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Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Muṣḥaf: The *Qurʾān* Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān in the Pars Muṣeum

This article presents a very rare manuscript of a Muntakhab al-Suwar (selection of Qur'anic chapters) calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrukh. This manuscript was transcribed in large format in Ramaḍān 830 AH/June 1427 AD and endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh in Ramaḍān 834 AH/May-June 1431 AD. Therefore, it is considered to be one of the last known works calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. It is kept in the Pars museum in Shiraz. In this article, the unique codicology and special characteristics of this masterpiece are studied, and the important historical aspects of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and the art works attributed to him are elaborated. The style of his calligraphy will also be examined to find out the sources of inspiration for his distinct style.

Keywords: Codicology; Qur'ān Manuscript; Islamic Calligraphy; Tīmūrid Era; Ibrāhīm Sulṭān; Shiraz; Shāh-Chirāgh Shrine

Introduction

In formatting Islamic manuscripts, the Holy Qur'ān has been produced in either one or several volumes. If all the chapters ($s\bar{u}ras$) of a Qur'ān are put together in one volume, it is known as a $Qur'\bar{a}n$ -i $J\bar{a}mi'$ ("complete Qur'ān"). Qur'āns in 2, 4, 30, 60 and 120 sections are also common in the production of Qur'ān manuscripts. In these Qur'āns, the order of the chapters and verses is respected and the number of volumes usually follows the arrangement of the Holy Qur'ān. For example, in the Qur'āns of thirty sections, which are the most common Qur'ān manuscripts of several volumes, each juz' makes one volume: the first volume contains the first juz', the second volume contains the second juz', and so on to the thirtieth volume.

There is another type of Qur'ān manuscript where a selection of chapters is put together in one volume. These Qur'āns are known as *Muntakhab al-Suwar* (a selection of chapters). In comparison to the other types of Qur'ān manuscripts, *Muntakhab al-Suwar* is rare. This article presents a very rare Qur'ān manuscript of *Muntakhab al-Suwar* calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrukh. This Qur'ān, the Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Muṣḥaf (ISM), is one of the most important manuscripts produced in

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Shiraz in the Tīmūrid era. However, it is not much known by researchers. In this paper, the unique codicology and special characteristics of this masterpiece are studied. Prior to that, we consider the important historical qualities of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and the art works attributed to him. The style of his calligraphy in this Qurʾān will also be examined to find out the source of inspiration for his distinct style.

The ISM was endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh¹ during Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's lifetime. However, there is no accurate documented information about this manuscript and its whereabouts until 1936. In this year, the ISM was transferred from the Holy Shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh to the Pars Museum.² Years later, M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh mentioned the ISM in his report on the manuscripts of the Pars Museum. However, he confused its codicology with the monumental Qurʾān known as *Hifdah-Man*, which is also attributed to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān.³ Based on an old catalogue, both these Qurʾāns were kept in the same cabinet in the museum.⁴ Some other scholars also made the similar mistake and failed to notice the differences between these two Qurʾāns.⁵

In early 1976, the ISM and two other manuscripts of the Pars Museum were exhibited in "An Exhibition of Qur'ān Manuscripts at the British Library." A brief description of the ISM was presented in the catalogue of this exhibition. In that year, Martin Lings, one of the authors of this catalogue, used the same description along with the pictures of the opening double page and the *sūra* heading cartouche of *al-Shūrā* in *The Qur'ānic Art of Calligraphy and Illustration.*

The ISM is registered in the old inventories of the Pars Museum under numbers 279 and 430. In the new register, it comes under number 550.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Patronage of the Arts

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, the son of Shāhrukh and the grandson of Tīmūr, was born in late Shawwāl 796 AH/August 1394 AD⁸ and passed away in early Shawwāl 838 AH/May 1435 AD.⁹ Tīmūr gave him the title of "Sulṭān Ibrāhīm," and his nickname

¹Shāh-Chirāgh is the resting place of Aḥmad, the son of Mūsā al-Kāzim, the seventh Imam of the Shi'a. Aḥmad is the older brother of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Ridā, the eighth Imam of the Shi'a, who is buried in Mashhad. According to historical documents, Aḥmad was murdered by the agents of al-Ma'mūn, the Abbasid caliph, in Shiraz and buried there. Shāh-Chirāgh has at least been known since the tenth century AD, and numerous manuscripts have been endowed to his shrine since the fourteenth century AD. See Junayd Shīrāzī, *Tadhkira-yi Hizār-Mazār*, 331–7; Furṣat Shīrāzī, *Āṣār-i 'Ajam*, 745–9.

²National Library and Archives of Iran, no. 250–987.

³Dānish-Pazhūh, "Fihrist-i Kitāb-Khāna-hā-yi Shīrāz," 257–9.

⁴Aflaṭūnī, *Rāhnamā-yi Mūza-yi Pārs*, 11.

⁵See Soucek, "Ebrahim Soltan," 76-8.

⁶Lings and Safadi, The Qur'ān: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Qur'ān Manuscripts, 74.

⁷Lings, The Qur'ānic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination, pl. 81–2; see also Lentz and Lowry, Tīmūr and the Princely Vision, 370.

⁸Shāmī, *Zafarnāma*, 156–7; Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, 788–9.

⁹Samarqandī, *Matlaʻ-i Saʻdayn va Majmaʻ-i Baḥrayn*, 449; Faṣīḥ-khwāfī, *Mujmal*, 276.

¹⁰ Shāmī, Zafarnāma, 157.

was "Abū al-Fatḥ." He was also called "Mughīth al-Dīn." He has been given some other names and titles in the historical documents but he is most often known as "Ibrāhīm Sultān." 11

In Rajab 817 AH/September 1414 AD, when Ibrāhīm Sulṭān was only twenty-one years old, he was appointed governor of Fars province. He ruled in Shiraz, the capital city of Fars, for nearly two decades. Previously, he had been the governor of Balkh (1409–14 AD) and he was not meant to become the governor of Fars. After defeating a rebellion by Iskandar Sulṭān, Shāhrukh intended to appoint Amīr Miḍrāb Bahādur as the governor of Fars province. However, after his sudden death, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān became the governor of Fars instead. 12

At the beginning of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's rule of Fars, Mīrzā Bāyqarā attacked Shiraz with the encouragement of Iskandar Sulṭān, the former governor of Fars. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's forces were defeated near Bayḍā'. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān lost his position in Shiraz for more than five months (Rabīʿ I to Ramaḍān 818 AH/May to November 1415 AD), until his father Shāhrukh returned and helped him to regain the governorship. This time Shāhrukh made more systematic provisions to strengthen his son's position as the ruler of Fars. Therefore, the second half of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's life was spent peacefully in Shiraz, until his sudden death.

After the restoration of his rule over Fars, there are two main points about Ibrāhīm Sulṭān in the historical documents: first, his skillful ability in war, such as with Azerbaijan (823 AH/1420 AD and 832 AH/1429 AD), Nakhchivan (824 AH/1421 AD) and Khuzestan (825 AH/1422 AD), where he fought alongside his father, Shāhrukh; second, his patronage of the arts and literature, which spread his fame from Shiraz to Samarqand and Herat. Nearly all Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's cultural and artistic achievements occurred when he was the governor of Fars.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān took the throne in Shiraz from his rebellious cousin Iskandar Sulṭān (1410–14 AD). Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and his cousin had different political views. However, in terms of the patronage of the arts, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān is regarded as the one who continued what Iskandar Sulṭān had started. It is known that Iskandar Sulṭān had established an atelier in Shiraz and supported the arts, especially the production of important literary manuscripts. In fact, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān stepped into Iskandar Sulṭān's shoes and revived his atelier. A comparative study of the works produced during the reigns of these two Tīmūrid princes in Shiraz reveals the influence of Iskandar Sulṭān's atelier on the style and decoration of the manuscripts ordered by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. We even know of some artists, such as Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī, Jalāl al-Dīn

¹¹See Soucek, "Ebrahim Soltan," 76–8.

¹²Hāfiz Abrū, *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh*, 599–662; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn va Majmaʿ-i Baḥrayn*, 200–3; Faṣīḥ-khwāfi, *Mujmal*, 216–18.

¹³A small region near Shiraz.

¹⁴Khwānd-Mīr, *Tarīkh-i Ḥabīb al-Sīyar*, 593–5; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn wa Majmaʿ-i Baḥrayn*, 218–27; Fasīh-khwāfī, *Mujmal*, 221–3.

¹⁵See Soucek, "Eskandar Soltan," 603–4; for the list of the manuscripts written under his patronage, see Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 370–1; Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sulṭān," 116–31.

Maḥmūd al-Mughīthī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Mudhahhib, who worked under the rule of both princes. ¹⁶ After the fall of Iskandar Sulṭān, these artists joined Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's atelier.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān was versed in literature and he held the scholars in high esteem and gave them a great deal of support and encouragement. There are a few literary works attributed to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. Scholars such as Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ghīyāth al-Dīn Shīrāzī, Ṭālib Jājrumī, Hājjī Manṣūr, Shujāʿ and Ḥāfiẓ ʿAllāf Shīrāzī wrote their books under his patronage and dedicated them to him. An inventory of the artists and the valuable manuscripts of Ibrāhīm Sulṭānʾs library has been compiled and is still being expanded. These impressive activities have put Ibrāhīm Sulṭān at the top of the patrons of the arts in the Tīmūrid era. In addition to his fame as a patron of the arts, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān himself was a great artist.

Ibrāhīm Sultān and Calligraphy

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān was a calligrapher and he was as famous as his brother Bāysunqur Mīrzā for calligraphy. He wrote in the "six scripts" (aqlām sitta) following the style of Yāqūt al-Musta'simī. Dawlat-shāh Samarqandī (1438–94 AD) hinted at this. The influence of Yāqūt on the calligraphers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries AD who wrote in the "six scripts" was apparent. Though Ibrāhīm Sulṭān was not an exception to this influence, he has to be considered as the follower of Pīr-Muḥammad Shīrāzī, a lesser known calligrapher of the fourteenth–fifteenth century AD.

Pīr-Muḥammad Shirazi was Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's master in calligraphy. Pīr-Muḥammad wrote in the "six scripts" so masterfully that he was called the "Yāqūt-e Thānī" (the second Yāqūt). ¹⁹ It is believed that Pīr-Muḥammad wrote many inscriptions on the stone tombs, shrines and monuments in Shiraz. ²⁰ However, his only known inscription is in the Jāmi' 'Atīq mosque. ²¹ The writing style of this inscription indicates that Ibrāhīm Sulṭān followed the style of his master to some extent.

In the historical documents, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's talent in calligraphy has been praised and a number of works attributed to him have been mentioned, ²² such as his *sar-mashqs* (examples of calligraphy), which changed hands amongst calligraphers, a tile

¹⁶Richard, "Nasr al-Soltāni, Nasir al-Din Mozahheb," 89–91, 99–100.

¹⁷For the manuscripts transcribed under Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's patronage, see Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 369–70; Sims, "Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Illustrated *Zafarnama*," 132–43; Richard, "Nasr al-Soltāni, Nasir al-Din Mozahheb," 87–104; Uluc, "An Iskandarnāma of Nizāmī," 235–53.

¹⁸Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā*, 380.

¹⁹Budāq Munshī Qazwīnī, "Javāhir al-Akhbār," 111; Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, "Qavānīn al-Khuṭuṭ," 311.

^{311.} ²⁰Qādi Ahmad Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 67; Budāq Munshī Qazwīnī, "Javāhir al-Akhbār," 111.

²¹This inscription is placed in two separate panels on both sides of the entrance to the Khudāy-Khāna (House of God) in the Jāmiʿ ʿAtīq mosque. For this inscription and Pīr-Muḥammad Shīrāzī, see Mirza-Abolqasemi, "Katība-yi Pīr-Muḥammad-i Shīrāzī," 94–6.

inscription in Saʿdī's tomb, and some inscriptions in the Dār al-Ṣafā and Dār al-Aytām monuments in Shiraz. Unfortunately, none of these works have survived, but their descriptions in the historical documents reveal a special characteristic of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's style in calligraphy, which is his preference for using large scripts. This is the reason why he was well known for the calligraphy of the inscriptions as well as the monumental Qur'ān manuscripts. This particular type of calligraphy spread amongst Yāqūt's followers in the fourteenth century AD, and it stood out especially in the *thuluth* and *muḥaqqaq* scripts. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān also preferred these two types of scripts to the other *aqlām sitta*.

There are three inscriptions of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān in Tachara Palace in Persepolis and an important one in the shrine of 'Pal b. Ḥamza in Shiraz.²³ All of these inscriptions were written in the *thuluth* script. There is a Qur'ān manuscript in the *kūfī* script, which is in the library of Astān Quds Razavī, the holy shrine in Mashhad. This Qur'ān is attributed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the sixth Imam of the Shi'a. The last page of this manuscript had been damaged, and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān rewrote it in the *thuluth* script.²⁴ It is reported that there is a page of album (*muraqqa*') in the bold *thuluth*, *naskh* and gold *riqā*' scripts.²⁵ There is also a two-volume Qur'ān in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which is considered to be Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's unique transcription in the *naskh* script.²⁶

In addition, a famous Qur'ān manuscript of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān is in the library of Astān Quds Razavī, which he had endowed to the shrine of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā.²⁷ This Qur'ān is a *Muntakhab al-Suwar* and it is similar to the one in the Pars museum in terms of dimensions, ruling (*jadwal*), ruling board (*misṭara*), calligraphy style and illumination. Therefore, it is more relevant to this study.

Codicology of Ibrāhīm Sultān's Mush af in the Pars Museum

Dimensions. The ISM's cover measures 66 cm by 46 cm and each leaf is 65 cm by 44 cm. In terms of size, the ISM is amongst the few monumental volumes of the Qur'an produced from the early fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century AD in the Islamic lands. The history of such Qur'ans goes back to the Qur'an of

²²See Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā*, 379–80; Sirāj Shīrāzī, *Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbīn*, 141; Vāla Iṣfahānī, *Khuld-i Barīn*, 522–3; Qāḍi Aḥmad Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 69–71; ʿAlī Afandī, *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān*, 49; Ḥusaynī Fasāʾi, *Fārsnāma*, 433.

²³For more information about Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's inscriptions in Shiraz, see Mirza-Abolqasemi, "Ibrāhīm Sulṭān va Katība-Nigārī," 21–30.

²⁴No. 17. Gulchīn-Maʿānī, *Rāhnamā-yi Ganjīna-yi Qurʾān*, 53–4.

²⁵Bayānī, Ahvāl wa A<u>s</u>ār-i Khushnivīsān, 1014.

²⁶No. 13.228; Jackson and Yohannan, *Catalogue of the Collection of Persian Manuscripts*, 172–7; Lentz and Lowry, *Timūr and the Princely Vision*, 84, 332–3.

²⁷No. 414. Sixteen leaves of this Qur'ān were transcribed in the *thuluth* and *rayḥānī* scripts in 827 AH/1424 AD. This manuscript measures 81.7cm by 61.7cm and it includes twelve *Sūras* of the *Qur'ān*. For more information, see Gulchīn-Ma'ānī, *Rāhnamā-yi Ganjīna-yi Qur'ān*, 137–9; also for pictures of this volume, see *Muntakhab-i Suwar-i Qur'ān-i Karīm bi Khaṭṭ-i Ibrāhīm Sulṭān*.

thirty sections (*juz*') ordered by Sulṭān Uljāytū. This Qur'ān measures 72 cm by 50 cm and it was produced from 1306 to 1313 AD in Baghdad.²⁸ However, other Qur'āns of a similar size were produced in the latter half of the fourteenth century AD.²⁹ Such monumental Qur'āns were also transcribed in Shiraz, including the *Hifdah-Man*.³⁰ Therefore, the ISM and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Qur'ān manuscript in the library of Astān Quds Razavī are the latest examples from this period produced in such large sizes.

Binding. The binding of the ISM is of brown leather and the inner lining of the binding is of thin cardboard. The binding is decorated with a large medallion and corners in a frame measuring 55 cm by 34 cm. The border of the binding is decorated with a stamped chain design (darbī zanjīrī). The medallion is in the form of chalīpā, with smaller head medallions at the top and bottom. Inside this medallion, there is another medallion with two head medallions. The medallion and the corners are covered with an intricate arabesque motif and latticework technique (mushabbak). Due to the latticework technique, this arabesque design has changed in some parts such as the form of stems, flowers and leaves (Figure 1).

The doublure is also decorated with a medallion and corners and arabesque motifs made by stamping. However, the inner and outer parts of the binding have different designs (Figure 2).

The Order of the Pages. The ISM is made of thirty-six leaves (seventy-two pages) that have been mostly arranged in binion gatherings. The transcription of this book starts from the back of the first leaf and it ends with a colophon (tarqīma) on the thirty-fourth leaf. The endowment note of the ISM is also written on the back of this leaf. The last two leaves are left blank. This book contains eighteen small chapters (sūras) of the Qur'ān (Table 1). The Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Qur'ān manuscript in the library of Astān Quds Razavī contains twelve sūras, eight of which are the same as the ISM.³¹

Illumination and Ruling. The illuminations of this book include the opening double page, the *sūra* heading cartouches, the endowment medallion, the roundels amongst

²⁸James, Manuscripts of the Holy Qur'ān from the Mamluk Era, 92–126.

²⁹Producing a manuscript of this size corresponds to the size of Baghdadi paper. Baghdadi was the largest paper made in Islamic lands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries AD. Al-Qalqashandī mentions this as one of the most famous types of paper in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. This paper was apparently produced in various sizes. For more information and examples, see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 250–1; Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 192; James, *Manuscripts of the Holy Qur'ān from the Mamluk Era*, 28, 30-3; Lings, *Splendors of Qur'ān Calligraphy and Illumination*, pl. 105, 107, 109, 125, 137.

³⁰The *Hifdah-Man* Qur'ān has been transcribed in two volumes measuring 72cm by 48cm. This Qur'ān was kept in a place called Qur'ān Gate. It is situated at the north entrance to Shiraz. The transcription of this Qur'ān is attributed to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. On this Qur'ān, see Mirza-Abolqasemi, "*Qur'ān-*i Hifdah-Man," 233–8.

³¹The same sūras in both Qur'āns are al-Fātiḥa, Yā Sīn, al-Dahr, al-Duḥā, al-Kāfirūn, al-Ikhlās, al-Falaq and al-Nās. For comparison, see Muntakhab-i Suwar-i Qur'ān-i Karīm bi Khaṭṭ-i Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and Mirza-Abolqasemi, Muṣḥaf-i Ibrāhīm.

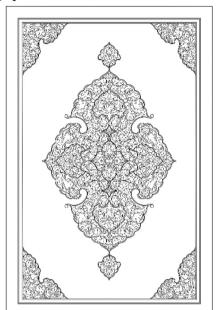


Figure 1. The medallion and the corners with an abesque design on the outer binding (drawn by hand and graphics software).

Source: The Qur'an Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

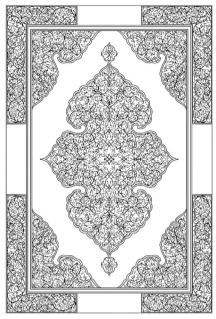
the verses, and the marking of fifth and tenth verses (*khams* and '*ashr*) in the margins of the pages. The illuminations follow the colorful floral style that was common in the fifteenth century AD. Different colors such as cinnabar (red), white, black, turquoise and green have been used in the illuminations, but the main colors are gold and lapis. Lapis is mostly the field color and gold has been used for drawing the motifs. Except in the repeated motifs ($v\bar{a}g\bar{v}ra$) of the opening double page and the endowment medallion on the last page, the illumination designs are in the floral pattern (*khatā'ī*). The scroll arabesque is also seen in some of the $s\bar{u}ra$ heading cartouches (Figure 3).

The illumination of this book follows a style that Elaine Wright names "the blueand-gold floral." She believes that this style existed at least from the Muzaffarid to the end of the Tīmūrid era. ³² Even-edged wide bands in the cartouches, small pear-shaped elements in the exterior contour of the opening double page, and the golden scroll arabesque motifs in the illumination of the ISM exactly correspond to the basic features of the blue-and-gold floral style.

The features of the ISM's illumination resemble some manuscripts produced under Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's patronage, such as the three divans kept in the National Library of

³²For more information about this style and examples, see Wright, *The Look of the Book*, 71–80.

Figure 2. The medallion and the corners with anabesque design on the inner binding (drawn by hand and graphics software).



Source: The Qur'an Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

France (no. 1469),³³ the Qur'ān in the Khalili Collection,³⁴ the anthology (*jung*) in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul (no. 1997),³⁵ and the *Shāhnāma* in the Bodleian Library (no. 176).³⁶

The illuminator of the Bodleian and the Istanbul volumes is called Naṣr al-Sulṭānī, believed to be none other than Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Mudhahhib, who was the head of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's library in 835 AH/1431 AD in Shiraz.³⁷ The ISM was illuminated shortly before this time (1427–31). Therefore, it is likely that the illuminations were done under the supervision of Naṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Mudhahhib or even by his own hands.

The ruling of the ordinary pages in the ISM measures approximately 49 cm by 33 cm. The variation in size goes back to the "malevolence of quadrature" (tarbī),

³³Richard, Splendeurs persanes manuscrits, 75-6.

³⁴James, After Timūr, 26–7.

³⁵Richard, "Nasr al-Soltāni, Nasir al-Din Mozahheb," 93–5. ³⁶Abdullaeva and Melville, *The Persian Book of Kings*, 51–7.

³⁷Richard, "Nasr al-Soltāni, Nasir al-Din Mozahheb," 93–5. For this text, see Raʿnā-Ḥusaynī, "Manshūr-i Kalāntarī-yi Khāwja Naṣīr-i Mudhahhib," 69–72.

Table 1. The names and orders of the surus			
No	Order of Sura	Name of Sura	Folios
1	1	al-Fātiḥa	1b-1b
2	20	Ţā Hā	2a-11b
3	36	Yā Sīn	11b-17a
4	42	al-Showrā	17a-23b
5	44	al-Dukhān	23b-26b
6	76	al-Dahr	26b-28b
7	92	al-Layl	28b-29b
8	93	al-Đuḥā	29b-30a
9	105	al-Fīl	30a-30b
10	106	Quraysh	30b-31a
11	107	al-Māʾūn	31a-31a
12	108	al-Kawthar	31a-31b
13	109	al-Kāfirūn	31b-32a
14	110	al-Nașr	32a-32b
15	111	al-Masad	32b-32b
16	112	al-Ikhlāṣ	33a-33a
17	113	al-Falaq	33a-33b
18	114	al-Nās Î	33b-34a

Table 1. The names and orders of the suras

The Qur'ān, Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

an old belief in Islamic culture.³⁸ There are different ways of avoiding *tarbī* in the ruling, including altering the ninety-degree angle. The irregularity of the ruling varies by approximately one centimeter, which makes it difficult to measure the margins of the pages accurately. The average size of the margins of the ordinary pages is 9 cm at the top, 7 cm at the bottom, 3 cm on the left, and 8.5 cm on the right.

The ruling of the ordinary pages, like the opening double page, is divided into three sections, but they are not separated by the dividing lines. In the top and bottom sections of every page, two lines of the Qur'ān are written in bold *thuluth*, tending towards the *muḥaqqaq* script. The space between the two lines is filled with five lines in the *rayḥānī* script. Therefore, every page includes seven lines in large and small scripts. The ruling board (*misṭara*) of the bold *thuluth* script and the *rayḥānī* script is 10 cm and 5 cm respectively (Figure 4).

The size and the location of the *sūra* heading cartouches follow the ruling board (*misṭara*) of the page in the Qur'ān manuscripts and depend on where the previous *sūra* has ended. In this volume, most of the *sūra* heading cartouches are between 9.5 cm and 10.5 cm in breadth, equivalent to the size of the ruling board of a large

³⁸Shaykh al-Hukamā'ī, "Nuḥūsat-i Tarbi'," 89–92.



Figure 3. The opening double page.

Source: The Qur'an Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431A.D, fols. 1b-2a. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

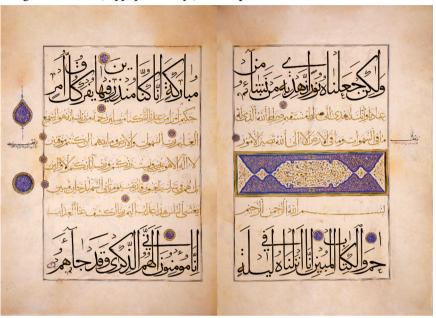
line or two small lines. Therefore, if a *sūra* heading cartouche is placed at the top or bottom of the page, it would replace a large line, and if it is placed in the middle of the page, it would replace two small lines (Figure 4). An exception to this rule is the *Sūrat al-Naṣr* (32a) with a breadth of 14.6 cm, which is equivalent to the size of the ruling board of three small lines, and is considered to be the broadest *sūra* heading cartouche. Two other exceptions are the *al-Dīn* and *al-Kawthar sūras* (31a), measuring 3.3 cm and 5.5 cm respectively, which are the narrowest *sūra* heading cartouches.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān has made a mistake in the transcription of the opening words of the *basmalah*, which is seen under the illumination of the *al-Ikhlās sūra* heading cartouche (Figure 5).

The Calligraphy Style. As mentioned above, the ISM has been transcribed in the thuluth and rayḥānī scripts. The thuluth is in black ink outlined in gold, and the rayḥānī is in gold ink outlined in black. The diacritical marks are in black ink. In the rayḥānī script, the eyes of the letters are filled with black and lapis, and in the thuluth script, they are either filled with gold or left blank. The dots are square and round in these two scripts.

The measurement of the ruling board (*misṭara*) and some letters show that the *thuluth* script is twice as wide as the *rayḥānī* script. These large and small scripts

Figure 4. Typical double page with *sura* heading cartouche of al-Dukhan and the marking of fifth and tenth verses (*khams* and 'ashr) in the margin. Bold *thuluth* (tending towards *muḥaqqaq*) and *rayḥānī* scripts.



Source: The Qur'an Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD fols. 23a-24b. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

are not necessarily uniform in terms of shape, size and some other elements, but they show that this Qur'ān manuscript was written by the same scribe. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Qur'ān in the library of Astān Quds Razavī was transcribed in the same manner.

The vertical letters in the *thuluth* script are highly elongated. This point is more prominent in some letters such as *alif* and *lām*, because they cover almost the whole width of the line. Furthermore, in the majority of the lines, a word or a part of the word has parted from its rightful place and been superscripted. These are outstanding features of the Islamic epigraphy style that was common in the Tīmūrid era.

The historians often rely on Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's inscriptions when describing his skill in calligraphy. ³⁹ As mentioned before, there is an inscription of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān at the entrance of the holy shrine of 'Alī b. Ḥamza in Shiraz (Figure 6), which is assumed to be the remains of his monuments near the gate of Iṣtakhr. ⁴⁰ The text of this inscrip-

³⁹See Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā*, 379–80; Sirāj Shīrāzī, *Tuhfat al-Muḥibbīn*, 141; Budāq Munshī Qazwīnī, "Javāhir al-Akhbār," 111; Vāla Iṣfahānī, *Khuld-i Barīn*, 522–3; Qāḍi Aḥmad Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 69–71; ʿAlī Afandī, *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān*, 49.

⁴⁰Sahrāgard, "Ibrāhīm Sulţān Bānī-yi Madrasa-yi Dār al-Ṣafā-yi Sulţānī-yi Shiraz," 90–3; Mirza-Abolqasemi, "Ibrāhīm Sulţān va Katība-Nigārī," 23–4.



Figure 5. Al-Ikhlās sura heading cartouche and verses.

Source: The Qur'an Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, fol. 33a. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

tion includes a saying of the prophet Ibrāhīm, written in the *thuluth* script and carved into stone. This inscription has been transcribed in a similar way to the bold *thuluth* script of the two Qur'ān manuscripts, which are in the Pars museum and the library of Astān Quds Razavī (Figures 6, 7 and 8). A comparative study of these examples reveals that Ibrāhīm Sulṭān followed a similar style in the calligraphy of his inscriptions and Qur'āns. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's transcription of the monumental Qur'āns resulted from his interest and skill in epigraphy.

Figure 6. Ibrahim Sulṭān's inscription at the entrance of the holy shrine of 'Alī b. Ḥamza in Shiraz. The *thuluth* script (n.d.).



Figure 7. A typical line of the bold *thuluth* script (tending towards *muḥaqqaq* script).



Source: The Qur'ān Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, fol. 29a. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

Figure 8. A typical line of the bold *thuluth* script.



Source: The Qur'an Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and endowed to the holy shrine of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, dated 827 AH/1424 AD, Mashhad, The library of Astān Quds Razavī, Ms. 414.

The Colophon and Endowment. The colophon is written on the thirty-fourth leaf just after the *Sūrat al-Nās* in four lines, three of which are in the *tawqī* script and one in the bold *thuluth* script (Figure 9). The text of the colophon reads:

كتبهُ اضعفُ عباد الله الرّحمن ابر هيمسلطانُ بن شاهر خشاه عفا الله عنهُ و عُفر سيّاته حامداً لله تعالى و مُصَلياً على نبيّه محمدٍ و آله الطيّبين الطّاهرين و سلّم في رابع رمضان المباركِ حِجّة ثَلاثين و ثَمانمِائة الهجريّة النّبويّة 41

⁴¹Ibrāhīm Sulṭān son of the king Shāhrukh, may God forgive him, scribed it on the fourth day of Ramaḍān in the year 830 AH, with praise and greetings to the prophet Muḥammad and his descendants.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān finished this volume on the fourth day of Ramaḍān in 830 AH/29 June 1427 AD. The transcription of his Qurʾān manuscript which is at the Metropolitan Museum was also finished on this date. It is surprising that the transcription of both Qurʾāns ended on the same day. Of course, it seems probable that only the colophons were written on the same day as the end of the transcription. It is interesting that the texts of both colophons (tarqīma) were written in the same way. At any rate, four years after the completion date of the transcription, the ISM was endowed to Shāh-Chirāgh (Ramaḍan 834 AH/May 1431 AD). The text of the endowment was written in the naskh script and black ink on the back of the thirty-fourth leaf. This text is inside a large round medallion and it contains seventeen lines (Figure 10).

In the colophon of the Qur'ān manuscript in the library of Astān Quds Razavī, it is stated that this Qur'ān has been transcribed and endowed as the blessing of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's pilgrimage to the shrine of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā in Mashhad. However, there is no evidence in the ISM to show that the transcription of this Qur'ān was firstly intended to be endowed to the shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh. Anyhow, the endowment of such fine and monumental Qur'āns to the shrines of Shiʿa Imams in Mashhad and Shiraz can be seen in the light of the friendly relationship between the Tīmūrid court and the Shiʿas in Iran.

كتبهُ اضعفُ عباد الله الرّحمن ابر هيمسلطانُ بن شاهر خ بن كوركان عفى الله عنهُ و غُفر سيّاته في رابع رمضان المباركِ حِجّة ثَلاثين و تُمانمِائة الهجريّة النّبويّة .

⁴⁴The text of the endowment is as follows: الحَمدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذي اَنزَ لَ الكِتِابَ المُبين / هُديَّ لِلمُتَّقين عَلَى مَن هُوَ رَحمَةَ لِلعِالمينَ عَليه و عَلى الهِ الطيِّبينَ و عِترَتِهِ الطَّاهِرِين / اَفضَلَ صَلُواتِ المُصَلِّين أَبِدَ الابِدينِ. و اصطفى مِن خُلُّص عَبيدِهِ المُكَرَّمين و خَلائِفِه / في الأرضين السُّلطان الأعدَلَ الأكمَلَ الأعظَمَ مَولَى أعاظِم المُلوكِ و السَّلاطين في العالم / جامِع الفَضِيلتين العَظيمَتَين الحَماسَةِ و الدّراسَة بمآثِر السَّيفِ و الْقَلْم حائِز الخِلاِفَتين الصُّوريّ و المَعنَويّ بعاليا / الهمَم و زاكِياتِ الشَّيَم. سَمَّى خَليلِ اللَّهِ غَوثَ عِبادِهِ. وَفَيًّا لَحَقَ الْحَقُّ وَفَقَ مُرادِهِ. مُغيث السَّلطنَة / وَ الدَّنيا وَ الدِّينِ مُعينِ الاسلام و المُسلِمينِ المُختَصِّ بِأَنِظارِ الطَّافِ مُنزل الفُرقان أَبُوالفَتح ابرَ هيم سُلطان. و وَفَقَهُ / بفَضلِه العَميم لِكتبَة مَا في الصَّحيفَة الشَّريفَة هَذِه مِن سُوَر القَرآن الحَكيْم بالبَنَانِ الكَريمِ. ثُمَّ الْهَمَهُ بِفُضَلِهِ / الكَريمِ أَن جَعَلها وَقَفاً مُؤَبِّداً صَحيحٍاً شُرعيّاً عَلى المَشهَد المُطهّر و اَلْمَزَارِ الْمُبَارَكِ الْمُنَوَّرِ لِلْسَتِيدِ السَّعِيدِ الْحَميدِ شُعْبَة / الكِرامَة و النَّبُوة و الرِّسالَة و وَردَة رَوضَة الولايَة و الجَلالة الإمام بن الإمام بن الإمام أحمَد بن مُوسَى بن جَعفَر الصّادِق إلى / يَوم القِيام بلا انصَرام و انخَرام في بَلدَةِ شيراز صينَت مِنَ المَكارِهِ و الاعواز و أباحَ الإنتِفاعَ بِهَا في ذَلِكَ المَقَامُ / الشَّريفَةُ عَلَى قاطِّبَةَ المُؤمِنينَ دَهِرِ الدَّاهِرِينِ تَقَبَّلُ اللَّهِ تَعالَى هَذِهِ الْحَسَنَةُ السَّنيَّةُ وَ سائر نَظائرَها مِن السَّلطان العادِل المُؤيَّد المُوَقِّف / المُشَارِ الِّيه و خَلَّد في مَراضيهِ مَآثَر مُلكِه و سُلطانِهِ و أفاضَ عَلَى العالَمينَ ذَوار فَبرِّه و امتنانه و زادَ جَلَّ وِ عَلا تَوفيقَةٍ لِفُنُونِ / الخَيراتِ و صُنوف المَبرّات و أقامَة العَدلِ و اِشَاعَة الاِحسانَ بَينَ الخَلاِئِق عَلَى مُرورِ الشُّهورِ وَ كُرورِ السَّنَواتِ / بِحُرمَة بَرَكاتَ اياتِ الكِتاَبُ المَجيدِ الَّذَى لا يَأْتِيهِ البِاطِلُ مِن بَينَ يَدَيهُ وَ لا مِنْ خَلْفِهِ تَنزَيِّلٌ / مِن حَكيمَ حَميد. وَ حُرِّرَ فَى الشُّهر المُبارَكِ رَمَضان الَّذي أنزلَ فيهِ / القُرآن لِسَنَةَ اَربَع و تَلثين و ثَمَانَمِنَةٍ .

⁴²See Jackson and Yohannan, Catalogue of the Collection of Persian Manuscripts, 172–7.

⁴³The following is the text of the colophon of the Metropolitan Museum's Qur'ān:



Figure 9. The colophon.

Source: The Qur'an Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH /1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, fol. 34a. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

The Damage and Restoration. The passing of time has left slight scratches and wear on the binding of the book. Due to damage to the stamped leather of the binding, some pieces of the lattice arabesque motifs are missing. There were two major areas of damage to the leather of the back cover, measuring 28×22 cm and 22×20 cm. This damage was repaired using some leather pieces from another old book binding. These leather pieces were separated from a large stamped (darbī) binding with arabesque motifs and a medallion and corner design. The motifs on the leather pieces do not correspond exactly to those on the main binding but they are close.

The dryness and thinness of the leaves have caused some cracks, especially near the spine. This damage, often caused by turning leaves, has been repaired using long strips of paper. The square plain border of the first and the thirty-fourth leaves and the plain border near the edge of the second and thirty-third leaves have also been protected with strips of paper. This paper is lighter in color and thicker than the original and it has been used in other parts of the ISM. Fortunately, the damage and restoration have not gone beyond the margin and they have not affected the text except on the last few leaves (27–34). The most significant restoration of these leaves include: first, the *sūra* heading cartouches of *al-Kāfirūn*, *al-Naṣr*, *al-Masad*, *al-Falaq* and *al-Nāṣ*; second, the marks of the fifth and tenth verses (*khams* and 'ashr); and, finally,



Figure 10. The endowment.

Source: The Qur'an Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, fol. 34a. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

the missing words in the text of verses, the colophon (*tarqīma*) and the endowment of the Qur'ān.

The restoration of the illuminations of the last few leaves corresponds closely to the original design and color. The rewriting of the missing texts has been carried out meticulously. Furthermore, a few stains are seen on some leaves, possibly due to damp in the place where the Qur'ān was kept.

Conclusion

There is a four-year gap between the transcription and the endowment of this Qur'ān (ISM). This delay might be due to the processes of completing the manuscript, such as the ruling, the illumination and the binding. It is also possible that this Qur'ān had been transcribed for a different reason and it was later endowed to the Shāh-

Chirāgh shrine. Anyway, the endowment of this Qur'ān to the most important shrine in Shiraz reveals Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's devotion to Shi'a Muslims.

This Qur'an (ISM) is one of the most brilliant manuscripts produced in Shiraz in the Tīmūrid era. The format of this book (a selection of Qur'an sūras) corresponds to the prevalent style of selected literary manuscripts in Shiraz at that time. The anthology (jung) manuscripts produced in Iskandar Sulṭān and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's ateliers are good examples of this format. The codicology of the ISM, including paper size, page format and calligraphic style, is similar to the Qur'an in the library of Astān Quds Razavī. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān transcribed both manuscripts in the same large and small scripts. The large scripts of these two monumental Qur'ans are impressive. This style of writing is Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's main quality in transcribing these Qur'ans and it is inspired by his devotion to epigraphy.

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