *Abū Bakr al-Rāzī*. This model of organizing a bibliography of an individual follows the precedents type of Galen in antiquity and of *Ḥonayn bin Isḥāq* in the 9th century.[164] He appended to *al-Rāzī' fihrist* a list of his 138 own writings up to that period, including ten unfinished, twenty-five have been written in his name by others; he even indicates the number of folios of each work available to him.[165] The subjects in his appended list are split into twelve categories: astronomy, mathematical geography, mathematics, astrological aspects and transits, astronomical instruments, chronology, comets, an untitled category, astrology, anecdotes, religion.[166] It is an incomplete list of his works, since he lived more than ten further years and may also have omitted some.[167]

He is a prolific author of works on numerous specialized topics and themes from brief treatises to major works embracing vast fields of knowledge. They differed widely in size and length. Some were comprised of sixty folios or more; others were

163. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in A World Civilization*, Vol.3, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 108.

164. David Pingree, "Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān ii. Bibliography" in *Encylopedia Iranica*, IV/3, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Bīrūnī-abu-rayhan-ii (accessed April 16, 2018).

165. David Pingree, "Āṯār al-Bāqīa," in *Encylopedia Iranica*, II/8 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/atar-al-baqia-an-al-qorun-al-kalia-the-chronology-of-ancient-nations-by-Bīrūnī (accessed April 16, 2018).

166. Jacques-Dominique Boilot, "al-Bīrūnī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1438 (accessed on April 10, 2018).

167. In his L'oeuvre d'al-Beruni: Essai Bibliographique, Mélanges de l'Institut Dominican d'Études Orientales du Caire, No. 2, 1955, pp. 161–256, and No. 3, 1956, pp. 391–6, p. 165, Jacques-Dominique Boilot lists a total of 180 works.

larger. The scope of his works was truly astonishing, and on diverse disciplines as pharmacology, mineralogy and medicine, philosophy and theology, ethnography and geography, and the measurement of time and distance.[168] Therefore, and while his chief interest was in the areas of astronomy, geography, and mathematics,[169] and his main impact on Islamic intellectual history is perhaps in the field of astrology,[170] it is not easy to classify al-Bīrūnī, Besides his contribution in important works on history, comparative chronology of history and cultural studies, his surviving works on minerals and plants are by no means insignificant.[171] It could be noticed that he had also participated in the field of philosophy through correspondences with *Ibn Sīna*. Nevertheless, so many sources which praise his genius in mathematics and astronomy, rely on these correspondences to denounce his incompetence in this field, which creates a status of al-Bīrūnī in the classical tradition as relatively obscure.[172]

The pragmatic, determined observation and experimentation of al-Bīrūnī led him to noteworthy results in several research areas, and several sophisticated numerical computations, such as the calculations of the circumference of the earth, the specific gravities of certain metals that are almost identical to the values in use today.[173] His works and methods reveal originality, massive capacity, and expose his scope and magnitude of his achievements and efforts.[174] In addition to his Khwārazmian tongue, he knew and used Arabic, Persian, Syriac, and Greek. Al-Bīrūnī may even

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168. Robert Hillenbrand, "The Edinburgh Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Mirror of Its Time?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic* Society 26, no. 1-2 (2016): 171-199.

169. Mahan Mirza, "Bīrūnī's Thought and Legacy," *Religion Compass* 5, no. 10 (October 2011): 611, doi:10.1111/j.1749-8171.2011.00301.x.

170. George Saliba, "Al-Bīrūnī and the sciences of his time," in *Religion, Learning and Science in the Abbasid Period*, ed. M. J. L. Young et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 415.

171. Edward Stewart Kennedy, "The Exact Sciences," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from The Arab Invasion to The Saljuqs*, Vol.4, ed. Richard Nelson Frye, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 394.

172. George Saliba, "Al-Bīrūnī and the sciences of his time," in *Religion, Learning and Science in the Abbasid Period*, ed. M. J. L. Young et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 422.

173. Mahan Mirza, "Bīrūnī's Thought and Legacy," *Religion Compass* 5, no. 10 (October 2011): 611, doi:10.1111/j.1749-8171.2011.00301.x.

174. Edward Stewart Kennedy, "The Exact Sciences," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from The Arab Invasion to The Saljuqs*, Vol.4, ed. Richard Nelson Frye, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 394.

have learned some Sanskrit when he became familiarized with what it is related to India for his book *Kitāb Taḥqīq Mā lel-Hend men Maqūla Maqbūla fil-ʿAql aw Marthūla* which is one of his major works that also include on astrology: *Kitāb al-Tafhīm li-Awāʾil Sināʿat al-Tanjīm*, on gems: *Al-Jamāhir fī Maʿrifat al-Jawāhir*, an encyclopedia on astronomy, geography, and engineering: *Al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdi fi al-Hay'a wa al-Nojoum*, on chronology: *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khālīya*.[175]

175. Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān i. Life" in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, IV/3, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/Bīrūnī-abu-rayhan-i-life (accessed April 16, 2018).

Appendix B: The Literary Work

Origin and Value

Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʻan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya, commonly translated into English as *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, is a historical work written in Arabic by al-Bīrūnī at the age of twenty seven, in 1000.[176] He dedicated this splendid compilation of historical material on calendars and chronologies used by the Persians, Sogdians, Khwārizmians, Christinas, Jews, Syrians, Ḥarrānians, and Arabs, who are familiar to him, to his master *Shams al-maʿālī Abul-Ḥasan Qābūs ibn Wushmakīr*, the Ziyārid ruler of Gorgān. The book also includes the periods of which rulers from early antiquity reigned, the festivities and the fasts of various religions, in addition to the instructions for transforming dates from one calendar to another. It is considered to be al-Bīrūnī's earliest major work, and it is listed as n.105 in his own bibliography.[177] According to David Pingree, al-Bīrūnī had already accomplished no less than seven books on various astrological and astronomical or historical subjects, and by the time he was writing *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, he was planning for two more. None of these nine has survived, but the text of the *Chronology* is still preserved in at least eleven manuscripts, therefore it could have received fairly wide circulation and claim.[178] It is still to be considered as one of the most reliable sources on ancient and medieval chronology.

Al-Bīrūnī is a well-studied intellectual in the West and is celebrated by several notable scholars. Nonetheless, it was not the case until the professor at the Royal University of Berlin, Edward Sachau, published "*The Chronology of Ancient Nations"* in German and English in 1878 and 1879 respectively, and *al-Bīrūnī's*

176. Sachau on page 194 of his 1879 Chronolgy of Ancient Nations, concludes from the text that al-Bīrūnī calls the year 1311 of Alexander this year of ours.

177. David Pingree, "Āṯār al-Bāqīa," in *Encylopedia Iranica*, II/8 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/atar-al-baqia-an-al-qorun-al-kalia-the-chronology-of-ancient-nations-by-Bīrūnī (accessed April 16, 2018).

178. Pingree.

India in Arabic and English in 1887, with extensive notes and introduction.[179] Those two books are what gave him fame in the West at the beginning.

In the *Chronology*, al-Bīrūnī based his writing on wide reading of the now non-extant works of his time. Some are of Arabic origin text and others come from a few Arabic versions of Greek texts.[180] He also relied on oral information obtained by himself from his contemporaries. All these efforts were not at ease, since he faced some obstacles, such as not being able to consult someone competent to explain the Jacobite Christian calendar to him, or not being able to deal with sufficient sources regarding other geographic areas.

Unfortunately, the most examined text - the Sachau edition - is not complete and bears several lacunae. Two other German scholars, Karl Garbers and Johann Fück worked on filling the major ones. François de Blois, who is preparing an entirely new English edition of the text with commentary, tracks back Sachau's three sources which are based on an illustrated copy now in Edinburgh University Library [Or. Ms. 161]. The earliest one, being a manuscript of the sixteenth century.[181] With the examination of other manuscripts which he traces their lineage (Figure 122), he expects to be able to fill the missing parts, and to have a clear view on how the full text would have been.

Content

Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʻan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya could be divided into three major sections: chapters one to five deal with astronomical subjects, chapters six to eight consider historical, and chapters nine to twenty relate to religious matter.[182] The

179. Mahan Mirza, "Bīrūnī's Thought and Legacy," in *Religion Compass* 5, no. 10 (October 2011): 611, doi:10.1111/j.1749-8171.2011.00301.x.

180. David Pingree, "Ā.tār al-Bāqīa," in *Encylopedia Iranica*, II/8 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/atar-al-baqia-an-al-qorun-al-kalia-the-chronology-of-ancient-nations-by-Bīrūnī (accessed April 16, 2018).

181. François de Blois, "A new look at al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of the Ancient Nations," *UCL-Arts & Social Science*, August 3, 2017, audio, 24:13, https://soundcloud.com/ucl-arts-social-science.

182. David Pingree, "Ā.tār al-Bāqīa," in *Encylopedia Iranica*, II/8 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/atar-al-baqia-an-al-qorun-al-kalia-the-chronology-of-ancient-nations-by-Bīrūnī (accessed April 16, 2018).

chapters are not distinct from each other since the discussed material intersect extensively throughout the work.

Since the theme of the literary work is concerned with chronology, and since the day being the most apparent and essential chronological unit, the subjects of the first chapter are: the nature of day and night, their sum and their beginnings القول على مائية اليوم بليلته و مجموعهما و ابتدائهما. Followed by a second chapter القول على مائية ما يركّب منها من الشهور و الأعوام, in which al-Bīrūnī defines lunar, solar, lunisolar, the different types of year that are composed of days and months in addition to an outline on the notion of intercalation. In chapter three القول على مائية التواريخ و اختلاف الأمم فيها, the following various eras are discussed: those of the Creation, of the Flood, of Nebuchadnezzar, of Philip, of Alexander, of Augustus, of Antoninus, of Diocletianus, of the Hejra, of Yazdegerd, and of the Caliph *al-Muʿtaḍid*, the origin of the Septuagint. In addition of the pre-Islamic Arabs, and of al-Bīrūnī's native Khwārazm. Though chapter four is titled as 'the different opinions of various nations regarding the king called *Dhu-al-Qarnaīn* or Bicornutus' القول في اختلاف الأمم في مائية الملقب بذي القرنين, the author excessively criticizes the false allegations of the Buwayhīds of being descendants from the Sasanian emperor *Bahrām Gūr*, and praise his patron *Shams al-Maʿālī* and the shahs of Khorasān as progenies of the Sasanian royal house.[183] Chapter five القول على كيفيّات الشّهور التي تستعمل في التّواريخ القديمة discusses the natures and names of the months used in the preceding eras of various peoples: Persians, Soghdians, Khwārazmians, Egyptians, Westerners, Greeks, Jews, Syrians, pre-Islamic Arabs, Muslims, Indians, and Turks.

A lengthy Chapter six القول على استخراج التواريخ بعضها من بعض و تواريخ الملوك و مدد ملوكهم على اختلاف الأقاويل begins with the lineage of patriarchs and kings of the Jews according to the Jewish and Christian interpretations of the Old Testament. What follow are king lists of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Chaldeans, Achaemenids, Pharaohs, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, Achaemenids, Parthians, and Sassanians including their yeas of reign. The next section of this chapter is devoted to pre-Islamic Arab chronology, concerning the Ḥimyarīte, Ghassānīd, and Lakhmīd kings, followed by events in the life of the prophet Mohammad and of the reigns of

183. Pingree.

the Umayyads, and the Abbasids caliphs. At the end, al-Bīrūnī exhibits the intervals in days between the eras used in astronomical tables.[184] Chapter seven القول على الأدوار و التّقوفات و مواليد السنين و الشّهور و كيفياتها و كبائسها في سني اليهود و سائر السنين continues the thorough discussion of the Jewish calendar by presenting an elaborate clarification and criticism of the intricacies that occur in the calendar, followed by a discussion of technical aspects of the Greco-Syrian, Muslim, and Persian calendars. It also includes the names of the planets and of the zodiacal signs in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and Khwarazmian. The eighth chapter القول على تواريخ المتنبيّن و أممهم المخدوعين عليهم لعنة رب العالمين is on "pseudo-prophets" and their communities which include Bodhisattva and the Sabeans of Ḥarrān, the Buddha, Zeus, Zoroaster, Ibn Daisān, Marcion, Manī, Mazdak, and some others who acclaimed prophecy during early Islamic period such as Behāfarīd, al-Muqannaʿ, Ibn Abi-Zakariyya. In addition to the intervals between the eras of the false prophets.

The remaining part of the book, chapters nine through twenty, gives interpretation about various fasting and festive calendars respectively of Persians, Soghdians, Khwārazmians, Khwārazm-Shāhs calendar reform**,** Greeks, Jews, Melkite Christians, Lent-related**,** the Nestorian Christians, the Sabeans of Ḥarrān, Arabs in the time of heathendom, and the Muslims.

In the final chapter القول على منازل القمر و طلوعها و سقوطها و صورها, al-Bīrūnī provides a descriptive matter on *manāzel al-qamar* (lunar mansions), followed by explanations of stereographic projection and the construction of celestial and terrestrial maps.[185]

184. David Pingree, "Āṯār al-Bāqīa," in *Encylopedia Iranica*, II/8 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/atar-al-baqia-an-al-qorun-al-kalia-the-chronology-of-ancient-nations-by-Bīrūnī (accessed April 16, 2018).

185. Edward Stewart Kennedy, "Al-Bīrūnī.", in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Vol. 4, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie. (New York: Charles Scibner's Sons, 1982).

Appendix C: The Illustrated Manuscript MS. Or. 161

Binding

The manuscript in its current status in the Edinburgh University Library is completely unbound and stored as individual sections of text in modern conservation-grade folders. The last binding which was on it when it was acquired by the university - described as "pretty enameled"[186] - appears to be a Persian lacquer from a later period of the date of the manuscript and is preserved separately.[187] It is most likely that the manuscript has been rebound over the time.

Dating and Provenance

Given that the colophon provides no explicit indication to neither the patron nor to the place of production, it is possible, according to Soucek, that the erased portion of the frontispiece might have contained some beneficial information.[188] The upper part of the frontispiece which appears to have been wiped out at a later stage, now bears the name of the owner with the date of purchase "R.M. Binning, Isfahan, July 4, 1851" (Figure 123), who donated it to the Edinburgh University Library in 1877. As for the information mentioned in the colophon (Figure 124), it only indicates the date of the manuscript A.H. 707 corresponding to A.D. 1307-1308, in addition to the name of the scribe *Ibn al-Kutubī*.

The issue of provenance has been constantly addressed by scholars, and the provided answers would remain theoretical. Soucek assumed Tabriz or Maragha,[189] on the basis that the paintings are closely connected to those in manuscripts executed

186. Mohammed Ashraful Hukk et al*., A descriptive catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library.* (Hertford: Austin, 1925), 136.

187. The information was collected from correspondences with Mrs. Elizabeth Quarmby Lawrence, the Rare Books Librarian at the Centre for Research Collections in Edinburgh University Library. She adds "We do not have any coherent information about the binding, that I can find, and this is not my area of expertise".

188. Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations," in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Bīrūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 103.

189. Soucek, 156.

in Iran during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to her, the artist who have produced those illustrations, seems to be familiar with the pictorial traditions of Mesopotamia, and works in a workshop where he had access to paintings of Byzantine and Chinese origin.[190] She compares them in style, to those in *Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān*, probably produced at Maragha in 1298.[191] Basil Gray proposed to be a product of Il-Khanid school, presumably from Tabriz.[192] Stefano Carboni, in his attempt to attribute the provenance of the *ʿAjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* to the northern Jazira, suggested that the painters of that manuscript and those of *al-Āthār* share - in terms of figural representations - the same artistic background.[193] Douglas Barett suggested that the manuscript may have been produced in Mosul considering that the depicted Christian imagery in some miniatures, would have been attributed to painters having easy access to Christian iconographic sources at an atelier of an area where Christianity is more deeply rooted than Tabriz and Maragha.[194] Similar approach have been applied by Hillenbrand in which he associates the feature of convoluted drapery which recur in Byzantine rather than Islamic art to indicate Mosul - where Christian population is preponderating - as most likely a provenance for the manuscript.[195] Alternatively, Yuka Kadoi claims that the illustrations do no complement visually to this kind of treatise but rather echo the religious drive in Il-Khanid Iran and valuably mirror the Iranian culture under the Mongols.[196] And based on the fact that many elements originated from non-Islamic sources are included in the miniatures, she suggests Rashidiyya near Tabriz as another possible place of the origin of the manuscript

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190. Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 156

191. Soucek, 206.

192. Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (n.p.: Skira, 1961), 26.

193. Stefano Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation and The Singularities of The Paintings: Study of The Il-Khanid London Qazvini* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 28.

194. Douglas Barrett, *Persian Painting of The 14th Century* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1952), 6.

195. Robert Hillenbrand, *Studies in The Islamic Arts of The Book* (London: The Lindar Press: 2012), 157.

196. Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 150.

despite the discrepancies of the its miniatures that show strong artistic connection to the previous two Il-Khanid manuscripts, *Manāfiʿal-Ḥayawān* and *ʿAjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt,* with the works produced there.[197]

Foliation and Script

In its current condition, the manuscript consists of unnumbered 180 folios. While reading the manuscript, many lacunae could be noticed, therefore, the number of folios the manuscript originally had, is hard to identify. The missing folios are probably more than the five suggested by the authors of the descriptive catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library.[198] The last two folios appear to have been relocated beyond the colophon page. Over the course of the years, the pages have been trimmed and rebound. Currently, the dimensions of the folios are roughly 31 by 19 cm.[199] The manuscript begins with an illuminated title page that bears a veneration for al-Bīrūnī, the author of the original text (Figure 123)

Throughout the manuscript, the folios comprise of text enclosed within a border of double red lines, that it is missing on few pages. It is evident that the border was drawn after the text was copied as shown in (Figure 125 - Figure 127), where the scribe has omitted some lines which were added later in the proofreading phase. The text consisting predominantly of twenty-one lines of script per page, is mainly written in black ink naskhi script. As for the headings, they span on the entire width of the written surface, and mostly written in either black or red ink large bold kufic script.

Tables and Diagrams

In addition to the text, the manuscript contains sixty-nine tables, and thirteen diagrams which are mostly circular and "precisely drawn and conceived in minimalist terms".[200] Both are executed using kufic and naskhi scripts in red and

197. Kadoi, 148.

198. Mohammed Ashraful Hukk et al., *A descriptive catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library.* (Hertford: Austin, 1925), 136.

199. Hukk et al., 136.

200. Teresa Kirk, "The Edinburgh al-Bīrūnī Manuscript: A Holistic Study of its Design and Images." *Persica* 20 (2005): 33. https://doi:10.2143/PERS.20.0.2005884.

black ink. They are explanatory and rich with information on the conversion of dates from one calendar to another, on the names of the months in the languages of the different nations, on the kings and the years of their reigns, on the chronological events in the life of prophet Muhammad and of the reigns of the early caliphs, on the longitudes and latitudes of the fixed stars, on the lucky and unlucky days in the Persian calendArabe Teresa Kirk refutes the sole importance of text and illustrations and gives a significant value to the tables and diagrams by allocating them an essential role in the purpose of the manuscript.[201]

Paintings

Throughout the manuscript, twenty-five gilded paintings in a variety of not much dimmed colors are set within a frame of gold border. Three of the frames are embellished with additional pattern.[202] Their configuration is split into three, eight and fourteen in five astronomical, three historical, and thirteen religious chapters respectively. The latter examines mainly the festivities of different nations and religious groups. Though different groups and ethnicities are portrayed, the style of the painting and depiction does not necessarily fully reflect the style of the subject matter. The human figures, the facial expressions, the wardrobe, the color palette, the architecture, the composition, all follow a style of which the painter is trained with. The style as will be seen is consistent and reminiscent of an established one alongside some elements and features foreign to it which are included in some paintings. Each painting reveals a specific part of the text, and some contain additional components from the artist's imagination; those will be dealt with thoroughly in the following chapter.

Gaps

It is not possible to tell whether the missing folios contain tables, diagrams or paintings, however, it could be speculated what would have been on the blank surfaces that appear on the folios 55v., 56r., 158v. (Figure 128 - Figure 130). It may

201. Teresa Kirk, 43.

202. Mohammed Ashraful Hukk et al. *A descriptive catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in Edinburgh university library* (Hertford: Austin, 1925), 136.

not necessarily signify the presence of a table or a diagram or a painting on them, as they might only comprise a text such as Fol. 67v. (Figure 131). But within the written context of the folios mentioned earlier, it could be assumed that a diagram or table would have existed on Fol. 55v. (Figure 128), and a painting on folios 56r. (Figure 129) and 158v. (Figure 130).

Appendix D: Descriptions of Paintings in *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya*

The descriptions are based on two sources:

1. The extensive accounts in "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations" by Priscilla P. Soucek, in "The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l Rayhan al-Bīrūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmi, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski.
2. The captions placed along a digital copy of the manuscript on the website of the University of Edinburgh Collections https://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/view/all/what/Chronology%2Bof%2BAncient%2BNations/

Table 1. Narrative Description of The Paintings

Astronomical	**Chapter 2 - On the Nature of that which is composed of Days viz. Months and Years** • **The Prophet prohibits Intercalation - Fol. 6v - Figure 97** During his "Farewell Pilgrimage", the Prophet Muhammad received a revelation prohibiting intercalation. Accordingly, he states it and explains it in a sermon, and orders to forbid the practice. The painting occurs in the middle of a statement quoted from the speech, ". . .*Time has come back to its original state . . the Heavens and the Earth, . . .*"
	Chapter 3 - On the Nature of the Eras and the different Opinions of the Nations regarding them • **Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad - Fol. 10v - Figure 98** After recognizing the prophecy of Muhammad to be equivalent to that of Jesus based on his computational equations, al-Bīrūnī moves on to the bible quoting Isaiah 21:6-10 to portray the prophecy Muhammad. Christ riding a donkey and Muhamad next to him, riding on a camel marching towards the watchman's tower, which according to al-Bīrūnī, the moment of arrival asserts that announced the destruction of Babylon. • **The Birth of Caeser - Fol. 16r - Figure 99** In a passage in which al-Bīrūnī presents the origin and the etymology of Caesar (Augustus, the first Roman Emperor), a painting gives a vivid rendition of the his brith. The mother lies nude and lifeless on the ground with an incision in her abdomen. A doctor bends forward drawing out the child head-first. The operation is witnessed by two spectators on the left and one on the right.

Historical

Chapter 6 - On the Derivation of the Eras from each other and on the Chronological Dates, relating to the Commencements and the Durations of the Reigns of the Kings, according to the various Traditions

- **Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna - Fol. 48v - Figure 100**
  In his treatment of the reigns of Persian kings, al-Bīrūnī deliberates number of different sources which present variants Persian ideas of creation. In one of them is the story of Mīshā and Mīshyāna who shown naked holding a fruit beng persuaded by Ahrīmān to eat it. As a result of the success Ahrīmān, Mīshā and Mīshyāna were expelled from paradise.

Chapter 7 - On the Cycles and Year-points, on the Môlêds of the Years and Months, on their various Qualities, and on the Leap-months both in Jewish and other Years

- **Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians - Fol. 88v - Figure 101**
  Abraham who is described as hostile to the worship of the heavenly bodies and also opposed to the worship of Idols, is shown as a young man while striking a golden Buddhist statue with an axe, while the associated text describes the life of Buddha. Two similar seated figures of silver are seen in the background. From their posture with crossed legs and outstretched arms it can be suggested that the idols are Buddhist statues.

- **The Death of Mānī - Fol. 91r - Figure 102**
  The painting showing the death of Mānī (the founder of Manichaeism, an Iranian Gnostic religion that gained widespread popularity during the late antique and Medieval periods) is a combination of two accounts given by al-Bīrūnī's. The first is that he would be killed, slayed, and his skin stuffed with grass to be hung at the gate of Gundishapur, which is known as the Mani-Gate in commemoration of this event. Another account is that his head is to be placed before a tent and his body to be exposed in the street after being tortured in jail while kept bound to death. The placement of the painting is in the section of the text describing Mānī's imprisonment of the second account. A city gate upon which the head of Mani is suspended, his body lying on the ground below, and four spectators contemplate the sight.

- **The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama - Fol. 92r - Figure 103**
  Muhammad meeting the envoy of Musailama ibn Hābīb of Yamāma, a contemporary and rival of the Prophet Muhammad. He claimed prophethood and asked Muhammad to share half of the world with him. Situated on the left on a throne, Muhammad dominates the left side of the painting, is surrounded by five of his followers, and the two envoys are to his right. Of particular interest are the man and child on the right side of the Prophet. Since he holds a two-bladed sword, the man must be 'Ali, and the young child is probably Husain. It is possible that the youth behind the throne is Hasan.

- **Behāfarīd talking to the Peasant - Fol. 92v - Figure 104**
  Al-Bīrūnī turns to a self-styled prophet, Behāfarīd b. Farvardīnān who generated his own sect with a mixture Zoroastrian and Islamic practice. The

painting is in the section of the text which describes how Behāfarīd convinced a peasant tilling his field that he has just returned from heaven with the green silk garment as proof of his trip.

- **The Seize of al-Muqannaʿ - Fol. 93v - Figure 105**
  The painting appears to have taken the cue of siege from a brief text on the rise of Hāshim ibn Hakīm know as al-Muqannaʿ, a religious leader who claimed a prophetic status which mentions that after years of armed rebellion al-Muqannaʿ was finally besieged and killed. The painting shows the storming of the fortress with troops on horseback aiming arrows at the archers on the wall of the building, who are also preparing to fire.

- **The Execution of al-Ḥallāj - Fol 94r - Figure 106**
  Caliph al-Muqtadir ordered the execution of al-Husein bin Mansur al-Hallāj because of his heresy and prediction the imminent arrival of the Mahdi. According to accounts of his execution, it was attended by a large crowd. On the left, one spectator appears to be appealing to the executioner's assistant, while a spectator on the right appears to be urging the completion of the deed. The most forcefully executed part of the painting is, however, the figure of al- Ḥallāj, who appears to be looking at the executioner as the knife is lowered to his throat. Most touching of all, however, are the bloody stumps of his legs carefully placed at the frame of the painting. One of the truncated limbs is placed beneath the victim's shoulder, blood still spurting from its top.

- **The Punishment of Pederast - Fol. 95r - Figure 107**
  The painting, a literal rendition of the event as described by al-Bīrūnī, is located after the description of sodomy punishment. It shows Ibn Abi Zakariyya religious group leader, being punished. He is depicted lying face down with his arms and feet bound. The person on the right appears to be dragging the victim along the ground since the motion has created a cloud of dust.

Chapter 9 - On the Festivals in the Months of the Persians

- **A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh - Fol. 100v - Figure 108**
  In a commemoration for angels helping Faridun in his conflict with Dahhak, at dawn a man stands in the courtyard of the royal residence and invites angels to descend from the sky and aid men in combating evil forces. On the right side of the painting a man stands with his arms raised inviting angels to descend to earth.112 The left side, however, shows a ruler enthroned with his attendants.

- **Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk - Fol. 101r - Figure 109**
  Daḥḥāk, who is bound and, on his knees, is asking king Farīdūn - the enthroned individual to the left - if he is seeking revenge for the death of his ancestor, but eventually he is punished for something else.

- **Abel visits Adam and Eve - Fol. 101v - Figure 110**
  Scene is said to be representative of the festival of Farwardijān, when families would leave food for the dead in cemeteries and on the roofs of their houses, due to the belief that the dead would return to their old surroundings during these days. According to its location it the text, directly after Adam and Eve requested that Abel be returned to them after he was being killed by Cain. In this example, Adam and Eve eating with the spirit of Abel, who is said to have stayed for ten days, although he was unable to speak during this time. The gestures exhibited by the figures in this image may represent an attempt to try and overcome this problem. By following al-Bīrūnī's description of Abel sitting without the ability to speak, Soucek notes that the participants were drawn gesturing as if trying to overcome this obstacle.

- **The Feast of Sada - Fol. 103r - Figure 111**
  This festival commemorates the one hundredth day of winter. In a picnic setting, four men sit around a fire roasting a fowl and drinking. Overhead four birds fly around the flames**.** Scene is likely to represent the festival of the Bahman Māh, in which rulers, having lit fires, would drive small animals and birds into the flames, before asking god to seek revenge on those tormenting creatures.

- **The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand - Fol. 103v - Figure 112**
  This miniature does not portray the festival act of the people, but a contemporary historic occasion of the events that led to the festivity. The rooftops of a village blazing with fires, while two figures look on. a scene that illustrates the tale of Azmā'īl was charged - after the death of Daḥḥāk - with for aiding Daḥḥāk's. In order to prove his innocence, Azmā'īl orders all those whom he had freed and sent them to live on Mount Demavand, to light fires on their roofs so they could be counted. This number turned out to be so great, and Azmā'īl was given a fief instead.

- **Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials - Fol. 104v - Figure 113**
  .Pīroz visits the famous fire temple of Fārs to pray for the sake of ending the lengthy years of drought. As the temple officials do not greet him, he

sits and questions their intention. Replying that, in the presence of a god, it would have been improper to acknowledge him, he was relieved.

Chapter 13 - On the Days of the Greek Calendar as known both among the Greeks and other Nations

- **Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox - Fol. 129v - Figure 114**
  For the celebration of the autumnal equinox remarks in India, people gather in “places of worship” (buyut al-ibadat] until mid-day. Following this, people relocate to “places of relaxation" (mutanazzahat) where they gather in groups for religious observation**.** The scene looks as the painting of the afternoon activity, as the individuals are shown in an open space.

Chapter 14 - Of the Festivals and Fast-days in the Months of the Jews

- **The Death of Eli - Fol. 133v - Figure 115**
  When the high Priest Eli learned the news about taking of the Ark from the Banu Isra'īl, he fell dead from his throne. The artist illustrating this passage appears to have followed al-Bīrūnī’s text for he shows Eli dead at the foot of a throne associated with the Mongol rulers of Iran. Four spectators watch with gestures of surprise.

- **Nebuchadnezzar orders the destruction of the Temple - Fol. 134v - Figure 116u**
  As it falls, the building - consisting of an outer wall, a dome supported by columns, and an external columnar - dissolves into a mass of flames conforming to al-Bīrūnī’s description of destruction by fire. The figure on the right appears to be Nebuchadnezzar, directing the workmen, whose postures express action.

Chapter 15 - On the Festivals and Memorable Days of the Syrian Calendar, celebrated by the Melkite Christians

- **The Baptism of Christ - Fol. 140v - Figure 117**
  John the Baptist is standing at the edge of the river, holding Christ's garment. Jesus Christ is standing in the water, about to be baptized, while his sandals are floating on the surface of the river. A dove denoting the Holy Spirit, is descending towards the two.

- **The Annunciation to Mary - Fol. 141v - Figure 118**
  Mary is shown sitting cross-legged with a wool at the left within an architectural frame, and angel Gabriel on the right, gesturing towards her.

Chapter 19 - On the Festivals of the Arbs in the time of Heathendom

- **The Fair at ʿUkāẓ - Fol. 157v - Figure 119**
  A scene of encampment that is believed to depict the fair of ʿUkāẓ, a pre-Islamic Arab festival, mentioned by al-Bīrūnī simply as being attended by

many tribes. It illustrates several figures sitting in tents and performing different activities. Therefore, the painting of a nomadic encampment setting, might be the artist's own understanding of the event.

Chapter 20 - On the Festivals of the Muslims

- **The Day of Cursing (Al Mubāhala) - Fol. 161r - Figure 120**
  The painting is dominated by the Prophet and his family arranged in the manner described in the texts. He addresses and exchanges curses with the Christians of Najran, who are crowded against the frame on the left side of the painting.

- **The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm - Fol. 162r - Figure 121**
  During the return of the farewell pilgrimage, the prophet Muhammad orders to stop at Ghadīr Khumm, where he addresses his supporters to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī. The painting depicts the prophet placing his left hand on ʿAlī's shoulder and exchanging gazes with him. The former is recognized by the prestigious attire, and the latter by his well-known sword '*dhul-fiqār*' in the presence presumably of Hasan and Hussain.

Appendix E: Stylistic Features of the Paintings in *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya*

Table 2. Distribution of Pre- and Post-Mongol Stylistic Features

Painting	Folio	Pre-Mongol						Post-Mongol					
		Composition	Landscape	Architecture	Human Figures	Furniture	Others	Composition	Landscape	Architecture	Human Figures	Furniture	Others
The Prophet prohibits Intercalation Figure 97	6v	x			x	x							
Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad Figure 98	10v	x	x		x				x				
The Birth of Caesar Figure 99	16r	x			x			x	x				
Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna Figure 100	48v				x			x	x		x		
Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians Figure 101	88v	x		x	x							x	
The Death of Māni Figure 102	91r	x		x	x				x				
The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama Figure 103	92r	x			x	x			x			x	
Behāfarīd talking to the Peasant Figure 104	92v	x			x			x	x				
The Seize of al-Muqannaʿ Figure 105	93v	x	x	x	x				x				
The Execution of al-Ḥallāj Figure 106	94r				x				x				
The Punishment of Pederast Figure 107	95r				x			x	x				

Painting	Folio	Pre-Mongol						Post-Mongol					
		Composition	Landscape	Architecture	Human Figures	Furniture	Others	Composition	Landscape	Architecture	Human Figures	Furniture	Others
A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh Figure 108	100v	x		x	x	x					x	x	
Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk Figure 109	101r	x		x	x						x	x	
Abel visits Adam and Eve Figure 110	101v	x		x	x								
The Feast of Sada Figure 111	103r	x			x				x				x
The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand Figure 112	103v	x		x	x								x
Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials Figure 113	104v	x			x				x			x	
Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox Figure 114	129v	x		x	x	x		x	x	x			
The Death of Eli Figure 115	133v	x			x						x	x	
Nebuchadnezzar orders the destruction of the Temple Figure 116	134v	x			x			x					
The Baptism of Christ Figure 117	140v	x	x		x				x				
The Annunciation to Mary Figure 118	141v	x								x	x		x
The Fair at ʿUkāẓ Figure 119	157v	x	x	x	x								x
The Day of Cursing (Al Mubāhala) Figure 120	161r				x			x	x				
The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm Figure 121	162r		x		x			x	x				

Figure 1. Physician Preparing an Elixir - Detached Leaf
Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish, an Arabic translation of Dioscorides's De Materia Medica
A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224 - 13.152.6 - The Metropolitan Museum, New York
Folio size: 33.2 x 24.8 cm

Figure 2. The Crane and the Crab - Fol. 57r.
Kalila wa Dimna
A.D. 1200-1220- Arabe 3465 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

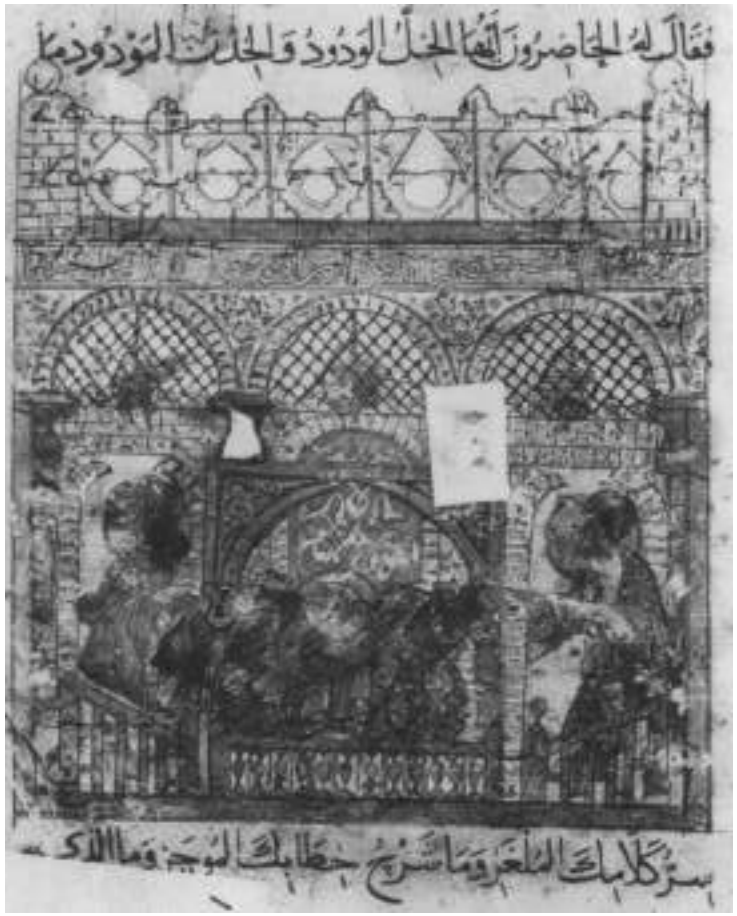


Figure 3. Forty-Eighth Maqāmāh - Fol. 204a.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
640-656 A.H. / A.D. 1242-1258
Esad Efendi 2916 - Süleymaniye Library
Folio size: 20.1 x 22.3 cm

Figure 4. Fiftieth Maqāmāh - Fol. 164v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 634 / A.D. 1237
Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 5. Juvaynī sitting and writing in front of Amīr Arghūm - Fol. 2r. **Figure 6. A squire holding the breeze of the prince's horse - Fol. 1v.**

Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā - The History of The World Conqueror
A.H. 689 / A.D. 1290 - Suppl. Pers. 205 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
33 x 25.5 cm

Figure 7. Double leaf frontispiece - fol. 3v-4r
Rasāi'l Ikhwān al-Safā - Epistles of The Sincere Brethren
A.H. Shawwal 686 / A.D. November 1287. - Esad Efendi 3638 - Library of the Siileymaniye Mosque in Istanbul
33 x 25.5 cm

Figure 8. Fifteenth Maqāmāh - Fol. 15v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 9. Purple Betony - Detached Leaf
Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish, an Arabic translation of Dioscorides's De Materia Medica
A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224 - 1960.193 - Harvard University Art Museums, Arthur M. Sackler Museum Gallery, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Figure 10. Two physicians preparing medicine - Detached Leaf
Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish, an Arabic translation of Dioscorides's De Materia Medica
A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224 - F1932.20
Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington
Folio size: 32.2 × 24 cm

Figure 11. Two physicians cutting a plant - Detached Leaf
Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish, an Arabic translation of Dioscorides's De Materia Medica
A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224 - F1938.1
Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington

Figure 12. Twelfth Maqāmāh - Fol. 68r.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 619 / A.D. 1222-1223 - Arabe 6094 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 13. Forty-second Maqāmāh - Fol. 131v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 634 / 1237 A.D. - Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 14. Fourth Maqāmāh - Fol. 34v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 15. Eighteenth Maqāmāh - Fol. 149r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 16. Thirty-second Maqāmāh - Fol. 85
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 17. The Prophet Enthroned - Fol. 2r.
Marzubānnāma - Book of the Marzban
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1298-1299 - MS 216 - Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul
9.5 x 11.2 cm

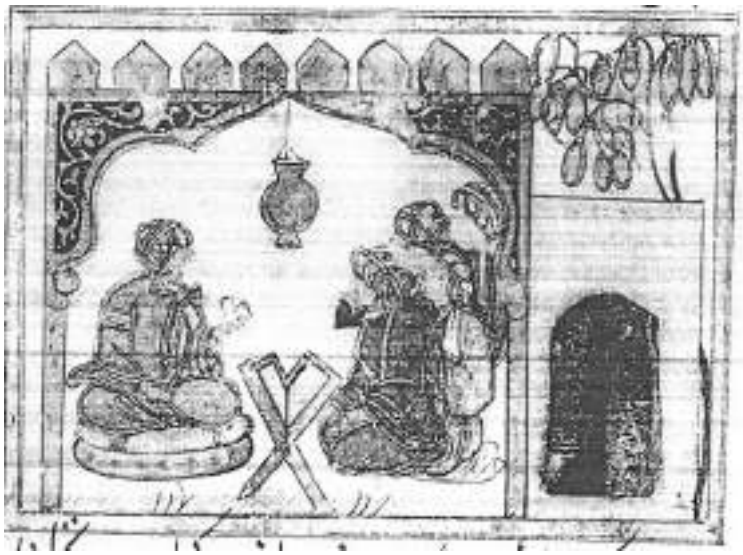


Figure 18. Warāvini describes the writing of the Marzubānnāma - Fol. 5r.
Marzubānnāma - Book of the Marzban
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1298-1299 - MS 216 - Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul
9.8 x 7.2 cm

Figure 19. Enthroned Patron - Fol. 7r.
Marzubānnāma - Book of the Marzban
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1298-1299 - MS 216 - Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul
9.8 x 11.3 cm

Figure 20. Varqa entering into the city of Yemen / Varqa speaking with the vizier - Fol 36/34b
Varqa and Gulshāh
ca. A.D. 1250 - Hazine 841- Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul

Figure 21. Varqa leads the army out of Yemen - Fol. 37/35b
Varqa and Gulshāh
ca. A.D. 1250 Hazine 841- Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul

Figure 22. Preparing Medicine from Honey - Detached Leaf
Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish, an Arabic translation of Dioscorides's De Materia Medica
A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224 - 57.51.21 - Metropolitan Museum, New York
Folio size: 32.2 × 24 cm

Figure 23. Thirty-seventh Maqāmāh - Fol. 101r.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 634 / A.D 1237 - Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 24. Forty-third Maqāmāh - Fol. 138r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 634 / A.D. 1237 - Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
Folio size: 28 x 37 cm

Figure 25. Section of "Old Trees, Level Distance" - Guo Xi
Handscroll, ink and color on silk - ca. A.D. 1080 - 1981.276 - Metropolitan Museum, New York
complete size: 35.6 × 104.4 cm

Figure 26. Eastern Mountain on Lake Dongting - Zhao Mengfu
Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk - Shanghai Museum
61.9 x 2.6 cm.

Figure 27. Section of "Autumn colours on the Qiao and Hua mountains" - Zhao Mengfu
Handscroll, ink and colors on paper - A.D. 1296 - National Palace Museum, Taipei
complete size: 28.4 x 93.2 cm

Figure 28. Section of "A Thousand Li of Rivers and Mountains" - Wang Ximeng
Ink and colors on silk handscroll - ca. A.D. 1113. - Palace museum, Beijing
complete size: 51.3 x 1191.5 cm

Figure 29. Fourth Maqāmāh - Fol. 11v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237 - Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 30. Two Horsemen - Fol. 57r.
Kitāb al-Bayṭara - Book of Farriery
A.H. 606 / A.D. 1210-1211
Ahmet III, 2115 - Libray of the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul
12 x 17 cm

Figure 31. Fourth Maqāmāh - Fol. 9v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 634 / A.D. 1237 - Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 32. Thirty-sixth Maqāmāh - Fol. 141.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
640-656 A.H. / A.D. 1242-1258 - Esad Efendi 2916 - Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul
Folio size: 20.1 x 22.3 cm

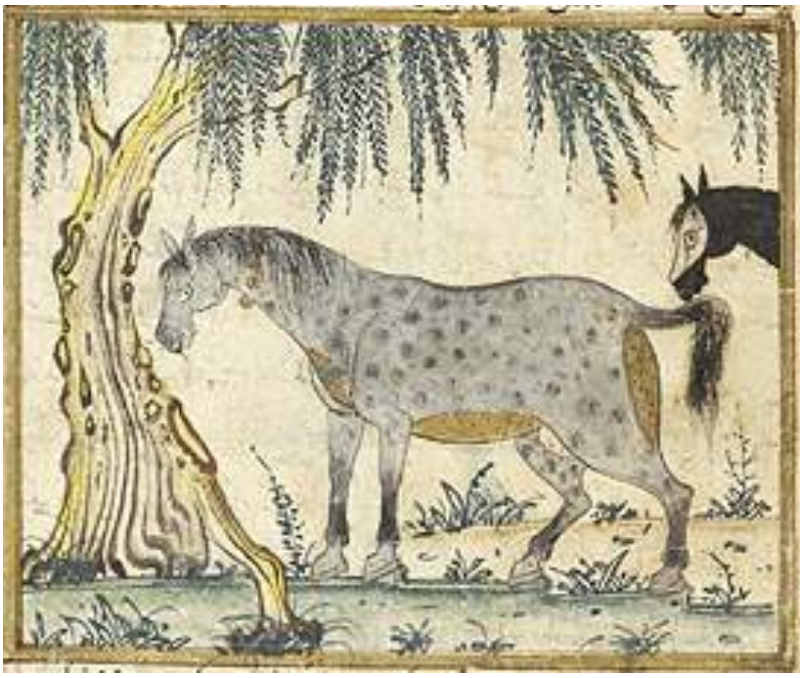


Figure 33. Mare, standing beneath willow tree, followed by stallion - Fol. 28r
Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān
A.H. 697 or 699 / A.D. 1297-1298 or 1299-1300 - MS. 500 - Morgan Library

Figure 34. Monkey grasping trunk of tree and looking up at fruit in it - Fol. 51v
Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān
A.H. 697 or 699 / A.D. 1297-1298 or 1299-1300 - MS. 500 - Morgan Library

Figure 35. Detail of "Autumn colours on the Qiao and Hua mountains" - Zhao Mengfu
Handscroll, ink and colors on paper - A.D. 1296 - National Palace Museum, Taipei
complete size: 28.4 x 93.2 cm

Figure 36. Pavilions Among Mountains and Streams - Yan Wengui
Ink on silk hanging Scroll - 967-1044 - National Palace Museum, Taipei
103.9 x 47.4 cm

Figure 37. Section of Hermit under Rock and Tree - Zhao Mengfu
Undated but the lifetime of Zhao Mengfu is from 1254 to 1322

Figure 38. Early Spring - Guo Xi
Ink and light color on silk hanging scroll - ca. 967-1044 - National Palace Museum, Taipei
158.3 x 108.1 cm

Figure 39. Fourty-fourth Maqāmāh - Fol. 143r.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 40. Twenty-fifth Maqāmāh - Fol. 75r.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 41. Eighteenth Maqāmāh - Fol. 40v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 42. The Case of the Lost Mount - Page 288
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
c. A.D. 1225-1235 - C23 - Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburgh
14.1 x 20.5 cm

Figure 43. Fourty-fourth Maqāmāh - Fol. 139v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 44. Twenty-sixth Maqāmāh - Fol. 77r.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 45. The Verbascum Plants - Detached Leaf
Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish, an Arabic translation of Dioscorides's De Materia Medica
A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224 - 1965.478- Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Meta and Paul J. Sachs
Folio size: 33 x 24 cm

Figure 46. Twenty-second Maqāmāh - Fol. 61r.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 634 / A.D. 1237 - Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 47. Jar
Wheel-thrown, slipped stoneware with iron-brown paint and glaze
A.D. 1271-1368 AD - 920.10.36 - The George Crofts Collection /Royal Ontario Museum
Dimensions: 42.5 x 45 cm

Figure 48. Twenty-second Maqāmāh - Fol. 155v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 49. A ferry Crossing the Gagos River- Detached Leaf
Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish, an Arabic translation of Dioscorides's De Materia Medica
A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224 - 5/1997 - David Museum
Folio size: 32.2 × 24 cm

Figure 50. The Hare and The Elephant - Fol. 71r.
Kalila wa Dimna
A.D. 1200-1220 - Arabe 3467 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
Folio size: 30 x 23 cm

Figure 51. Twenty-fourth Maqāmāh - Fol. 69v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 634 / A.D. 1237 - Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 52. Blue And White 'Dragon And Phoenix' Jar
Yuan Dynasty - Lot 90/2013 - Sotheby's

Figure 53. Plate with Relief Dragon among Clouds
Porcelaneous stoneware with celadon glaze and molded decoration
Yuan dynasty - Longquan region, Zhejiang province, China
John L. Severance Fund 1961.92 - Cleveland Art Museum
Diameter: 43.2 cm

Figure 54. Sixteenth Maqāmāh - Fol. 49v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 619 / A.D. 1222-1223 - Arabe 6094 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 55. Twenty-eight Maqāmāh - Fol. 84v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 56. Thirth-nonth Maqāmāh - Fol. 120v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 57. The Queen Irakht Warning the King About the Brahmins - Fol. 131v.
Kalila wa Dimna
A.D. 1200-1220- Arabe 3465 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 58. Eleventh Maqāmāh - Fol. 29v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 634 / A.D. 1237 - Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
Folio size: 28 x 37 cm

Figure 59. Second Maqāmāh - Fol. 5v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 60. Seventh Maqāmāh - Fol. 18v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 61. Detail in the Frieze of the Portal of Interior of Masjid As-Sharif
A.D. 1307 - Varāmīn, Iran
(After Donald Wilber)

Figure 62. Portal of Governor's House
Amadiya, Iraq

Figure 63. Fourty-sixth Maqāmāh - Fol. 152r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 64. Fourty-sixth Maqāmāh - Fol. 148v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 65. Thirty-Third Maqāmāh - Fol. 123r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 66. Forty-First Maqāmāh - Fol 144r.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

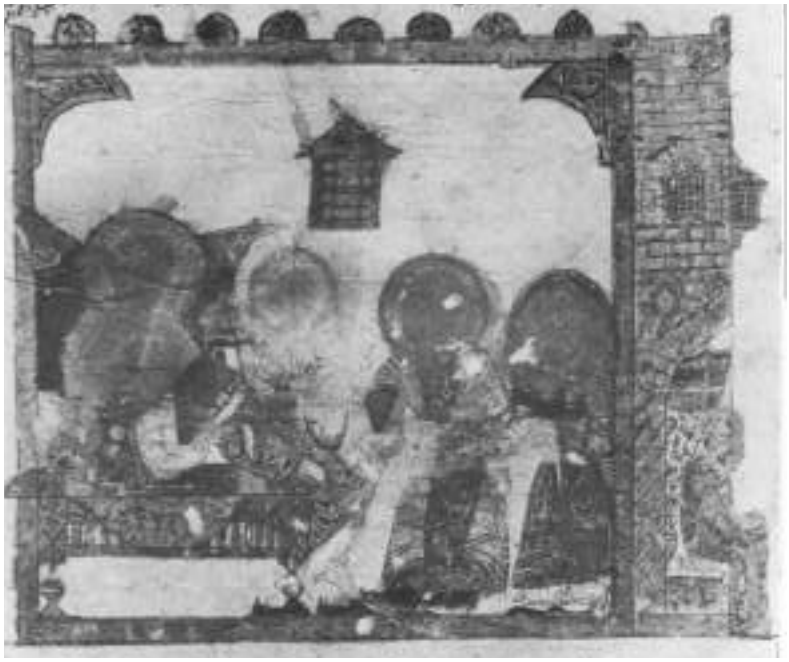


Figure 67. Ninth Maqāmāh - Fol. 27v.
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 640-656 / A.D. 1242-1258 - Esad Efendi 2916 - Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul
Folio size: 20.1 x 22.3 cm

Figure 68. Thirty-fourth Maqāmāh - Fol. 134r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 640-656 / A.D. 1242-1258 - Esad Efendi 2916 - Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul
Folio size: 20.1 x 22.3 cm

Figure 69. Kharraqān towers
A.D.1067 and A.D.1093
Kharraqan region of northern Iran, near Qazvin

Figure 70. Detail of Kharraqān towers
A.D.1067 and A.D.1093
Kharraqan region of northern Iran, near Qazvin

Figure 71. Mihrab of Mashhad-i Bayazid Bastami
A.H. 699 / A.D. 1299 - Basţām, Iran
(After Donald Wilber)

Figure 72. The Doctor's Office - Detached Leaf
Kitāb al-Ḥasha'ish, an Arabic translation of Dioscorides's De Materia Medica
A.H. 621 / A.D. 1224 - 4/1997 - David Museum
Folio size: 32.2 × 24 cm

Figure 73. Thirty-sixth Maqāmāh - Fol. 110r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 74. Third Maqāmāh - Fol. 7r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 75. Varqa pays a farewell visit to his lover Gulshāh before his departure for Yemen - Fol. 22b
Varqa and Gulshāh
ca. A.D. 1250 - Hazine 841- Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul

Figure 76. Twenty-fourth Maqāmāh - Fol 165v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
1st quarter of 13th century - Arabe 3929 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 77. Thirty-first Maqāmāh - Fol. 94v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 78. Enslaved Prisoner bitten by a Snake at the Palace
Kitāb al-Diryāq
A.H. Rabi' I 595 / A.D. Janauary 1199 - Arabe 2964 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 79. Twenty-third Maqāmāh - Fol. 70v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 619 / A.D. 1222-1223 - Arabe 6094 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 80. The Ascetic Witnesses the Woman Trying to Poison the Lover - Fol. 55r
Kalila wa Dimna
A.D. 1200-1220- Arabe 3465 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 81. Section of "Portrait of Ni Zan" - Qiu Ying
Handscroll, ink and colors on paper - 1542
National Palace Museum, Taipei
28.2 x 60.9 cm.
The painting is a copy of a previous work by an anonymous artist in the Yuan dynasty

Figure 82. Section of Six Horses - Unidentified Chinese Artist
Handscroll; ink and color on paper - 13th c. - 1989.363.5 - Metropolitan Museum, New York
Size: 46.2 x 168.3 cm

Figure 83. Detail of The Immortal Yunfang Initiating Lu Chunyang into the Secret of Immortality - Attributed to Yan Hui
Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk - ca. A.D. 1300 - Museum of Art, Atami, Japan
Complete Size: 108.6 x 48.9 cm

Figure 84. Sakyamuni Assembly - The long roll
A.D. 1173- 1176 - National Palace Museum of Taipei

Figure 85. Part of Avalokite'vara of the Samantamukhaz Section,a dn as a Avior form Perils - The long roll
A.D 1173- 1176 - National Palace Museum of Taipei

Figure 86. Section of Two Vajrapāni and the Temptaion
A.D. 1173- 1176 - National Palace Museum of Taipei

Figure 87. Twenty-eighth Maqāmāh - Fol. 93r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 619 / A.D. 1222-1223 - Arabe 6094 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 88. Eighth Maqāmāh - Fol. 25r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 619 / A.D. 1222-1223 - Arabe 6094 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 89. Thirty-fourth Maqāmāh - Fol. 107r
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 90. Varqa and Gulshāh with teacher - Fol. 2/4a
Varqa and Gulshāh
ca. A.D. 1250 - Hazine 841- Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul

Figure 91. Sixth Maqāmāh - Fol. 16v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 92. Thirty-seventh Maqāmāh - Fol. 114v
Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī
A.H. 698 / A.D. 1237- Arabe 5847 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Figure 93. Enthronement Scene - Diez A Fol. 70, S. 22
Early-mid 14th century - Gruppe II, Bild 16 - Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Figure 94. Funeral Scene - Diez A Fol. 72, S. 25
Early-mid 14th century - Gruppe II, Bild 35 - Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Figure 95. Funeral Scene - Diez A Fol. 71, S. 55
Early-mid 14th century - Gruppe II, Bild 27 - Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Figure 96. Guan Yu Jin dynasty (1115-1234)
Woodblock print on paper - Sate Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburgh
71.1 x 33 cm

Figure 97. The Prophet prohibits Intercalation - Fol. 6v.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 7.3 cm

Figure 98. Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad - Fol. 10v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 9 cm

Figure 99. The Birth of Caesar - Fol. 16r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 7.5 cm

Figure 100. Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna - Fol. 48v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations A.H. 707 /
A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 11.3 cm

Figure 101. Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians - Fol. 88v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 7.6 cm

Figure 102. The Death of Māni - Fol. 91r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8.7 cm

Figure 103. The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama - Fol. 92r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8.7 cm

Figure 104. Behāfarīd talking to the Peasant - Fol. 92v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8.6 cm

Figure 105. The Seize of al-Muqannaʿ' - Fol. 93v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 10.9 cm

Figure 106. The Execution of al-Ḥallāj - Fol 94r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 7.5 cm

Figure 107. The Punishment of Pederast - Fol. 95r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8 cm

Figure 108. A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh - Fol. 100v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 7.5 cm

Figure 109. Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk - Fol. 101r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8 cm

Figure 110. Abel visits Adam and Eve - Fol. 101v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 6.5 cm

Figure 111. The Feast of Sada - Fol. 103r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8.7 cm

Figure 112. The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand - Fol. 103v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 9.5 cm

Figure 113. Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials - Fol. 104v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8.6 cm

Figure 114. Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox - Fol. 129v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 7.8 cm

Figure 115. The Death of Eli - Fol. 133v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8 cm

Figure 116. Nebuchadnezzar orders the destruction of the Temple - Fol. 134v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 8 cm

Figure 117. The Baptism of Christ - Fol. 140v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 7.6 cm

Figure 118. The Annunciation to Mary - Fol. 141v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 9 cm

Figure 119. The Fair at ʿUkāẓ - Fol. 157v
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 6.8 cm

Figure 120. The Day of Cursing (Al Mubāhala) - Fol. 161r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 10.8 cm

Figure 121. The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm - Fol. 162r
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
14 x 19 cm

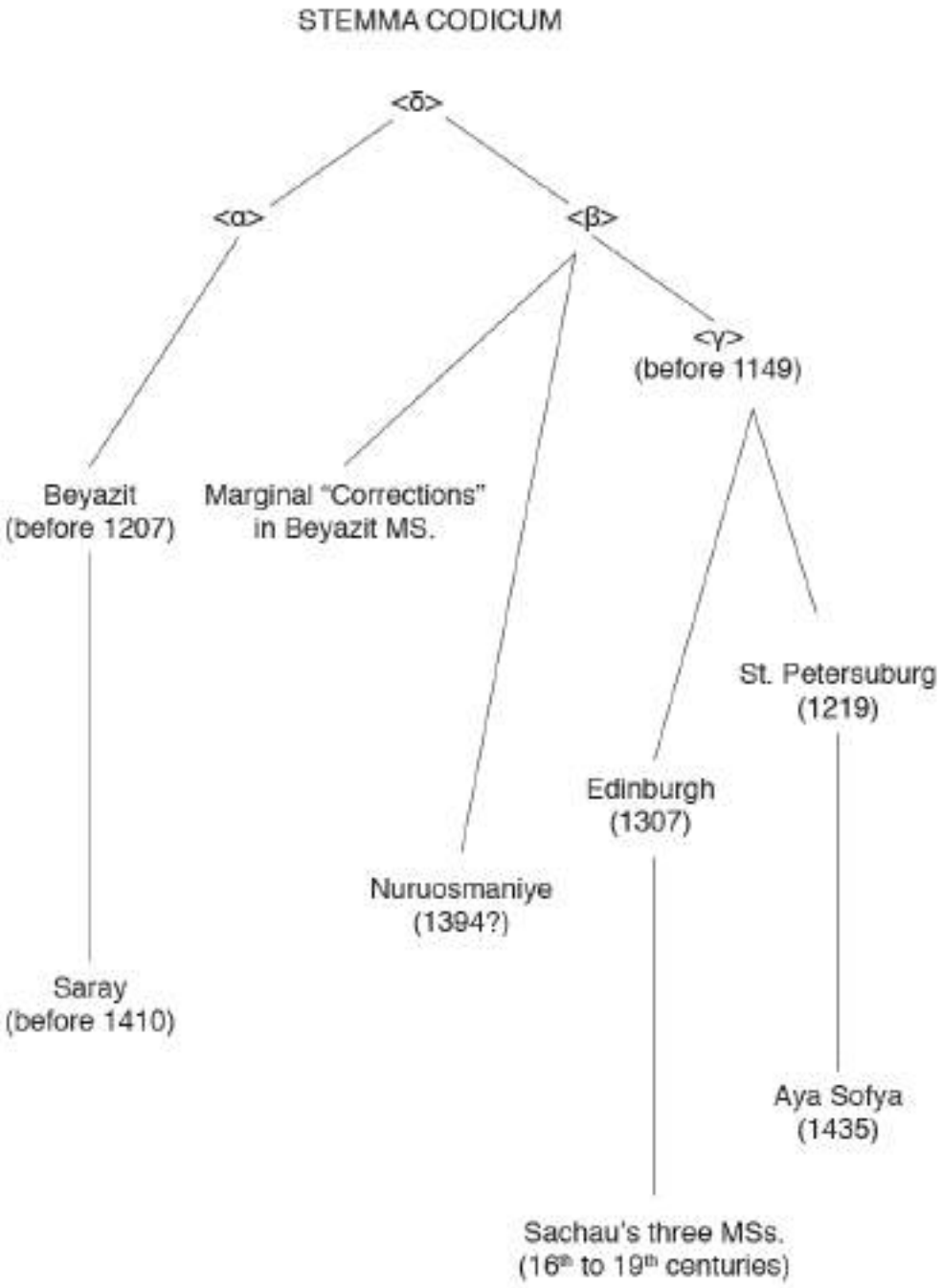


Figure 122. Lineage of the Chronology of Ancient Nations
(After François de Blois)

Figure 123. Frontispiece - Fol. 1r.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm

Figure 124. Colophon - Fol. 177r.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm

Figure 125. Text Rectification - Fol. 40v.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm

Figure 126. Text Rectification - Fol. 87v.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm

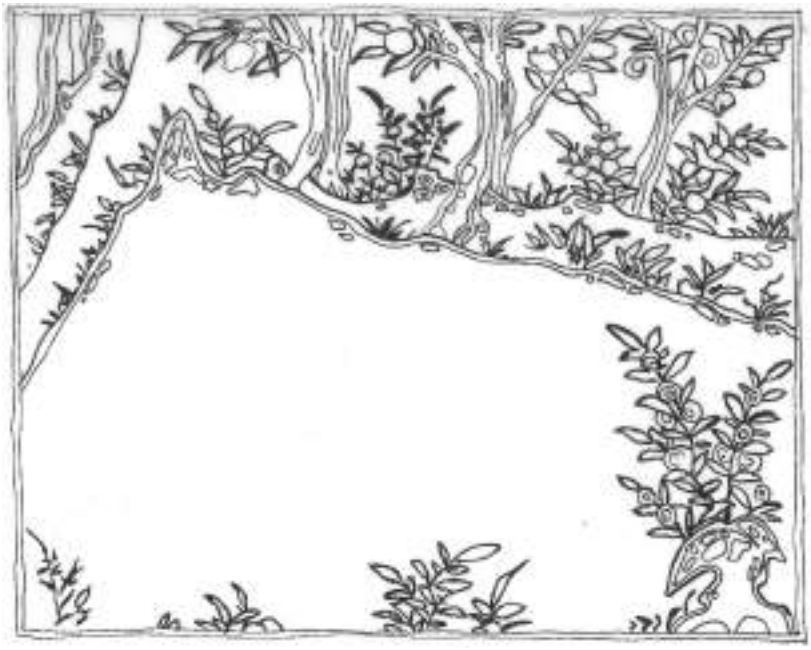
Figure 127. Text Rectification - Fol. 115r.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations
A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm

Figure 128. Gap - Fol. 55v.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm

Figure 129. Gap - Fol. 56r.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm

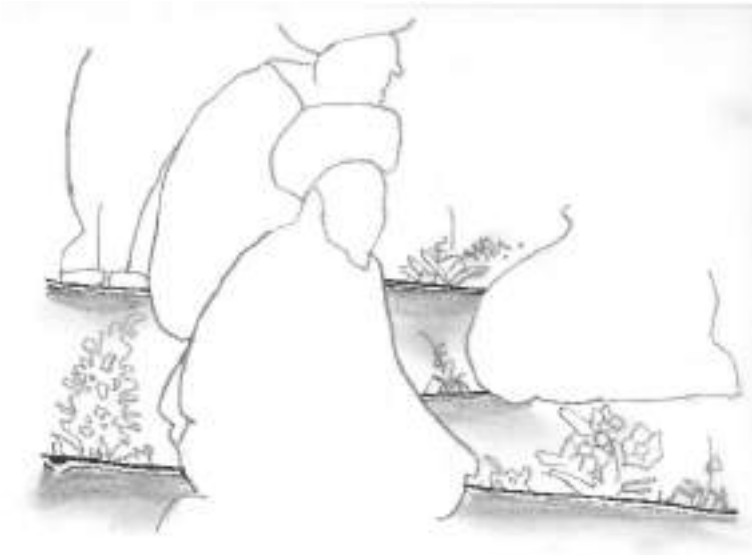
Figure 130. Gap - Fol. 158v.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm

Figure 131. Gap - Fol. 67v.
Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qorūn al-Khāliya - Chronology of Ancient Nations A.H. 707 / A.D. 1307-1308 - Or. Ms. 161 - University of Edinburgh Library
31 x 19 cm



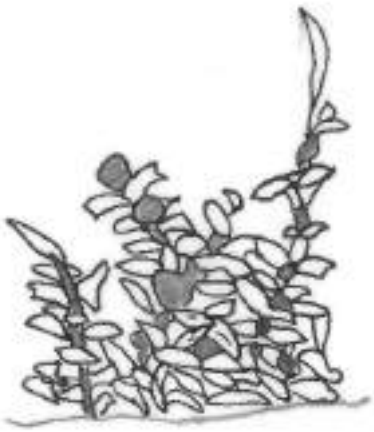
Sketch 1. Succession of Planes - Fol. 48v - ATH
Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna

Sketch 2. Succession of Planes - Fol. 162r - ATH
The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm
(after Yuka Kadoi)



Sketch 3. Succession of Planes - Fol. 129v - ATH
Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox

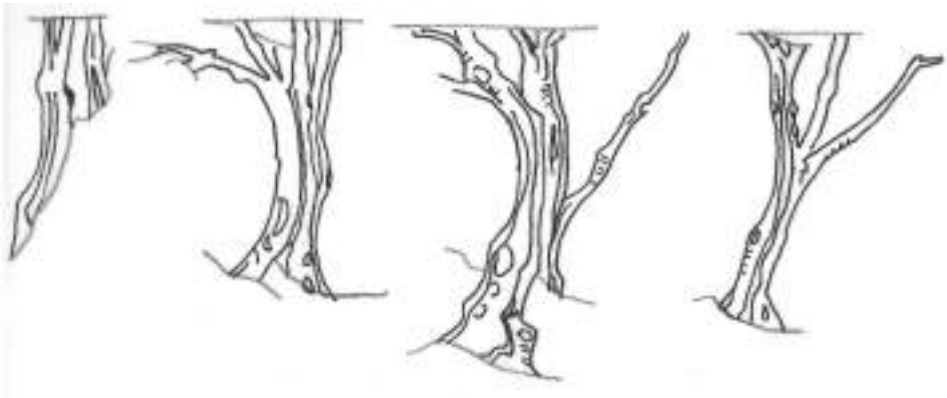
Sketch 4. Tree - Fol. 103v - ATH
The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand



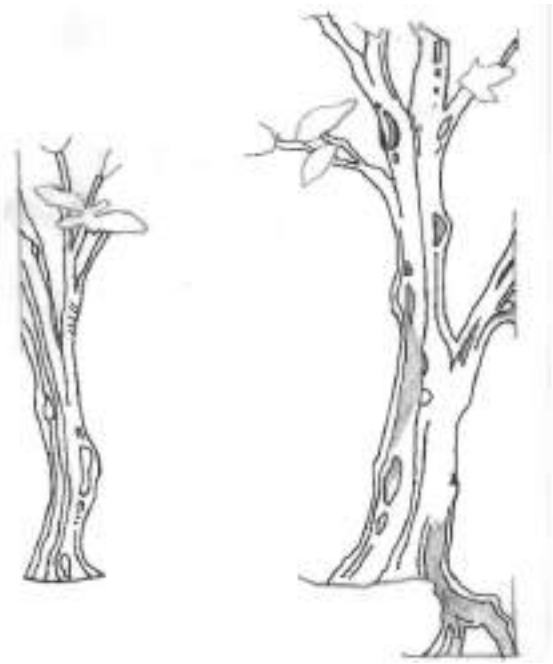
Sketch 5. Rendition of Grass - Fol. 10v - ATH
Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad

Sketch 6. Rendition of Grass - Fol. 161r - ATH
The Day of Cursing (Al Mubāhala)

Sketch 7. Rendition of Grass - Fol. 140v - ATH
The Baptism of Christ

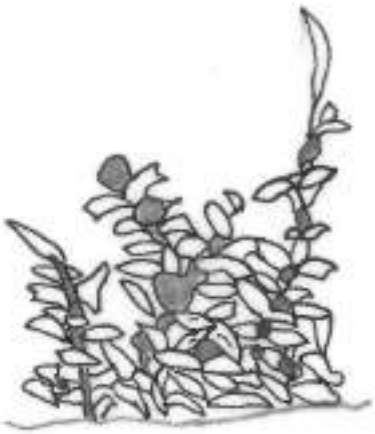


Sketch 8. Representation of Trees - Fol. 48v - ATH
Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna



Sketch 9. Representation of Trees - Fol. 92v - ATH
Behāfarīd talking to the Peasant

Sketch 10. Representation of Trees - Fol. 162r - ATH
The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm

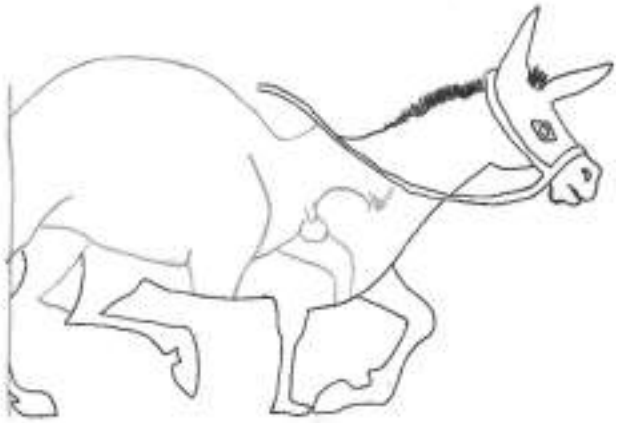


Sketch 11. Flower - Fol. 10v - ATH
Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad

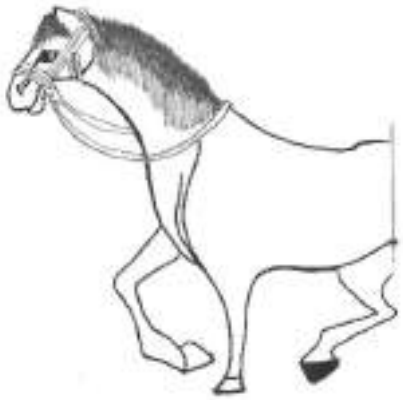
Sketch 12. Flower - Fol. 129v - ATH
Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox

Sketch 13. Rendition of Mountains and Rocks - Fol. 48v - ATH
Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyāna

Sketch 14. Camel - Fol. 10v - ATH
Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad



Sketch 15. Mule - Fol. 10v - ATH
Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad



Sketch 16. Horse - Fol. 93v - ATH
The Seize of al-Muqanna'

Sketch 17. Camel - Fol. 157v - ATH
The Fair at ʿUkāẓ

Sketch 18. Unidentified Animal - Fol. 157v - ATH
The Fair at ʿUkāẓ

Sketch 19. Flying Bird - Fol. 103r - ATH
The Feast of Sada

Sketch 20. Flying Bird - Fol. 140v - ATH
The Baptism of Christ

Sketch 21. Water - Fol. 140v - ATH
The Baptism of Christ

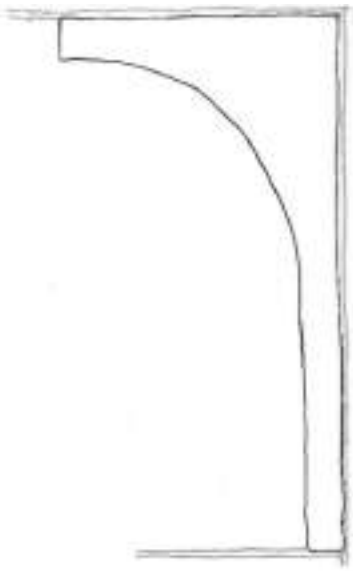
Sketch 22. Typical Look of a Cloud - Fol. 91r - ATH
The Death of Māni

Sketch 23. Typical Look of a Cloud - Fol. 94r - ATH
The Execution of al-Hallāj

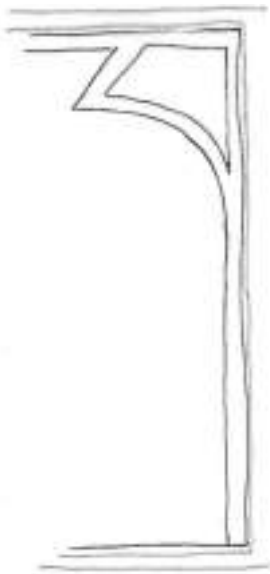
Sketch 24. Typical Look of a Cloud - Fol. 162r - ATH
The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm

Sketch 25. Spandrel - Fol. 93v - ATH
The Seize of al-Muqannaʿ

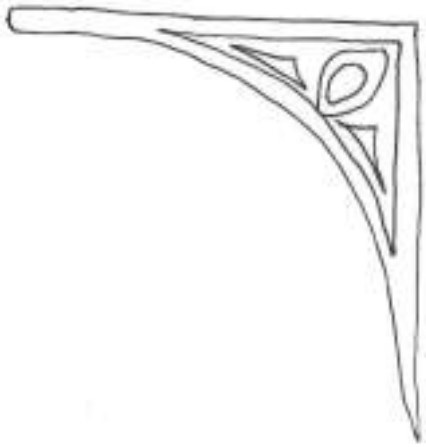
Sketch 26. Spandrel - Fol. 91r - ATH
The Death of Māni



Sketch 27. Spandrel - Fol. 88v - ATH
Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians



Sketch 28. Spandrel - Fol. 100v - ATH
A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh



Sketch 29. Sapndrel - Fol. 101v - ATH
Abel visits Adam and Eve

Sketch 30. Typical Rendering for old and young man - Fol. 100v - ATH
A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh

Sketch 31. Typical Face of a Man with shaved cheek - Fol. 104v - ATH
Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials

Sketch 32. Typical Face of a Man with unshaved cheek - Fol. 140v - ATH
The Baptism of Christ

Sketch 33. Typical Face of a Man with unshaved cheek - Fol. 133v - ATH
The Death of Eli

Sketch 34. Typical Face of a Woman - Fol. 101v - ATH
Abel visits Adam and Eve

Sketch 35. Typical Face of Young Man - Fol. 101v - ATH
Abel visits Adam and Eve

Sketch 36. Typical Garment while Standing - Fol. 104v - ATH
Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials

Sketch 37. Typical Garment while in Action - Fol. 88v - ATH
Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians

Sketch 38. Typical Garment while Crouching - Fol. 101v - ATH
Abel visits Adam and Eve

Sketch 39. Typical Turban in the manuscript - Fol. 16r - ATH
The Birth of Caesar

Sketch 40. Larger Size of Turban - Fol. 140v - ATH
The Baptism of Christ

Sketch 41. Large Turban with details - Fol. 129v - ATH
Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox

Sketch 42. Dhuʿaba - Fol. 162r - ATH
The Investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm

Sketch 43. Turban - Fol. 10v - ATH
Isaiah's Prophecy for Muhammad

Sketch 44. Turban - Fol. 48v - ATH
Ahrīmān tempts Mīshyānā

Sketch 45. Deel of Pīrōz - Fol. 104v - ATH
Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials

Sketch 46. Turban - Fol. 100v - ATH
A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh

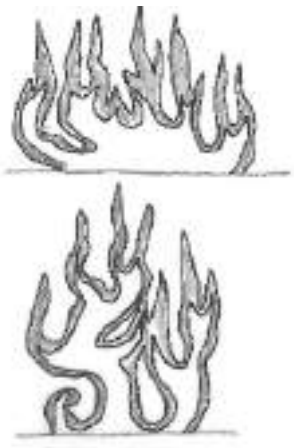
Sketch 47. Rendition of A Crown - Fol. 101r - ATH
Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk

Sketch 48. Facial Treatment of Mary - Fol. 141v - ATH
The Annunciation to Mary
(After Ivan Stouchkine)

Sketch 49. Facial Treatment of The Angel - Fol. 141v - ATH
The Annunciation to Mary
(After Ivan Stouchkine)

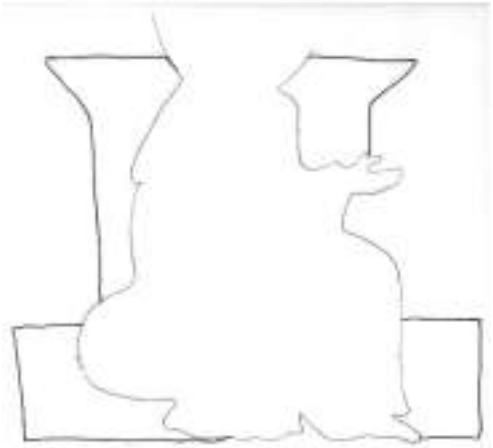
Sketch 50. The Angel - Fol. 141v - ATH
The Annunciation to Mary (After Ivan Stouchkine)

The Feast of Sada - Fol. 103r - ATH

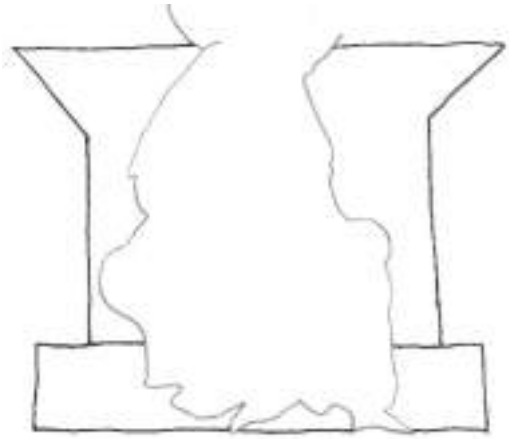


The Feast of Sada on Mount Demavand - Fol. 103v - ATH

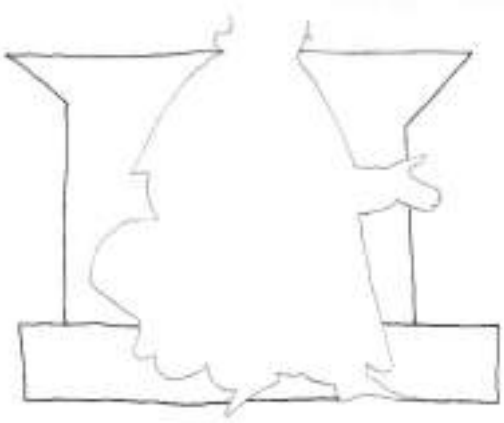
Sketch 51. Fire



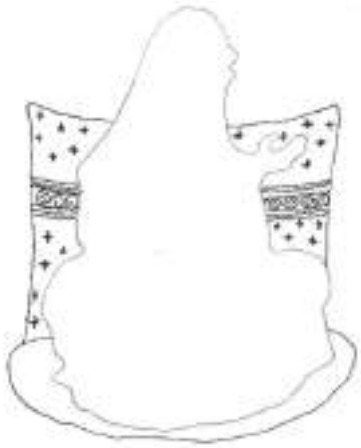
Sketch 52. Throne - Fol. 92r - ATH
The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama



Sketch 53. Throne - Fol. 100v - ATH
A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh



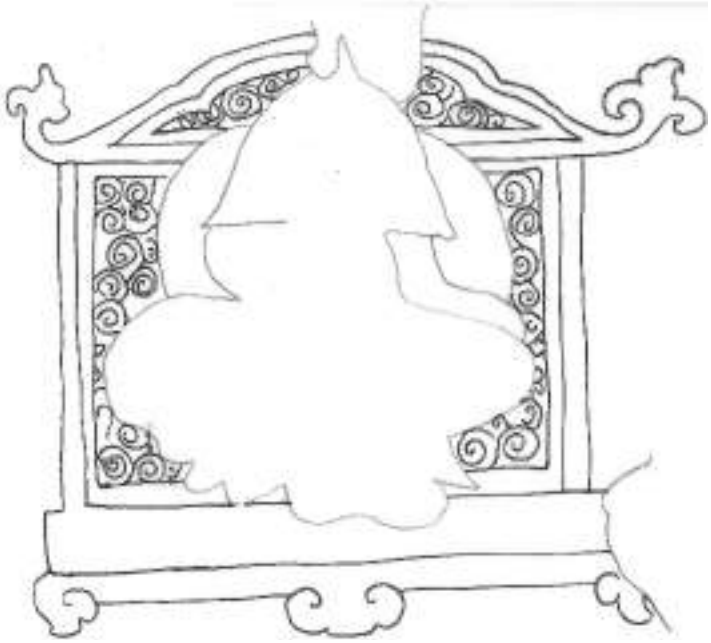
Sketch 54. Throne - Fol. 101r - ATH
Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk



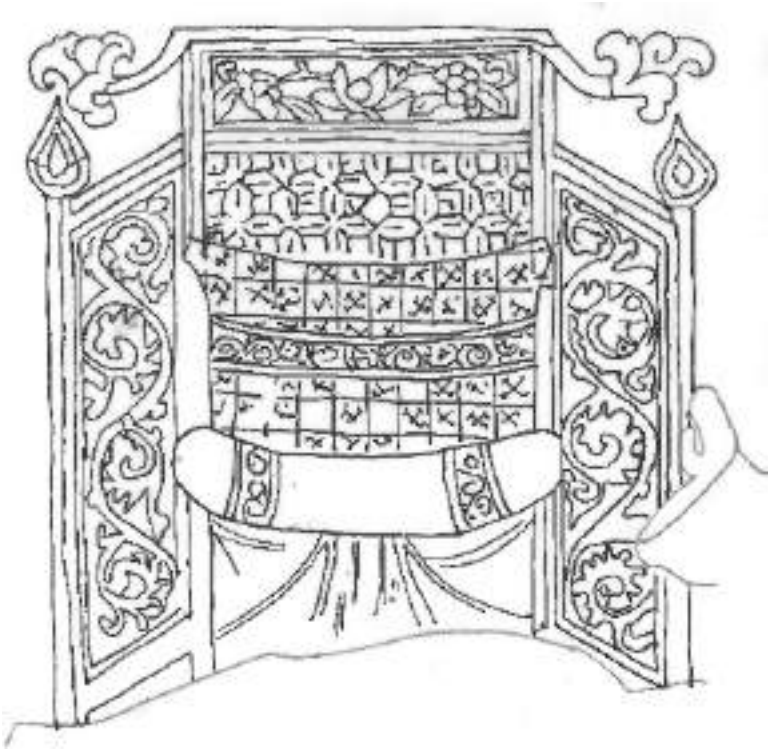
Sketch 55. Throne - Fol. 141v - ATH
The Annunciation to Mary

Sketch 56. Lamp - Fol. 6v - ATH
The Prophet prohibits Intercalation

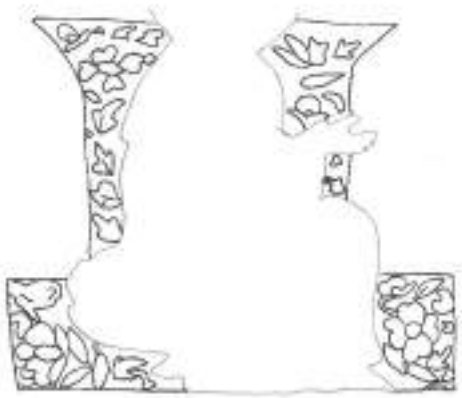
Sketch 57. Lamp - Fol. 129v - ATH
Indians celebrate the Autumnal Equinox



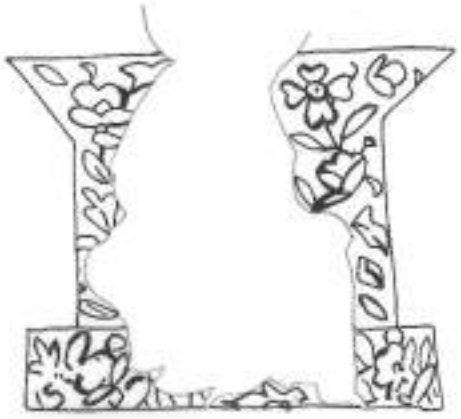
Sketch 58. Throne - Fol. 104v - ATH
Pīrōz interrogates the Temple Officials



Sketch 59. Throne - Fol. 133v - ATH
The Death of Eli



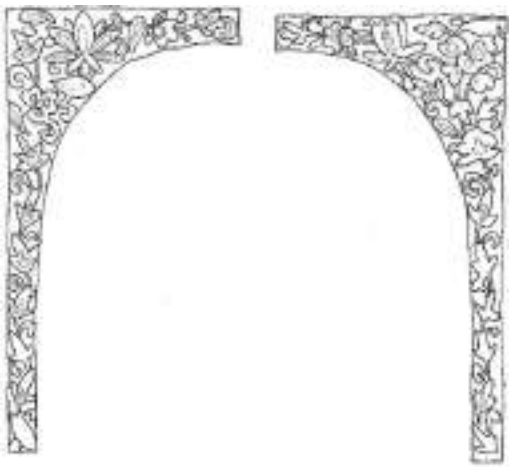
The Prophet with the Envoys of Musailama - Fol. 92.v - ATH



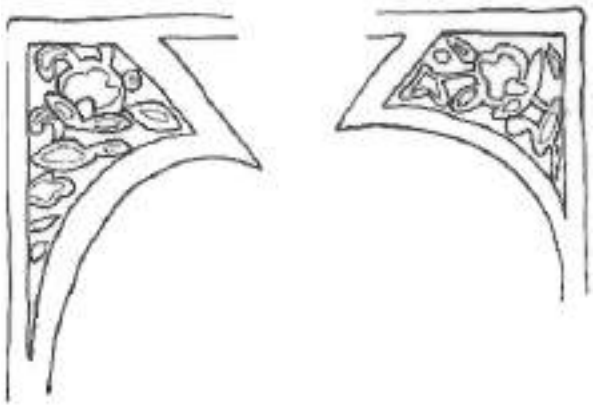
A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh - Fol. 100v - ATH

Farīdūn sentences Daḥḥāk - Fol. 101r

Sketch 60. Stylized Lotus on Thrones



Abraham destroys the Idols of the Sabians - Fol. 88v - ATH



A King Celebrates Mihrajān of Bahmnān Māh - Fol. 100v - ATH

Sketch 61. Stylized Lotus on Spandrel and Curtain