Muqarnas AN ANNUAL ON THE VISUAL CULTURE OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

مقرنس

FRONTIERS OF ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE:
ESSAYS IN CELEBRATION
OF OLEG GRABAR'S EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

THE AGA KHAN PROGRAM FOR
ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE
THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY
SPECIAL VOLUME

BRILL

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OLEG GRABAR

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EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

EDITED BY

GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU
JULIA BAILEY

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THE AGA KHAN PROGRAM FOR ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE
THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY SPECIAL VOLUME

MUQARNAS

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CONTENTS

IN TRIBUTE TO OLEG GRABAR

"Oleg Grabar has probably had a more profound and far-reaching influence on the study of Islamic art and architecture, not only through his own work but through inspiring innumerable students, scholars, teachers, and curators around the world, than any other living scholar." So begins the introduction to *Muqarnas* 10, subtitled *Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar, Contributed by His Students*. That special volume, conceived to pay tribute to Oleg on his retirement from Harvard, was published in 1993.

A few years ago, over an excellent lunch (food and conviviality often bring Oleg to mind), a small subset of the *Muqarnas* editorial committee—namely, Gülru Necipoğlu and Julia Bailey—noted that Oleg's so-called retirement had in no way diminished his intellectual productivity or inspirational status. We concurred that the time had arrived to pay tribute to our former teacher—who, with his eightieth birthday (in 2009) on the horizon, was now a senior scholar in every sense—by preparing a second honorary volume of *Muqarnas*, to be published fifteen years after the first. We found it particularly appropriate that the publication date would coincide with the thirtieth anniversary of the Aga Khan Program of Islamic Architecture, whose Harvard branch Oleg was instrumental in founding. It is largely thanks to the broad scope of this program, the parameters of which were established in 1978, that courses taught at Harvard and MIT in the field of Islamic art and architecture have transcended their former narrow, medieval focus to encompass the early modern and modern periods in addition to a broader cultural geography.

To lend unity to the contents of the volume and show Oleg's resounding impact on the expansion of the field we adopted the subtitle *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar's Eightieth Birthday*. The project couldn't be a surprise: we needed Oleg's guidance in choosing who among his many admirers and beneficiaries should be invited to submit an essay. It was he, then, who came up with a list of potential contributors, which he limited to former students and past or recent colleagues. He also expressed the wish that submissions should relate to his scholarship and interests or in some way reflect a personal connection to him; we therefore asked authors to "engage directly with some aspect of Oleg's work, whether the subject be a monument or object, a theme, a problem, or a methodology that he has addressed in his publications."

Not everyone invited was free to contribute, and the prior commitments of those who couldn't—books to finish, departments to run, exhibitions to organize and catalogue, museums to direct—in themselves testify to the prestige of Oleg's legacy. But the greater number of invitees responded enthusiastically, with essays short or long—in some cases much longer than the usual *Muqarnas* article—witty or earnest, and ranging in geographical scope from Marrakech to Agra and in temporal span from the pre-Islamic period to the twentieth century. In their splendid diversity, all are united in expressing their indebtedness to and affection for Oleg.

The Editors
June 2008

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PATRICIA CRONE

"BAREFOOT AND NAKED": WHAT DID THE BEDOUIN OF THE ARAB CONQUESTS LOOK LIKE?

The Syriac churchman Bar Penkaye, who wrote about 690, held the Arab invaders to have been "naked men riding without armor or shield."[1] In the same vein Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) reports that a certain Hiran sent by the last Sasanid emperor to spy on the Arabs told his employer that the invaders were "a barefoot people, naked and weak, but very brave."[2] A Muslim text dating from, perhaps, the later eighth century similarly insists that the invaders were "barefoot and naked, without equipment, strength, weapons, or provisions."[3] In all three texts the word "naked" seems to be used in the sense of poorly equipped and lacking body armor rather than devoid of clothes, and all three depict the Arabs as poorly equipped in order to highlight the extraordinary, God-assisted nature of the Arab conquests. "I have a sharp arrowhead that penetrates iron, but it is no use against the naked," as Rustam says in the *Shāhnāma*, in his premonition of the fall of the Sasanids.[4] But precisely what *did* the Arab invaders wear? It would be the first question to spring to Oleg Grabar's mind. Under normal circumstances it would be the last to spring to mine, for as Oleg is fond of telling his colleagues, historians tend to ignore the concrete physical manifestation of things; in particular, they do not think of the way things looked and so miss an important dimension of the past. I have always pleaded guilty to that charge. Having benefited from Oleg's lively company and warm heart for over ten years, however, I shall now try to make amends, if only with a trifling offering: how should we tell a filmmaker who wanted to screen the story of the Arab conquests to depict the conquerors? More precisely, how should we tell him to depict the desert Arabs who participated in the conquests, for the bedouin will not have been dressed in the same way as the settled Arabs, and I should like to keep things simple.

Most of us would probably reply that the hypothetical filmmaker should depict the bedouin warriors as men in kaffiyehs and flowing robes, along the lines familiar from *Lawrence of Arabia* and countless Hollywood films; but as far as the bedouin of pre-Islamic Arabia are concerned, it would seem that we are wrong. Though "naked" may be a little hyperbolic, both literary and iconographic evidence suggests that it is not far from the truth.

To start with the literary evidence, Ammianus Marcellinus, commander of the eastern armies about 350 AD, tells us that the Arabs of the Syrian desert were "warriors of equal rank, half nude, clad in dyed cloaks as far as the loins."[5] The word he uses for their cloaks is *sagulum*, a short, military tunic, and one wonders how literally one should take him: were they wearing Roman army issue, passed down from relatives and friends who had served in the Roman army, or alternatively stolen from unlucky soldiers? ("When bedouin raiders in the desert encountered someone from the settled areas, it was their custom to accost him with the command, *Ishlaḥ yā walad*, 'Strip, boy!' meaning that they intended to rob him of his clothing," as Jabbur says of the Syrian bedouin many centuries later.[6]) Ammianus does not tell us what, if anything, the warriors wore on their heads, but of another Arab, this time one in Roman service at Adrianople, he says that he was long haired and naked except for a loincloth.[7] In the same vein Malka, a fourth-century Syrian who was captured by bedouin between Aleppo and Edessa and whose adventures were recorded by Jerome, describes how the Ishmaelites descended upon his party of about seventy travelers "with their long hair flying from under their headbands." He did not think of them as wearing turbans or kaffiyehs, then, or as shielding their heads from the sun by any kind of head cover at all. Like Ammianus, he says that they wore cloaks over their "half-naked bodies," but he adds that they wore broad military boots (*caligae*).[8] Again one wonders if they were wearing Roman army issue. They transported Malka into the desert and set him to work as a shepherd, and there he "learned to go naked," he says, presumably meaning that he learned

Fig. 1. Ivory carving, right arm of the Chair of Maximianus. Museo Arcivescovile, Ravenna. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

to cover himself with a mere skin: this seems to have been all that slaves wore in pre-Islamic Arabia.[9] One would infer that he had handed over his clothes to his captors.

We now turn to the iconographic evidence, looking at it region by region.

SYRIA

To start in Syria, there is a representation of semi-naked bedouin in an ivory carving from a chair made in the first half of the sixth century in Antioch or (under Syro-Palestinian influence) Alexandria (fig. 1).[10] It depicts Joseph's brothers selling Joseph to two Saracens: the brothers are represented by the three figures on the left, Joseph stands in the middle, and two Saracens appear with two camels behind them to the right. The Saracens, who are armed with a bow and a spear respectively, have long, apparently plaited hair and wear nothing on their heads or their upper torsos, merely loose garments wrapped around their waists, which reach as far as their ankles but expose one of their legs as they walk. The brothers are also scantily clad, but in more military-looking outfits, and it is they rather than the Saracens who are wearing boots. The Saracens are shod in sandals. There is of course no guarantee that the carving is based on observation rather than artistic convention, but one point is clear: it was not as heavily clad figures in the

style of *Lawrence of Arabia* that bedouin were envisaged in sixth-century Syria.

Another ivory carving on the same chair shows the Saracens selling Joseph to Potiphar (fig. 2). Here Joseph is seen twice, first on a camel (on the left) and next between Potiphar and one of the Saracens, to whom she is handing money. Potiphar is wearing classical-looking robes. The Saracens' robes also appear more flowing than in the first panel, but here as there their lower body wraps are split in the middle, exposing their legs, and their arms are bare. In fact, their entire upper torsos could be bare, though it is hard to tell. The short tunic that Joseph is wearing clearly includes a drape over one shoulder, and the adult Saracens could have a similar item on their shoulders.[11] Maybe the artist dressed his characters in classical clothes in order to conjure up a bygone age. In any case, he depicted the Saracens with the same long, apparently plaited hair as in the first panel, and he gave them sandals, too, but not any kind of headgear. One would take it to have been long hair of this kind that Malka saw flowing under headbands.

Yet another sixth-century carving, also a Syrian or Syro-Egyptian work, depicts two brothers selling Joseph to a Saracen.[12] Joseph and his brothers are wearing short tunics similar to those in which rural people are depicted on the mosaic floors of sixth-century churches in Madaba.[13] The Saracen is wearing a mantle that leaves the left part of his chest exposed, but what he is wearing underneath

Fig. 2. Ivory carving, right arm of the Chair of Maximianus. Museo Arcivescovile, Ravenna. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

is not clear. All four are barefoot and bareheaded.

Finally, we have the depiction a man armed with a bow, sword, and whip, leading a camel (fig. 3); this appears on the mosaic floor of the church of the monastery of Kayanos at ʿUyun Musa, at the eastern top of the Dead Sea, dated by Piccirillo to the second half of the sixth century.[14] In Picirillo's words, the man "is half naked, wearing a long loincloth reaching beneath his knees with a cloak thrown over his left shoulder that covers his forearm." Picirillo suggests that he was an auxiliary soldier and deems the representation to fit the "exaggeratedly dramatic" literary accounts of Arab soldiers given by authors such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Malka in Jerome.[15] Whether the Arab was an auxiliary soldier or not, however, the representation actually seems to be quite different. The most dramatic feature of the mosaic is the Arab's bulging chest.

Neither Ammianus nor Jerome says anything about chests, but both highlight the long, flowing hair of the Arabs; though damage to the mosaic makes it impossible to say what, if anything, the soldier is wearing on his head, it is at least clear that he does not have hair (or a kaffiyeh) coming down to his shoulders. The clothes involved are quite different, too. Ammianus' Arabs were wearing short military tunics, Jerome's were dressed in cloaks and boots, but the soldier in the mosaic is wearing a waist wrap and shawl along with sandals. This could well be based on observation, for the waist wrap and shawl (*izār* and *ridāʾ*) are the two chief items of male clothing in pre-Islamic poetry.[16] The main feature that the three representations have in common is the skimpiness of the outfits described. Pitched against a horsemen encased in iron, Arabs such as these would indeed have come across as naked.

Fig. 3. Mosaic from the church of Kaianos at ʿUyun Musa, Mount Nebo. (Photo courtesy of Michele Picirillo)

In sharp contrast to these representations, an image on a piece of Coptic tapestry dating between the sixth and eighth centuries and said to show Joseph and an Ishmaelite merchant on a camel depicts both Joseph and the Ishmaelite as thoroughly wrapped up.[17] But the alleged camel may well be a horse,[18] and the alleged Ishmaelite seems to be wearing trousers. So this can be left out of consideration.

SOUTH ARABIA

If the inhabitants of the Roman empire envisaged the Saracens as wearing nothing on their heads and not much on their bodies, how were they seen by the Arabs themselves? We may start in the south.

Here the first image to capture one's attention is a crude relief on an alabaster incense burner from Shabwa in the Hadramawt, probably dating from around the third century AD (fig. 4). It depicts a man riding on an unsaddled camel, positioned in front of the hump; he holds a short sword or a camel stick or some such implement in his right hand and the reins in his left, and a water skin or shield is attached by a strap to the rear of the hump. He is stark naked, and, apart from the reins, the camel is as naked as he is.

The text gives the name of the person commemorated, presumably identical with the person represented, as Adhlal ibn Wahab'il but does not otherwise tells us anything about him.[19] Macdonald wonders whether the incense burner is a funerary object rather than a dedicatory one (as suggested in the catalogue of the exhibition in which it was most recently displayed[20]), for the inscription does not mention any deity, only a name and a patronym, and the vast majority of funerary stelae in both North and South Arabia only give the deceased's name and patronym. If the object is funerary, the relief might in Macdonald's opinion represent the naked soul of the deceased riding his camel on the Day of Judgment.[21] But as Macdonald himself stresses, this is highly conjectural. Besides, did the pagans of South Arabia believe in the resurrection? There is nothing to suggest that the deceased was a Jew or a Christian. And the people depicted on other funerary reliefs are fully clothed. On the whole, it seems more likely that a bedouin of the Hadrami plateau is being depicted here, for there are plenty of naked Arabs in the rock reliefs, as will be seen. Why such a man should figure on a Shabwan incense burner is another question.

A fully clothed camel rider appears on a funerary relief, also of alabaster, dated to roughly the first

Fig. 4. Relief from an alabaster incense burner. British Museum, ANE 125682. (Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)

to the third century AD, with an incription identifying the deceased as Mushayqar Hamayat ibn Yashuf (fig. 5).[22] He too is holding a short spear or camel stick in his right hand and the reins in his left, and he is sitting on a fine camel saddle of a type also attested on a bronze figurine of a camel thought to be from Yemen.[23] Unlike the wild bedouin on the incense burner, this camel rider was presumably a soldier in the local army, dressed in conformity with the sense of propriety of the settled people. Of decently dressed camel-riders, presumably soldiers in the local armies, we also have an example in a relief from Dura Europos that shows such a rider seated on a saddled camel, armed with a long lance, and wearing a tunic and mantle.[24] But he is bareheaded, and maybe the South Arabian was too: Calvet and Robin interpret his apparent head cover as a hair style.[25]

In another funerary relief, a Sabaean alabaster of the second or third century AD, the lower panel shows a horseman with the north Arabian name of ʿIjl ibn Saʿdallat touching a camel with his spear, the act by which a camel raider appropriates a camel. The upper panel shows the deceased sitting at a table with his wife and child in attendance, or perhaps the deceased at a banquet, and both the stool and the table indicate that we are in a settled environment, as also suggested by the fact that the *nisba* of the deceased was Qryn: he may have come from Qaryat al-Faw or from Wadi ʾl-Qura.[26] He was not a bedouin raiding camels, then, but rather a sedentary Arab engaged in what one would assume to be camel catching staged as a sport.[27] All the figures are fully clothed, the deceased in a long robe and the other two in shorter garments, and the deceased seems to be wearing some kind of head cover, though his putative wife and children are clearly bareheaded. The deceased's headgear, if it is not simply hair, looks like some sort of stiff bonnet, certainly not like a turban. South Arabian reliefs, which usually show people bareheaded, do not in fact seem to depict any turbans at all.

Moving slightly north to Qaryat al-Faw, which flourished from roughly the second century BC to roughly the fifth century AD, we find a bronze statue of a man wearing nothing but a loincloth, but he is kneeling reverently, presumably in prayer, and his outfit is more likely to be a form of *iḥrām* than bedouin dress.[28] Also at Qaryat al-Faw we find two drawings on plaster walls of horsemen hunting or raiding camels. One horseman could be naked, but the other is wearing something like a tunic or at least a skirt. Whether they have headgear is impossible to tell.[29]

THE DESERT

That leaves us with the countless rock drawings left by the inhabitants of the desert themselves. The most striking image among these is a drawing of a horse-

Fig. 5. Alabaster funerary relief. Louvre, AO 1128. (Photo courtesy of Michael Macdonald)

man hunting an oryx with a short spear (fig. 6). He is wearing a waist wrap similar to that of the Arab soldier in the sixth-century mosaic; the thickened lines across his shoulders could be taken to suggest that he is also wearing a *ridāʾ*, and he has bushy or kinky hair that, although quite long, sticks straight out from his head, in a style that is quite common in Safaitic drawings.[30] Unless we take his hair actually to be some sort of hat, he is not wearing anything on his head. Other drawings do depict headgear, sometimes very elaborate, but apparently in the form of plumes, which are hardly intended here.[31] The author of the Safaitic inscription on the same stone claims to have made the drawing, which is thus roughly datable to the period from the first century BC to the fourth century AD. By then, it would seem, the pre-Islamic "uniform" of *īzār* and *ridāʾ* was in place, but without the turban or other headgear by which it is usually taken to have been complemented.

By the standards of the rock drawings, this horseman is well dressed, for most drawings depict males as either naked or wearing skimpy clothes "mainly meant to cover the private parts," as Nayeem puts it.[32] But these drawings are difficult to date, and though some are Safaitic,[33] many of them are likely to be much older than the period under consideration here.

There is an example of what the makers of rock art wore in a Thamudic drawing from the Tabuk region of northern Arabia, which depicts a horseman and two men in a chariot—a driver and an archer (fig. 7).[34] The horseman, who is riding in front of the chariot, appears to be every bit as naked as the camel on the Sabaean stela, though one should perhaps envisage him as wearing a loincloth. He also seems to have long, flowing (rather than bushy) hair. The driver could be naked, at least as far as his upper torso is concerned (the lower part of his body is hidden from view), but maybe the draftsman simply refrained from trying to depict his clothes. He could be bareheaded, but his head is pointed, perhaps to suggest the conical helmet worn by Assyrian soldiers.[35] The footsoldier who is pursuing the chariot and shooting arrows at it, however (fig. 8), is dressed in a long waist wrap, with a slit at the side or the front to allow freedom of movement, along the lines of those depicted on the ivory panel of Saracens buying Joseph from his brothers (see fig. 1). He too seems to have long hair.

This drawing is likely to be very old. The chariot points to ancient Near Eastern times, perhaps the seventh to fourth century BC,[36] and the footsoldier has a long, pointed thong between his legs, a feature also found on images of Arabs on Assyrian reliefs (although precisely what it is meant to represent is unknown). Indeed, one wonders if the occupants of the chariot should not actually be identified as Assyrians (or perhaps Babylonians) pursuing one Arab while being shot at by another.[37]

The age of the drawing notwithstanding, the clothing and hairstyle of the Arab archer are not drastically different from those examined above, suggesting that the desert Arabs dressed in much the same way for over a millennium before the rise of Islam. In a drawing by W. Boutcher of a detail from the Assyrian reliefs showing the campaign of Ashurbanipal (688–627 BC) against the Arabs, the Arabs, with plaited hair, are shown dismounted from their camels and dressed in wraparounds, each with an opening to allow freedom of movement (fig. 9). Their wraparounds are not flowing like those of the Saracens who purchase Joseph from his brothers (fig. 1),

Fig. 6. Rock drawing depicting a Safaitic horseman. (Photo courtesy of G. M. H. King)
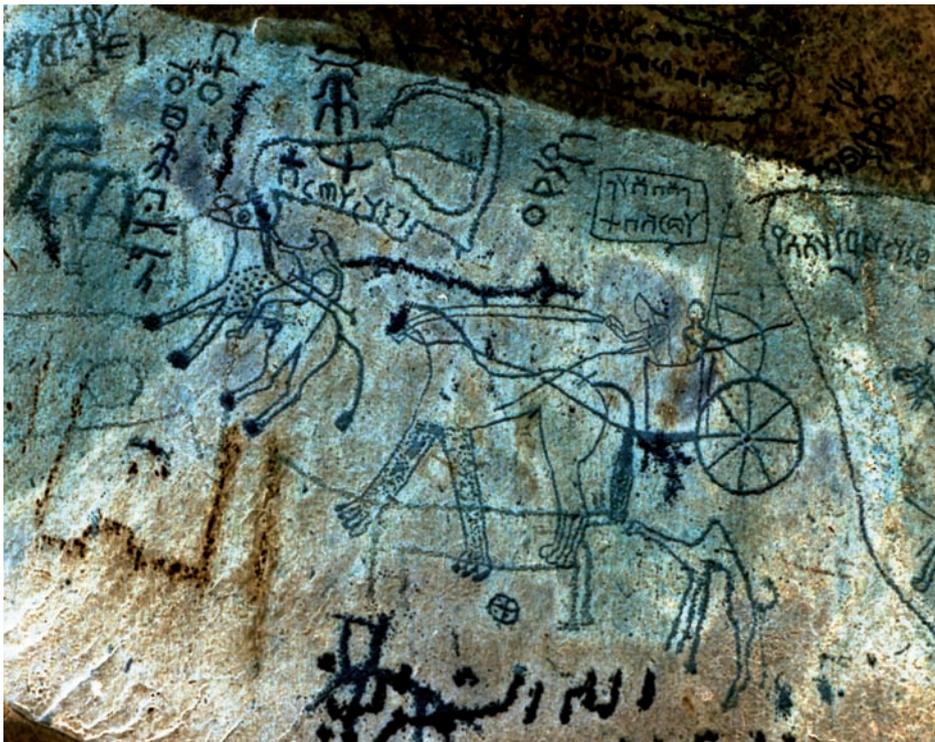
Fig. 7. Rock drawing. (Photo courtesy of Michael Macdonald)

Fig. 8. Rock drawing, detail. (Photo courtesy of Michael Macdonald)

and their hair looks shorter and a good deal neater, too, but given that there are more than a thousand years between the images, the continuity is nonetheless striking. To a somewhat lesser degree, the same holds true when one compares the Assyrian representations with the Safaitic rock drawings and the Madaba mosaic.

In sum, what did the bedouin participants in the conquests wear? The answer seems to be generally not very much at all: either bits and pieces of what their settled neighbors—whether the latter were Byzantines, Arabians, or (one assumes) Iranians—wore, or a wrap-around and a *ridāʾ* covering part of their upper torso, and perhaps even sandals, but rarely, insofar as one can tell, anything on their heads. It is the absence of headgear that is the most surprising. Whatever the variations, all the desert dwellers seem to have looked a

good deal more like their ancestors of Assyrian times than like Musil's Rwala.[38] As far as desert clothing is concerned, Arabia on the eve of Islam seems still to have been rooted in the ancient Near East.

When and why did the desert Arabs start covering themselves up? I cannot claim to know. My guess would be that they started doing so in the centuries after the rise of Islam, and in consequence of the rise of Islam, for Islam drew the bedouin closer together to the settled people, giving them shared religious and other norms. Wrapping up was what the people who mattered did, and so the bedouin came to do so too (at least when they could afford it). According to Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 819 or later), the Tanukh who met the caliph al-Mahdi (d. 785) in Qinnasrin were wearing turbans. They were trying to look their best on this occasion.[39] A Byzantine miniature of ca. 976–1025 depicting Simeon Stylites venerated by Arabs shows Simeon in a hooded monk's habit and the three Arabs wearing turbans, now apparently as a matter of course.[40] But I had better leave this question for another birthday.

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NOTES

1. Bar Penkaye in A. Mingana (ed. and tr.), *Sources syriaques*, Leipzig, n.d. [1907?], 141; trans. in S. P. Brock, "North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987): 58.
2. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris 1899–1910), 4:417, 2:421.
3. D. Sourdel, "Un pamphlet musulman anonyme d'époque ʿabbāside contre les chrétiens," *Revue des études islamiques* 34 (1966) 33 (text), 26 (trans.). For a reconstruction of the text from which the fragment comes see J.-M. Gaudeul, "The Correspondence between Leo and ʿUmar," *Islamochristiana* 10 (1984), 109–57, with the passage in question on 155. The transmitter is Ismaʿil b. ʿAyyash.
4. Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, ed. E. E. Bertels, 9 vols. (Moscow, 1960–71), vol. 9: l. 119 (drawn to my attention by Masoud Jafari).
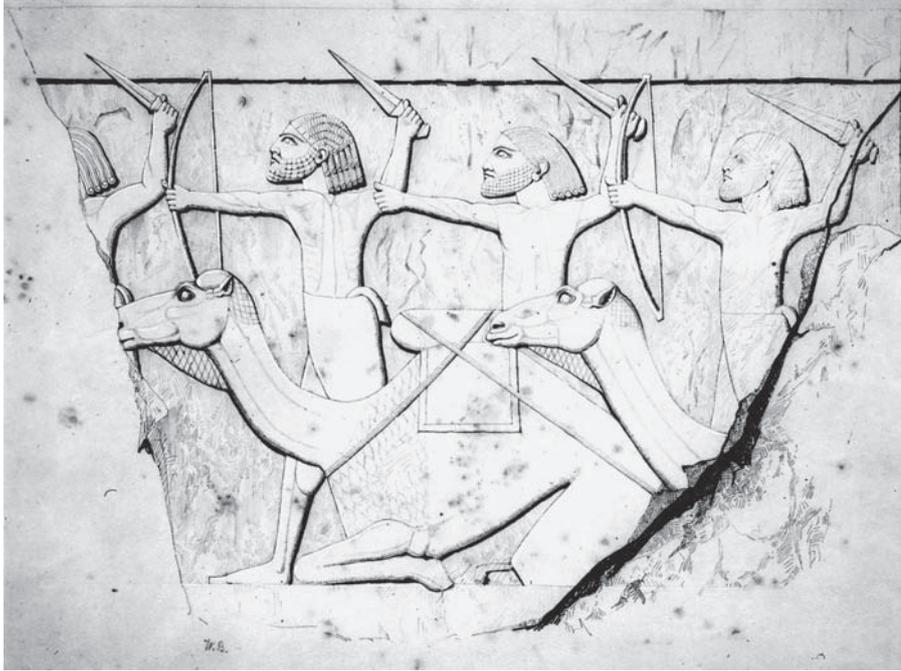
Fig. 9. W. Boucher, detail of an Assyrian relief, Room L of the North Palace at Nineveh. British Museum Or. Dr. 28. (Drawing reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)

5. Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv, 4, 3; quoted in J. B. Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature before the Rise of Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984): 102; also discussed in J. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London, 1989), 344, 347–48.

6. Jibrāʾīl Sulaymān Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert: Aspects of Nomadic Life in the Arab East*, trans. L. I. Conrad (Albany, 1995 [Arabic original 1988]), 1n, with vivid illustrations on 2–3.

7. Matthews, *Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 348, with reference to Ammianus, xxxi, 16, 6.

8. Jerome, "Vita Malchi Monachi Captivi," paragraphs 4–5, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64), 23: cols. 57–58, trans. in Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature," 103; cf. I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, DC, 1984), 284ff.; Matthews, *Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 348.

9. G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897), 44 (with reference to ʿAntara's *Muʿallaqa*).

10. See O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art: A Survey of the Monuments* (Oxford, 1925), 172, 205ff.; idem, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (New York, 1961, orig. publ. 1911), 203ff.

11. Cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 206.

12. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 566; cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 208; W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalter* (Mainz, 1952), 80–81; pl. 54, no. 172.

13. M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata, *Mount Nebo: New Archaeological Excavations 1967–1997* (Jerusalem, 1998), 333 (Church of the Deacon Thomas, whole floor); 337 (Stephanos spearing a lion, wearing "a sleeveless orbiculated tunic...tied to the right shoulder" that seems to be identical with that of the brother on the left); 338–39 (donkey driver, soldier defending himself against a bear), 343 (date); 345, 347 (Church of Saints Lot and Procopius, whole floor).

14. M. Piccirillo, *Madaba, le chiese e i mosaici*, 207–8; Piccirillo and Alliata, *Mount Nebo*, 356–58, with a better photo (fig. 224).

15. Piccirillo, in both *Madaba, le chiese e i mosaici* and *Mount Nebo*, and with reference to Ammianus and Jerome in *Madaba, le chiese e i mosaici*, 225 n. 10.

16. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 44.

17. A. Kakovkine, "Le tissu copte des VIIe–VIIIe siècle du musée metropolitain," *Göttinger Miszellen* 129 (1992): 53–59. It was formerly classified as showing the flight into Egypt.

18. Presumably it was classified as a camel on the basis of its peculiar head (which mostly looks like that of a dog) and the similarity of its hooves and tail to those of the camel at Dura Europos (cf. the reference given below, n. 24). But it has no hump, and its legs and harness are those of a horse.

19. St. J. Simpson, ed., *Queen of Sheba: Treasures from Ancient Yemen* (London, 2002), 97–98 no. 110; also in W. Seipel (ed.), *Jemen: Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Sabaʾ* (Vienna, 1998), 86 and 88 no. 20, both without comments on the absence of clothes; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1900–1968), 7: no. 4690.

20. Simpson, *Queen of Sheba*, 97–98 no. 110.

21. Michael Macdonald, personal communication with reference to a discussion at the recent congress "Rencontres sabéennes 10," in St. Petersburg.

22. Y. Calvet and C. Robin, *Arabie heureuse, Arabie déserte: Les antiquités arabiques du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1997), 109–10 no. 20, where both the image and the text are reproduced along with a transliteration, translation, discussion, and bibliography.

23. Reproduced in Simpson, *Queen of Sheba*, 99 no. 113.

24. A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos* (Oxford, 1973), fig. 40.

25. Cf. the reference given above, n. 22 ("Il porte une coiffure arrondée avec une sorte de pendant à l'arrière").

26. Louvre, AO 1029: see Calvet and Robin, *Arabie heureuse*, 107–8 no. 18 (image, text, transliteration, translation, discussion, and bibliography); A. Caubert, *Aux sources du monde arabe: L'Arabie avant l'Islam, collections du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1990) 28 and 39 no. 3 (where the upper panel is interpreted as a banquet scene). For the meaning of the gesture with the spear see M. C. A. Macdonald, "Camel Hunting or Camel Raiding?" *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 1, 1 (1990): 24–28, with a reproduction of the stela on 26.

27. This seems at least as likely as that the deceased should be shown as engaged in camel-raiding, perhaps as a desire to claim links with a real or nomadic past, as suggested by Macdonald, "Camel Hunting or Camel Raiding?" 25–26; idem, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding: The Horse in Pre-Islamic Arabia," in *Furusiyya*, 2 vols., ed. D. Alexander (Riyad, 1996), 1:76. Either is compatible with the conjecture that he was a caravaneer (Calvet and Robin, *Arabie heureuse*, 108).

28. A. R. al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau: A Portrait of a Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia* (London, 1982), 109 no. 3.

29. Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau*, 130–33 (where the rider called Salim b. Kaʿb seems to be hunting rather than raiding, given that the camel appears to have been speared or shot with an arrow).

30. G. M. H. King, *The Basalt Desert Rescue Survey: Safaitic Inscrip-tions* (forthcoming; my thanks to Dr. King for allowing me to reproduce the image).

31. Cf. Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 76, 77 fig. 5b, where the upper tier of the headdress looks like giant feathers.

32. M. A. Nayeem, *The Rock Art of Arabia* (Hyderabad, 2000), 337. For some striking examples of naked people see Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 72 nos. 3, 1d, 1g, 1h. Unfortunately, these drawings are known only from hand copies, and there is no way of telling how accurately they represent the originals.

33. M. C. A. Macdonald, "Reflections on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 11 (2000): 45.

34. Cf. Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 74, 76ff., with the complete composition on 224–25.

35. Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 78.

36. Macdonald, "Hunting, Fighting, and Raiding," 78; idem, "Wheels in a Land of Camels: Another Look at the Chariot in Arabia," forthcoming in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*.

37. The main objection to this proposition is that the man on horseback is identified in the inscription above him as *ḥrb*, taken by Macdonald to mean *enemy* warrior on the basis of modern bedouin dialect. But this is clearly conjectural, and the word may not even have been correctly deciphered (cf. Macdonald, "Wheels in a Land of Camels," text no. 9).

38. Cf. A. Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928).

39. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 431.

40. Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, gr. 1613. The ninth-century miniature of Joseph's brothers selling Joseph to a Saracen is uninformative, since no attempt seems to have been made to distinguish the Saracen from the other figures: all are wearing the same long cloaks and all are bareheaded (cf. A. Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze* [Paris, 1943], pl. LXI).

MICHAEL COOK

THE NAMESAKE TABOO

Hilal al-Sabiʾ (d. 1056) was a bureaucrat in Buyid service who wrote an interesting work on the manners and customs of the Abbasid court.[1] The book is naturally well known to Oleg Grabar, who aptly laments the lack of any comparable source for the Umayyads,[2] on whose palaces and court ceremonials he has written so much. At one point Hilal mentions the following curious rule: "It is not the custom for anyone to be mentioned in the presence of the caliph...by the name of the caliph, if his name happens to be his" (*wa-laysa mina ʾl-ʿādati an yudhkara aḥadun bi-ḥaḍrati ʾl-khalīfati...bi-smi ʾl-khalīfati in wāfaqa ʾsmuhu ʾsmahu*).[3] I shall refer to this rule (or rules very similar to it) as the namesake taboo. What the rule means can best be shown by giving an example. Let us suppose that the caliph's name is Ahmad, as in the case of the caliph al-Muʿtadid (r. 892–902). It would then be improper to mention Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855) by name in his presence. (You could, of course, solve the problem by using the patronymic "Ibn Hanbal" on its own; the problem is the name, not the person.) Hilal follows up his statement of the rule with an anecdote about a tribesman called Sulayman ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, who almost missed getting his pay from the Umayyad caliph of the same name (r. 715–17) when the latter asked him his name and the unwary tribesman responded, "Sulayman ibn ʿAbd al-Malik."[4]

Hilal goes on to add a further rule. If it is necessary to mention anything that is also the name of one of the ruler's womenfolk, then one must substitute another word for it.[5] Here too he backs up his point with an anecdote. A kinsman of Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809), ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Salih (d. 811 or 812), sent a note to the caliph in which he had occasion to mention bamboo; he carefully avoided the word *khayzurān* and used a less elegant synonym, because Khayzuran (d. 789) was the caliph's mother.[6] But we can leave this refinement aside[7] and return to the namesake taboo proper.

The namesake taboo was not restricted to the names of caliphs, as we learn from an anecdote about the litterateur Abu Zayd al-Balkhi (d. 934).[8] We usually know him respectfully by his teknonym Abu Zayd, but his name and patronymic were Ahmad ibn Sahl. One day he went to call on the governor of Khurasan, a certain Ahmad ibn Sahl ibn Hashim (d. 920).[9] The governor asked him his name, whereupon Abu Zayd replied, with apparent disrespect to the governor, "Abu Zayd." The governor put this down to social ineptitude, and this diagnosis soon appeared to be confirmed: when Abu Zayd departed, he left his signet ring behind him in the place where he had been sitting. But when the governor examined the signet ring, he saw the name *Aḥmad ibn Sahl* on it. He then realized that the apparent ineptitude of his visitor had actually been the height of good breeding: by leaving his signet ring behind, Abu Zayd had quietly provided the explanation for his apparent disrespect. For Abu Zayd to have spoken the name of the governor in his presence would have been a far worse lapse than calling himself by his teknonym.

We also hear of the namesake taboo in the context of behavior towards kings (*mulūk*). Siraj al-Din Mahmud Urmawi (d. 1283 or 1284), a scholar who studied in Mosul and died in Konya,[10] was the author of a "mirror for princes."[11] He devotes a section of this work to the way one should behave towards kings;[12] for example, he advises that one should brush one's teeth before going to see them.[13] At one point in this discussion he states that when the king asks someone his name, and he happens to have the same name as the king (*ham-nām-i pādshāh bāshad*), he should not speak his name (*nām-i khwud na-gūyad*), but rather reply, "Your slave is the son of so-and-so."[14]

In short, the namesake taboo protects the dignity of those who wield political power by forbidding the mention by name in their presence of any persons who share their names. Those who wield political power

may be caliphs, governors, or kings, and those who may not be named may be present or absent.

There are doubtless other attestations of the namesake taboo to be found in the sources. But they are hard to locate, even with electronic search facilities, and the attestations given above are at least enough to establish the existence of this exotic phenomenon. To my knowledge it has not found more than an occasional mention in the secondary literature,[15] though here too I may be guilty of oversight. Be this as it may, what are we to make of it?

We can start by resolving our phenomenon into two components. First, there is the rather trivial fact that for different people to have the same name is a problem. The primary function of your name is to identify you, so if someone else has the same name, the identification process collapses in confusion. Here we have a glitch that can affect any society in which names are not unique; where people and cultures differ is in the ways in which they attempt to work around the problem.

Second, there is the fact that in societies that set a value on steep hierarchy, it makes sense that the confusion should be obviated at the expense of the inferior party. If it is taken for granted that somebody has to stand down, then it is naturally the inferior party who is temporarily denied the use of his name. This is by no means trivial, and here some cross-cultural comparison may be interesting.

One way to go is to compare the namesake taboo with the way things are in the West. I take it that if during his presidency Bill Clinton had met the Harvard Islamicist Bill Graham or my late colleague Jerry Clinton, and had asked them who they were, each of them would have had a First-Amendment right to respond with his own name; and my guess is that both of them would have exercised that right. What is more, I doubt if either of them would have hesitated, if chatting to the President about his experiences in England, to refer by name to the "Hilary term" at Oxford or the London suburb of "Chelsea." So if we see it from the perspective of the heirs of the American Revolution, our namesake taboo looks like a characteristic excess of Oriental despotism.

But the more interesting comparison is not with revolutionary America, but rather with traditional China, where we encounter a whole system of onomastic taboos.[16] Indeed, seen from the perspective of imperial China, the namesake taboo as we have encountered it in the Muslim world seems so rudimentary that one could hardly call it a system; it looks more like Occidental anarchy.

Apart from the fact that such practices are much older in China—where they would seem to date from at least the first half of the first millennium BC[17]—there are three major differences between the Chinese system and our namesake taboo.

First, in China the taboo applies just as firmly to writing as to speech. Abu Zayd could affect to forget a signet ring with his name inscribed on it without thereby giving cause for yet further offense; in a Chinese context, by contrast, the written name would have been no less of a violation of the taboo than the spoken name. This meant, for example, that candidates taking official examinations in China towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) had to avoid using a set of eighteen characters in their written answers; mostly these were characters that appeared in the personal names of the emperors of the dynasty, though the same protection was extended to Confucius (d. 479 BC) and Mencius (fourth century BC).[18]

Second, the domain of the taboo was not limited to the immediate presence of the emperor. Since the second century BC it had extended to the whole realm.[19] Thus in 1782 a provincial governor could stir up doubts about the loyalty of Muslims by pointing out that a Chinese biography of the Prophet seized in his province "does not respect the prohibitions regarding using the name of the emperor."[20] The exact rules varied from dynasty to dynasty. But the general idea was that the word or words making up the personal names of the emperors could not be spoken, and the characters used to write them could not be written—even in contexts that had nothing to do with an emperor's personal name. It is as if it had been taboo to say or write "dollar *bill*" anywhere in the United States for the duration of the Clinton presidency.

The third major difference between the Chinese system and our namesake taboo lies in the relationship of each to the wider culture—or the lack of it. The Chinese system was entirely at home in Chinese culture; like so much else in traditional China, it was firmly grounded in Chinese family values. Every family had its taboo names, just as the imperial family did, although the taboo of a private family was supposed to stop at the door.[21] Thus for the historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien (d. ca. 86 BC) the personal name of his father was taboo, and this led him to alter two names he mentions in his history.[22] A common mark of European speakers of Chinese in modern times was their

insensitivity to the taboos of those they addressed and the embarrassment they thereby gave rise to;[23] by contrast, a sign of the superb micropolitical skills of one Chinese emperor was that he never forgot the taboos of any family he had visited.[24] Until recently, to ask a Chinese schoolboy to name his parents was to ask him to violate a taboo—just as Confucius would never pronounce the two characters of his mother's name together.[25] In the Islamic world, by contrast, the system is distinctly out of place in the wider culture. It seems to have no roots in the Arab heritage, and it has no properly Islamic underpinnings.

The first two differences, taken together, help to explain the fact that the main reason one hears about the Chinese system in Western scholarly literature is that it affects the work of modern philologists.[26] Substitutions and mutilations of taboo characters are in effect a form of textual corruption, an added contribution to the ravages of time—though they can also leave behind clues to the history of a text. The name of the founder of the Han dynasty, for example, was taboo in its day, and this led to the substitution of another character in the text of the "Han Stone Classics."[27] It is as if we could infer that a copy of the Qurʾan was written in the reign of al-Muʿtadid by observing that the scribe had been obliged to alter the name Ahmad in Qurʾan 61:6—a thought as outrageous in Islamic terms as the idea that Bill Graham cannot be Bill in the presence of Bill Clinton is in American terms. So far as I know, there is still no major study of the taboo system as a cultural phenomenon in its own right. This is a pity; it would amply merit one.

The third difference is related to a striking onomastic disparity between China and most cultures to the west of it. In traditional China it was improper to name someone after someone else—say, a monarch, a governor, or an ancestor; such an action counted as a violation of a taboo, rather than a sign of respect.[28] In China one checked the family registers precisely to *avoid* giving a child the name of an ancestor.[29] In the West, by contrast, we frequently name one person after another. George Washington (d. 1799) may not in the end have proved a very loyal subject of the British crown, but his father surely meant no disrespect to King George II (r. 1727–60) when in 1732 he named his son George.[30] As for ancestors, in America we are used to whole dynasties where the personal name of the father is conferred on the son. The Islamic world has a similarly positive attitude to "naming after." The long-lived Companion Anas ibn Malik (d. 709 or 710) was named after (*bihi summiya*) his uncle Anas ibn al-Nadr, who was killed at the battle of Uhud in 625.[31] Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr (d. 658) was born in 632, in the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632);[32] Muhammad ibn Talha (d. 656) was given his name by the Prophet himself;[33] and there were further Muhammads of this vintage.[34] Moreover, it is not hard to find people in biographical dictionaries called "Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad"[35]—which in Chinese terms amounts to a whole string of taboo violations.

Nevertheless, the Muslim namesake taboo is not completely isolated in the wider Near Eastern context. Admittedly, I have not encountered any Near Eastern parallel in the case of the name of the ruler, the core case with which we are concerned. There are, however, scattered Muslim parallels in religious and social contexts. There is a story about Talha ibn ʿUbayd Allah (d. 656), who had made a point of naming his sons after prophets—including Muhammad.[36] The caliph ʿUmar (r. 634–44) took exception to this, decreeing that all who bore the names of prophets should change them;[37] Talha won the ensuing argument, and the practice of giving such names has continued to this day—except that in some Muslim societies we find variant pronunciations of "Muhammad" that tend to be preferred when the name belongs to someone other than the Prophet.[38] There is a possible Jewish parallel to such sensitivity: we scarcely hear of Jews being named "Moses" before Islamic times,[39] when Jewish customs may have come under the influence of Muslim practice. On the Jewish side, in addition, Rabbinic norms placed a taboo on the name of one's father (and also of one's teacher).[40] Whether any such practices existed in Sasanid Iran does not seem to be known;[41] a passage in a work ascribed to Jahiz (d. 868 or 869) suggests the possibility that ideas of this kind might have a Sasanid background.[42] But with regard to the origin of the Muslim namesake taboo, I have no hypothesis to offer.

The most interesting point in all this is not, however, about origins, but rather about the relationship between an imperial state and the society it rules.[43] To us, and to the Western tradition in general, nothing is more intrinsically the property of a society than its language. From time to time governments will be found seeking to make linguistic changes for the sake of what they see or present as the public good. But for the state to appropriate words and names current in the community's language—to claim exclusive *owner-*

ship of them, denying their use to the society even in reproducing the texts of its classics—is by our standards breathtaking. Yet this practice was widely implemented, and very much at home, in imperial China. This need not altogether surprise us: in no other part of the premodern world did an imperial state come as close to claiming ownership of the culture of its society, a point that can be richly documented in such fields as historiography, law, and the workings of the calendar. Against this background, the surprise is that the namesake taboo, in however modest a form, should appear in the Islamic world at all. There the role of the state was in comparative terms severely restricted in all the three fields just mentioned. The very presence of the namesake taboo in a Muslim context thus goes against the grain. This at least makes it intriguing, which perhaps does something to mitigate the shame of presenting an aniconic *tuḥfa* to Oleg Grabar.

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NOTES

1. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. Mīkhāʾīl ʿAwwād (Baghdad, 1964); idem, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa = The Rules and Regulations of the ʿAbbāsid Court*, trans. E. A. Salem (Beirut, 1977). On Hilāl see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second ed. (hereafter *EI2*) (Leiden, 1960–2004, s.v. "Hilāl...al-Ṣābiʾ" (D. Sourdel).
2. See chap. 8, "Notes sur les cérémonies umayyades," 142, in Oleg Grabar, *Early Islamic Art, 650–1100* (Aldershot, 2005).
3. Hilāl, *Rusūm*, 57, l. 13; idem, *Rules and Regulations*, 49.
4. Hilāl, *Rusūm*, 58, l. 2; idem, *Rules and Regulations*, 49.
5. Hilāl, *Rusūm*, 59, l. 3; idem, *Rules and Regulations*, 50.
6. For another version of this anecdote see Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 7 vols., ed. C. Pellat (Beirut, 1965–79), 4:228–29 no. 2550, cited in *EI2*, s.v. "Kināya" (C. Pellat), and in J. Sublet, *Le voile du nom: Essai sur le nom propre arabe* (Paris, 1991), 166.
7. The editor of the *Rusūm* notes two parallels with regard to the names of women (Hilāl, *Rusūm*, 59 n. 1). One is an anecdote about the poet Hammad al-Rawiya (d. 771 or 772), who unwisely recited a poem that included the name Sumayya in the presence of Ziyad ibn Abihi (d. 673)—whose mother was named Sumayya—and thereby so angered him that the chamberlain asked everyone to leave; after that he always made sure that no poem he recited in the presence of a caliph or amir mentioned the name of one of his womenfolk (Abū ʾl-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 24 vols. [Cairo, 1927–74], 6:93.4). The other is a reminiscence about a letter written to Abu Taghlib (r. 967–79), the last independent Hamdanid

ruler in the Jazira, in which the author had occasion to use the feminine adjective *jamīla* (beautiful); the letter was seen by Abū Taghlib's powerful sister Jamila, who took great offense: al-Muḥassin ibn ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1921–22), 1:97.15; trans. 2:106).
8. Yāqūt ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, 7 vols. (Beirut, 1993), 1:279.17; Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi ʾl-wafayāt*, ed. H. Ritter et al., 30 vols. (Istanbul, etc., 1931–2004), 6:412.18. I owe my knowledge of these passages to Hossein Modarressi. On Abu Zayd al-Balkhi see *EI2*, s.v. "Balkhī, Abū Zayd" (D. M. Dunlop).
9. For whom see *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London 1982–), s.v. "Aḥmad b. Sahl b. Hāšem" (C. E. Bosworth).
10. Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAlī al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, ed. M. M. al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿA. M. al-Ḥulw, 10 vols. (Cairo, 1964–76), 8:371 no. 1268.
11. Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd Urmawī, *Laṭāʾif al-ḥikma*, ed. G. Yūsufī ([Tehran], 1340 [1961]), drawn to my attention by Louise Marlow.
12. Urmawī, *Laṭāʾif*, 277–85.
13. Urmawī, *Laṭāʾif*, 277.4.
14. Urmawī, *Laṭāʾif*, 283.3.
15. P. Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, 1994), 27, citing Hilāl, *Rusūm*, 58. Standard works on Arabic onomastics (L. Caetani and G. Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum* [Rome, 1915], vol. 1; A. Schimmel, *Islamic Names* [Edinburgh, 1989]; Sublet, *Le voile du nom*) do not discuss the namesake taboo.
16. The primary word for "taboo" is *hui*: see E. Haenisch, "Die Heiligung des Vater- und Fürstennamens in China," in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, vol. 84 (Leipzig, 1932), 3; T. Emmrich, *Tabu und Meidung im antiken China: Aspekte des Verpönten* (Bad Honnef, 1992), 3–4. Haenisch's fifteen-page treatment is a helpful introduction to these practices but misses significant primary and secondary sources: see the review by G. Haloun in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 37 (1934): cols. 576–79. See further W. Bauer, *Der chinesische Personenname* (Wiesbaden, 1959), 263–70. For a brief account in English see M. J. Künstler, "Taboo and the Development of Periphrasis in Chinese," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 49 (1995): esp. 129–31. The fundamental study is a long article in Chinese that has not been translated: Chen Yuan (Ch'en Yüan), "The Traditional Omission of Sacred and Imperial Names in Chinese Writings," *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies* 4 (1928).
17. See the anecdote from the *Kuo yü* about the taboo names of two early rulers of the state of Lu quoted in Emmrich, *Tabu und Meidung*, 24; trans. C. de Harlez as *Koue-yü: Discours des royaumes, partie II* (Louvain, 1895), 168.
18. See the list in A. Vissière, "Traité des charactères chinois que l'on évite par respect," *Journal Asiatique*, 9th ser., 18 (1901): 325–26. The ramifications of the avoidance of these characters were considerable, and are set out at length in the rest of the article.
19. Haenisch, "Heiligung," 7. Vissière observes that the Ch'ing taboos were not observed in Korea, Japan, or Vietnam and adds in a note that Vietnam had analogous taboo characters of its own ("Traité," 322).

20. Z. Ben-Dor Benite, *The Dao of Muhammad: A Cultural History of Muslims in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2005), 217; for the date see 215.

21. Haenisch, "Heiligung," 8.

22. Emmrich, *Tabu und Meidung*, 36 n. 183.

23. Haenisch, "Heiligung," 8.

24. Haenisch, "Heiligung," 9–10.

25. Emmrich, *Tabu und Meidung*, 26.

26. For an example see A. C. Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science* (Hong Kong and London, 1978), 85–87.

27. Emmrich, *Tabu und Meidung*, 36, n. 184.

28. The practice of "naming after" nevertheless existed (Bauer, *Der chinesische Personenname*, 342–50); there are even examples of sons bearing the same name as their fathers (350). For attitudes in contemporary Taiwan, which are close to non-Chinese norms, see Chao-chih Liao, *A Sociolinguistic Study of Taiwan-Chinese Personal Names, Nicknames, and English Names* (T'ai-chung, 2000), 69–70.

29. Haenisch, "Heiligung," 5–6. The taboo was, however, limited to five generations: Haenisch, "Heiligung," 7.

30. Whether his intention was in fact to name his son after George II is not known: see H. Clark, *All Cloudless Glory: The Life of George Washington*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1995–96), 1:12.

31. Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, ed. M. al-Saqqā et al., 4 vols. in 2 (Cairo, 1955), 3–4:83.7.

32. Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, ed. M. Fleischhammer (Wiesbaden, 1959), 19 no. 73; Yūsuf ibn al-Zakī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl* , ed. B. ʿA. Maʿrūf, 35 vols. (Beirut 1985–92), 24:541.7.

33. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 23 no. 100; A. Fischer, "Vergöttlichung und Tabuisierung der Namen Muḥammad's bei den Muslimen," in *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft*, ed. R. Hartmann and H. Scheel (Leipzig, 1944), 323. This study was drawn to my attention by Bernard Lewis.

34. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 47 no. 301; 54 no. 369; 56 no. 391; cf. also Fischer, "Vergöttlichung," 322.

35. There are about a dozen to be found in the index of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. S. al-Arnaʾūṭ et al., 25 vols. (Beirut 1981–88), 25:424–25). They do not appear in the first three centuries of Islam, and peak in the twelfth century AD. If we can trust the copyists, Dhahabi has one Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad, a Basran ʿAlid who died in 1165: Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 20:423.8, but cf. 424.3, where the string is reduced from five to four Muhammads. For another case of five successive Muhammads see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ed. M. S. Jād al-Ḥaqq, 5 vols. (Cairo, ca. 1966), 4:348–49 no. 4469 (an ascetic who died in 1381 or 1382). See also Caetani and Gabrieli, *Onomasticon Arabicum*, vol. 1, 67, 137, and Fischer, "Vergöttlichung," 327. Far more common, of course, is the pattern in which the grandson bears the same name as the grandfather.

36. For this story see Fischer, "Vergöttlichung," 313, and M. J. Kister, "Call Yourselves by Graceful Names..." in his *Society and Religion from Jāhiliyya to Islam* (Aldershot and Brookfield, 1990), article XII, 22–24.

37. Fischer speculates that this might express a reaction of Arab and Muslim pride against excessive Jewish and Christian influence ("Vergöttlichung," 314), and Kister suggests seeing it as a nativist reaction to foreign names, adducing another anecdote about ʿUmar that supports this interpretation: Kister, "Call Yourselves by Graceful Names," 24. In our story, however, ʿUmar also objects to the use of the name Muhammad.

38. Fischer, "Vergöttlichung," 332–37: see esp. 334 on the Moroccan *Mūḥ*, and 335–36 on the Turkish *Meḥmed*.

39. I am indebted to Joseph Witztum for assistance on this point, which I believe I owe to a conversation with Haggai Ben-Shammai many years ago. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem, 1971–72, 12: col. 809 (in the article "Names"): "Not a single rabbi is known by the name of Moses." As Patricia Crone points out to me, Christian attitudes to the name "Jesus" may have been, and may still be, in some measure analogous.

40. Maimonides (d. 1204) states that a son should not call his father by his name (*bi-shmo*) whether he is alive or dead; if others bear the same name as his father or his teacher, he alters (*mshanneh*) their names: see *Mishneh Torah* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1965–67), 1834: Shofṭim, Hilkhot mamrim, chap. 6, section 3; A. M. Hershman, trans., *The Code of Maimonides, Book Fourteen: The Book of Judges* (New Haven, 1949), 154. Maimonides adds as his own view that this does not apply to common names such as Abraham or Moses when the son is not in the presence of his father. This taboo is pre-Islamic, being found already in the Babylonian Talmud, where we read: "A scholar (*ḥakham*) alters (*mshanneh*) the name of his father and the name of his teacher": Babylonian Talmud, Vilnius 1880–86, Qiddushin 31b.42; in the Soncino translation, ed. I. Epstein (London 1935–52), Ḳiddushin, 154. I owe these references to Joseph Braude.

41. We can at least point out that the names of Sasanid kings could be written—they appear, for example, on their coins—and that Bahram I (r. 271–74) was succeeded by his son Bahram II (r. 274–93): R. N. Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1968–91), 3:127–28, 178; R. Göbl, "Sasanian Coins," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3:330–31; R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics* (New York, 1990), 22 and table XV.

42. Jāḥiẓ (attrib.), *al-Tāj fī akhlāq al-mulūk*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā (Cairo, 1914), 83–89; trans. C. Pellat as *Le livre de la couronne* (Paris, 1954), 111–13. I owe my knowledge of this passage to Andras Hamori. The author says that no king should be called by his name or teknonym, regrets that the ancient poets had done so, and affirms that none of their subjects ever acted like this to the Sasanid kings: Jāḥiẓ, *Tāj*, 83.7; the passage is cited in F. Gabrieli, "Etichetta di corte e costumi Sāsānidi nel *Kitāb Aḫlāq al-Mulūk* di al-Ǧāḥiẓ," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 11 (1926–28): 295. But he does not mention the namesake taboo. He does deal with the situation in which the visitor's name is one of the royal epithets (*ṣifāt*), like *al-saʿīd* or *al-sayyid*; if asked his name, such a visitor should avoid calling himself by it: Jāḥiẓ, *Tāj*, 87.1. For the authorship and date of this ninth-century work in the Persian tradition see G. Schoeler, "Verfasser und Titel des dem Ǧāḥiẓ zugeschriebenen sog. *Kitāb al-Tāǧ*," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 130 (1980): esp. 221, 224–25.

43. Analogous practices appear in societies where the scale of political organization is smaller. Long ago the Sanskritist F.

Max Müller discussed the well-attested case of Tahiti in his *The Science of Language*, 2 vols. (New York, 1891), 2:38–41, and added a couple of parallels, one from Cambodia and the other from southern Africa (2:42, 46–47). No doubt there are further examples to be found, but a recent book on linguistic taboos mentions only the southern African case: K. Allan and K. Burridge, *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language* (Cambridge, 2006), 128. This work was drawn to my attention by Joshua Katz.

GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU

THE DOME OF THE ROCK AS PALIMPSEST: ʿABD AL-MALIK'S GRAND NARRATIVE AND SULTAN SÜLEYMAN'S GLOSSES

In his new book on the Dome of the Rock, which has held a specially privileged place in his inspiring scholarship for more than half a century, Oleg Grabar explores a novel trajectory of inquiry: "telling what the building meant in its long history."[1] Aiming to interpret the "relationship between a building that remained more or less unchanged and a political as well as spiritual history that changed a great deal over the centuries," he observes that a striking characteristic of the Dome of the Rock was the preservation of its basic form during countless restorations, while only its surfaces were transformed and adapted to new contexts.[2] As such, the unique commemorative monument commissioned by the Marwanid caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 685–705) constitutes a veritable palimpsest, with its latest modern restorations approximating the appearance it acquired during Ottoman times, particularly after the renovations by Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66), the most prominent feature of which was the recladding of its exterior with polychromatic tile revetments (fig. 1).[3] In this tributary essay, I would like to respond to Professor Grabar's wish that his latest book attract others to explore further, within the context of the Dome of the Rock, new "details being discovered in medieval books of praises of Jerusalem, and our whole conception of Ottoman culture and ideology."[4]

These two subjects are, in fact, closely interrelated, because sixteenth-century Ottoman perceptions of the Dome of the Rock were to a large extent shaped by Arabic and Ottoman Turkish compilations modeled on earlier books on the merits of Jerusalem (*faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*), revised with new guidelines for pilgrims.[5] By interacting not only with the building itself, but also with this genre of literature (rooted in traditions as old as the late seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries), the renovations sponsored by Sultan Süleyman resuscitated some of the Dome's former associations. The spectacular building enshrining the venerated Rock constituted the focus of both ʿAbd al-Malik's and Sultan Süleyman's construction activities

at the sanctuary in Jerusalem, projects that articulated an inextricable link between state religion and dynastic politics. The Ottoman sultan's restoration campaigns, which in Grabar's words amounted to "reconsecrating an old sanctuary," involved a process of selective recovery and reinterpretation. I shall argue that this process contributed to the reemergence of a dormant substratum of local traditions and collective memories existing in a "latent state," which "may disappear and be revived under similar circumstances."[6]

Besides attempting to interpret the Dome of the Rock in light of its Ottoman glosses, I will stress its dialogical relationship with the narrative discourses of accompanying buildings in the "master plan" conceptualized by ʿAbd al-Malik for the gigantic complex (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*, *al-masjid bayt al-maqdis*) that came to be known as the Noble Sanctuary (*ḥaram al-sharīf*) in Mamluk and Ottoman times. Since several publications have traced the construction history of the Haram across a broad sweep of time, I have chosen to concentrate here on the Marwanid and Ottoman layers of its "grand narrative," without dwelling on a detailed architectural analysis of the buildings themselves.[7] After presenting in the first part of this essay my personal exegesis on the elusive meanings of ʿAbd al-Malik's Dome of the Rock, an arena of considerable debate with a longstanding venerable tradition of its own, I shall turn in the shorter, second part to the relatively unexplored terrain of Sultan Süleyman's interpretive glosses, overlaid on the building's "palimpsestous" surfaces.[8]

I. NARRATIVITY OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK WITHIN ʿABD AL-MALIK'S MASTER PLAN

The transformation of the Temple Mount into a multifocal pilgrimage complex in the course of the seventh and early eighth century paralleled both the construction of Muslim traditions articulating its holi-

Fig. 1. Dome of the Rock with upper platform of the Haram al-Sharif, view from the west. (Photo: Yossi Zamir/Corbis)

ness and the mapping of Qurʾanic references onto its components, a process in which textual and architectural narratives mutually reinforced one another. By the conclusion of the Umayyad period (661–750), the commemorative structures of the precinct had become enmeshed within a nexus of memories, bearing witness to the saturated sanctity and redemptive power of the complex and to its special place within the divine plan, extending from the creation to the end of time. As such, it offered a new paradigm of salvation, claiming to be the future locus where God would judge humankind and specially favor the adherents of Islam, the final monotheistic faith, revealed to the Prophet Muhammad as a reminder of the imminent day of reckoning—a revelation that reiterated earlier versions "distorted" by the "People of the Book" (Jews and Christians).[9] The multiple threads of this grand narrative, translated into architectural sites of witnessing, would be recast, reinterpreted, revised, and renegotiated through subsequent elaborations over the ages. Thanks to its numinous potency, bolstered by a combination of aesthetic power and resonant layers of meaning imbued with spiritual as well as temporal significance, the complex continued to flourish in spite of conquests and changes of regime (figs. 2 and 3).

The early-seventh-century architectural history of the sanctuary is veiled by mythical accounts, just as the relationship of its layout with hypothetical reconstructions of the pre-Islamic Temple Mount remains far from resolved.[10] The few written sources from this period suggest that a modest congregational mosque was commissioned along the southern wall of the precinct by the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khattab (to whom semi-mythical traditions attribute the uncovering of the Rock, which was hidden under debris) soon after the conquest of Jerusalem (ca. 638) and prior to the death of the patriarch Sophronius (ca. 639). That mosque seems to have been renovated by Muʿawiya b. Abi Sufyan, the governor of Syria-Palestine (640s) and first Umayyad caliph (r. 661–80). The pilgrim Arculf (670s) described it as a rectangular "house of prayer" that could accommodate at least 3,000 people.[11]

The initial focus of construction, then, was a spacious congregational mosque whose two commemorative mihrabs, named after the caliphs ʿUmar and Muʿawiya, are mentioned from the eleventh century onwards, in books written in praise of Jerusalem, as being located within the subsequently rebuilt Aqsa Mosque.[12] Nevertheless, the perception of the precinct as a sanctified place for seeking God's forgiveness is attested early on by the pilgrimages of several Companions of the Prophet. Moreover, the caliph ʿUthman (r. 644–56), the murdered kinsman of Muʿawiya, who adopted the slogan "Vengeance for ʿUthman" to justify his own caliphal claims against those of the Prophet's son-in-law ʿAli (r. 656–61), endowed for the people's benefit the nearby sacred Spring of Silwan. One of the early pilgrims was ʿUmar's pious son ʿAbdallah b. ʿUmar (d. ca. 692–94), who performed a pilgrimage there in 658, having reportedly regretted his presence at the Siffin arbitration during the first civil war (657–61) between the caliph ʿAli (based in Iraq) and Muʿawiya (the governor of Syria-Palestine, who was then aspiring to the caliphate).[13]

It was in Jerusalem that, prior to his declaration of war against ʿAli, Muʿawiya made a pact with ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs, whose conquest of Egypt in the summer of 658 shifted the balance of power in favor of his ally, whom the Syrians had acknowledged as caliph earlier that year. Muʿawiya's building activities at the site of the former Temple are recorded in several non-Muslim sources, which mention his restoration of its walls as well as clearing work performed on its grounds (sometime between 658 and 660) by Egyptian workers "with the help of demons," before the staging of the formal ceremony in general recognition of his caliphate that took place there in July 660.[14] Likewise, Mutahhar b. Tahir al-Maqdisi (ca. 966) states that the sanctuary in Jerusalem remained in ruins until it was rebuilt by the caliph ʿUmar and then by Muʿawiya, who took the caliphal oath of allegiance in it.[15] Muʿawiya is reported to have announced from its minbar that "what is between the two walls of this mosque (*masjid*) is dearer to God than the rest of the earth," presumably a reference to the whole praying ground of the precinct.[16] He is also said to have propagated the use of the term "land of the Gathering and Resurrection [on the Day of Judgment]" (*ard al-maḥshar wa ʾl-manshar*) with regard to Jerusalem.[17] Muʿawiya furthermore attempted to extend Jerusalem's sanctity to the entire province of Syria-Palestine (*al-shām*), the locus of his capital, Damascus, for he told emissaries from Iraq to his court that they had arrived at "the seat of the best of caliphs" and at "the holy land, the land of the Gathering and the Resurrection, and the land of the graves of the prophets." He thus established a precedent for identifying the holiness of the sanctuary in Jerusalem with cosmology, eschatology, and the legitimization of dynastic caliphal authority—themes that would further be elaborated in the expanded grand

Fig. 2. Aerial view of the Haram al-Sharif from the east, with the Holy Sepulcher in the upper left corner. (Photo: © Baron Wolman)

KEY FOR FIG. 3

GATES AND WALLS

1. (North) Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*); (south) Gate of the Divine Presence (*bāb al-sakīna*), also known as Gate of the Law Court (*bāb al-maḥkama*) after the Shari‘a Court to its south [Gate of David]
2. Gate of the Maghribis (*bāb al-maghāriba*), with Barclay's Gate under it [Gate of Remission (*bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*)]
3. Mosque of the Maghribis, with al-Fakhriyya Minaret
4. Double Gate with corridor (closed) [Gate of the Prophet (*bāb al-nabī*)]
5. Triple Gate with corridor (closed) [Gate of Repentance (*bāb al-raḥma*) and Mihrab of Mary]
6. Single Gate (closed)
7. Battlement with protruding pillar marking the place of the Sirat Bridge
8. Funeral Gate (*bāb al-janāʾiz*), also known as Gate of al-Buraq (closed)
9. Golden Gate (closed) [Gate of Mercy; a double gate known after the mid-eleventh-century walling up of the Gate of Repentance (no. 5 above) as (north) Gate of Repentance (*bāb al-tawba*) and (south) Gate of Mercy (*bāb al-raḥma*)].
10. Solomon's Throne or Footstool (*kursī sulaymān*)
11. Station (*maqām*) of al-Khidr
12. Gate of the Tribes (*bāb al-asbāṭ*)
13. Minaret near Gate of the Tribes (*bāb al-asbāṭ*)
14. Gate of Remission (*bāb al-ḥiṭṭa*) [former position at no. 2 above]
15. Gate of Darkness (*bāb al-ʿatm*), also known as Gate of the Glory of the Prophets (*bāb sharaf al-anbiyā* or *bāb al-dawādāriyya*)
16. Minaret of the Ghawanima Gate, named after the Ghanim family [Minaret of Abraham]
17. Ghawanima Gate [Gate of Abraham (*bāb al-khalīl*)]
18. Gate of the Superintendant (*bāb-al-nāzir*)
19. Iron Gate (*bāb al-ḥadīd*)
20. Gate of the Cotton Merchants (*bāb al-qaṭṭānīn*)
21. Ablution Gate (*bāb al-mathara*)
22. Minaret of the Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*)

RAISED PLATFORM

23. Southern Stairway [Station of the Prophet (*maqām al-nabī*)]
24. Stone Minbar of Burhan al-Din adjacent to the pier of the southern stairway
25. Dome of Yusuf
26. Dome of the Prophet (*qubbat al-nabī*) with Red Mihrab on its pavement; labeled Dome of Gabriel on de Vogüé's plan
27. Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-miʿrāj*)
28. Convent of Shaykh Muhammad of Hebron with underground vault enclosing a natural rock and early mihrab (*al-zāwiya al-muḥammadiyya*), also known as Mosque of the Prophet (*masjid al-nabī*)
29. Dome of al-Khidr (*qubbat al-khidr*)
30. Dome of the Spirits (*qubbat al-arwāḥ*)
31. Dome of the Rock (*qubbat al-ṣakhra*)
32. Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*)
33. Western Stairway of al-Buraq

OUTER COURTYARD

34. Fountain of Sultan Süleyman with abutting mihrab aedicule
35. Iwan of Sultan Mahmud II, also known as Dome of the Lovers of the Prophet (*qubbat al-ʿushshāq al-nabī*)
36. Dome of Solomon (*qubbat sulaymān*) [Solomon's Throne or Footstool (*kursī sulaymān*)]; labeled Throne or Footstool of Jesus on de Vogüé's plan
37. Fountain of Qaytbay
38. Fountain of Kasım Pasha
39. Dome of Moses (*qubbat mūsā*)
40. Fountain known as the Cup (*al-kāʾs*)
41. Aqsa Mosque: a. Well of the Leaf (*bīʾr al-waraqa*); b. Mihrab of Zechariah; c. Station (*maqām*) of ʿUzayr; d. Mosque of ʿUmar
42. Mihrab of David
43. Market of Understanding (*sūq al-maʿrifa*)
44. Cradle of Jesus (*mahd ʿīsā*)
45. Subterranean vaults known as Stables of Solomon
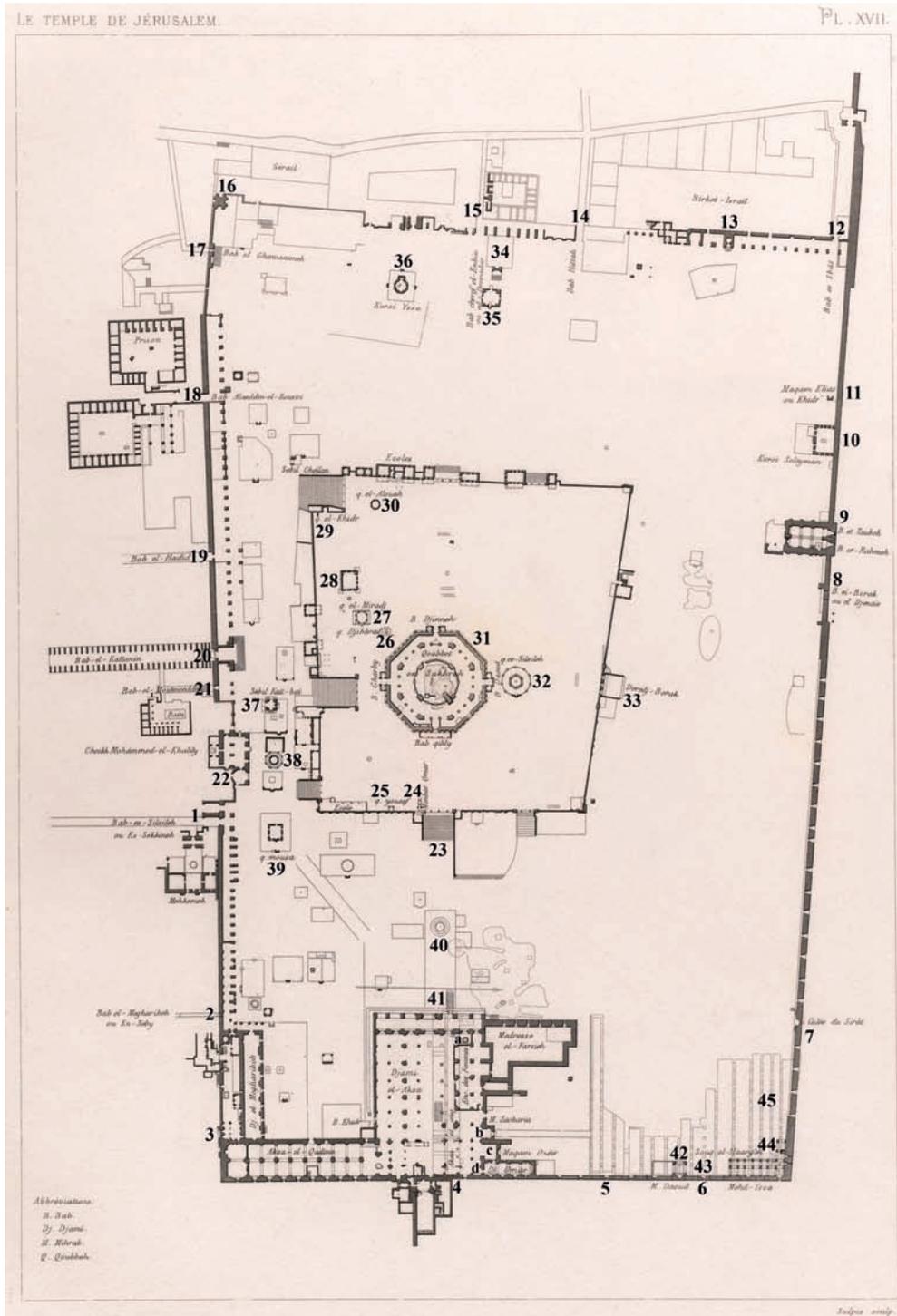
Fig. 3. Plan of the Haram al-Sharif. The added numerals correspond to the key (see opposite page), which provides nineteenth-century names and, in brackets, some of their early medieval counterparts. (After Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem, Monographie du Haram-ech-Chérif* [Paris, 1864], pl. 17: "Plan du Haram-ech-Chérif, suivant Catherwood avec les dénominations arabes")

narrative of ʿAbd al-Malik's complex. Some sources suggest that Muʿawiya's son Yazid I (r. 680–83) may also have received homage as caliph in Jerusalem, but his short-lived reign marked the beginning of a second civil war (680–92), during which the Umayyads came close to losing the caliphate, a still-fluid institution appropriated by ʿAbd al-Malik's father, Marwan I (r. 684–85), who represented another branch of the same family.[18]

According to most accounts, ʿAbd al-Malik received the oath of allegiance as caliph in Damascus in 685, but one account places the ceremony in Jerusalem, where he may have been stationed while he was his father's deputy in Palestine. If this was indeed the case, it anticipates the close attention he would devote to the city with his architectural patronage. At that time the "counter caliph," Ibn al-Zubayr, was based in Mecca, having established his headquarters in the holy sanctuary centered around the Kaʿba, which he rebuilt in 684 over its old foundations from the time of Abraham, following its damage during the siege of Yazid I's army. There Ibn al-Zubayr used to revile the vices of the Marwanid family and summon the people "to pay homage to him." The variants of an often-cited early tradition claim that ʿAbd al-Malik therefore forbade his supporters in greater Syria to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca and ordered the construction of the Dome of the Rock in order to divert their attention from the hajj, a claim to which I shall return later.[19] Scholars generally agree that ʿAbd al-Malik initiated this building project soon after his accession, while he was facing major problems during the second civil war, which came to a conclusion towards the end of the year 73 (692) with his decisive victory over Ibn al-Zubayr, who was killed in battle—a victory that confirmed the transfer of the Umayyad caliphate from the Sufyanid branch of the family (established by Muʿawiya) to the Marwanids (descendants of Marwan).

In spite of an attempt to demonstrate that the year 72 (691–92) mentioned in the foundation inscription of the Dome of the Rock marks the beginning of construction work, most studies consider this to be the completion date of the building and deem it to have been commenced while the second civil war was in progress, with the Hijaz and Iraq still in the hands of the Zubayrids.[20] After all, the repeated accusation made by ʿAbd al-Malik's opponents, claiming that he built the Dome of the Rock as a counter-Kaʿba, would have made little sense had he started its construction after his victory over the rebels in Iraq and shortly before

he regained control of Mecca. Moreover, it has been suggested that new evidence concerning his fiscal reforms in Syria and Egypt (conquered by his father from the Zubayrids) immediately after his accession weakens the objection that the Dome of the Rock could not have been built in this early period, inconducive to "financing major construction."[21] According to the chronicle of the Andalusian scholar Ibn Habib (d. 853), which quotes an early-eighth-century report discussed below, ʿAbd al-Malik "built the mosque of Jerusalem (*masjid bayt al-maqdis*) in the year 70 (689–90) and assigned for its construction the tribute tax of Egypt for seven years and built the dome (*qubba*) that is over the Rock," along with two minor domes next to it. This reference does not specify the construction date of the Dome of the Rock, which is presented as part of a wider building program that probably extended beyond the year mentioned on its foundation inscription. A thirteenth-century Mamluk historian, citing late-eighth- and early-ninth-century authors, on the other hand, states that the construction project (comprising the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque) began in 69 (688–89) and was finished in 72 (691–92), while other Mamluk sources date its inception to 66 (685–86) and its completion to 73 (692–93).[22]

Situating the building chronology of the Dome of the Rock within the context of the ideological contest between ʿAbd al-Malik and his opponents turns it into a locus for rallying support for his claims to be the rightful caliph, not unlike Ibn al-Zubayr's use of the Meccan sanctuary as his propaganda headquarters. The mosque in Jerusalem had also played a legitimizing role as a power base for Muʿawiya, as had the mosque of Kufa for his rival ʿAli. Hence, the architectural development of the sanctuary in Jerusalem as a pilgrimage complex can be framed between two civil wars, when the leaders of different branches of the Umayyad family vied for the caliphate and transformed it into a divinely sanctioned dynastic institution. We shall see that the theme of caliphal legitimacy was a major component of the grand narrative of ʿAbd al-Malik's complex, which continued to evolve during the rest of his reign and the reigns of his sons, who succeeded him as caliphs—al-Walid I (r. 705–15), who completed the Aqsa Mosque, and probably Sulayman (r. 715–17), who built a bathhouse adjoining the complex, perhaps during his governorship of Palestine.[23]

Recent studies have persuasively argued that ʿAbd al-Malik's ambitious master plan comprised not just

the Dome of the Rock but also the development of the whole precinct, which in time included the rebuilding of the Aqsa Mosque; the construction of a number of commemorative structures on the central raised platform; the renovation of the outer walls with some of their monumental gates; and the axial alignment of the complex with the city below. These buildings were complemented by massive rectangular administrative and residential structures (of uncertain chronology and function) forming an L shape along the southern and southwestern edges of the vast trapezoidal compound, and by the construction of a network of roads leading to Jerusalem and marked by milestones bearing ʿAbd al-Malik's inscriptions, some of them dated 73 (692) and 85 (704).[24] Sources differ as to whether the Aqsa Mosque was rebuilt by ʿAbd al-Malik or by his son al-Walid, but it seems almost certain that he began its construction and that his successor added the finishing touches.[25]

The Dome of the Rock was therefore not an isolated structure but part of an extensive ensemble; it constituted the focal point from which, in Grabar's words, "axes of composition radiate and visual impressions are constructed." I shall argue that the sequence of architectural units framing the Dome of the Rock conditioned not only ways of seeing and experiencing it but also the intertextual meanings it communicated in dialogue with them. The individual components of the Marwanid compound (most of which have disappeared or changed unrecognizably over time) have recently been hypothetically reconstructed and catalogued together with the medieval texts that mention them. These components, however, have not yet been interpreted as a complex interactive web. My aim here is to speculate on how they fit spatially and conceptually into ʿAbd al-Malik's grand narrative, within which the signification of the Dome of the Rock (generally treated as a self-contained unit) was embedded.[26]

The earliest surviving post-Umayyad written sources, like those from the post-Crusader period, often attribute the constellation of buildings on the Haram, including some of the minor domes around the Dome of the Rock, to ʿAbd al-Malik, only occasionally referring to the contributions of his sons. Construction activities sponsored by the Abbasids, their vassals, and the Fatimids are described in these sources as repairs or renovations of preexisting damaged structures, which were reconsecrated and extensively rebuilt by the Ayyubids following the Crusader occupation and subsequently maintained by the building campaigns of the Mamluks

and Ottomans. Had there been a major restructuring and reconceptualization of the complex in Abbasid or Fatimid times, it seems more than likely that our earliest surviving sources would have recorded the addition of commemorative monuments that considerably expanded the scope of the initial building program. It is thus reasonable to infer that a substantial core of the memorial sites enumerated in texts predating the Crusader conquest (1099) existed in the Marwanid period, although the physical structures by which they were marked, their names, and even their locations were transformed over time.[27]

GLIMPSES OF THE COMPLEX AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS IN EARLY SOURCES

Before situating the Dome of the Rock within the Marwanid grand narrative in the following section, I will reconsider some well-known geographical, historical, and literary sources, written prior to the Crusades, that provide fragmentary glimpses of the architectural components and commemorative associations of the pilgrimage complex. We shall see in the next section that most of these post-Marwanid associations, including the identification of the precinct that constituted the first qibla of Islam as the destination of the Prophet's Night Journey, were elaborations of previous traditions on the merits of Jerusalem. Many of these early traditions are recorded in the commentary on the Qurʾan by Muqatil b. Sulayman al-Balkhi (d. 767–68), indicating that they must have been circulating by the beginning of the eighth century, if not before. It was around this preexisting core of traditions formulated in Umayyad times that the elaborate webs of meaning encountered in the ninth- to eleventh-century narratives we shall consider here came to be constructed.

Among the earliest surviving sources is the aforementioned chronicle of Ibn Habib, who died in 853 in Cordoba, the capital of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain, which descended from ʿAbd al-Malik through his son Hisham. The chronicle includes a report about the construction of the sanctuary in Jerusalem by the Kufan transmitter of traditions, al-Shaʿbi (d. 721–22), whom ʿAbd al-Malik invited to Damascus and sent on several diplomatic missions. Al-Shaʿbi is quoted as saying that it was this caliph who "built the mosque of Jerusalem" and "the dome that is over the Rock," placing on the outer shell of that dome 8000 gilded-copper sheets. He adds, "...and these are the three domes

next to one another (*thalātha qibāb mutajāwirāt*): the Dome of the Rock (*qubbat al-ṣakhra*), the Dome of the Ascension [of the Prophet] (*qubbat al-miʿrāj*), and the Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*) that was [hanging] there at the time of David" (figs. 3–5). The quotation ends with a couplet composed by an earlier poet about the disappearance of divine revelation and the lifting away of generosity together with the chain (when it was withdrawn back to heaven to punish the prophet-king David's corrupt subjects).[28]

Al-Shaʿbi does not specify that each of these domes on the precinct's raised central platform was constructed by ʿAbd al-Malik, but the quotation clearly implies that they were part of the same building project. Another tradition, reported by ninth-century Palestinian hadith scholars and with a chain of transmission traceable to around 750, also ascribes to the same caliph the construction of two minor domes next to the Dome of the Rock: the Dome of the Ascension to the north (probably northwest), and the Dome of the Chain to the east, on the site where David judged the Children of Israel by means of a chain of light suspended between heaven and earth. The chain, which could distinguish those who were speaking the truth in legal disputes from those who were lying, was withdrawn to heaven when a disputant attempted to trick it. The same tradition identifies the Dome of the Chain as the place where the Prophet encountered the maidens of Paradise at the time he was miraculously transported to Jerusalem on his Night Journey (figs. 3[32] and 4).[29]

Other early sources include the descriptions of the Jerusalem sanctuary by the Abbasid geographer, Ibn al-Faqih of Hamadhan, writing in about 902–3, and by the Andalusian author, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 940), who was an official panegyrist of the Umayyad rulers of Spain. These texts provide remarkably similar lists of the structures accompanying the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. Ibn al-Faqih's account survives only in an abridged version of his multivolume geographical work; that of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih is thought to derive either from an eyewitness report or, more likely, from the longer lost version of Ibn al-Faqih's geography.

Ibn al-Faqih's description of Jerusalem starts with *faḍāʾil* traditions copied mostly from Muqatil's eighth-century Qurʾanic exegesis. This is followed by the mythical account by Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 728 or 732) of the fabulous Temple of David and Solomon, cataloguing its dimensions, contents, and lavish furnishings.[30] It seems to me that the subsequent description of the Muslim sanctuary, which merges seamlessly with the preceding section and ends with additional references to the wonders of Solomon's Temple, may also date much earlier than the compilation of Ibn al-Faqih's text. The description, which starts with the phrase "it is said that," derives from a report whose source is not identified. It may even be based on an account by Wahb b. Munabbih himself, since it includes a similar catalogue of the measurements, components, luxurious furnishings, and numerous lamps of the "mosque of Jerusalem," an appellation that refers to the pilgrimage complex as a whole.[31]

This section begins with the congregational mosque to the south, which features: a black marble slab commemorating the Prophet on the right side of the mihrab; a white stone behind the qibla identifying the Prophet as the messenger of God and Hamza (the Prophet's martyred uncle, who was regarded as one of the bravest fighters on behalf of Islam) as his helper; three private enclosures (*maqṣūra*) for women; and five minbars. One may speculate that the inscribed white stone was under the mosque's central nave, near the southern double gate, known as the Prophet's Gate, from which he was imagined to have entered the Temple Mount on his Night Journey; here, in 1047, the Persian traveler Nasir-i Khusraw saw an imprint of Hamza's shield (fig. 3[4]). Ibn al-Faqih's text then turns from the congregational mosque to the raised platform (*dukkān*) in the middle of the precinct, whose six stairways (now eight) lead up to the [Dome of] the Rock (*al-ṣakhra*), with its four symmetrical porticoed gates and a cave underneath for prayers. The description of this domed edifice (*al-qubba*), which Ibn al-Faqih attributes to ʿAbd al-Malik, is followed by a list of five additional commemorative sites on the same platform, consisting of three minor domes and two structures that may have been simpler aedicules or natural rocks marked by prayer niches: the Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*) to the east, with the prayer place (*muṣallā*) of the prophet-saint al-Khidr "in front of it" in the "middle of the mosque precinct (*masjid*)"; the Dome of the Prophet (*qubbat al-nabī*), with the nearby station (*maqām*) of Gabriel "to the north"; and the Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-miʿrāj*) "near the Rock" (probably to the northwest). Correlating these structures with the minor domes populating the platform today is not an easy exercise, since all of them, with the exception of the Dome of the Chain, were rebuilt after the Crusader
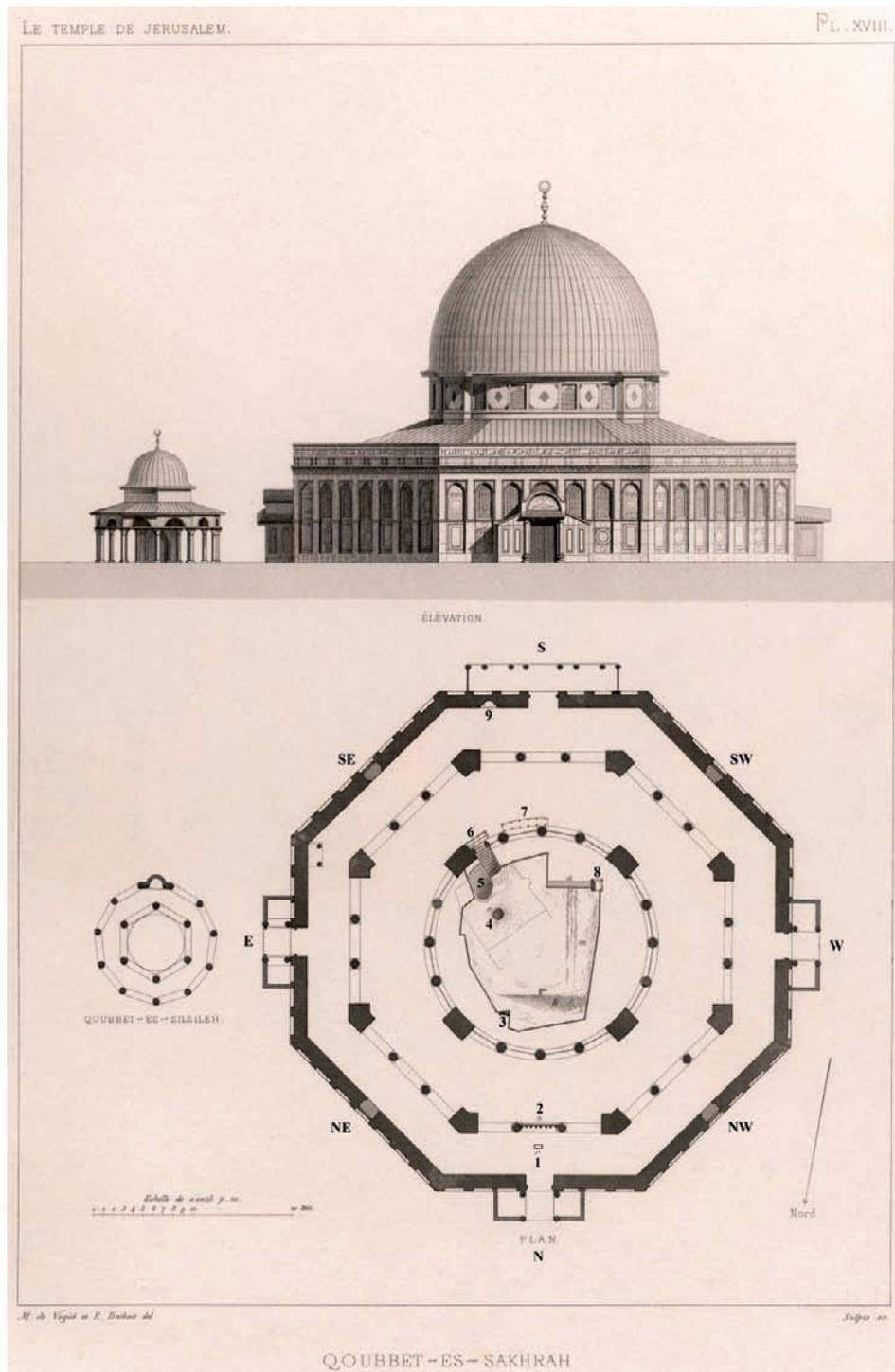
Fig. 4. Elevation-*cum*-plan of the Dome of the Rock and Dome of the Chain. 1. Black Paving Stone; 2. Marble screen with arcade of "mihrabs"; 3. Mihrab; 4. Pierced Hole of the Rock; 5. Tongue of the Rock at the inner cave entrance; 6. Gate of the Cave; 7. Tribune of Muezzins; 8. Reliquary of the Prophet's Footprint; 9. Hanafi Mihrab. (After de Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. 18, with added numerals and letters indicating directions)
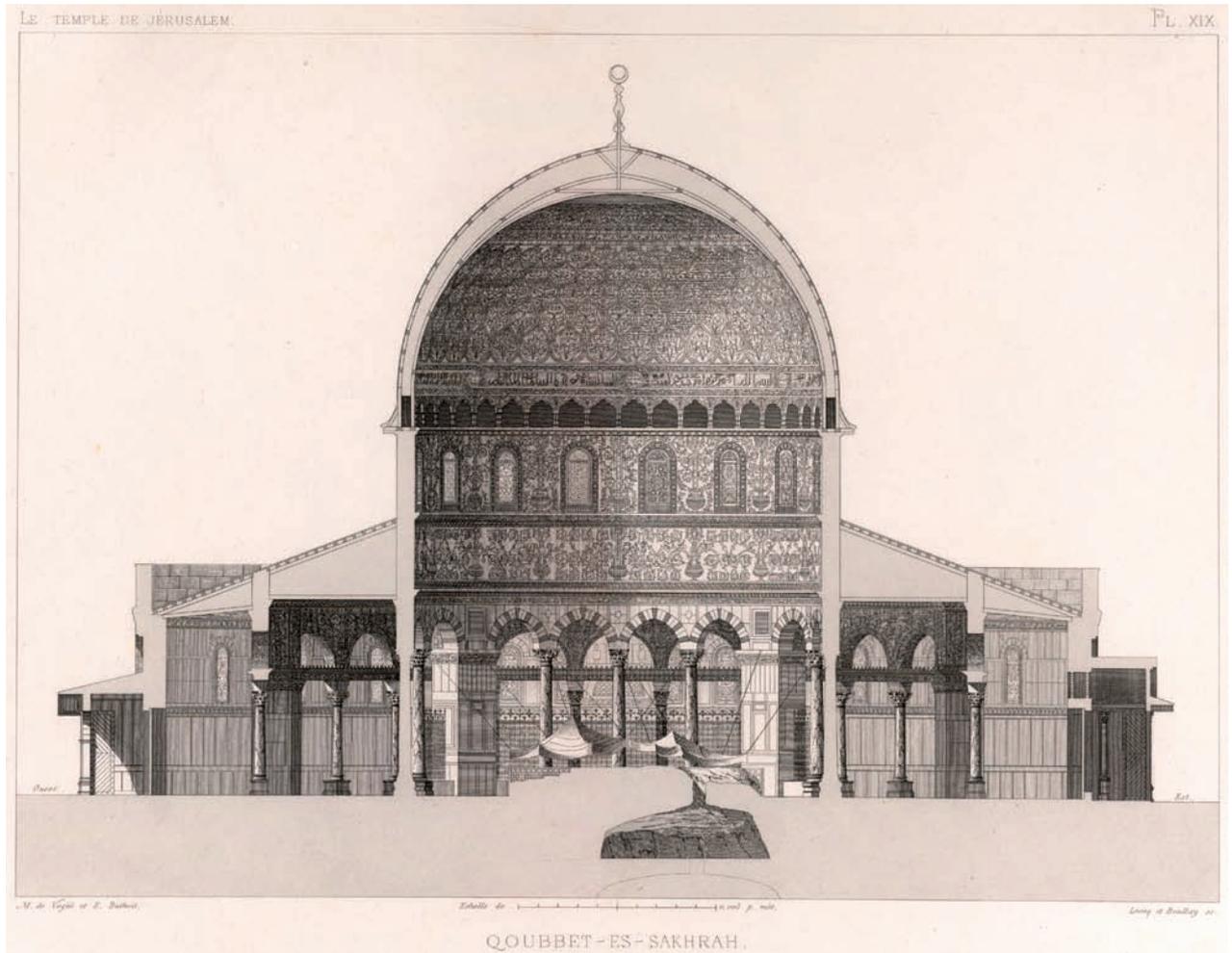
Fig. 5. West-to-east cross section of the Dome of the Rock. (After de Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem,* pl. 19)

occupation. Identifying the gates mentioned in Ibn al-Faqih's text is equally tricky, as their names changed over time or migrated to other locations, particularly after the rebuilding of the compound's earthquake-damaged southern and eastern walls by the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir (r. 1021–36).[32]

The gates are listed counterclockwise, together with nearby commemorative structures, starting at the middle of the western wall with the Gate of David (fig. 3[1]) and the Gate of Remission (*bāb ḥiṭṭa*) (fig. 3[2]). These are followed, on the southern wall, by the Gate of the Prophet (*bāb al-nabī*) (fig. 3[4]) and the Gate of Repentance (*bāb al-tawba*) (fig. 3[5]), near the Mihrab of Mary; on the eastern wall, by the Gate of the Valley (of Hell) (*bāb wādī*) and the Gate

of Mercy (*bāb al-raḥma*) (fig. 3[9]), near the Mihrab of Zechariah (the father of John the Baptist); on the northern wall, by the Gates of the Tribes (*abwāb al-asbāṭ*), near the Cave of Abraham and the Mihrab of Jacob; and, returning to the western wall, by the Gate of Umm Khalid (Khalid's Mother). Ibn al-Faqih's text thereafter enumerates the following visitation sites outside the mosque's grounds: the spot at the base of the qibla minaret (near the precinct's southwest corner) where the Prophet's steed al-Buraq was tied up; the place marking the future location of the Bridge of Sirat (*al-ṣirāṭ*), which at the end of time would extend across the Valley of Hell from the Mount of Olives in the east, where Jesus ascended to heaven; the prayer place of the caliph ʿUmar on the

same Mount; the spring of Silwan to the south of the mosque precinct; the Mihrab of David at the city's western gate; and Abraham's mosque in the neighboring town of Hebron, which held his tomb, together with those of Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Sarah, and whose imam possessed the relic of the Prophet's sandal.

Most of these sites are also mentioned, with some variations and additional details, in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's book on etiquette (*adab*), which links them with Qurʾanic verses and *faḍāʾil* traditions.[33] His chapter on the "description of the mosque of Jerusalem" begins with more precise dimensions of the mosque precinct, which are believed to have been recorded on a Marwanid inscription that was renewed in the Ayyubid period and is presently installed on the portico of the northern Gate of Darkness (*bāb al-ʿatm*).[34] His catalogue of the features and furnishings of the sanctuary is also more detailed than Ibn al-Faqih's, including references to its twenty-four cisterns, four minarets, five minbars, ten mihrabs, and fifteen minor domes, in addition to the dome over the Rock. Interestingly, most of these elements are identified as components of ʿAbd al-Malik's grand complex in a tradition attributed to one of its servants, which is recorded in Ibn al-Murajja's eleventh-century *faḍāʾil* treatise.[35]

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's next chapter, on the "signs/vestiges (*āthār*) of prophets," starts with the place where al-Buraq was tied up "under the [southwest] corner of the mosque." The gates are listed in counterclockwise order, beginning at the middle of the western wall, as in Ibn al-Faqih's account. First are the Gate of David, the Gate of Solomon, and the Gate of Remission (*bāb ḥiṭṭa*). The author links the name of this last gate with the command that God gave the Children of Israel "to say 'remission,' that is, 'there is no god but God,' but they said 'ḥinṭa [wheat],' making a jest thereof, for which may God curse them for their impiety!" This is a reference to the refusal of the Children of Israel to enter through the gate submissively and with prostrations, while asking for divine forgiveness (Qurʾan 2:58–59, 7:161–62).[36] On the south wall are the Gate of Muhammad, and the Gate of Repentance, where God granted repentance to David. On the east wall is the Gate of Mercy, which God mentioned in His book as "a gate, the inner side of which contains mercy, and whose outer side faces doom," namely, the Valley of Hell that lies to the east of Jerusalem. This is an allusion to the gated wall (identified by some exegetes as the precinct's eastern wall) that will separate believers from hypocrites on the Last Day (Qurʾan 57:13).

On the northern wall are the six gates known as the Gates of the Tribes, meaning the tribes of the Children of Israel. Again on the western wall, are listed the Gate of al-Walid, the Gate of al-Hashimi, the Gate of al-Khidr, and the Gate of the Divine Presence (*bāb al-sakīna*). The name of the last gate refers to the Ark of the Divine Presence (Qurʾan 2: 248), which had been placed there as a sign of God's sovereignty, but was subsequently taken back to heaven by the angels to punish the disobedient Children of Israel; it will return at the end of time, according to a tradition cited by Ibn al-Faqih.[37]

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih then enumerates venerated sites distributed along the walls and gates of the enclosure: on the south wall, the Mihrab of Mary, where angels brought her heavenly fruits (Qurʾan 3:37); on the east wall, the Mihrab of Zechariah, where angels relayed the good news of the birth of his son John while he stood praying therein (Qurʾan 3:39, 19:11); and on the north wall, the Mihrab of Jacob, Solomon's Throne or Footstool (*kursī*), where he used to pray to God, and the Minaret of Abraham, who used to worship there. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih mentions the same five commemorative structures on the precinct's raised central platform as Ibn al-Faqih: the dome from which the Prophet ascended to heaven; the dome where he prayed with the prophets; the dome with the chain that judged the innocence or guilt of the Children of Israel; and the prayer places (*muṣallā*) of Gabriel and al-Khidr. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih gives the following instruction to the pilgrim, the earliest surviving example of its kind: "When you enter the [Dome of] the Rock (*al-ṣakhra*), pray at its three corners/piers (*arkān*), and also pray on the slab (*al-balāṭa*), which rivals the Rock in glory, for it lies over one of the gates of Paradise." This slab, a black marble paving stone that one encountered upon entering the building from its north gate, was also recommended by Wahb b. Munabbih to a pilgrim from South Arabia as a spot where prayers were granted by God, since it lay "over one of the gates of Paradise." The paving stone was believed to have belonged to Paradise, like the Rock itself and the Black Stone of the Kaʿba; a later version of it is shown on plans from the late Ottoman period (figs. 4 [1] and 15[1]).[38]

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih includes among the merits of Jerusalem the site of the Bridge of Sirat that will extend to the Haram from (the Valley of) Hell. He points out that "on the Day of Resurrection, Paradise will be brought as a bride to Jerusalem, and the Kaʿba will

also come along with her," accompanied in a "bridal procession" by its Black Stone, whose size will grow larger than Mount Abu Qubays in Mecca—an eschatological allusion to the radical cosmological transformations expected "on that day when the earth will be changed to that which is other than the earth, and the heavens (will change as well)" (Qur'an 14:48). He adds that Jerusalem owes its distinction to the fact that God took the Prophet up to heaven from it, as He did "Jesus, the son of Mary," who, upon returning to earth, will defeat the Antichrist only in that city; moreover, Gog and Magog were forbidden by God to set foot there. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih remarks that the holy city is additionally renowned as the birth and burial place of numerous prophets and patriarchs of the Children of Israel.

The eschatological significance of the sanctuary in Jerusalem is also emphasized in an anachronistic account by the Fatimid geographer, al-Muhallabi (d. 990), which asserts that it was al-Walid I who built the mosque (al-masjid) in Jerusalem and "the dome (qubba) over the Rock." According to this account, the caliph embellished and leveled the place (al-mawḍiʿ) around the Rock and built there four other domes (qibāb): the Dome of the Ascension (qubbat al-miʿrāj), the Dome of the Scales [of Judgment] (qubbat al-mīzān), the Dome of the Chain (qubbat al-silsila), and the Dome of the Gathering (qubbat al-maḥshar). Al-Walid then allegedly told the people of Syria-Palestine, in order to dissuade them from making the Meccan pilgrimage, that the Gathering and Last Judgment would be in this place (al-mawḍiʿ) from which the Prophet ascended to heaven. Al-Muhallabi's anti-Umayyad allegation echoes the earlier claim made by the Abbasid historian al-Yaʿqubi (ca. 874) that ʿAbd al-Malik's motive for building the Dome of the Rock was to divert the hajj to Jerusalem. Forbidding the people of Syria-Palestine to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, the caliph told them that the Rock on which the Prophet "set his foot when he ascended to heaven shall be to you in the place of the Kaʿba"; thus they circumambulated the Rock until the end of Umayyad rule.[39]

A similar narrative appears in the annals of Eutychius (d. 940), the Patriarch of Alexandria, who states that ʿAbd al-Malik enlarged the mosque (al-masjid) in Jerusalem and integrated the Rock into it, ordering the people to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem instead of Mecca. Eutychius then attributes the same construction project to al-Walid, who built the mosque in Jerusalem, "placed the Rock at the center of the mosque, and built around it and covered it with marble" (banā ḥawlahā wa-rakhkhamahu)—perhaps a reference to the paving of the raised platform. He adds that al-Walid removed a gilded copper dome from the church of the Christians in Baalbek and placed it on the Rock, ordering the people to "make the pilgrimage to the Rock."[40]

As Grabar suggested years ago, the apparent confusion in the accounts of Eutychius and al-Muhallabi can be attributed to the completion of ʿAbd al-Malik's building project by his son. The text of al-Muhallabi, which clearly alludes to the construction of the Dome of the Rock as part of an ensemble, implies that the four smaller domes around it were also built by ʿAbd al-Malik. Yet it is conceivable that al-Walid may have added two minor domes next to the Dome of the Chain and the Dome of the Ascension, both of which Ibn Habib's chronicle attributes to his father. The names of these domes, designating "the Scales" and "the Gathering," bear unmistakable eschatological associations that have emerged in recent studies as a significant dimension of the Dome of the Rock's iconography. The names seem to be alternative designations for the raised platform's commemorative structures listed in previous sources discussed above, which only refer to three minor domes; the fourth dome may have been a smaller domical aedicule marking one of the prayer stations referred to in the same sources.[41] Although al-Muhallabi's confused report is to be treated with suspicion, it does indicate that the minor domes, which, according to later descriptions, consisted of ciboria resting on columns, were recognized at that time as Marwanid rather than more recent Abbasid or Fatimid constructions, probably because of their classicizing style.

If al-Walid did indeed set up above the Rock a small hemispherical ciborium on columns that was removed from the church of Baalbek, this could have been a votive offering reflecting the growing tensions with Byzantium following the conclusion of the second civil war. These tensions were already manifested when, shortly after the completion of the Dome of the Rock and his victory over the Byzantines at Sebastopolis (692), ʿAbd al-Malik attempted to remove columns from the church of Gethsamane in Jerusalem for the rebuilding of the Kaʿba.[42] Damaged during the siege of the city, the Meccan sanctuary was extensively modified with the caliph's permission in 74 (693–94) by his general al-Hajjaj, who "restored" it to the original Qurashi form established in the days of the Prophet. ʿAbd al-Malik

personally led the hajj procession to it the following year as the legitimate leader of the reunited Muslim community. I shall argue in the next section that the legacy of the Prophet was another essential ingredient of the grand narrative that linked together the disparate units of the caliph's master plan, rather than a theme that emerged only later with the "increasing Islamization" of the complex—a turning point presumed to have been marked by al-Walid's completion of the rebuilt Aqsa Mosque (ca. 715). Resonating with the apocalyptic spirit of the age, the minor domes built on the raised platform by ʿAbd al-Malik, with perhaps some additions by his successor, amplified the eschatological overtones implicit in the epigraphic program of the Dome of the Rock, and reinforced the repeated references to the Prophet in its inscriptions, to which we shall turn later.[43]

In his description of the circumstances that led to the construction of the Dome of the Rock, the Mamluk scholar Ibn Kathir (1300–73) deplores the many deceitful "signs and marks" (al-ishārāt wa al-ʿalāmāt) of the Last Day that were "represented/fashioned" (ṣawwara) on the Haram during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik in order to divert the attention of the people away from the Kaʿba. These included "representations/likenesses (ṣūrat) of the Bridge of Sirat, the Gate of Paradise [the north door of the Dome of the Rock], the footprint of the Messenger of God, the Valley of Hell, and likewise [other signs represented] at its gates and the [venerated] sites (mawāḍiʿ) there." The author laments that "the people have been led astray by this even until our time."[44] The representations attributed by Ibn Kathir to ʿAbd al-Malik's time were no doubt renewed, relocated, and reinvented. For instance, the stone with the imprint of the Prophet's foot, which in Ibn Kathir's day was displayed within a reliquary supported on columns next to the Rock's southwest corner, probably postdated the Crusader occupation, even though the Andalusian jurist Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1148) does mention the footprint on the south side of the Rock in the early 1090s, during Seljuq rule, a few years before the Crusades. That reliquary, in turn, was replaced by the pulpit-like Ottoman version still occupying the same spot (fig. 4[8]).[45]

The other representations referred to by Ibn Kathir may have included mosaic and painted images, in addition to abstract signs such as marble roundels, slabs, pillars, and inscriptions. The mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (d. 1684–85), for example, observed a now-lost painted image of

scales on the arcade of the raised platform's southern stairway, which featured mosaic revetments in Fatimid times, when it was known as the Prophet's Station (maqām). Evliya calls this arcade the "Gate of the Scales" (bābü'l-mīzān), locating it next to a stone minbar (the present pulpit of Burhan al-Din, d. 1388) adjacent to the "Dome of the Spirits" (ḳubbetü'l-ervāḥ), where he says the Prophet preached to the souls of earlier prophets (fig. 3[23, 24]). The latter seems to be identical with the "Dome of the Balance" (qubbat al-mīzān), also called the "Dome of the Secret Discourse," which the Mamluk historian al-ʿUmari situates (ca. 1345) next to the same arcade. He describes the flat mihrab that still exists on the western pier of that arcade and the two-tiered stone dome beside it. The Mamluk qadi Burhan al-Din b. Jamaʿa subsequently transformed this tiny Ayyubid domical aedicule into a minbar by adding in front of it a stone staircase, which replaced an older wooden one borne on wheels (fig. 3[24]).[46] Evliya also mentions that the site of the Bridge of Sirat was marked by a stone pillar, which still protrudes today from the outer face of the Haram's eastern wall overlooking the Valley of Hell (fig. 3[7]). He explains that this pillar was moved from its original location to a higher position on that wall when Sultan Süleyman had the walls of Jerusalem rebuilt.[47]

The critical tone of Ibn Kathir's report is compounded by his contention that such "deceitful" signs were inventions intended to attract visitors and pilgrims to Jerusalem. The author Mutahhar b. Tahir al-Maqdisi, who migrated from Jerusalem to Bust, remarks that the authenticity of eschatological traditions associated with the sanctuary was not universally accepted. Concerning the identification of the Rock as the future site of the Gathering and of God's Throne of Judgment, he writes, "I have heard somebody say that this was an apocryphal tradition of the people of Syria, and that God will resuscitate humans wherever it pleases Him." Despite ongoing skepticism, however, pilgrims from all parts of the medieval Islamic world, especially ascetics and mystics, continued to flock to Jerusalem.[48] The geographer al-Muqaddasi (ca. 985), for example, who resided in the holy city and was a cousin of Mutahhar b. Tahir, mentions the khanqah of the Karramiya at the Haram complex, as well as the assembly hall there, where the Hanafi disciples of Abu Hanifa performed the dhikr (praises of God particularly cultivated by the Sufis).[49]

Referring to the province of Syria-Palestine (al-shām) as the land of the prophets and the abode of the

righteous, al-Muqaddasi points out that it contains the "first qibla [of Islam], the place of the Night Journey and the Gathering (*al-ḥashr*), and the Holy Land." Eschatological associations are a prominent feature of several sites he mentions at the Haram, some of which are listed out of sequence in his general description of this province:[50] the Gate and Mihrab of David (probably the "eastern mihrab" in the mosque precinct, rather than the mihrab named after David on the city wall, Qur'an 38:21); Solomon's marvels (a number of them located on the site of Solomon's Temple, the foundations for which were laid by his father David); the Dome and Gate of Muhammad; the Rock of Moses (identified around 988 by Ibn Hawqal as the Rock of the sanctuary in Jerusalem); the Mihrab of Zechariah; the Aqsa Mosque; the wall that will separate those who are punished from those shown mercy on the Day of Judgment (often equated with the Haram's eastern wall, Qur'an 57:13); the Near Place (generally identified as the Rock from which the archangel Israfil will call out on the day of Resurrection, Qur'an 50:41); the Gate of Remission; the Gate of the Trumpet (the north gate of the Dome of the Rock); the Gate of the Divine Presence; the Dome of the Chain; the Station (*maqām*) of the Ka'ba (to which it will move as one of the signs of the Last Day); the Valley of Hell extending from "the northeast and southeast corners" of the mosque precinct to the Mount of Olives; the nearby plain of al-Sahira, whose "white ground unsullied by blood" will be the site of the Resurrection (Qur'an 79:14); and the Spring of Silwan, endowed for the people by the caliph 'Uthman, to which water flows underground from the Well of Zamzam on the Meccan Haram during the eve of 'Arafa (when the great pilgrimage to Mount Arafat in Mecca takes place).[51]

Al-Muqaddasi's reference to Zamzam's supplying the Silwan Spring underscores the interlinked holiness of the sanctuaries in Mecca and Jerusalem. A tradition identifies both of these water sources as the springs of Paradise, and al-Harawi, who visited Jerusalem in 1173, says that the water of the Spring of Silwan, which was like that of Zamzam, flowed out from beneath the Dome of the Rock, reappearing to the south of the city.[52] The cosmological connection between the heavens and the sanctuary in Jerusalem is also attested by the "Well of the Leaf" (*bī'r al-waraqa*), located today inside the main gate of the Aqsa Mosque. Into this well a man descended in the days of the caliph 'Umar; he emerged with a golden leaf from the Garden of Paradise, confirming the Prophet's prediction that a man from his own nation would enter Paradise alive (fig. 3[41a]).[53]

Let us now turn to al-Muqaddasi's famous description of Jerusalem itself, in which he praises his hometown as the most illustrious of all cities, since it unites the merits of "this world and the next" and will be the stage of the Resurrection and the Gathering, heralding eternal life: "Mecca and Medina derive their dignity from the Ka'ba and the Prophet, but on the Day of Resurrection they will both be conducted to Jerusalem, and their virtues will there be united." He attributes the construction of the Haram's outer wall, the foundations of which were laid by David, to 'Abd al-Malik, who, upon noting the magnificence of the dome of the Anastasis (Resurrection) at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, erected "the dome over the Rock," lest the Christian structure "dazzle the minds of the Muslims." (Al-Muqaddasi refers to the Anastasis Rotunda as *qubbat al-qumāma* or "Dome of the Dunghill," a derogatory pun alluding to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, called by the Christians *kanīsat al-qiyāma* or "Church of the Resurrection"). Al-Muqaddasi bases his interpretation of 'Abd al-Malik's reason for building the Dome of the Rock and the complex surrounding it on information he derived from his paternal uncle, whose father was a Khurasanian architect practicing in Syria-Palestine. This interpretation foregrounds a competitive aesthetic motivation that was no doubt accompanied by politico-religious concerns. The renowned geographer explains that the Aqsa Mosque once surpassed in beauty the Great Mosque of Damascus (built by al-Walid I), for it was created to rival the magnificence of the neighboring Holy Sepulcher (fig. 2). Pointing out that the congregational mosque's central mihrab was intentionally aligned with the Rock (the first qibla of Islam), he adds that the ancient portion around this mihrab remained like a "beauty mark" (*shāma*, birthmark) in the midst of the present mosque, crudely rebuilt by the Abbasids after a devastating earthquake. This Marwanid "beauty mark" was in all likelihood the "beautiful dome" (*qubba ḥasana*) of the mosque's central nave; flanked by seven naves on each side, it marked the bay in front of the main mihrab, whose walls seem to have been decorated with mosaics.[54]

In the middle of the precinct's raised platform (*dikka*) stood the octagonal Dome of the Rock (*qubbat al-ṣakhra*), surmounted by a dome sheathed with gilt brass plates, a "marvel" unrivaled in the "lands of Islam" (*al-islām*) and of the "infidels" (*al-shirk*). Al-Muqaddasi

likens this platform to the one of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, namely, the marble-paved *rawḍa* (garden) sanctified by the Prophet's hadith, "Between my grave and my minbar is a garden of the gardens of Paradise, and my minbar is the gate of the gates of Paradise." He thus draws a parallel between the paradisiacal associations of both marble-paved platforms, a counterpart of which was the *ḥijr* (semicircular enclosure) of the Kaʿba; the Prophet is said to have told his wife ʿAʾisha that the *ḥijr* was the best of all places, the closest to God, and "a garden (*rawḍa*) of Paradise," where whoever prays is pardoned by God.[55] Al-Muqaddasi only mentions four of the raised platform's six stairways described earlier by Ibn al-Faqih, namely, the ones that were axially aligned with the Dome of the Rock's four gilded gates at the cardinal points: the Qibla Gate to the south, the Gate of Israfil to the east, the Gate of the Trumpet to the north, and the Women's Gate to the west. Although the columnar arcades crowning these stairways are not described by him or by other writers prior to the late Fatimid period, some scholars have suggested that they may have been part of the original Marwanid layout, judging by the presence of several capitals matching those on the Dome of the Rock's porches and on the Dome of the Chain. That at least some of them existed when al-Muqaddasi wrote his description is revealed by an inscription in situ, which records the construction or restoration of the western stairway's arcaded colonnade (*al-maqām*) in 340 (951–52). The arcade of the southern stairway, too, seems to have been in place then, according to a dream Ahmad b. Yahya al-Bazzar al-Baghdadi had in 952 when he came from Mecca to Jerusalem, which prompted him to settle there for the rest of his life. In the dream, the Prophet and a group of his Companions moved from the Dome of the Rock (*al-ṣakhra*) to this stairway (*al-maqām al-qiblī*), where the Prophet prayed with raised hands at its central column. He reassured Ahmad that ritual prayer made in this sanctuary was equivalent to 25,000 prayers and countless mercies, while in Mecca it was tantamount to 100,000 prayers, but only 120 mercies.[56]

Al-Muqaddasi mentions the same three minor domes on the raised platform that are listed by Ibn al-Faqih and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih—the Dome of the Chain, the Dome of the Ascension, and the Dome of the Prophet—referring to them as "elegant" lead-covered domes (*qibāb liṭāf*) resting on marble columns and without any walls. After enumerating the Haram gates, he names the following "places of witnessing" (*mashāhid*) in the outer courtyard, without specifying their locations: the prayer places (*miḥrāb*) of Mary, of Zechariah, of Jacob, and of al-Khidr; the stations (*maqām*) of the Prophet and of Gabriel; the place of the Ant (presumably the Valley of the Ants, where a talking ant gave way to Solomon's army of jinns, upon which Solomon thanked God for favoring him and his family, Qurʾan 27:18–19); the place of the Fire (probably an allusion to a local tradition concerning the Last Day, when God will be enthroned on the Rock and will say, "This is My Paradise to the west and this is My Fire to the east"); the place of the Kaʿba; and that of the Bridge of Sirat.[57]

A contemporary of al-Muqaddasi, the geographer Ibn Hawqal, regards the sanctuary in Jerusalem as the largest in all the territories of Islam, comprising a grand congregational mosque, a magnificent dome over the "Rock of Moses," and many other souvenirs and venerated mihrabs associated with the prophets. The last written source we shall consider in this chronological survey is Nasir-i Khusraw's engaging description of the sanctuary. Written in 1047, more than half a century later, his Persian travelogue hints at the proliferation in the late Fatimid period of "places of witnessing," marked by prayer niches featuring related Qurʾanic inscriptions and small masjids along the borders and at the gates of the precinct. During this interval, the Haram had been extensively renovated following the earthquakes of 1015 and 1033. The collapsed cupola of the Dome of the Rock was rebuilt in 1022–23 and its drum mosaics repaired in 1027–28. The rebuilding of the Aqsa Mosque in 1034–35 brought it close to its present form, and the blocking of gates during the restoration of the precinct's eastern and southern walls shifted the main entrances of the complex to north and west.[58] The destructive earthquakes and the construction activities they triggered were accompanied by a revival of interest in early local traditions on the merits of Jerusalem, which were compiled and elaborated upon in the *faḍāʾil* books of al-Wasiti, a preacher at the Aqsa Mosque (ca. 1019), and Ibn al-Murajja, a native of Jerusalem (ca. 1130–40).[59]

As in previous texts, the components of the pilgrimage complex cited in Nasir-i Khusraw's travelogue commemorate three interrelated themes: Biblical and Qurʾanic patriarchs and prophets; the Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension to heaven; and cosmological and eschatological mysteries. Among the commemorative edifices and mihrabs of the outer courtyard, Nasir-i Khusraw mentions those of Jacob,

David, and Solomon (*kursī sulaymān*, fig. 3[36]) along the north side, and, to the northeast, one associated with Zechariah. The masjids listed by him include that of the newly built Cradle of Jesus in the precinct's southeast corner, as well as others at the Gate of the Divine Presence to the west, and the Gate of Repentance and Mercy to the east (fig. 3[44, 9]).[60] What is implied in earlier sources but emerges more clearly in Nasir-i Khusraw's eyewitness account is the localization of the Prophet's Night Journey (*isrā'*) at the Aqsa Mosque and his Ascension (*miʿrāj*) at the raised platform of the Rock. He regards the congregational mosque to the south as the spot to which God transported the Prophet by night from Mecca, and thence to heaven "as is indicated in the Qur'an" (Qur'an 17:1). The Gate of the Prophet on that side is described as the place from which Muhammad entered the precinct, for it "indeed faces the road to Mecca" (fig. 3[4]). The axially aligned southern stairway of the upper platform, with its triple columnar arcade (now quadruple) featuring gold mosaic revetments (*ba-zar va mīnā munaqqash*), is identified as the Prophet's Station (*maqām al-nabī*), which he mounted on his way to the Dome of the Rock (*qubba-i ṣakhra*) on the "night of his Ascension," for "the road to the Hijaz is indeed on that side" (fig. 3[23]).[61]

Nasir-i Khusraw explains that this marble-paved platform (*dukkān*) with six stairways had to be constructed because the Rock (*sang-i ṣakhra*), which had previously served as the qibla, was too high to be enclosed under a roof; therefore the platform incorporated the Rock as its foundation. By implication, he conceives the three minor domes on the platform as being situated on the Rock, whose summit, crowned by the Dome of the Rock, had been the "former qibla." Like his predecessors, Nasir-i Khusraw associates the Dome of the Chain, a mihrab now on its qibla side, with David's miraculous chain. He identifies the Dome of Gabriel, raised above a natural rock on top of four columns and featuring a mihrab on the walled qibla side, as the place where al-Buraq descended from heaven; in this he differs from other sources that claim that the steed was tied up outside the Prophet's Gate, near the precinct's southwest corner. The Dome of the Prophet, about twenty cubits away and also supported on four columns, is imagined by him as the spot where Muhammad mounted al-Buraq (instead of the ladder mentioned in other texts) and ascended to heaven after having prayed on the Rock.[62]

Nasir-i Khusraw ranks the "House of the Rock" (*khāna-i ṣakhra*) as the third holiest "House of God" (*khāna-i khudā*) after the sanctuaries in Medina and Mecca. Not mentioning the Prophet's footprint (to which Ibn al-ʿArabi refers about half a century later in the Seljuq period), he reports that the seven marks on the Rock's depressed southern side are said to be the footprints of Isaac, who walked on it as a child when Abraham came there (for the sacrifice). This was the Rock that Moses established as the qibla upon God's command, and around which Solomon built the mosque (*masjid*) with the Rock in its middle; it remained "the mihrab of humankind" (*miḥrāb-i khalq*) towards which the Prophet Muhammad prayed until God ordered that the qibla be the "House of the Kaʿba" (*khāna-i kaʿba*). In his explanation of the sequence of events that took place on the night of the Prophet's Ascension, Nasir-i Khusraw recounts an extraordinary miracle not mentioned in previous sources, which the later texts we shall consider below elaborate upon. He reports that the Prophet "first prayed at the Dome of the Rock"; as he then moved to the site of the dome named after him, from which he later ascended to heaven, the Rock rose up in honor of his majesty. When he put his hand on it, it froze in its place, creating the cave underneath with "half of it being still suspended (*nīma muʿallaq*) in the air."[63] It is unclear when this belief emerged, but the "suspended Rock" would continue to attract a host of supernatural associations, testifying to the coexistence of multiple unreconciled traditions with dynamic lives of their own. According to Nasir-i Khusraw, the Rock sanctified by God was the primary focus of the grand pilgrimage complex surrounding it, built upon the foundations of Solomon's Temple, yet encompassing memories of humankind that extended far back in time to the days of Abraham and culminated in the rise of Islam.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK AS NEXUS OF INTERTWINED NARRATIVE THREADS

The commemorative sites mentioned in the sources considered above mapped onto the Haram "places of witnessing" that were closely associated with traditions praising Jerusalem (*faḍā'il*), some of which were connected with Qur'anic references. Recent studies have argued that these traditions began to flourish in the second half of the seventh century and were put into writing, with later accretions, during the second half

of the eighth century, a number of them being incorporated into early-ninth-century corpuses of canonical hadith. Such traditions were sometimes transmitted by individuals serving in the Umayyad government. They were particularly popular among officially appointed preachers and storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*), who disseminated legends absorbed into Islamic beliefs from the Torah and the Hebrew Bible (*isrāʾīliyyāt*). That a large number of traditions concerning the merits of Jerusalem were already circulating in the Umayyad period is revealed by their inclusion in the earliest surviving commentary on the Qurʾan, written by the Khurasanian traditionist Muqatil b. Sulayman (d. 767–68), who lived during the construction of the Dome of the Rock and spent some time in Jerusalem, delivering lectures at the Aqsa Mosque to a lively audience.[64] According to an early report, he used to pray and teach near the south gate of the Dome of the Rock, where he declared the pavement of that building one of the "roofs of Paradise," on every inch of which a prophet prayed and an angel close to God stood. One of the traditions attributed to Muqatil likens walking on the "Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis," i.e., the paved platform enclosing it, to walking in "one of the gardens of Paradise" (*riyāḍ al-janna*).[65]

It is likely that Muqatil's Qurʾanic exegesis, which was sometimes reproached in later centuries for its anthropomorphism and reliance on Biblical elements, presents versions of stories told by the early *quṣṣāṣ*. Although the *faḍāʾil* traditions he records about Jerusalem do not represent an "official" discourse, it is noteworthy that an Umayyad governor selected him as an expert on the Qurʾan during negotiations with an anti-Umayyad revolutionary in 746. His traditions enable us to imagine the semantic horizons of early-eighth-century popular beliefs—some of them going back to the second half of the seventh century—that informed the veneration of the sanctuary in Jerusalem. Extensively transmitted by Ibn al-Faqih, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, and al-Muqaddasi (whose descriptions we have already considered), these traditions, about sixty in number, contain nearly all the narrative threads that interweave the commemorative structures of the Marwanid complex. These narratives were expanded with additional details in the more copious eleventh-century *faḍāʾil* books of al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja, works largely based on local traditions compiled by al-Ramli (d. 912–13) and other scholars, which circulated in Abbasid Syria-Palestine during the ninth century.[66]

Muqatil's commentary localizes in Bayt al-Maqdis ("Holy House," i.e., Jerusalem and its environs) past and future events chronologically extending from its creation to God's eventual return there on the Day of Judgment. The city's intervening history is presented as a continuum of revelations and miracles granted there by God to a chain of prophets, ending with the last prophet, Muhammad. Jerusalem is glorified as the birth and burial place of several pre-Islamic prophets, and as the place where they used to pray and make sacrifices to the one and only God. Abraham migrated to Jerusalem, where God gave him and Sarah the good tidings of the birth of Isaac. God ordered Moses to go to Jerusalem, where he saw the divine light. It was there that the sins of the repentant David and his son Solomon were pardoned by God, who granted Solomon wisdom and a kingdom the likes of which no other ruler would possess. Muqatil reports that the Ark of the Covenant and the Divine Presence ascended heavenward from Jerusalem, just as the chain descended there from heaven in David's time. As we have seen, the Gate of the Divine Presence and the Dome of the Chain commemorate these miraculous events. According to one of the traditions transmitted by Muqatil, happy is the one who comes to the sanctuary in Jerusalem with the intent of bowing twice in prayer, for Solomon asked his God "to forgive the sins of whosoever comes to pray there for the sake of heaven."

Other sources locate the place where Solomon was granted this wish, after having completed the Temple ordered by God, in the Haram precinct, stressing the special redemptive power of prayers performed there, which render one free of sins like a "newly born infant." A tradition cited by Ibn al-Faqih identifies that place as the Rock itself, but most sources situate it at Solomon's Throne or Footstool (*kursī*), a smaller rock under the present Dome of Solomon, which dates from the Ayyubid period (fig. 3[36]). This is one of the rocks at the northwest quadrant of the precinct, near the Cave of Abraham mentioned above by Ibn al-Faqih and marked by a minaret where, according to Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Abraham used to pray (fig. 3[16] and 6). Nasir-i Khusraw locates the same rock of Solomon, about as tall as a man, next to a "small masjid" surrounded by a wall no higher than a man, which he identifies as the Mihrab of David. We have seen that another mihrab along the qibla wall of the precinct commemorated the place where David repented and was granted forgiveness by God, a site identified by Ibn

Fig. 6. General view of the Haram al-Sharif from the northwest. (Photo: American Colony 235, ca. 1900–1905, Tassel no. 753. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

'Abd Rabbih as being near the Gate of Repentance, located to the south, in the vicinity of the Mihrab of Mary (fig. 3[5, 42]).[67]

Muqatil's commentary on the Qur'an places the following holy sites in Jerusalem: the Mihrab of David, whose wall was scaled by angels (located around 951 inside the Haram by al-Istakhri, who links it with the same verse, Qur'an 38:21); the Mihrab of Mary, where angels brought her unseasonal fruits from heaven; and the Cradle of Jesus, from which the infant miraculously spoke to defend his mother (Qur'an 3:46, 5:110, 19:29). The late Fatimid mosque (ca. 1037) at the southeast corner of the precinct, comprising the Cradle of Jesus and the mihrab of his mother, replaced the former Mihrab of Mary, which according to Abbasid-period sources was situated next to the Gate of Repentance to the south and must have also contained the cradle of her son (fig. 3[5, 44]). Muqatil stresses the eschatological identity of Jesus, who occupies a prominent position in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock. The traditions he relates attest to Jesus's being "taken up to heaven" from Jerusalem, and declare that he is destined to descend there from heaven at the end of time, when Gog and Magog shall be destroyed after gaining control of the whole world, except for Bayt al-Maqdis. The traditions that Muqatil cites about pre-Islamic prophets are accompanied by those centered on the Prophet Muhammad's association with Jerusalem: he and fellow Muslims prayed for a time facing Bayt al-Maqdis; he rode upon al-Buraq when he was

transported there by night from Mecca; he led the prophets in prayer in Jerusalem and saw there the keeper of Hell. Muqatil thus affirms that the destination of the Night Journey (believed by some to have been a celestial sanctuary) was the "Furthest Place of Prayer" (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*) in Jerusalem (Qur'an 17:1). He also quotes the Prophet's famous hadith, said to have been transmitted by the traditionist Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri (d. 742) at ʿAbd al-Malik's request, restricting the performance of pilgrimage to only three mosques: "the Holy Mosque (Mecca), this mosque of mine (Medina), and the Furthest Mosque, that is the Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis."[68]

Many of the traditions recorded by Muqatil stress cosmological and eschatological themes we have already encountered in connection with the Jerusalem sanctuary. He cites the Prophet's hadith that the first piece of earth on land that dried is the "Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis," which is closer to the heavens than any other place and is connected to the rock "mentioned by God in the Qur'an." Moreover, the first land blessed by God is Jerusalem, towards which He glances daily and to which angels descend every night. The Rock, from which all sweet water springs forth, is identified by Muqatil as the "center of the entire world," while Jerusalem is envisioned as an extension of the heavenly geography of Paradise, located directly above. According to Muqatil's exegesis, on the Day of Resurrection God will place His seat (*maqām*) upon the land of Bayt al-Maqdis, to which He referred in His saying, "unto the land that We blessed for all beings" (Qur'an 21:71); a tradition copied by al-Wasiti specifies that God meant by this verse the Rock in Jerusalem, from which all sweet water originates. The herald Israfil is destined to sound the trumpet over the Rock, which is the closest spot to the heavens and at the center of the world, calling out to the dead, "Go forth to stand for judgment before your Lord, who will breathe into you the breath of life and reward you for your deeds!" (Qur'an 17:52, 50:41). The Gathering of the Dead and the Resurrection will take place in Jerusalem, to which God will descend with the angels "under a canopy of clouds" (Qur'an 2:210). At that time Paradise will be led there "like a bride," and the sanctuary in Mecca with its Black Stone will be brought there in bridal procession as well, since on the Last Day the only pilgrimage will be to Jerusalem. The Scales of Judgment (*al-mawāzīn*) and the Bridge of Sirat will be set up there, and human beings will be divided, with some going to Paradise and others to

Hell, in accordance with the words of God concerning this mustering and accounting: "That day they shall be divided" and "On that day they shall be sundered apart" (Qur'an 30:14, 43).[69]

More elaborate versions of these cosmological and eschatological traditions, which were collected in Ibn al-Faqih's geography and in the later *faḍā'il* books of al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja, specifically identify the Rock as the place from which God ascended to heaven after the creation, and as the future site of His Throne (*ʿarsh*) of Judgment.[70] Some of the traditions are formulated as utterances directed by God to the Rock, which can speak with its projecting "tongue" (*lisān al-ṣakhra*, one of the visitation sites at the entrance of the cave, fig. 4[5]) and, like the talking Black Stone of the Kaʿba, will testify on behalf of pilgrims at the end of time.[71] In one such example, God indicates the appointed sites of the signs of the Last Day to the Rock before ascending to heaven, saying, "This is My Station (*maqām*) and the place of My Throne (*mawḍiʿ ʿarsh*) on the Day of Resurrection, and the place of the Gathering of My servants, and this to the right (west) is the place of My Paradise, and this to the left (east) is the place of My Fire, and in front of it shall I set up My Scales, for I am God, the Judge on the Day of Judgment!"[72] In two versions of another divine utterance, God declares to the Rock that with His own hand He will place over it a "dome" (*qubba*) or "dome of light" (*qubba min nūr*) on the Day of Resurrection; it will be a resplendent dome that nobody may enter but only gaze at from afar, and everyone who has previously performed even two prostrations at the Rock will be considered blessed at that time. It is tempting to interpret the Dome of the Rock as the precursor of this eschatological dome, which will presumably replace it on the Last Day, when the Rock is transformed into a huge "white coral" (*marjān bayḍā*), as wide as the heavens and the earth, just as the signs of the Hour marked on the precinct will be replaced by their authentic versions.[73]

Some scholars have argued that traditions in praise of Jerusalem were the direct consequence of the great building enterprise of ʿAbd al-Malik and his sons.[74] Others contend that it was precisely because a vibrant core of these traditions was alive and current among the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine that the caliph developed the sanctuary in Jerusalem into a pilgrimage center.[75] It seems to me that both phenomena must have coexisted in the ongoing sacralization of the already hallowed precinct, which no doubt gained momentum

with the building of the Dome of the Rock and the complex around it. The site's aura of sanctity was constructed by reinterpreting its pre-Islamic memories, onto which were grafted an exegetical overlay of allusions to the Qur'an, the "new covenant" of God's selected subjects, chosen to replace the sinful Children of Israel, whose disobedience of divine commands is highlighted by narratives associated with several components of the Haram complex that we have considered above (e.g., the Gate of Remission, the Dome of the Chain, and the Gate of the Divine Presence). Traditions concerning 'Umar's real or imagined "discovery" of the Rock hidden under garbage dumped on it by the Empress Helena during the construction of the Holy Sepulcher, on the other hand, predict the divine punishment to be visited upon the Byzantines for destroying God's Temple, namely, the impending fall of Constantinople to the Muslims. Paralleling the Islamization of the pagan sanctuary of idols in Mecca (originally a monotheistic shrine built by Abraham and Ishmael at God's command), the creation of the Muslim pilgrimage complex on Jerusalem's former Temple Mount, which once served as the Prophet's qibla, involved the embracing of some old memories and the negation of others. This process of resanctification underscored Islam's position as heir to previous Abrahamic monotheistic faiths, while at the same time asserting its supremacy as the last divine revelation. It is comparable to the merging of Old and New Testament traditions on the sacred topography of the Holy Sepulcher complex in order to stress the continuity of Christianity with the superseded Hebraic past. In both cases, the selective appropriation of collective memories associated with the Temple Mount was complemented by the superimposition of new beliefs, rewritten into transformed narratives and ritually experienced as a succession of relocated "sites of witnessing."[76]

While the Dome of the Rock initially had more to do with intra-Muslim religio-political rivalries, it simultaneously embodied an inter-monotheistic competition that is implicit in its inscriptions, which proclaim Islam as the "religion of truth."[77] The reactivation of the aura of the abandoned Temple Mount dramatically "recentered" Jerusalem around the venerated Rock, considered by some traditions as the navel of the earth (*omphalos*), which alternative traditions had already located at the Holy Sepulcher and the Ka'ba. The late antique central plan of the Dome of the Rock, which marked the Rock architecturally with a circle

surrounded by two octagons, therefore set up a double-edged dialogue with both of these sanctuaries.[78] Abd al-Malik's desire to surpass the Holy Sepulcher in architectural splendor (noted in al-Muqaddasi's retrospective account discussed above), was not only triggered by an ambition to divert the attention of Muslims from its seductive and dazzling beauty, but also by an aspiration to affirm the prestige of Islam in the heart of Jerusalem, a city with a predominantly Christian population. Sources critical of 'Abd al-Malik's building project claimed that he intended to divert his subjects' attention from the Ka'ba with the unrivaled beauty of the Dome of the Rock, "which greatly bewitched" them, so that "they did not go [to Mecca] at the time of the hajj or at any other time, but to Jerusalem."[79] Ibn al-Zubayr is said to have accused his rival of having "transferred the circumambulation (*tawāf*) from the House of God (the Ka'ba) to the qibla of the Children of Israel"; a descendant of one of his supporters criticized the Muslims of Syria-Palestine, who "would stand by the Rock and circumambulate it as they used to circumambulate the Ka'ba and slaughter beasts there on the day of the feast."[80]

Such denunciations of the Dome of the Rock as a counter-Ka'ba have long been identified as polemical propaganda originating with the opponents of the Marwanids, but recent studies contend that it is difficult to dismiss them as complete fiction.[81] 'Abd al-Malik may well have prohibited the hajj to Mecca as a temporary wartime measure, a special circumstance that would have justified his attempt at that time to divert the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[82] The confident architectural grandeur of the Dome of the Rock, however, gestures at an anticipation of final victory and a broader vision transcending the specific circumstances of the second civil war. After the conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr was resolved and the Ka'ba restored to its "original" form, the rivalry with Mecca was largely reconciled. The sanctuary in Jerusalem thereafter continued to function as an alternative regional pilgrimage center, with some of its rituals echoing those of the hajj.[83] Yet an ambivalent attitude towards the Rock lingered, as can be deduced from several traditions dating to late Umayyad or Abbasid times. One of them, transmitted by the scholar Raja' b. Haywa (d. 730), to whose supervision 'Abd al-Malik entrusted the construction of the Dome of the Rock, reports that the caliph 'Umar I refused the advice of the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Ahbar (d. 650s) to build a congregational mosque on the north side of the Rock, accusing him of adhering to

Jewish practices. Contrary to Kaʿb's advice, the pious caliph chose the south wall of the precinct, saying, "The Messenger of God made the front part of our mosques the qibla…we were not commanded to venerate the Rock, but to venerate the Kaʿba."[84] Another tradition asserts that ʿUmar I performed only a few prostrations at the Aqsa Mosque and then "set out again on his travels without visiting the Rock."[85] Likewise, the celebrated Syrian scholar al-Awzaʿi (d. 774) prayed with his back to the Rock, without frequenting any of the pilgrimage places (al-mawāṭin), in imitation of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (the Marwanid caliph ʿUmar II, r. 717–20).[86]

These traditions reflect the controversy surrounding the popular veneration of commemorative sites, especially the Rock, which may have gained currency during the austere caliphate of ʿUmar II, the nephew of ʿAbd al-Malik, who chose his namesake as a role model. The anti-Umayyad propaganda of the Abbasid regime (established in 750) accelerated the official downplaying of the sanctity of Jerusalem, which came to rank a definitive third, after Mecca and Medina, upon the demise of the Marwanid caliphate. Nevertheless, some of its rituals recalling those of the Meccan pilgrimage had an afterlife in the Fatimid period: Nasir-i Khusraw reports that inhabitants of Syria-Palestine who were unable to go to Mecca performed the requisite hajj rituals there and offered sacrifices on the customary holiday, their numbers reaching more than 20,000 in certain years.[87] Such popular rituals persisted during Mamluk and Ottoman times as well, when they were periodically censured as reprehensible innovations.[88]

I find it hardly likely that ʿAbd al-Malik intended to repudiate the centrality of the Kaʿba within the religious landscape of Islam, a centrality affirmed by its appointment in the Qurʾan as the new qibla of the Muslims. This would have seriously undermined his caliphal claims, and the deliberate axial alignment of the Dome of the Rock with the main mihrab of the rebuilt Aqsa Mosque contradicts such an intention. The aligning of the old and new qiblas of Islam in this scheme, punctuated by the Black Paving Stone, was legitimized by a tradition cited in the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Ishaq (d. 767) (fig. 4[1]). It states that the Prophet's qibla had been Jerusalem from the very beginning (rather than being adopted under Jewish influence upon his migration to Medina): while praying in Mecca he would stand opposite the southeastern wall of the Kaʿba, which he aligned between himself and Jerusalem.[89] The popular tradi-

tions discussed above stress the interconnectedness of the sanctuaries in Mecca and Jerusalem, which were both associated with God Himself, unlike their counterpart in Medina named after the Prophet. (Note, for example, how the Well of Zamzam was said to supply the Silwan Spring, as well as the parallels between the Black Stone and the Rock). The joint sacredness of these two sanctuaries, which are to be conjoined as bride and bridegroom at the end of time, is also attested by their shared association with Abraham and with the Prophet's Night Journey from the former to the latter, and then back again.[90]

In my view, it was through this connectivity, already embedded in the collective memories of the community of believers in Syria-Palestine, that ʿAbd al-Malik justified the transfer of some rituals from the Meccan sanctuary to Jerusalem, without challenging the former's supremacy.[91] By creating an alternative pilgrimage center within close reach of his capital in Damascus, which would supplement rather than supplant the Kaʿba, he augmented the sanctity that spread from Jerusalem throughout his power base in greater Syria, thereby bolstering the prestige of the Marwanid caliphate. This interpretation finds support in a famous verse by the poet al-Farazdaq (d. 728 or 730), which refers to the twin sanctuaries in Mecca and Jerusalem in hierarchical order, as a complementary pair articulating the preeminence of the Marwanid caliphs, who possessed them both: "We are the lords of two [Sacred] Houses, the House of God (bayt allāh) [in Mecca] and the Exalted House (bayt musharraf) that dominates Aelia [Jerusalem]."[92] A statement by the Hanafi jurist al-Shaybani (d. 805) also captures the legitimizing role the Marwanids attached to possessing both of these sanctuaries, which ranked above that of Medina, the city from which their family had been expelled in 683: "No one was counted among the caliphs but him who ruled over the two mosques (al-masjidayn), the mosque of the Haram (Mecca) and the mosque of the Holy House (Bayt al-Maqdis).[93]

Speculations on ʿAbd al-Malik's reasons for building the Dome of the Rock have been and will remain a source of controversy because there is no clear or uncontested statement about his intentions.[94] The pious caliph, who in his youth had distinguished himself as one of the foremost religious scholars of Medina, was a leading authority on the sacred law and on matters of dogma. He is reported to have scrupulously consulted his provincial deputies and those of sound opinion before implementing his construction project,

as did Ibn al-Zubayr for the rebuilding of the Kaʿba. According to a well-known tradition, ʿAbd al-Malik asked his consultants to write their views about his plan "to build a dome (*qubba*) over the Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis, in order to shelter the Muslims from cold and heat, and to construct the mosque (*masjid,* i.e., the whole precinct)." Although his critics claimed that he did so out of fear of being vilified by Ibn al-Zubayr, it seems likely to me that he deliberately publicized his building campaign as a means to rally support for his dynastic caliphate. In fact, in their approving responses, ʿAbd al-Malik's deputies prayed God to accept the construction of the "house [or sanctuary] (*bayt*) and mosque (*masjid*)" as a good deed for the "commander of the believers and his ancestors." Upon obtaining their consent, the caliph delegated the supervision of the project to his financial adviser, Rajaʾ b. Haywa (a counselor at the court of several Marwanid caliphs), and to his freedman, Yazid b. Salam, and personally traveled from Damascus to Jerusalem to oversee the initial stage of construction. This stage included the building of a "treasury" (*bayt al-māl*) to the east of the Rock, which ʿAbd al-Malik filled with money to finance the project. When the supervisors completed the "Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque," they wrote the caliph a letter, assuring him that "there is nothing in the building that leaves room for criticism." The unspent gold coins were then melted down to gild the dome's exterior, which dazzled the eyes of onlookers.[95] The defensive remark of the supervisors anticipates resistance, and the reduction of the Dome of the Rock to a mere shelter against weather changes has been interpreted as "a later meddling," reflecting an attempt to minimize the Rock's sanctity. Nevertheless, the report does imply the currency of a preexisting cult of the Rock, which had remained exposed since the days of ʿUmar.[96]

This is also suggested by early traditions on the merits of Jerusalem that vividly capture the popular veneration of the Rock, whose multilayered associations were given "shelter" by ʿAbd al-Malik's splendid dome, regardless of his personal convictions and motivations. Some of these traditions explicitly link the caliph with eschatological and apocalyptic themes. According to one, ʿAbd al-Malik inquires about traditions concerning Jerusalem and is informed by the nephew of the Jewish convert Kaʿb al-Ahbar that in the Holy Book (Torah) God said to Jerusalem, "There are within you six merits (*khiṣāl*): My Place/Station (*maqām*), My Judgment (*ḥisāb*), My Gathering (*maḥshar*), My Paradise (*janna*), My Fire (*nār*), and My Scales (*mīzān*)."[97] An often-quoted statement ascribed to Kaʿb himself (who died in the 650s) makes another reference to ʿAbd al-Malik long before he became caliph: "It is written in one of the Holy Books: *Ārūshalāyim*, which is Bayt al-Maqdis, and the Rock (*al-ṣakhra*), which is called the Temple (*al-haykal*); I will send to you My servant ʿAbd al-Malik, who will build you and adorn you, and I shall restore Bayt al-Maqdis to its former sovereignty (*al-mulk*) and I shall crown it with gold and silver and pearls [or corals] (*al-marjān*) and I shall send to you My creatures (*khalq*) [for the Resurrection] and I shall place My Throne on the Rock, for I am the Lord God (*Allāh al-rabb*), and David is the king of the Children of Israel." This extraordinary divine utterance resonates with early Islamic apocalyptic traditions that identify the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its sanctuary as one of the "signs of the Hour" that will usher in the destruction of Medina and the fall of Constantinople.[98] It declares on the basis of pre-Islamic scriptures that ʿAbd al-Malik is predestined to build a new Muslim sanctuary on the site of the former Temple centered on the Rock, a prophecy indicating that his divinely preordained rule will restore the messianic kingdom of the House of David on the eve of the Last Days. His building project is thus represented as fulfilling not only God's vision for the end of time, but also Judeo-Christian and Muslim messianic expectations.[99]

Several Jewish apocalypses regard the "restoration" of the Temple under ʿUmar, Muʿawiya, and ʿAbd al-Malik as a prelude to the promised messianic kingdom of the "son of David." By contrast, seventh-century Christian texts interpret these building activities as harbingers of the apocalyptic prophecy concerning "the Abomination of Desolation" (i.e., the Antichrist) that will appear at the Temple Mount prior to the Second Coming of Christ, the Davidic Messiah, whose return to earth is also awaited by the Muslims. The monk Anastasius of Sinai, writing during the construction of the Dome of the Rock (thirty years after witnessing, in Muaʿwiya's time, the clearing of the Temple Mount by Egyptian workers collaborating with "demons"), therefore rejects the opinion of those who claim that "what is now being built in Jerusalem is the Temple of God," which is surely a false claim, since Christ prophesied the eternal abandonment of that cursed site after the destruction of the Jewish Temple by Titus. This suggests that some Christians may have perceived ʿAbd al-Malik's construction of a new "Temple of God" on

that site as a profanation and a veritable sign of apocalyptic times.[100]

On the basis of such texts, some scholars have argued that ʿAbd al-Malik created the Dome of the Rock with the intention of "restoring the Temple." According to this argument, Islamic layers of signification were grafted onto the sanctuary only after al-Walid's completion of the Aqsa Mosque, which triggered a shift from "political" to "religious" meanings, or even later, when its association with the Temple became irrelevant.[101] Traditions in praise of Jerusalem do link the prestige of the new sanctuary with the glorious memories of the former Temple, commanded of David by God and completed by Solomon, just as they denounce its desecration by the Byzantine empress Helena, who transformed it into a "garbage dump." The Temple of Solomon, however, is hardly even mentioned in the inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. As we have seen, the Solomonic theme is one of several threads woven into the grand narrative of the Marwanid complex, the commemorative sites of which combined references to a chain of prophets with allusions to cosmological and eschatological themes. This line of prophets, complementing other pre-Islamic prophets affiliated with the Meccan sanctuary (whose more particularistic scope was largely confined to the Arabian sphere), culminates in the Prophet Muhammad, who inherited their legacy of upholding the true religion of God while at the same time proclaiming the universality of Islam as the final stage of successive prophetic revelations.

The renowned local historian of Mamluk Jerusalem, Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaymi al-Hanbali (d. 1522), implicitly links ʿAbd al-Malik's decision to build the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque in 66 (685–86), soon after his investiture as caliph, with his promise to his subjects at that time "to revive the Book and the Sunna, and to establish Justice." This retrospective portrayal of the patron as a restorer of religion and justice accords well with ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphal self-image as a champion of Islam, which was being threatened by civil war, Byzantine incursions, sectarian factionalism, and even false claimants to prophethood.[102] Celebrating the caliph's defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr, the panegyrics of al-Farazdaq narrated how "the religion of God was made victorious through the Marwanids" and referred to ʿAbd al-Malik as God's agent through whom "His flock" was guided and "blind civil war" was eliminated. Elsewhere, the poet exalts the caliph as the imam to whom the believers turn:

"You are to this religion like the direction of prayer, by which people are guided from going astray." ʿAbd al-Malik is hailed as the one chosen to bring the people back to the "holy covenant" (bayʿat allāh), build mosques, conquer Byzantium, and dispel conceptual darkness. The Christian poet al-Akhtal (d. ca. 710) eulogizes the caliph in similar terms as the executor of divine victory and justice, the source of rain, and the light of guidance that illumines the land and prevents the righteous from going astray.[103]

It is in this light that I will attempt to interpret ʿAbd al-Malik's building project in the remaining part of this section. The grand narrative of the complex, organized around the focal point of the Dome of the Rock, can be read as an architectural commentary on the hierarchical chain of authority emanating from the one God to a series of prophets, culminating in the Prophet Muhammad, and to divinely appointed, just rulers like the prophet-kings David and Solomon, whose successor is the caliph himself. In my reading of this narrative, human agents have been selected to implement the providential design for the salvation of humankind in this world and the next, which will climax with the confirmation of God's oneness and absolute sovereignty on the Day of Judgment, when He will be enthroned on the Rock as the final judge. Supreme kingship is an essential element of cosmology and eschatology in the previously cited divine utterances addressed to the Rock, which affirm that the ultimate proof of God's absolute dominion, already demonstrated by His creative act, will be revealed on the Last Day, as declared by the Qurʾan: "His will be the Sovereignty (al-mulk)" on that day, when eight angels will "uphold the Throne of their Lord," with a host of angels flanking its sides in the manner of an imperial court (Qurʾan 6:73, 22:56, 69:17).[104]

The narrative dimension of the pilgrimage complex was activated by its performative rituals. Sources mention the visitation of venerated places (al-mawāḍiʿ, al-mawāṭin) at the sanctuary during the Marwanid period, but it is unclear whether there was a prescribed itinerary that enhanced its narrativity.[105] Recent studies have extensively analyzed the faḍāʾil book of Ibn al-Murajja, which outlines such an itinerary for the first time, accompanied by recommended invocations and prayers reflecting ritual practices current in the Fatimid era.[106] Although some of the Marwanid rituals described in texts had been discontinued by then, this prayer route was conditioned by the initial layout of the complex, which preserved its main out-

lines. It is therefore worthwhile to summarize Ibn al-Murajja's instructions to pilgrims (which would be transformed by new elaborations in Ottoman *faḍā'il* treatises, discussed below) before turning in the next section to ʿAbd al-Malik's inscriptions and mosaics at the Dome of the Rock.

Much like the list of sites enumerated by Ibn al-Faqih and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih a century and a half earlier, Ibn al-Murajja's itinerary delineates a counterclockwise circuit around the precinct, starting at the west with the Gate of David, whose name is not specified (fig. 3[1]). The first monument on the route is the Dome of the Rock, followed by its companions on the raised platform, and then by prayer stations along the outer borders of the walled enclosure. Upon entering the Dome of the Rock, the pilgrim is instructed to proceed in a clockwise direction, keeping the Rock on the right side and moving in a direction opposite that prescribed for the circumambulation of the Kaʿba. The following venerated spots are listed within the building without specifying their location or signification: "the place (*al-mawḍiʿ*) in which people pray," where one should touch but not kiss the Rock; the Black Paving Stone; and the cave underneath. The next site to be visited is the Prophet's Station (*maqām al-nabī*), which is discussed under a separate subheading. It may have been located either inside the Dome of the Rock—perhaps marking the place where, according to Nasir-i Khusraw, the Prophet prayed before his Ascension—or by the raised platform's southern stairway, identified by the same traveler as *maqām al-nabī* (fig. 3[23]).[107]

The prayer route then moves to the three minor domes on that platform, each listed under its own subheading: the Dome of the Chain, followed by the Gate of Israfil (the east gate of the Dome of the Rock); the Dome of the Ascension (to the west or northwest), from which the Prophet ascended to heaven with Gabriel on a gold and silver ladder; and the Dome of the Prophet (to the north), where Gabriel gathered the angels and former prophets "resurrected (*ḥashar*) by God," whom the Prophet led in ritual prayer prior to his Ascension.[108] The two domes associated with the Prophet recall the ones described earlier by Ibn al-Faqih, namely, the Dome of the Prophet next to the station (*maqām*) of Gabriel "to the north" (probably identical with al-Muhallabi's Dome of the Gathering, *qubbat al-maḥshar*), and the Dome of the Ascension "near the Rock."

The itinerary proceeds from the raised platform to the Gate of Mercy on the eastern wall (fig. 3[9]),

continuing in a counterclockwise direction with sites along the outer courtyard's periphery: in the northeast, the Mihrab of Zechariah; in the north, "the rocks in the back part of the mosque," where the pilgrim is advised to pray at the Throne of Solomon while facing the qibla (fig. 3[36]); in the west, the Gate of the Divine Presence and the Gate of Remission (fig. 3[2]); and in the south, the congregational mosque, where one should pray at the mihrabs of ʿUmar and Muʿawiya, as well as other mihrabs; the Gate of the Prophet, from which he entered the precinct with Gabriel (fig. 3[4]); and the Mihrab of Mary, accompanied by the Cradle of Jesus. At this last site the pilgrim is advised to recite the Sura of Mary (Qurʾan 19); the prayer Jesus made when he was raised to heaven from the Mount of Olives (a paraphrase of Qurʾan 112:1–4, testifying that God did not beget a son, nor was He begotten); and Sura *Ṣād* (Qurʾan 38), as the caliph ʿUmar I did when he prayed at the Mihrab of David (fig. 3[42]). This implies that the mihrabs of David and Mary must have been close to each other before the construction (ca. 1037) of the late Fatimid mosque known as the Cradle of Jesus (fig. 3[44]). The prayer circuit turns from the nearby southern Gate of Repentance (fig. 3[5]) to stations outside the sanctuary, namely, the place where Gabriel tied up al-Buraq; the plain of al-Sahira on the Mount of Olives, where one should repeat the prayer of Jesus; and the Mihrab of David at the city gate (citadel), where Sura *Ṣād* must be recited again, together with David's prayer from the Psalms.

We do not know when the clockwise circumambulation of the Rock, which has been interpreted as a provision marking the difference between the holiness of Mecca and that of Jerusalem, was initiated. During the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, the Dome of the Rock is reported to have been opened to the public for ritual prayer (involving two to four prostrations) only twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, prior to which attendants applied a perfumed ointment called *khalūq* to the Rock and processed around it, burning incense, inside closed curtains.[109] Some scholars regard these rituals as echoes of ceremonies held at the Jewish Temple, which they presume ʿAbd al-Malik intended to restore, but they overlook the striking parallels with the sanctuary in Mecca: Muʿawiya is said to have been the first to perfume with *khalūq* the Kaʿba, whose door was opened on Mondays and Thursdays by the Quraysh during the Prophet's life-

time. (Muʿawiya's tomb in Damascus was likewise accessible to the public on these two days).[110]

The itinerary outlined in Ibn al-Murajja's treatise was informed by the Marwanid master plan, which largely relegated the memorial sites of the pre-Islamic past to the outer margins and gates of the precinct and had the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque occupying the central qibla axis, along which stood the Prophet's Gate, thought to have been renovated by ʿAbd al-Malik. Several traditions report that upon entering the Temple Mount from this gate ʿUmar recognized it to be the place described by the Prophet as the destination of his Night Journey.[111] Al-Muqaddasi gives two reasons for the curiously unbuilt state of the precinct's eastern side, one of them being the scrupulous observance of the Muslim qibla: the congregational mosque's central mihrab would not have been on the same axis as the Rock had its walls been extended further east, a circumstance that was repugnant to the Umayyads (presumably because they wanted to align the first and second qiblas). The other reason is that the caliph ʿUmar reportedly said, "Reserve in the eastern part of the *masjid* a place of prayer for the Muslims"—a tradition that hints at the early identification of the wall facing the inauspicious Valley of Hell as the barrier with a gate that will separate believers from disbelievers on the Last Day (Qurʾan 57:13). The prominent Gate of Mercy on that wall (later renamed the Gate of Mercy and Repentance) is also believed to have been renovated by ʿAbd al-Malik.[112]

The mapping of this and other Qurʾanic references onto the sacred topography of the pilgrimage complex was in all likelihood initiated by Muaʿwiya, gaining ground with ʿAbd al-Malik's comprehensive building operation. The raised platform at the middle of the precinct, crowned by the principal dome over the Rock, was surrounded by smaller Marwanid structures that were identified by the early tenth century as the Dome of the Chain, the twin domes of the Prophet, and the prayer places (*muṣallā*) or stations (*maqām*) of Gabriel and al-Khidr (the latter was often spotted worshipping at the sanctuary, where several sites came to be named after him). The commemorative structures on the platform, encasing the Rock as its foundation, underscored the liminality of this permeable border zone mediating the frontier between the heavens and the earth, as well as between time and eternity.[113] Its constellation of domes brought into focus the grand narrative of the complex by evoking the chain of authority emanating from God to the Prophet and the divinely appointed caliph.

Let us first consider the Dome of the Chain, whose construction is generally attributed to ʿAbd al-Malik (figs. 4 and 7[a, b]). Some scholars believe that it is identical with the Public Treasury (*bayt al-māl*) built by him on the east side of the Rock prior to his departure from Jerusalem, speculating that its dome must have featured a now-lost upper storage space. If so, it may be the treasury mentioned in a Syriac chronicle dated 716, which reports that al-Walid I "assembled all the treasure of the Saracens, hoarding it and putting it into a single treasury in Jerusalem, the holy city, which people say is the center of the earth."[114] The Dome of the Chain has persuasively been identified as the dome "next to the Rock," where al-Walid's successor, Sulayman, sat while receiving the oath of allegiance as caliph and distributing gifts, money, and robes of honor to his subjects.[115] The next caliph, ʿUmar II, summoned Sulayman's district governors to Jerusalem to make them swear oaths by the Rock that they had committed no wrongdoing, probably judging their testimony from under the neighboring Dome of the Chain.[116] This open domical building, then, seems to have been used by the Marwanids (and presumably by their deputies) on state occasions for the reception of oaths and the administration of justice. It can therefore be interpreted as an architectural representation of the pivotal authority of the Marwanid caliphs, who were often associated in poetry with the concept of *quṭb* (pivot, celestial pole). Geographically marking the epicenter of the precinct and axially aligned with a lateral mihrab of the Aqsa Mosque that was later identified with the caliph ʿUmar I (fig. 3[41d]), the Dome of the Chain is composed of an inner and outer arcade and features a prayer niche added to its qibla side. According to Ibn al-Faqih, the prayer place of al-Khidr was located "in front of it," in the "middle of the mosque precinct" (*wasaṭ al-masjid*).[117]

The Dome of the Chain is linked in a tradition we have already considered with the "place (*al-mawḍiʿ*) in front of the Rock" where the chain was suspended from heaven in the time of David; this was where the Prophet Muhammad saw the virgins of Paradise during his Night Journey. The dome is identified in another tradition, and in the guidebook of al-Harawi (1173), as the place where Solomon dispensed justice.[118] Its association with the divinely guided justice of David and Solomon—both of whom are identified in the Qurʾan as judges whose judgments were "witnessed" by God

DOME OF THE CHAIN.

Fig. 7, a and b. a. Dome of the Chain, from the north. (Photo: James McDonald, after Charles William Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* [London, 1865]. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library) b. Dome of the Chain with the Dome of the Rock, from the northeast. (Photo: unidentified photographer, ca. 1870, Tassel no. 69. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

(Qurʾan 21:78)—connects the Marwanid caliphs with this dynastic pair of prophet-kings, who are upheld as their role models in al-Farazdaq's poetry. Through comparison with the House of David, ʿAbd al-Malik and his sons arguably assumed a messianic aura, another leitmotif in al-Farazdaq's panegyrics. The dynastic implications of this comparison are also apparent in his verses, one of which states that al-Walid I inherited sovereignty (*mulk*) from his father like Solomon from David, as a bequest from God. The caliph Sulayman, who in particular modeled his persona after his namesake, Solomon, is eulogized by al-Farazdaq as a *mahdī* (restorer of religion and justice) and as the righteous *imām* in the *masjid al-aqṣā*, who guides the community of believers along the straight path. The poet similarly compares Ayyub and his father Sulayman to David and Solomon in upholding the law, which keeps those who follow it from going astray.[119]

According to a tradition attributed to Rajaʾ b. Haywa, when the caliph ʿUmar I entered the sanctuary in Jerusalem, he prayed at the Mihrab of David. There he recited Sura *Ṣād* (Qurʾan 38), which mentions the mihrab, as well as the sura whose first verse refers to *al-masjid al-aqṣā* (Qurʾan 17), thereby linking the site of the Prophet's Night Journey with the Temple Mount.[120] In Sura *Ṣād*, God forgives the repentant David and appoints him His "deputy/caliph (*khalīfa*) on earth," so that he may rightfully judge humankind without being diverted from the divine path. This sura resonates with the image that ʿAbd al-Malik fashioned for himself as God's caliph on earth. He is portrayed in court poetry as a judge comparable to David in justice, and a famous theologian is said to have cited this Qurʾanic passage in reponse to the caliph's question about how he would be judged by God, urging him to abide by the same obligations divinely imposed on David. It is therefore tempting to propose that the Dome of the Chain, associated with Davidic justice, embodied ʿAbd al-Malik's claim to the title "God's caliph" (*khalīfat allāh*).[121]

Recent interpretations of Marwanid caliphal ideology have shown that the alleged absence of theological justification for their dynastic regime is hardly convincing. Based on late Marwanid texts in which this ideology crystallized, it has been argued that God and the Prophet were seen as complementary constituents of the title "God's caliph." As deputies of God and upholders of the Prophet's tradition (*sunna*), the Marwanid caliphs claimed to be divinely appointed executors of the sacred law and preservers of the true religion revealed by God to the last prophet, Muhammad, at a critical moment in history, when the formerly disclosed "signs had become erased and hidden." They thus considered themselves the post-prophetic, caliphal agents of God's historical plan for humankind and the means of salvation for Muslims in this world and the next.[122] Choosing the rightful caliph was to choose one's "vehicle of salvation"; according to a saying attributed to the Prophet, "He who dies without being bound at his neck by an oath of allegiance to the representative of authority dies a *jāhilī* (pagan) death." Hence, al-Hajjaj, the celebrated governor of ʿAbd al-Malik and his successor, professed to believe not only in the unity of God and the messengership of Muhammad, but also in obedience to the caliph al-Walid—"on this he would live, on this he would die, and on this he would be resurrected." Obedience to God, then, was equivalent to obeying God's caliph on earth, the protector of the "sovereignty of the Lord" and of the unity of the Prophet's community (*umma*) against external enemies and internal schism.[123]

The claim of the Marwanid caliphs to the legacy of the Prophet, in terms sympathetic to their own regime, was essential for maintaining their link to the universal chain of prophets within a salvation history divided into two eras, both of them entrusted to God's agents on earth: that of the prophets (which had come to an end) and that of the caliphs.[124] The two minor domes commemorating the Prophet on the raised platform of the Rock were therefore crucial components of the Marwanid complex. These edifices are intimately linked with the combined narratives of the Prophet's Night Journey (*isrāʾ*) and of his Ascension (*miʿrāj*), which I believe were integral to ʿAbd al-Malik's grand narrative rather than an afterthought introduced during the reign of his successor. Grabar has recently argued that by the end of the seventh century the Prophet's Night Journey had already been connected with the vision of his ascent to heaven, an event associated at that time with the whole precinct rather than just the Rock.[125] This connection was articulated in Ibn Ishaq's *Life of the Prophet*, in which the Night Journey and the Ascension are linked with the sanctuary in Jerusalem and amalgamated on the basis of varying reports, including those of Muʿawiya and the scholar Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri, who was closely affiliated with ʿAbd al-Malik and later Marwanid caliphs. Ibn Ishaq interprets the Prophet's Night Journey, followed by his Ascension, as "an act of God by which He took him by night in what way He pleased to show

him His signs, which He willed him to see so that he witnessed His mighty sovereignty and power by which He does what He wills to do."[126]

Like Muqatil, al-Zuhri associated the sanctuary in Jerusalem, where he apparently heard ʿAbd al-Malik deliver a sermon, with the famous verse of the sura known as the "Night Journey" or "Children of Israel" (Qurʾan 17:1): "Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Place of Prayer (*al-masjid al-ḥarām*, i.e., Mecca) to the Furthest Place of Prayer (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*), the precincts of which We have blessed, that We might show him some of Our signs. He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing." As he was praying at its venerated sites during a pilgrimage, al-Zuhri is reported to have indignantly recited this verse to a shaykh there, who was transmitting traditions in praise of Jerusalem from the "Holy Books." This episode reflects an attempt to assert the primacy of the Qurʾanic justification for the sanctity of the sanctuary over popular beliefs drawn from the *isrāʾīliyyāt*.[127] The Islamic status of the Rock, referred to above by Nasir-i Khusraw as the "former qibla of humankind" toward which the Muslims once prayed, is also stressed in a tradition ascribed to al-Zuhri, which connects the Rock's holiness with the Qurʾanic verse mentioning "the land We have blessed for all beings" (Qurʾan 21:71). This tradition declares that since Adam came to earth, God sent no prophet without appointing as his qibla the "Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis"—until the time of the Prophet himself, who, after the qibla direction was changed by divine command, turned his face to the Kaʿba. An extant mihrab on the northeast corner of the Rock is notably labeled the "Qibla of the Prophets" on a plan dating from the late Ottoman period (fig. 15[3]).[128]

The reference of verse 17:1 to the sanctuary in Jerusalem is strongly implied by an intertextual reading of the verses that follow it in the ʿUthmanic rescension of the Qurʾan, the written corpus of which existed in the second half of the seventh century, according to a tradition transmitted from al-Zuhri. These verses mention how the Temple was destroyed twice to punish the Children of Israel, who had strayed from the guidance of the scripture given to Moses. They also refer to the revelation of the Qurʾan to the Prophet as a guide to the straightest path to salvation on the "day when He will call you" (Qurʾan 17:52)—a verse linked in Muqatil's exegesis with "the Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis," where Israfil will summon the dead. The sura includes an explicit allusion to the Prophet's real or

visionary ascent to heaven, when "We appointed the vision which We showed you as an ordeal for mankind" (Qurʾan 17:60), interpreted by Muqatil as a "vision" granted during the Night Journey (*al-isrāʾ*) to Jerusalem. The sura is replete with eschatological references to the painful doom awaiting disbelievers in the Hereafter and the "day when We will summon each community, along with its leader (*imām*)" (Qurʾan 17:71). It ends with an affirmation of the truth of the Qurʾan as revealed to the "mortal messenger," who was sent as "a bearer of good tidings and a warner," so that he might recite it to humankind, together with praises exalting the greatness of God, "who has not taken unto Himself a son," and who has "no partner in Sovereignty (*al-mulk*)" (Qurʾan 17:111). This last verse, quoted in ʿAbd al-Malik's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock, is presented in Muqatil's commentary as a message addressed to some Jews and the Christians, who respectively regarded the prophet ʿUzayr (Ezra) or Jesus as the son of God, and to the Arabs, who believed angels to be partners of God.[129]

The omission of verse 17:1 from the inscription program of the Dome of the Rock has led most scholars to conclude that it was not at that time associated with the sanctuary in Jerusalem. However, it may simply have been omitted because it was inscribed on the congregational mosque renovated by Muʿawiya, which was rebuilt by ʿAbd al-Malik and his son. During a visit in 1173, al-Harawi saw this verse quoted in a now-lost inscription on the Aqsa Mosque's dome, which recorded its renovation by the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir in 426 (1035) and probably copied an earlier Umayyad inscription. Another inscription of the same caliph, undated and executed on mosaics, still exists above the "triumphal arch" of the mosque's domed mihrab area. It, too, quotes the same verse referring to *al-masjid al-aqṣā*, a verse that must have been more closely linked with the congregational mosque to the south (whose name was associated with the whole precinct) than with the Dome of the Rock itself.[130]

Regardless of the ways in which the scenario of the Prophet's Night Journey-*cum*-Ascension was construed in contradictory reports, the "signs" of God's kingdom that were revealed to him at that time included a vision of Hell and Paradise. He also saw "the lote tree of the furthest boundary" (*sidrat al-muntahā*) close to the "garden of refuge" (*jannat al-maʾwā*) at the foot of the divine Throne, "one of the greater signs," where his gaze "neither turned aside nor exceeded the bounds" (Qurʾan 17:60, 53:1–18). The Prophet was thus given

a preview, as a "witness" for humanity, of some of the signs that would appear on and around the Rock during the imminent day of reckoning. This "vision" underscores the apocalyptic aspect of the Prophet's mission as "a bearer of good tidings and a warner" (Qur'an 17:105), which according to Muqatil's exegesis is a reference to Paradise and Hell.[131] The Night Journey and Ascension, then, were closely connected with a central theme of the Jerusalem sanctuary, the Judgment, and therefore played a significant role in mediating the remembrance of the past and the anticipation of the eschatological future in the grand narrative of the Marwanid complex.

Analyzing the divergent accounts concerning the location of the Prophet's Ascension and the sequence of events before and after it is beyond the scope of this essay. To give an example, one of the versions recorded by Ibn Ishaq reports that the Prophet went with Gabriel "to see the wonders between heaven and earth" before praying with earlier prophets at the sanctuary in Jerusalem, whereas the Ascension took place after this prayer, according to another account in the same source.[132] We have also seen that later on the Persian traveler Nasir-i Khusraw imagined the Prophet to have risen to heaven from the Dome of the Ascension on al-Buraq, whereas local traditions copied by al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja envisioned his ascent from that dome on a ladder, stressing the tying up of his steed outside the southwest corner of the sanctuary, where former prophets used to leave their mounts. The controversy about the site of the Prophet's Ascension is hinted at in Ibn al-Murajja's discussion of a tradition on the ladder (mi'rāj). He says, "No one disagrees that the Prophet ascended from it at the dome known as qubbat al-mi'rāj, since God Almighty [Himself] ascended to heaven from the Rock, and the Prophet was borne up to heaven from the aforementioned dome." This tautological statement shows an awareness of alternative traditions according to which the Prophet ascended from the Rock itself.[133] One such tradition, recorded by al-Wasiti, is a saying of the Prophet transmitted by his companion Abu Hurayra (died ca. late 670s), in which Gabriel points to the Rock during the Night Journey and says, "Here your Lord ascended to heaven"; the Prophet then leads the earlier prophets in ritual prayer at the Rock and from there ascends to heaven.[134] According to the previously cited statement of al-Ya'qubi (ca. 874), 'Abd al-Malik also told the people of Syria-Palestine that the Rock was the place on which the Prophet "set his foot when he ascended to heaven." Another early report, however, quotes the caliph as saying, "This is the Rock of the All-Compassionate upon which He has set His foot."[135]

Irrespective of these varying accounts, the design of the sanctuary itself suggests that the scenario of the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension was conceptualized as a narrative sequence of events, starting at the Gate of the Prophet and culminating at the Rock enclosed within the paved platform. The holiest spot on its summit, punctuated by the Dome of the Rock, seems to have been envisioned by 'Abd al-Malik and his advisers as the former qibla of humanity and the Prophet. Regardless of whether or not it featured the Prophet's footprint at that time, this was one of the most blessed places on earth, from which God rose to heaven and to which He would return at the end of time. The paved platform covering the rest of the Rock was marked by subsidiary domes commemorating the Prophet and affirming the pivotal role of the caliph in the divine plan. These structures were dominated by the monumental Dome of the Rock, which tied together the multiple narrative threads of the complex by exalting the supreme dominion of the merciful and forgiving God. Let us now turn to the inscriptions and mosaics that lend support to this interpretation, for, as Grabar remarks, the receiver of their message is ultimately "God, who is commemorated in the building."[136]

'ABD AL-MALIK'S INSCRIPTIONS AND THE MOSAICS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK

Like the domes grouped on the raised platform, 'Abd al-Malik's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock focus on three interrelated themes: the absolute sovereignty and mercy of God, the privileged position of the Prophet Muhammad, and the divine origin of earthly authority. The Christological passages cited from the Qur'an, which are generally interpreted as anti-Christian polemics, constitute a subset of the theme of God's indivisible oneness, with no partner in sovereignty—a central precept of Islam. The eschatological passages affirm yet another principal tenet, belief in "God and the Last Day." They, too, can be subsumed under the theme of God's absolute dominion, with sovereign freedom to bestow and withhold mercy or to grant intercession on the Day of Judgment.

'Abd al-Malik's epigraphic program lends itself to a wide range of interpretations.[137] His inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock have been related to the heightened public prominence given Qur'anic citations in his personal seal, coins, milestones, and papyrus rolls, which quote a similar set of verses or closely related variants that reiterate the main dogmas of Islam officially upheld by the Marwanid polity. His partially preserved inscriptions on the building combine verbatim quotations from the Qur'an and paraphrases of Qur'anic passages with repeated professions of faith (*shahāda*) and invocations, forming a continuous litany.[138] These not easily legible, angular Kufic inscriptions, concentrated on both sides of the inner octagonal arcade, are executed in glass mosaic with gold letters against a dark blue ground. They are complemented by two epigraphic panels in the same color scheme, painted on bronze plaques; these have been removed from the lintels of the building's north and east entrances.

In addition to the two lost plaques on the south and west gates, which featured inscriptions seen by al-Harawi in 1173, other Umayyad epigraphs may have disappeared as well, particularly around the more lavishly decorated innermost core of the building, which is surrounded by a circular arcade. It is difficult to imagine that there were no inscriptions on the inner surfaces of the drum and the dome itself, the focal points of pictorial iconographic programs in comparable centrally planned Byzantine commemorative structures (figs. 8 and 9). Sources from the Crusader period mention Latin inscriptions, accompanied by others in Arabic, both inside and outside the Dome of the Rock.[139] The Ayyubid cursive inscription band (Qur'an 20:1–21) in gold-on-green mosaic that now encircles the base of the lower drum's inner face is generally believed to have replaced a Latin inscription, which may have replaced an original Umayyad text (fig. 10).[140] Even if the likely predecessor of the Ayyubid inscription quoted different Qur'anic passages, it is worth noting that these verses from Sura *Tā Hā* refer to the revelation of the Qur'an to the Prophet by the merciful creator of the heavens and the earth, "who is established on the Throne" and to whom belongs "whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth, and whatsoever is between them, and whatsoever is beneath the sod." Intimating the Rock's cosmological significance, the quoted verses also emphasize eschatology by alluding to the approaching Hour, and to God's servant, Moses, whose staff is one of the "signs"

bestowed upon him as proofs of divine sovereignty. Given that the Rock under the dome is associated in several sources with Moses, the striking absence of any reference to him in 'Abd al-Malik's inscriptions may well be an accident of preservation.

The Throne Verse (Qur'an 2:255), cited on a "gilt silver inscription" (*al-kitāba bi' l-faḍḍ al-mudhahhab*), seen by al-Harawi on "the roof of this dome" (*saqf hādhihi al-qubba*) during the Crusader occupation, likewise alludes to the divine Throne and to God's sovereignty. This was in all likelihood the renewed version of an Umayyad inscription, which may have been replaced when the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir rebuilt the partially collapsed wooden dome and renovated the mosaics of its drum (fig. 10), repairs that are recorded by epitaphs dated 413 (1022–23) and 418 (1027–28). The dome inscription is the only Qur'anic quotation inside the Dome of the Rock mentioned by al-Harawi, probably because of its prominent position as a counterpoint to al-Zahir's now-lost inscription citing verse 17:1 and bearing the renovation date 426 (1035), which al-Harawi saw on the Aqsa Mosque's dome (*saqf qubbat al-aqsā*). The Throne Verse, presently inscribed on a gilded late Ottoman epigraphic band (c. 1874–75) encircling the apex of the wooden cupola, testifies to the palimpsestic character of the Dome of the Rock's periodically rewritten and redecorated surfaces (fig. 9). Another late Ottoman inscription band surrounding the outer edge of the dome records its successive repairs by the Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din in 586 (1190), the Mamluk ruler al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un in 718 (1318–19), and the Ottoman rulers Mahmud I in 1156 (1743–44) and 'Abd al-'Aziz in 1291 (1874–75). These and other post-Umayyad epigraphs raise the distinct possibility that 'Abd al-Malik's remaining inscriptions do not constitute a self-contained, intact corpus, as is generally assumed.[141]

The Throne Verse that al-Harawi saw inscribed on or around the dome must have been, in my view, an integral part of the original epigraphic program; it is probably no coincidence that the same verse is partially quoted at the beginning of the two extant bronze plaques (once fixed to the lintels of the north and east gates, as previously mentioned), which provide a preview of themes more fully elaborated inside the building. This verse sets the tone for the interior inscriptions by affirming the majestic glory of the enthroned deity, whose eternal kingdom comprises the entire universe, created and maintained by Him. It not only alludes to the divine Throne, a vision of which was granted

Fig. 8. Dome of the Rock, interior view from the north. Marble screen with arcade of "mihrabs" between two columns in the foreground. (Photo: GRABAR, Oleg; *The Shape of the Holy*. © 1996 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)
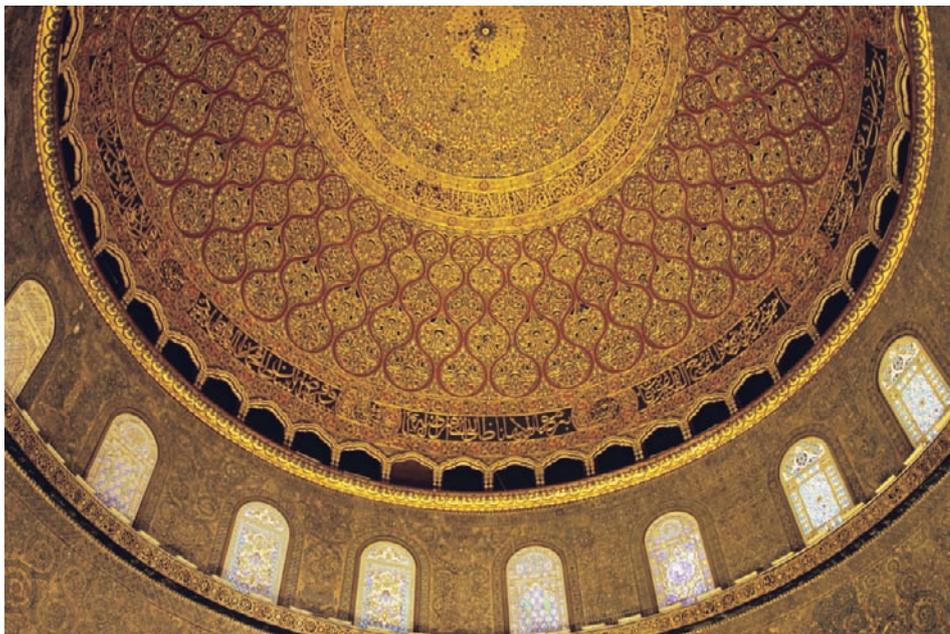
Fig. 9. Dome of the Rock, interior view of upper drum register and dome. (Photo: Hanan Isachar/Corbis)

Fig. 10. Dome of the Rock, mosaic panel on the lower drum register with Fatimid and Ayyubid inscriptions, northwest. (Photo: GRABAR, Oleg; *The Shape of the Holy*. © 1996 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)

to the Prophet as one of the "signs" of God's absolute sovereignty, but also contains clear hints about the Last Judgment and the possibility of intercession at that time with His permission alone:

> God! There is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal. Neither does slumber affect Him, nor sleep. To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that can intercede with Him [on the Day of Judgment] except by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is behind them, and they comprehend not even a little of His knowledge except what He will. His Throne encompasses the heavens and the earth, and He tires not from preserving them. He is the All-High, the All-Glorious.[142]

The dome inscription quoting the Throne Verse can be interpreted as a verbal counterpart to the iconographical subject of *Maiestas Domini*, associated with pilgrimage to the Holy Land and with the second coming of the enthroned Christ as the son of God to judge humankind. As such, it negates the salvation

paradigm promoted by the Holy Sepulcher, a multi-focal pilgrimage complex comparable to the Haram, that comprised at that time a basilical church, a baptistery, and several sites of witnessing: the Rock of Calvary (Golgotha, identified as the *omphalos*), featuring a cave underneath and crowned by a monumental cross memorializing the "life-giving" crucifixion of Christ, and the domed rotunda (Anastasis) of Christ's empty tomb, commemorating his entombment and resurrection—events that the Qur'an denies took place. This denial is rooted in the Muslim veneration of "Jesus, the son of Mary," as the word and spirit of God, who was beyond the dishonor of death on the cross and hence raised up alive to heaven; he will die and be resurrected only with the rest of humankind and the angels, when the enthroned deity will judge all created beings.[143] Defending the Orthodox Byzantine viewpoint, John of Damascus (d. ca. 750), who descended from an influential family of Christian finance ministers employed at the Umayyad court and became a monk near Jerusalem, noted that among the main issues at stake was the Muslim emphasis on the absolute "monarchy" of God. Thoroughly acquainted with the Christology of the Qur'an, which he discredited as the "scripture" that the "false prophet" Muhammad claimed to have been sent down from heaven, John defined the "heresy of the Ishmaelites" as an amalgamation of borrowed concepts: from the Jews, absolute monotheism ("monarchy"); from the Arians, the affirmation that the word and spirit of God are created; and from the Nestorians, anthropolatry, the idea that Christ was merely a human being. This statement pinpoints the most essential theological differences of the "Ishmaelites" as perceived by an Orthodox Christian theologian who flourished in Umayyad Syria-Palestine—a perception with which the Dome of the Rock's inscription program resonates by virtue of its proclamation of central Islamic precepts.[144]

Let us now turn to the bronze plaques removed from the north and east gates, each ending with a prayer asking God to bless the Prophet and a statement in a different script that the inscription was ordered by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun in 216 (831), which probably replaced a reference to 'Abd al-Malik.[145] The inscription on the north panel begins with the *basmala*, "In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate," and a praise of the unique and eternal God, who is indivisible, has no partner, and neither begets nor is begotten, for there is none like Him (Qur'an 2:255; 3:2; 112). This is followed by an enunciation

of the Prophet Muhammad's missionary role and his link to earlier prophets who received the same revelation prescribing total submission to the one God. Unlike the divisive "polytheists," who reject the universal "religion of truth," the community of believers is enjoined to believe in God and whatever was revealed to Muhammad and his predecessors, a message echoed by the venerated prayer places of former prophets marked on the Haram itself:

> Muhammad is the servant of God and His messenger, *whom he sent with guidance and the religion of truth (*dīn al-ḥaqq*) to proclaim it over all religions, even though the polytheists hate it* (Qur'an 9:33, 48:28, 61:9). Let us believe in God and what was revealed to Muhammad and *in what was given to the prophets from their Lord; we make no distinction between any of them and we submit (are Muslims) to Him* (Qur'an 2:136, 3:84).

The Prophet's mission, then, is both a continuation and a culmination of the true monotheistic faith, upheld by the chain of prophets and patriarchs listed in both versions of the partially quoted last verses: Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, the Tribes, Moses, and Jesus. The inscription ends with an invocation imploring God to bless Muhammad, His servant and prophet, granting him peace, mercy, grace, and forgiveness. The panel's position on the north door, which leads to the Black Paving Stone that marked the conjunction of the two qiblas of Islam and was believed to have been situated over one of the gates of Paradise, implies that the "religion of truth" revealed to the Prophet is the key to salvation in the promised eternal gardens (fig. 4[1]).

The panel at the east gate, facing the Dome of the Chain, once again stresses the supreme sovereignty of God, the creator and final judge from whom all power originates and to whom it returns. Alluding to cosmological concepts, the inscription starts with the *basmala* and a praise of the unique and eternal God, the creator of the heavens and the earth, the light of the heavens and the earth (parts of Qur'an 2:255; 3:2; 2:117; 24:35; 6:101), and the upholder of the heavens and the earth. The confirmation of the absolute oneness and transcendence of God, who neither begets nor is begotten, is repeated (Qur'an 112), accompanied by another praise of the merciful Lord as the source of earthly authority. This is an implicit reference to the divinely ordained, just rule of the Marwanid caliphate signified by the contiguous Dome of the Chain: "*Master of sovereignty, You give sovereignty* (mulk) *to whom You wish and You take sovereignty away from whom You wish*" (Qur'an 3:26)." The text then highlights the eschatological dimension of divine kingship and mercy: "All sovereignty is to You and comes from You, our Lord, and it returns to You [on the Last Day], Lord of Glory, the Merciful, the Compassionate. *He has written mercy for Himself, His mercy extends to all things*" (Qur'an 6:12 and 7:156).

The epigraphic panel ends with a litany glorifying God and invoking the divine names; it is a touching plea by the community of believers for the intercession of the Prophet during the final judgment:

> Glory to Him and may He be exalted over what polytheists associate [with Him]. O God, we pray to You that You may grant us—through Your beautiful names, Your noble face, Your elevated majesty, and Your perfect word by which You preserve the heavens and the earth, through Your mercy which shelters us from Satan and saves us from Your punishment on the Day of Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*), through Your overflowing generosity, through Your kindness, through Your gentleness and Your omnipotence, through Your forgiveness and Your magnanimity—Your blessing upon Muhammad, Your servant and Your prophet, and that You may accept his intercession for his community (*umma*). May God bless him and grant him mercy.

Although the Qur'an emphasizes the absoluteness of divine kingship and justice on the Last Day, this plea for the Prophet's eschatological intercession is encouraged by mitigating passages (including the Throne Verse quoted several times in the building itself) that refer to God's granting permission to whomever He wishes to intercede on that day. Hope in the Prophet's intercession, which is nothing but the reconciling of divine justice with mercy through his mediation, was furthermore based on a verse in the Sura of the Night Journey (Qur'an 17:79), in which Muhammad is instructed to offer supererogatory prayers so that "perhaps your Lord may raise you to a praiseworthy station" (*maqām maḥmūd*). This has been interpreted by some early exegetes as a station reserved for the Prophet near the divine Throne on the Day of Judgment, which according to Muqatil's commentary is his "station of intercession" (*maqām al-shafāʿa*).[146]

The mosaic inscription band on the outer face of the octagonal arcade, the first epigraph encountered upon entering the building, features distinct prayers each starting with the *basmala*, which repeatedly invokes God as Merciful and Compassionate. It ends with the foundation inscription, which preserves the date 72

(691–92) but substitutes for the founder's name that of al-Ma'mun (fig. 11, a and b). Studies have noted that this text establishes a clockwise movement, beginning in the south and ending in the southeast, whereas the epigraphic band on the inner face of the same arcade starts in the south and ends in the southwest, following a counterclockwise movement.[147] The composite text on the arcade's outer face fuses Qur'anic citations and extra-Qur'anic litanies, which alternate praises of God with blessings upon the Prophet. As such, the prayers constitute expanded versions of the *shahāda* (testifying to belief in God and His messenger) inscribed on 'Abd al-Malik's personal seal, coins, and papyrus rolls to articulate the official creed of the Marwanid state.[148]

The first prayer, beginning at the corner between the south and southeast sides of the octagonal arcade, faces the southern entrance, generally known as the Qibla Gate (fig. 11a). Inserted between the two parts of the *shahāda* is Sura *Ikhlāṣ* (Qur'an 112), which is also quoted on both of the surviving gate panels; this sura is one of the most explicit avowals of the oneness of the eternal God, who neither begets nor is begotten, and is without equal.[149] The next Qur'anic citation, between the southwest and west sides, is preceded by the *shahāda*; it testifies to the Prophet's honored status in the divine court and urges believers to send their blessings on him: "*God and His angels shower their blessings on the Prophet; you who believe, send blessings on him and salute him with a worthy greeting*" (Qur'an 33:56). Framed between the two parts of the *shahāda*, the subsequent verse from the Sura of the Night Journey (between the west and northwest sides) attests to God's sovereign omnipotence by means of an invocation that the Prophet is instructed to recite to humankind: "[Say] *Praise be to God, who begets no son, and who has no partner in the sovereignty* (al-mulk)*, nor any protector out of humility, and magnify His greatness*" (Qur'an 17:111). This is followed on the north side by a short prayer on behalf of the Prophet: "May God, His angels, and His messengers bless him, and God grant him peace and mercy."

The theme of divine sovereignty is further amplified by a conflation of two verses on the north and northeast sides, bracketed by the two parts of the *shahāda*, and a supplication asking God to bless the Prophet and grant him eschatological intercession: "There is no god but God alone, without parner. To Him belongs the sovereignty (*al-mulk*) and to Him belongs the praise (*al-ḥamd*). He is the giver of

life and death, and He has power over everything (Qur'an 64:1; 57:2). Muhammad is God's messenger, may God bless him and accept his intercession on the Day of Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*) for his community (*umma*)." The epigraphic band ends between the east and southeast sides with the *shahāda* and the foundation inscription, thereby juxtaposing references to God, the Prophet, and the caliph: "There is no god but God alone, without partner; Muhammad is God's messenger, may God bless him. God's servant ['Abd al-Malik], commander of the believers, built this dome (*al-qubba*) in the year seventy-two; may God accept it from him and be pleased with him. Amen. Lord of the Worlds. To God belongs praise" (fig. 11b).

In its combination of verses and invocations that primarily glorify God with prayers on behalf of the Prophet and the reigning caliph, the inscription band echoes the theme of the hierarchical chain of authority embodied in the cluster of domes on the raised platform. References to blessings showered on the Prophet by God, the angels, and the earlier prophets not only affirm his role in mediating between the heavens and the earth but also carry intimations of his Night Journey and Ascension. The petition made for the Prophet's intercession on the northeast side of the arcade, paralleled by its longer counterpart on the east gate panel, faces the direction of the Mount of Olives, where the gathering of resurrected beings is destined to take place on the plain of al-Sahira.[150] That is why the eastern staircase of the platform and a gate on the eastern wall of the precinct eventually came to be named after al-Buraq, on which the Prophet is to be transported to his station near the divine Throne as future intercessor for his community (fig. 3[8, 33]).[151] The placement of the caliph's dedicatory inscription to the southeast suggests that the main entrance into the Dome of the Rock may have been the south gate facing the qibla, the direction from which the Prophet was imagined to have approached the Rock and the starting point of the epigraphic band. (If one enters the building from its equally important north gate, or from any other point of entry, the caliph's name does not appear at the end but somewhere in the middle of the text). It has been shown that the qibla direction is also privileged by the grouping of inscriptions and distinctive mosaic decorations on the south side of the same arcade's inner face.[152]

Let us now turn to the inscription band encircling the inner surface of the octagonal arcade, which expounds similar themes, with praises of God and

Fig. 11, a and b. Dome of the Rock, outer face of the octagonal arcade, mosaic panels with inscriptions. a. Beginning section at the southeast and south corner. b. Southeast section with ʿAbd al-Malik's name replaced by that of al-Maʾmun. (Photo: GRABAR, Oleg; *The Shape of the Holy*. © 1996 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)

prayers on behalf of the Prophet and Jesus comple-
mented by long citations from the Qurʾan (fig. 12, a
and b). Forming a single continuous text addressing
the Muslims and the People of the Book, it suggests
that the building may originally have been accessible to
non-Muslims, a surmise supported by the inclusion of
Christians and Jews in the staff of servants whom ʿAbd
al-Malik appointed to the complex.[153] The inscription
commences at the south with a *basmala* and includes
between the two parts of the *shahāda* the same con-
flated verses proclaiming God's sovereign power over
life, death, and all creation (Qurʾan 64:1; 57:2) that
are quoted on the northeast side of the arcade's outer
face. There follows a verse on the southeast side, also
present on the outer face of the arcade's west side,
that urges believers to bestow blessings on the Prophet
as do God and His angels (Qurʾan 33:56).

Between the southeast and north sides of the arcade,
God's oneness is announced with a Qurʾanic refutation
of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and a recom-
mendation to the People of the Book not to exceed
the bounds of their religion by saying "Three," since
the "Messiah, Jesus son of Mary," was only a messen-
ger and the word and spirit of God bestowed upon
his mother. This corrective declaration is accompa-
nied by a conciliatory missionary invitation to the
People of the Book "to believe in God and His mes-
sengers," concluding with an eschatological admoni-
tion (Qurʾan 4:171–72):

> God is only one God, and far from His glory is it to have a
> son. To Him belongs all that is in the heavens and in the
> earth, and sufficient is God as a guardian. The Messiah will
> not disdain to be God's servant, nor will the favored angels.
> Whoever disdains to serve Him and is proud [should remem-
> ber] He will gather them all to Himself.

The use of the future tense with reference to the Mes-
siah suggests that this is an allusion to his return to
earth as God's servant at the end of time, when God will
gather all resurrected beings to judge them. Between
the north and west sides, these Christological verses
are followed by a venerating supplication that God
bless Jesus, a paraphrase of the words he miraculously
uttered from the cradle enshrined within the precinct
itself ("Peace be upon me the day I was born, and
the day I die, and the day I will be raised up alive,"
Qurʾan 19:33), and a verse (Qurʾan 19:34–36) in which
he humbly affirms his submission to the one God:[154]

> O God, bless Your messenger and servant Jesus, son of
> Mary. Peace be upon him on the day he was born, the

day he dies, and the day he will be raised up alive. *That
is Jesus, son of Mary, a word of truth about which they doubt.
It is not for God to take a son onto Him. Glory be to Him.
When He decrees a thing, He only says "Be" and it is.* [Jesus
said] *God is my Lord and your Lord; therefore serve Him. This
is the straight path* (ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm).

In the Qurʾan, the imperative "Be," by means of which
God creates everything, also applies to the resurrection
at the end of time, when the same divine command
will bring about a second creation during which Jesus,
whom God has raised "up to Himself," will not only
die and be resurrected with the rest of all created
beings but will furthermore act as a "witness against"
the misguided among the People of the Book (Qurʾan
4:156-59). Therefore, one "sign (or knowledge) of the
Hour" (Qurʾan 43:61) is the return of the Qurʾanic
Jesus (prior to his death and resurrection), who, as the
expected Messiah, has an eschatological identity like
that of the Prophet Muhammad, the last messenger
sent before the approaching end of time. According
to an apologetic Greek text entitled *Doctrina Jacobi*
(ca. 634–47), the "false prophet of the Saracens" pro-
claimed the imminent return of the anointed Messiah,
Jesus, and said that he himself possessed the "keys to
paradise." Moreover, sources report that the Prophet
reverently preserved only the images of Jesus and his
mother within the Kaʿba, effacing other painted rep-
resentations, which depicted Abraham holding divina-
tion arrows, as well as prophets, angels, and trees.[155]
Hence, it is not surprising that Jesus occupies such
a prominent position in the epigraphic program of
the Dome of the Rock. It is also no coincidence that
the passage alluding to his return at the end of time
appears on the northeast side of the arcade, coupled
with the reference to the Prophet Muhammad's hoped-
for intercession on its outer face.

The inscription band terminates on the west and
southwest sides with verses testifying to the oneness of
God, in whose sight the true religion is "Islam" (sub-
mission to Him alone), and yet another warning about
the final judgment (Qurʾan 3:18–19):

> God (Himself), His angels, and those possessing knowledge
> and upholding justice bear witness that there is no god but
> He. There is no god but He, the Almighty, the All-Wise. The
> religion with God is Submission (al-islām). Those who were
> given the Book did not dissent except after knowledge came to
> them, when they became envious of each other; and whosoever
> disbelieves in God's signs [should remember that] He is
> swift at the reckoning.

Fig. 12, a and b. Dome of the Rock, arch spandrels on the inner face of the octagonal arcade: a. east and b. southeast. (Photo: © Said Nuseibeh Photography, www. studiosaid.com)

This attestation of the first part of the *shahāda* by "wise men upholding justice" can be read as an oblique allusion to God's caliph and his deputies, who are the earthly guardians of Islam, the true universal religion.

Like 'Abd al-Malik's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock, the mosaics, with their aniconic pictorial representations against an ethereal gold background, participate in the exaltation of God's glory and supreme sovereignty by evoking a paradisiacal landscape crowned with a refulgent dome (figs. 5, 8, and 9). It is not possible to reconstruct the decorative program of the external mosaics, or of the periodically renewed gilded wooden paneling of the dome and ambulatory ceilings. The internal mosaics sheathe the double-tiered drum under the dome and the upper zones of the octagonal and circular arcades, which are raised on columns with Corinthian capitals and on marble-paneled piers. The spatial progression towards the Rock is visually heightened by distinctive types of motifs on each of the concentric mosaic surfaces, characterized by a sense of unity within variety.[156]

The outermost surface along the external face of the octagonal arcade creates the illusion of an otherworldly orchard with a row of composite trees whose trunks are flanked by lateral stems laden with a superabundance of variegated fruits, palmettes, floral buds, and blossoms. Notably different, and seemingly deferential, is the treatment of trees on the southeast side, below the foundation inscription; instead of green trunks, they grow from vertical supports composed of superimposed jewelry motifs (fig. 11, a and b).[157] Other variations in the mosaic revetments may also have been intended as subtle visual markers. The second mosaic-covered surface is the inner face of the octagonal arcade, more luxuriously decorated with bejeweled vegetation (fig. 12, a and b). The upper sections of its piers feature bifurcated vine scrolls with fruits issuing from lush acanthus leaves, sometimes bound together with diadems and rings. Its spandrels are ornamented with fruit-bearing scrolls, plants, and cornucopias growing from variegated vessels, each surmounted by a central almond-shaped bud and fused with extravagant pieces of jewelry—crowns, tiaras, necklaces, bracelets, pendants, and earrings. The decorations of the pier flanks have similar composite motifs or naturalistically rendered trees.[158]

The third mosaic-covered surface, on the outer face of the circular arcade, also differentiates compositions used on piers from those of the spandrels (figs. 8 and 13). These are in general dominated by scrolls emerging from acanthus leaves, vases, or a combination of both. The spiralling vine scrolls of the spandrels, which feature central vertical stems with superimposed gemstudded forms, spread evenly across the arcades, giving the impression of a continuous belt around the Rock. As Grabar observes, the two-tiered drum mosaics with their gold background provide "a forceful luminosity to the center of the building," while the darker ambulatories, dominated by blue-green vegetation, create a "mysterious, shadowy ring around the light in the middle."[159] The scrolls sprouting from regularly spaced vases on the lower register of the drum form a unified surface above the circular arcade. The central vertical stems issuing from each vase are made up of superimposed roundels and niches, each topped by an almond-shaped bud containing a crown and flanked by two wings (figs. 10 and 14).[160] Variants of the same design alternate with windows on the heavily renovated and, as a result, somewhat incoherent upper register of the drum (fig. 9).

The crowns with winged motifs have been interpreted as abstractions of crowned angels, connected to paradisiacal and eschatological themes, or as aniconic evocations of the cherubim in the Holy of Holies, enshrining the Divine Presence at Solomon's Temple and thereby providing a suitable ambience for the future descent of the divine Throne.[161] Under the radiant dome inscribed with the Throne Verse, these elusive motifs not only consecrate the Rock but also resonate with the overarching theme of God's supreme sovereignty over the heavens and the earth. Coupled with buds incorporating crowns, the paired "Sasanian wings" densely clustered on both tiers of the drum may therefore connote the concept of "glory" (*khwarna*), a simultaneously royal and divine attribute associated with majesty, splendor, and luminosity.[162] It is also worth speculating whether the "angel wings" and jewelry-laden trees carry memories of the Ka'ba's former decorative program, motifs now adapted to glorify the one God's eternal kingdom. The "tree cult" of the Arabs involved the votive offering of fine garments and women's jewelry to venerated trees; Meccan idols, too, were ornamented with necklaces and earrings.[163]

The multivalent mosaic representations lend themselves to a variety of readings interanimated by the surrounding complex and the accompanying inscriptions. The repetitive non-narrative images, in turn, visually activate the hermeneutic potential of juxtaposed

Fig. 13. Dome of the Rock, circular arcade, mosaic panel on the southwest pier. (Photo: GRABAR, Oleg; *The Shape of the Holy*. © 1996 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)
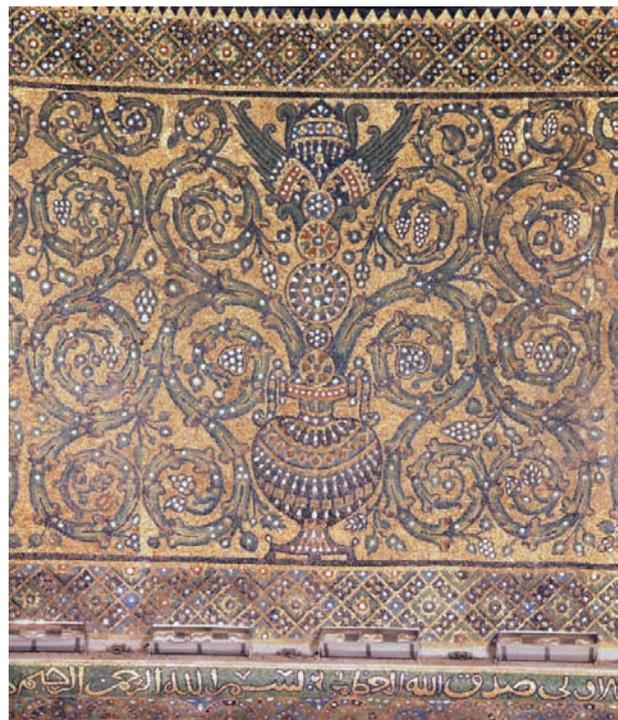
Fig 14. Dome of the Rock, lower drum mosaic panel with Ayyubid inscription band. (Photo: © Said Nuseibeh Photography, www. studiosaid.com)

Qur'anic passages, which form a paratactic montage punctuated by equally repetitive litanies and invocations. As a seductive mode of visual exegesis that engages the mind and eye in an open-ended way, the evocative mosaics also carry the potential to conjure up traditions in praise of Jerusalem, and of Qur'anic passages not included in the inscriptions, such as those alluding to the garden of refuge near "the lote tree of the utmost boundary" beneath the divine Throne, personally witnessed by the Prophet (Qur'an 53:14–15); the day when "Paradise shall be brought near" (Qur'an 81:13); the "sovereignty" that will be God's during the Last Judgment (Qur'an 22:56; 6:73); or the "bliss and great sovereignty" to be "seen" by those admitted into the promised eternal gardens (Qur'an 76:20). The eschatological literature that evolved in post-Umayyad times supplied additional details, describing multitiered celestial gardens with bejeweled trees beneath the canopy of the divine Throne and the blissful denizens of Paradise wearing jewelry, bracelets, and crowns.[164]

In his earliest article on the Dome of the Rock, Grabar observed that the jewelry motifs and crowns represented on the mosaics recall votive offerings made to shrines. Among votive offerings that a pilgrim from Piacenza saw around 570 inside the tomb of Christ (the Anastasis Rotunda), were "ornaments in vast numbers, which hang from iron rods: armlets, bracelets, necklaces, rings, tiaras, plaited girdles, belts, emperor's crowns of gold and precious stones, and the insignia of an empress."[165] Grabar noted that the caliphs donated to the Kaʿba comparable votive gifts, including such royal objects as jewel-encrusted crescents, necklaces, cups, crowns, and even thrones. At the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, votive objects suspended on a chain from the cupola of the Dome of the Rock are said to have comprised the priceless Yatima pearl, the horns of Abraham's ram, and the crown of the Sasanian kings (*tāj kisrā*), all of which were sent to the Kaʿba when the Abbasids took over the caliphate.[166]

It is reported that the counter-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr belittled his rival by criticizing the royal magnificence of his constructions in Jerusalem, which imitated the "palace of the king of Persia," as did Muʿawiya's Khadraʾ Palace (*qubbat al-khaḍrāʾ*), the caliphal residence in Damascus thought to have featured a "dome of heaven," which ʿAbd al-Malik bought and refurbished as his own palatial complex. The imperial iconography of the Dome of the Rock, which creatively transforms late antique models into an original idiom, under-

scores the parallelism between the eternal heavenly kingdom and its earthly counterpart entrusted to the caliph. The distinctive mosaics on the soffits of its octagonal arcade, depicting naturalistic fruits, stalks of wheat, and other symbols of earthly abundance, have been read as allusions to the holy land blessed by God, the epicenter of which was the Rock in Jerusalem. These images of abundance recall the eulogies of poets who praise the Marwanid caliphs' power to restore the earth's fertility by bringing rain. In an ode celebrating ʿAbd al-Malik's divinely sanctioned victory over Ibn al-Zubayr in 692, for instance, the poet laureate al-Akhtal refers to him as "the Caliph of God through whom men pray for rain." Marwanid caliphs personally led the prayers for rain (ṣalāt al-istisqāʾ), a ritual for which the stone minbar abutting the southern staircase of the Haram's raised platform was used in Mamluk and Ottoman times (fig. 3[24]).[167]

The reflexivity between the celestial and terrestrial realms is a recurrent theme of traditions in praise of Jerusalem, which identify the Rock as one of the "roofs" of the earthly gardens of Paradise and the "nearest throne of God," marking the omphalos directly beneath the divine Throne.[168] The sanctity emanating from the Rock spread in concentric circles to the Syrian domains of the Umayyad caliphs, encompassing their capital, Damascus—a cosmological conception promoted by Muʿawiya and accentuated by ʿAbd al-Malik's Dome of the Rock. The currency of this conception after the demise of the Marwanid caliphate is captured by the following words of al-Kalaʿi, a native of Syria who died in Abbasid Jerusalem around 770: "The holiest part of the earth is Syria; the holiest part of Syria is Palestine; the holiest part of Palestine is Jerusalem; the holiest part of Jerusalem is the mountain (Mount Moriah); the holiest part of the mountain is the mosque (al-masjid); and the holiest part of the mosque is the dome (al-qubba)."[169]

The architecture, inscriptions, and mosaic decorations of the Dome of the Rock reverberate with notions of sanctity and genius loci (sense of place) disseminated in faḍāʾil traditions that preceded and succeeded its construction. Intimately connected with ʿAbd al-Malik's vision of sacral kingship and his state building project, which consolidated Islam as the hegemonic religion of an expanding empire rooted in late antique traditions, the liminal spatiality of the Dome of the Rock blurred the temporal boundaries between the past, the present, and the eschatological future. The Crusaders appropriately renamed it Templum Domini (Temple of the Lord), in keeping with its original conceptualization as a "House of God," while designating the Aqsa Mosque the Templum Solomonis (Temple of Solomon). By integrating the Dome of the Rock into their religious and royal rituals, including their coronation ceremonies, the crusader kings of Jerusalem acknowledged its role in mediating between terrestrial and celestial kingship.[170]

When the Ayyubid ruler Salah al-Din reclaimed Jerusalem in 1187, following nearly nine decades of Frankish rule, the Haram complex was "purified" with rosewater and resanctified with new layers of meaning that championed the restoration of Sunni Islam under the tutelage of the late Abbasid caliphs. In a well-known sermon delivered during the first Friday prayer held at the Aqsa Mosque, Salah al-Din's preacher cited faḍāʾil traditions identifying the sanctuary as the site of the Prophet's Night Journey-cum-Ascension, the first qibla, and the gathering of humankind on Judgment Day. He defined the sanctuary's official status in terms of three honorary epithets, in descending hierarchical order, which would continue to have currency under Mamluk and Ottoman rule: "the first of the two qiblas" (ūlā al-qiblatayn, i.e., Jerusalem followed by Mecca); "the second of the two places of worship [created on earth]" (thānī al-masjidayn, i.e., Mecca followed by Jerusalem); and "the third [place of pilgrimage] after the two Harams" (thālith al-ḥaramayn, i.e., Mecca and Medina followed by Jerusalem).[171]

The association of the Dome of the Rock with caliphal authority was no longer a central theme in the renovation projects of the Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers of Jerusalem, which primarily emphasized the re-Islamization of the Haram, only recently recovered from the Crusaders. The Ayyubids and the Mamluk sultans who succeeded them held no claims to caliphal status, for they derived their legitimacy as protectors of Sunni Islam from the last descendants of the Abbasid caliphs, who were initially based in Baghdad and subsequently housed in Mamluk Cairo. The Ayyubids and Mamluks focused on rebuilding the commemorative structures of the Haram that had been damaged or destroyed during the Crusader occupation. They periodically repaired the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque, and also added an impressive outer belt of madrasas and khanqahs abutting the Haram's northern and western perimeter.[172] We shall see in the next section that the latent caliphal theme would resurface, along with the amplification of Davidic-Solomonic and eschatological associations, during Sultan Süleyman's

renovation campaigns at the Haram al-Sharif, which particularly privileged the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain. Unlike their Mamluk predecessors, the Ottoman administrators who left their personal marks on the precinct concentrated their relatively modest building activities on and around the prestigious central platform, rebuilding its minor domes and adding cells (*ḥujra, khalwa*) for resident dervishes and ascetics to its northern and western edges (fig. 6). Together with the city's new charitable hospices and khanqahs, these constructions turned the Haram complex into, in Evliya Çelebi's words, a veritable "qibla" and a "Ka'ba" of dervishes.[173]

II. THE VISUAL AND VERBAL GLOSSES OF SULTAN SÜLEYMAN'S RENOVATIONS

Selim I's conquest of Syria-Palestine from the Mamluks in 1516, shortly after his victory over the Safavids, brought the Haram al-Sharif under Ottoman protection. During his subsequent campaign to Egypt, the sultan left his army camp with a small retinue of intimate companions for a brief pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he distributed alms and donations to win over the hearts of its residents. He performed the communal ritual prayers at the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, a masjid reserved for the Hanafi rite both by the Mamluks and by their Ottoman successors, in addition to touring "all the visitation places" (*mevāzi'-i ziyārāt*) (fig. 15). Later on, the sultan performed another pilgrimage with his retinue to the sanctuary in Hebron. Both pilgrimages were followed by abundant rain, interpreted in contemporary sources as an auspicious sign, that facilitated Selim's formidable march through the Sinai desert and conquest of Egypt in 1517, which terminated the Mamluk sultanate along with the legitimizing line of Abbasid caliphs stationed in Cairo.[174]

Once the vassal Sharifs of Mecca recognized his rule, the sultan, as the new "Servitor of the Two Harams" (*khādim al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*), took the two holy sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina under his protection. Constituting a prelude to the fall of the Mamluk sultanate, the annexation of Syria-Palestine was hailed in texts written for Selim and for his son and successor Süleyman, as a divinely willed supernatural event. It had allegedly been prophesied in an apocryphal book of divination attributed to the Andalusian Sufi Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1210), which identified the Ottomans as the last world emperors, whose messianic renewal of religion and justice would usher in the end of time.[175] Both Selim and Süleyman attempted to justify their rule over the former Mamluk territories by delegitimizing their predecessors as a tyrannical foreign caste of Circassians whose oppressive taxes and customary laws were abolished under their own regime of justice, heralding a new age of "peace and security."[176]

An early example of this ideological discourse appears in the preamble of Süleyman's law code for Egypt. Issued in 1525 after the suppression of a revolt, it celebrates the extirpation of the tyranny of the Circassian "tribe" (*ṭāʾife*) with the inauguration of just dynastic law (*kānūn*) based on Qurʾanic prescriptions, as well as on the shariʿa, which comprises the sunna of the Prophet. The law code starts with a declaration of the divine source of Süleyman's authority, as guided by God, the "Beneficent One, who is established on the Throne" (Qurʾan 16:5), and by His revelation to the Prophet, who ascended beyond the seven climes of the heavens. The intervening voice of the sultan utters grateful praises of God, who has

> made the royal falcon of the imperial tent of my soaring caliphate (*ṣāhbāz-i çetr-i hümāyūn hümā-i pervāz-i ḫilāfetüm*) reach the pinnacle of the dome of heaven through the assistance of holy victories, and who, with the abundance of His endless grace and in accordance with His words "Obey the messenger and those among you charged with authority" (Qurʾan 4:59), has bound my imperial commands and prohibitions, and the reverberations of my fame, to the tongues of well-tempered swords and to the pens of my felicitous deputies.

Süleyman is glorified as the foremost among the rulers of the House of Osman, who over the generations have strengthened the foundations of religion by firmly welding it with the "lead of *kānūn*s." He is portrayed as the new David and Solomon, the messianic "emperor of the age" (*ḥażret-i ḫüdāyegān-i zamān*), whose saintly person, embodying all the virtues of the prophets and saints, combines temporal with spiritual sovereignty in his capacity as divinely appointed universal emperor and "caliph of the Glorious Lord" (*ḫalīfe-i Rabb-i Celīl*).[177]

This rhetoric resonates strikingly with the Marwanid concept of God's caliphate, as does the accompanying vision of a world empire expanding further east and west. The sultan's claim to universal rulership echoes a letter written to 'Abd al-Malik by the head of the Armenian Church (ca. 700), which addresses him as "the world conqueror of the universe."[178] The

persistent emphasis of the Süleymanic imperial program on his "legislative persona," aiming to perfectly harmonize sacred and secular forms of law (shariʿa and *ḳānūn*), has been interpreted by Cornell Fleischer as "an apocalyptic gesture" announcing the sultan's identity as the long-awaited messianic ruler of the tenth and last century of the Muslim era, who would revive the glory of Islam and fill the world with justice before the end of time. Süleyman's image as last world emperor and messianic renewer of religion and justice evolved in the early decades of his reign, culminating in the codification of the elderly caliph-sultan's ideal of pious sobriety and legalistic rectitude.[179] The conceptualization of a God-willed universal sovereignty, endowed with eschatological significance, took shape in the context of Süleyman's rivalry with the Habsburg emperor Charles V (r. 1519–58) in the west, and with the Safavid shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76) in the east.

Its final formulation crystallized in the religio-legal discourses of the renowned Hanafi jurist Ebussuʿud (d. 1574), who was appointed grand mufti in 1545 and became the sultan's trusted confidant during the last two decades of his reign.

As the supreme head of the judicial hierarchy, Ebussuʿud not only reconciled secular and religious laws, but also promoted his patron's public image as "Caliph of God on earth," with all its attendant implications for universal sovereignty. He proclaimed this notion through the honorific titles he accorded Süleyman in the dedicatory prefaces of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic texts that circulated among the empire's literate elite, and through monumental epigraphy, most notably the foundation inscription of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul (discussed below), which he composed in 964 (1557).[180] This grandiose mosque complex was built between 1548 and 1559, just around the

KEY FOR FIG. 15

Based on information provided by the son of the Shaykh of the Haram during a guided tour in 1865 (*Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, 35–36, and handwritten notes by Dr. Sandreczki).

GATES
(North): Gate of Paradise (*bāb al-janna*); (west) Western Gate (*bāb al-gharbī*); (south) Qibla Gate (*bāb al-qibla*); (east) Gate of the Prophet David (*bāb al-nabī dāwūd*)

CAVE
A. Gate of the Cave (*bāb al-maghāra*); B. Tongue of the Rock (*lisān al-ṣakhra*); C. Solomon's Mihrab (*miḥrāb sulaymān*) with nearby impression of the Prophet's head forming a small cavity in the Rock above (*maḥall raʾs al-nabī*); D. Pierced Hole of the Rock, through which the Prophet is said to have ascended; E. Station of al-Khiḍr (*maqām al-khiḍr*); F. Station of Abraham (*maqām al-khalīl*); G. David's Mihrab (*miḥrāb dāwūd*); H. Well of the Spirits (*biʾr al-arwāḥ*) above the hollow beneath the floor.

DOME OF THE ROCK
1. Paving Stone of Paradise (*balāṭa al-janna*) with Tomb of Solomon underneath (*qabr sulaymān*)
2. Marble screen with arcade of "mihrabs" in front of the Paving Stone of Paradise, called Representation of ʿAli's Sword (*taqlīd sayf ʿalī*) (The Prophet's sword, inherited by ʿAli, was made of the myrtle of Paradise: see Uri Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors in Early Shīʿa Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 [1979]: 47.)
3. Qibla of the Prophets (*qibla al-anbiyā*), a mihrab recess cut on the northeast corner of the Rock

4. Footprint of our Lord Enoch (*qadam sayyidnā idrīs*) on the eastern side of the Rock, a slight hollow on the marble pavement
5. Pierced Hole of the Rock
6. Tongue of the Rock (*lisān al-ṣakhra*), a protruding point above the inner entrance of the cave
7. Gate of the Cave (*bāb al-maghāra*)
8. Tribune of Muezzins
9. Pomegranates of the Prophet David (*rummān al-nabī dāwūd*), made by his own hand
10. Relic of the Banners of ʿUmar (*sanjaq ʿumar*), carried before him when he conquered Jerusalem, covered with cases
11. Saddle of al-Buraq (*sarj al-burāq*), close to the Prophet's Footprint, within the wooden railing surrounding the Rock
12. Footprint of the Prophet (*qadam muḥammad*) at the southwest corner of the Rock, where his foot last touched earth on his heavenward journey
13. Handprint of our Lord Gabriel (*kaff sayyidnā jabrāʾīl*) on the west side of the Rock, where the angel seized the Rock and held it down by force as it was rising with the Prophet
14. Buckler of our Lord Hamza (*turs sayyidnā ḥamza*), the Prophet's uncle's polished shield, ornamented with birds, peacocks, and animals in relief, enclosed in an open wooden case with the shield's front turned to the wall so as to hide the figures
15. Hanafi Mihrab (*miḥrāb al-ḥanafī*)
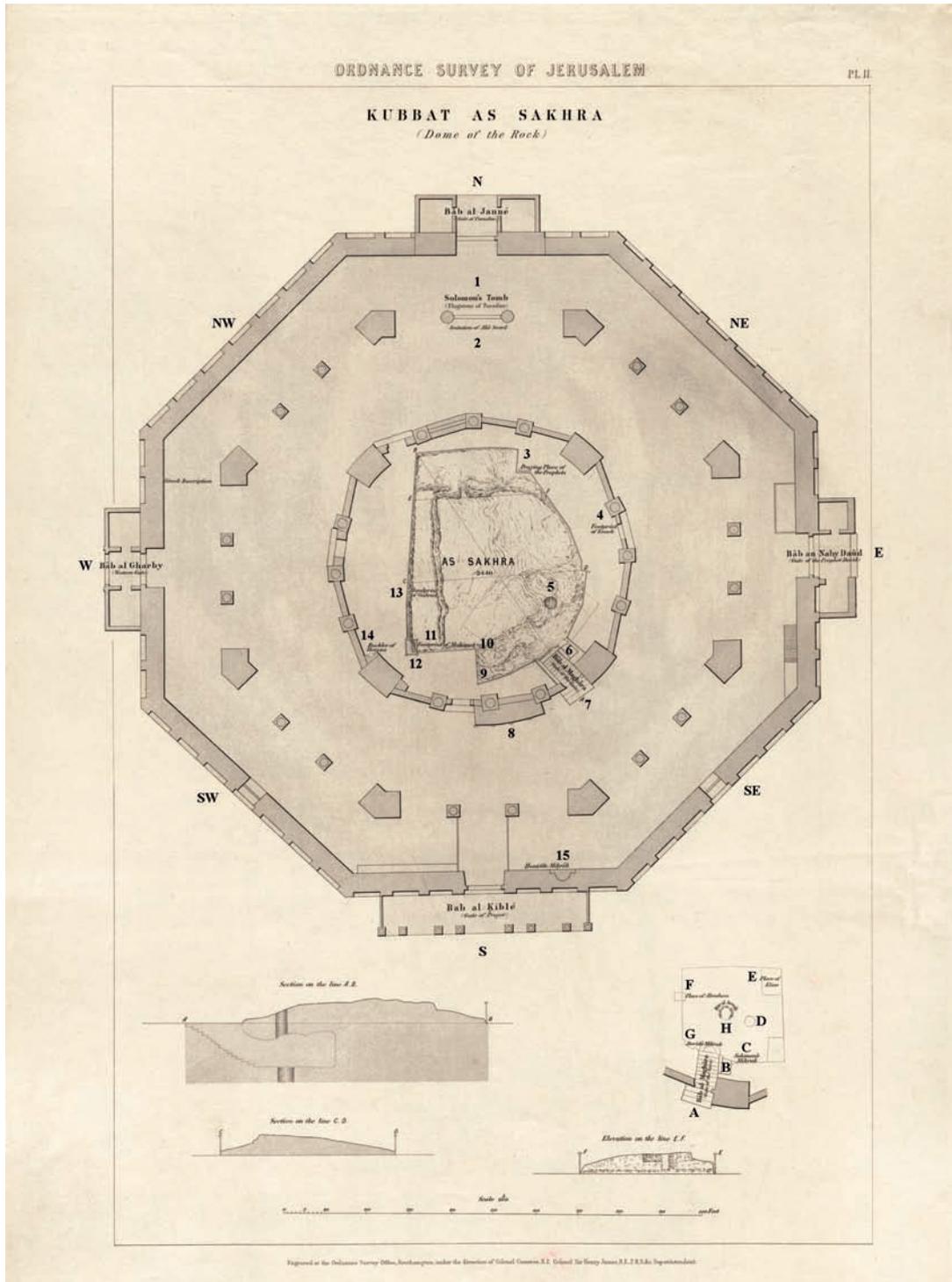
Fig. 15. Plan of the Dome of the Rock, with the Rock and cave shown in plan, elevation, and section; added numerals and letters correspond to the key on the opposite page. (After Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, pl. 2. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

time the sultan's tile revetments transformed the Dome of the Rock with an external decorative skin bearing powerful inscriptions dated 952 (1545–46) and 959 (1551–52). The subsequent recladding of the Dome of the Chain with tiles in 969 (1561–62), followed by the refitting of the Dome of the Rock's four gates with bronze-plated wooden doors in 972 (1564–65), marked the last stages of Süleyman's refurbishment of the Haram al-Sharif. Primarily focusing on the raised platform of the precinct, these successive renovation projects had been initiated in 935 (1528–29) with the installation of a new set of stained glass windows around the octagonal walls of the Dome of the Rock, the Qur'anic quotations of which I shall interpret in the next section, along with the sultan's other religious inscriptions superimposed on the building's palimpsestous surfaces.[181] Before turning to these Qur'anic texts, however, let us take a look at the public image that Süleyman constructed by means of Arabic historical inscriptions in Jerusalem and its Haram.

The honorific titles inscribed on the Dome of the Rock's stained glass windows articulate the sultan's aspiration for universal sovereignty without referring to his claim to caliphal status, which appears in later inscriptions (fig. 16). The completion date of these windows coincides with Süleyman's first siege of Vienna and the retaking of Buda in 1529, which followed a dazzling series of victories in the west—Belgrade in 1521, Rhodes in 1522, and Buda in 1526.[182] The windows may therefore have been a votive offering to obtain divine aid for his forthcoming campaign against the Habsburg emperor, who was then preparing a crusade with the aim of conquering Constantinople and liberating Jerusalem. The windows' epigraphic program has recently been reconstructed on the basis of fragmentary remains and lost inscriptions recorded in the nineteenth century.[183] The historical texts imploring God's support for the sultan and his armies acknowledge that the building provides direct access to divine benevolence: "O God, aid and sustain the armies of the Muslims by prolonging the days of our master, the sultan, the possessor of the necks of the nations (*mālik riqāb al-umam*), the sultan Süleyman, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Bayezid." Another window inscription refers to the patron as "our master, the sultan, the great king and the honored khaqan, the possessor of the necks of the nations, the sultan of the Arabs and Persians, Sultan Süleyman, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Bayezid."[184]
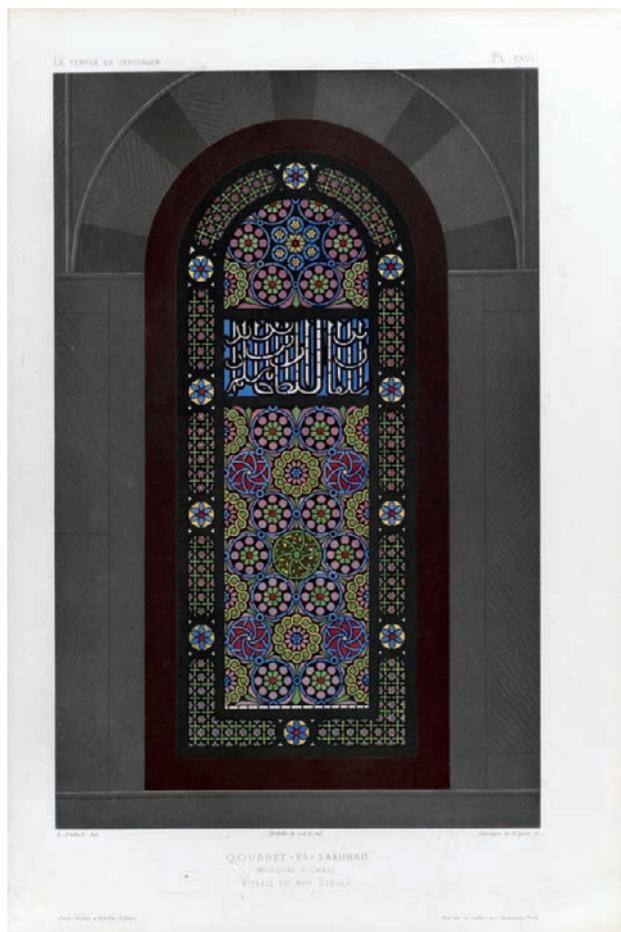
Fig. 16. Dome of the Rock, stained glass window inscribed *Süleymān bin es-Sulṭān Selīm Ḫān bin Bāyezīd*, on the southwest wall of the octagon. (After de Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. 26)

Preliminary research in the kadi court records (*sijill*) of Jerusalem has uncovered new information about Süleyman's construction activities, including references to restoration work carried out on the Aqsa Mosque and the Haram in 1530.[185] A now-lost inscription on a stained glass window of the Aqsa Mosque referred to the sultan's order to restore "the Noble Haram" and to renew its "affairs" (*maṣāliḥ*), but provided a date two decades after his death. It has been proposed that this date, 996 (1587), should be corrected to 936 (1529–30) under the assumption that Süleyman installed new windows at the Aqsa Mosque that year, after the ones made for the Dome of the Rock had been completed. Although some windows

seem to have been added to the mosque, the inscription refers to a more comprehensive restoration of the precinct as a whole.[186] Among the sultan's early projects, the Jerusalem court records also document the renovation in 1530 of the aqueduct that would supply water to the city's public fountains as well as those of the Haram, followed by the rebuilding of the citadel known as the Tower of David in 1531–32.[187]

Süleyman's construction projects in Jerusalem are generally associated with his self-conscious cultivation of a Solomonic image, as attested by two early inscriptions identifying him as the "second Solomon."[188] However, the wider implications of these projects, through which the sultan linked himself with the early Islamic tradition of caliphal patronage, have not been interpreted in light of the religious component of Ottoman dynastic ideology.[189] Some of Süleyman's inscriptions in Jerusalem hint at his conviction about the eschatological role he was destined to play during the last age of human history. This belief may have been among his reasons for focusing so intensely on the renewal of the city and its holy sanctuary; the final stage of the divine plan was to be preceded by the restoration of Jerusalem, one of the "signs of the Hour" mentioned in Umayyad and Ottoman apocalyptic texts predicting the successive fall of Constantinople and Rome.[190] Such a conviction is strongly implied by the sultan's inscription on the outer gate of the citadel, dated 938 (1531–32), which was renovated on the eve of another major campaign in central Europe against Charles V, who had just been crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the pope. Counting "King of Jerusalem" among his titles, the emperor had recently announced his plan to lead a crusade against the Ottomans to ensure "universal peace" and unity in Christendom.[191] The inscription on the citadel's outer gate asserts Süleyman's own claim to universal sovereignty, which also found expression in the tiara-like helmet with four superimposed crowns that was displayed during his campaign against the emperor and pope in 1532. The text ends with a remarkable prayer for the perpetuation of the sultan's life as long as the Dome of the Rock endures, namely, until the Last Day, when it will be replaced by the divine Throne perched above the primordial Rock:

> The order to restore this noble fortress was given by the great sultan and the magnanimous khaqan, the possessor of the necks of the nations, the patron of the people of the sword and the pen, the servitor of the Two Harams and the Most Holy Precinct [in Jerusalem] (*al-buqʿa*

al-aqdasiyya), may God sanctify the blessed souls of his forefathers, the source of security, and faith, and safety, the sultan, son of [the House of] Osman, the second Solomon, may God prolong his existence as long as [the duration of] the dome over the Rock (*mā dāma al-qubba ʿalā al-ṣakhra*)![192]

The only other surviving inscription in Jerusalem that includes the sultan's Solomonic title appears on Kasım Pasha's fountain, inside the Haram (fig. 3[38]). Dated 933 (1527), it refers to the universal monarch as "our master, the great sultan, the second Solomon in world sovereignty (*thānī Sulaymān fī mulk al-ʿālam*), son of Sultan Selim Khan, the amir of the amirs of the Arabs and the Persians."[193] Süleyman subsequently renovated the Pools of Solomon and the aqueduct for the water channel of his own charitable fountains, which he built in 943 (1536–37). Several of these fountains are situated outside the Haram gates, and one is attached to a "blessed mihrab" inside the northern edge of the precinct, near the Gate of Darkness (*bāb al-ʿatm*) (fig. 3[34]). The repetitive inscriptions of these "blessed fountains" (*al-sabīl al-mubārak*) once again ask God to perpetuate the reign of Süleyman, adding the Ottomans to the ruler's list of multinational subjects: "the sultan of the Ottomans (*al-rūm*), the Arabs, and the Persians."[194] The inscription on the fountain outside the Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*), also called the Gate of the Law Court (*bāb al-maḥkama*) in reference to the nearby shariʿa court (*maḥkama*), additionally begs God to let the sultan's "justice and beneficence" endure (fig. 3[1]). This fountain and its companion outside the Gate of the Cotton Merchants (*bāb al-qaṭṭānīn*) feature extra titles exalting their patron as "the glory of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God in the universe, and the protector of the Two Noble Harams (*ʿizz al-islām wa ʾl-muslimīn, ẓill Allāh fī ʾl-ʿālamīn, ḥāmī al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*)."[195]

Süleyman thereafter ordered the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls, which had remained in a dilapidated state for nearly three centuries, since the Ayyubids had demolished them in order to prevent the Christians from reoccupying the city. Dated to between the years 944 and 947 (1537 and 1541) by their inscriptions, these "blessed walls" (*al-sūr al-mubārak*) complemented the sultan's fortification projects around Mecca and Medina, literally and symbolically bringing the third holy city of Islam under Süleyman's protection.[196] Documents in the Jerusalem *sijill* records have shown that the construction overseer (*al-amīn*) of the

waterworks and the city walls was a royal tax collector, the painter-decorator called Muhammad Çelebi al-Naqqash. He is referred to in an Ottoman Turkish document as "the construction overseer (emīn) known as Nakkaş Mehmed," who was responsible for the building project of the sultan's water channel and for establishing its waqfs.[197] We learn from the sijills of Jerusalem that between 1537 and 1541 he directed some of the funds reserved for the city walls to ongoing renovations at the Haram—300 gold coins "for the gilding of the [dome] finial of the Dome of the Rock," and 100 gold coins for the Aqsa Mosque.[198] The dome may have been restored prior to the creation of its gilded finial; an illustrated Persian guidebook for pilgrims, written in 968 (1560–61) mentions an order by Süleyman to renovate the dome surrounded by windows over the Rock when the city walls were being constructed.[199] It was also around that time that the governor of Jerusalem and Gaza, Mehmed Beg, used his own funds to refurbish the "blessed" Red Mihrab bearing an inscription dated 945 (1538–39) and now located on the floor of the Prophet's Dome (qubbat al-nabī), which seems to have been built over it later on (fig. 3[26]).[200]

During a formal shariʿa court session held in 948 (1541–42) at the Dome of the Chain, Muhammad al-Naqqash testified that he had endowed the completed aqueduct and nine sabīls in the sultan's name.[201] In 950 (1543–44), two years before the Dome of the Rock's drum was refaced with external tile revetments, he is mentioned in a document as "the construction overseer of the Haram of the exalted Rock" (al-amīn ʿalā ḥaram al-ṣakhra al-musharrafa), that is, of the raised platform.[202] This otherwise unknown painter-decorator, who died in 1549, must therefore have played a prominent role in the design process not only of Jerusalem's city walls and fountains but also of the Dome of the Rock's tile revetment program (fig. 17, a and b).[203] After the tiling of the drum, that of the octagon was completed in 959 (1551–52), the date provided on the sultan's tilework foundation inscription at the building's north gate, to which we shall return. I have found a confirmation of that date in the unpublished chronicle of Mustafa ʿAli, which lists the renovation of the Dome of the Rock among Sultan Süleyman's major building projects. The passage suggests that the project involved more than external tile revetments, and perhaps included the renewal of marble revetments as well: "In Jerusalem the Noble, the interior and exterior of the exalted Rock of God

(ṣaḥratu'llāh-i müşerrefe) was [re]built with the installation of tiles (kāşī) and its construction reached completion in 959."[204]

This was, indeed, the "master stroke" of the sultan's building activities at the Haram al-Sharif, a tour de force of unmatched boldness not attempted by previous rulers, whose restorations had preserved the Umayyad appearance of the Dome of the Rock. Placing his personal stamp on the focal point of the pilgrimage complex, the Ottoman sultan visually reclaimed the sanctity of the Rock in a manner that recalls the precedent set by ʿAbd al-Malik. This gesture reaffirmed the preeminence of the Dome of the Rock within the complex, captured by its aggrandizing designation in some Ottoman sources as the "Rock of God" (ṣaḥratu'llāh), which not only rhymes with that of the Kaʿba (kāʿbetu'llāh) but also echoes the name it was given by the Crusaders: Templum Domini.[205] According to Theodore Spandounes' early-sixteenth-century dynastic history, "the Turks" did not consider the annual Meccan pilgrimage complete unless it included "the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem." The early Ottoman veneration of the sanctuary is also attested by pilgrimage accounts from the fifteenth century, and by Sultan Murad II's endowment of Qurʾan readerships on his behalf at the Dome of the Rock in 1430.[206] Indeed, the number of Qurʾan manuscripts with appointed readers donated to the Aqsa Mosque in the Ottoman period makes up not even a tenth of the total endowed to the Dome of the Rock, suggesting that, for most donors, the sanctity of the latter exceeded that of the former. Süleyman's personal veneration of the Rock is exemplified by the four rabʿas of the Qurʾan that he donated to the Dome of the Rock, stipulating that they should be read there after every morning prayer for the salvation of his late father's soul.[207] Unlike Selim, however, he would not fulfill his professed desire to perform a pilgrimage to the Haram al-Sharif, despite two recorded attempts to do so—in 1548 and 1553–54—while he was residing in Aleppo during consecutive campaigns against the Safavids.[208]

According to Robert Hillenbrand, "since there is no evidence that the external mosaics which rendered the building unique had suffered serious damage over the centuries," Süleyman's glazed tile revetments on the Dome of the Rock "destroyed something exceptional in order to replace it by something commonplace—for by the mid-16th century the major imperial Ottoman religious buildings were frequently clad in lavish tilework." He argues that the interior of the monu-

Fig. 17, a and b. Dome of the Rock, details of external tile revetments. (After de Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem,* pls. 27, 28)

Fig. 18. Dome of the Rock, external tile revetments with inscription bands on the drum and octagon. (Photo: Charles & Josette Lanars/Corbis)

ment was left virtually untouched because it "lacked the exceptional visibility, and therefore the propaganda potential, of the exterior," which the sultan refurbished with a mode of decoration alien to the local context as a way to "stake a claim for this especially holy site."[209] The cumulative deterioration of the external mosaics through exposure to the elements and as a result of the patchwork repairs recorded in Mamluk sources should not, however, be underestimated. Moreover, they probably suffered additional damage in the earthquake of 1545, the year when the tilework inscription band around the top of the drum (ending with the date 952 [1545–46]) was executed (fig. 18).[210]

Another earthquake struck precisely at the time when the octagonal walls of the Dome of the Rock were being refaced with tiles. According to an imperial decree issued in 1552, Süleyman was informed by Haydar Kethüda, the waqf administrator of his wife Hürrem Sultan's hospice complex in Jerusalem (built between 1550 and 1557), that the recent earthquake,

which had necessitated repairs at the sanctuary in Hebron, had also destroyed "some parts of the fortified wall on the east side of the Noble Rock of God." The sultan commands the governor of Damascus to send experts to these sites in order to have cost estimates prepared for their restoration.[211] The letters that Süleyman exchanged with the governors of Damascus, the sub-governors of Jerusalem (subordinate to the province of Damascus), and the waqf administrator of his wife's hospice suggest that he was well informed about the renovations at the Haram al-Sharif, which were undertaken on the basis of written recommendations submitted as petitions by his deputies. Such a petition may have initiated the decoration of the Dome of the Chain with tiles: a document in the Jerusalem *sijill*s of 12 April 1562 reports that this domed edifice was in need of renovation with "*qāshānī* work" on both its interior and its exterior surfaces, as well as on the inner face of its mihrab. The tilework inscription band above the extant Mamluk mihrab bears the date 969 (1561–62).[212]

The tile revetments of the Dome of the Rock and its smaller companion are hardly "commonplace" in terms of their decorative program; their complete coverage of every surface was uncommon in the Ottoman architectural tradition characterized by sober stone masonry outer façades. Taking seven years to complete, the sequence of sheathing the Dome of the Rock's exterior with tiles moved from top to bottom—starting with the mosaic tile inscription band below the dome, continuing with the cuerda seca tiles of the drum, and ending with the octagon below. The process was marked by a transition from cuerda seca to underglaze tiles that echoed innovations introduced just around that time in Iznik. John Carswell and Julian Raby believe these tiles were locally produced near the Haram under the supervision of a Persian tilemaker, judging by the signature of ʿAbd Allah al-Tabrizi, the scribe who wrote the 959 (1551–52) foundation inscription of the north gate, and who may have fashioned the tilework as well (fig. 19).[213]

The tiles covering all surfaces above the marble-panelled dadoes translate the aesthetic effect of walls draped in polychrome mosaics into a new medium, harmonized with the dominant blue, green, and yellow color scheme of the internal mosaics (figs. 20 and 21). Grabar has observed that "Süleyman's teams of architects and craft masters maintained and strengthened the effect of light through color that had been part of the Dome of the Rock since Umayyad times."[214] By preserving the interior decorations, with their palimpsestic overlay of inscriptions recording the successive repairs of former rulers, the Ottoman sultan linked his own refurbishment of this unrivaled monument with the memories of past dynasties. The foundation inscription on the outer tympanum tiles of the north gate expresses his intention to "praise God" by restoring the original splendor of the building, which had lost its initial aesthetic glory due to "defects" (fig. 20):

> He has renovated, as an act of praising God, part of the Dome of the Rock in His Holy House (*qad jaddada bi-ḥamdihi ʾllāh min qubbat al-ṣakhra bi-baytihi ʾl-muqaddas*), whose construction and splendor surpasses all, and has provided resources flowing like water from his pure watering places to quench the thirst of the defects (*quṣūr*) of its agreeable and beautiful edifice, and has made it more graceful during the shade of his reign, the greatest sultan and the most noble khaqan, the middle [largest] pearl of the necklace of the caliphate by stipulation and demonstration (*wāsiṭat al-khilāfa bi ʾl-naṣṣ wa ʾl-burhān*), the father of conquest Süleyman Khan, son of the sultan

renowned for generosity, the father of victory Selim Khan, son of the one distinguished by excellencies and divine assistance, the possessor of glories, Sultan Bayezid, son of the sultan, the most illustrious warrior of the faith, Sultan Mehmed, descendant of [the House of] Osman, may the clouds of blessing pour down on their graves, and he has brought back to it that ancient splendor through the superiority of skilled architects (*al-bahāʾ al-qadīm bi-fawāqat ḥudhdhāq al-muhandisīn*) in the year 959 (1551–52); and they made it in the most beautiful manner (*fajaʿalūhu fī aḥsan qadr*) and ʿAbdallah of Tabriz was honored to write its inscription.[215]

The date refers to the completion of the renovation project as marked by the installation of vivid polychromatic tiles, which are more spectacular than mosaics when seen from afar. The "skilled architects" who executed the repairs and installed the tiles may have been supervised by Muhammad ibn Qasim, who is mentioned in a document of 21 July 1551 as the "chief architect" (*miʿmārbaşı*) in charge of "the tilework" (*ʿalā ʿamal al-kāshī*).[216] Glorifying Süleyman's dynastic genealogy, the inscription boldly proclaims his caliphal status, much like the 1552 endowment deed of his wife's hospice in Jerusalem, the preamble to which identifies him as the "possessor of the Greatest Imamate" and the "inheritor of the Greatest Caliphate."[217] Another sultanic inscription that asserts Süleyman's claim to the caliphate appears on a now-buried fragmentary marble panel commemorating his construction of a bastion near the citadel (ca. 1533–38). It refers to the monarch as the one whom God has specially favored "to rule the necks of the kings of the world and with the possession of the throne of the caliphate by merit (*tamalluk sarīr al-khilāfa bi ʾl-istiḥqāq*)."[218]

The Arabic foundation inscription of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, composed by the grand mufti Ebussuʿud in 1557, even more emphatically asserts Süleyman's secular and divine right to the universal sultanate and caliphate. Stressing his role as lawgiver, it refers to him as having "drawn near to [God], the Lord of Majesty and Omnipotence, the Creator of the World of Dominion and Sovereignty, [Sultan Süleyman] made mighty with divine power, the caliph resplendent with divine glory, who performs the command of the hidden book [i.e., the celestial prototype of the Qurʾan] and executes its decrees in [all] regions of the inhabited quarter, the conqueror of the lands of the Orient and Occident with the help of Almighty God and his victorious army, the possessor of the kingdoms of the world, shadow of God over all peoples, sultan

Fig. 19. Dome of the Rock, north tympanum tiles, detail of foundation inscription with date and signature. (Photo: Garry Braasch/Corbis)
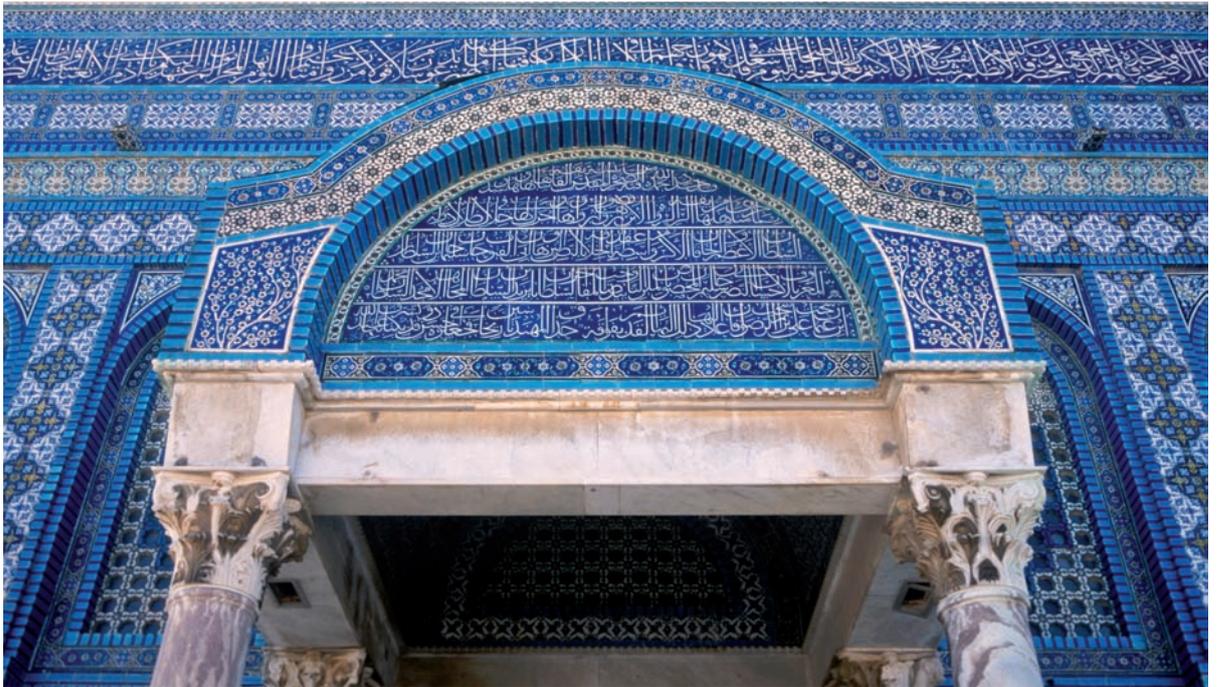
Fig. 20. Dome of the Rock, north tympanum tiles with foundation inscription. (Photo: John Arnold/Corbis)

of the sultans of the Arabs and the Persians, promulgator of the sultanic law codes, tenth of the Ottoman khaqans…may the line of his sultanate endure until the end of the line of the ages."[219] The last title also appears in the Ottoman Turkish endowment deed of Süleyman's water supply system in Istanbul, registered in 1565, shortly before his death. This document refers to him as "the possessor of the Greatest Imamate (*māliki'l-imāmeti'l-ʿuzmā*)" and "the inheritor of the Greatest Caliphate (*vārisi'l-ḫilāfeti'l-kübrā*)," who is the "provider of flowing water in such Muslim cities as the sacred Jerusalem and the well-protected Constantinople (*qosṭanṭiniyye*), the restorer (*müceddid*) of religion and its strengthener in the beginning of the tenth century [of the Hegira], with the confirmation of divine support, the tenth and the greatest of the sultans descending from the exalted Ottoman family, the most just of all the sultans."[220]

The tenth and foremost ruler of the House of Osman thus claims to be the divinely appointed messianic renewer of religion and justice in the tenth and last century of the Muslim era. Süleyman continued until the end of his life to refurbish the Dome of the Rock, which marked the future site of the Last Judgment. Just before he died, he further enhanced it with four pairs of bronze-plated wooden doors; those installed at the east and west gates bear the date 972 (1564–65), while the south and north gates feature undated Qur'anic inscriptions.[221] Prior to the creation of these doors, the Dome of the Chain was refaced with tile revetments. The tilework inscription band above its mihrab indirectly alludes to Süleyman's divinely sanctioned caliphate and his Davidic justice, ending with a supplication expressing his hope to live until the end of days:

> *Basmala.* O David, We have appointed you as a viceroy (*khalīfa*) on earth, therefore judge between humankind justly and follow not desire, lest it lead you astray from the path of God" (Qur'an 38:26). God is the speaker of truth, the Great, the Generous! He ordered to renew [with] these tiles (*al-kāshānī*) the noble sultanic station
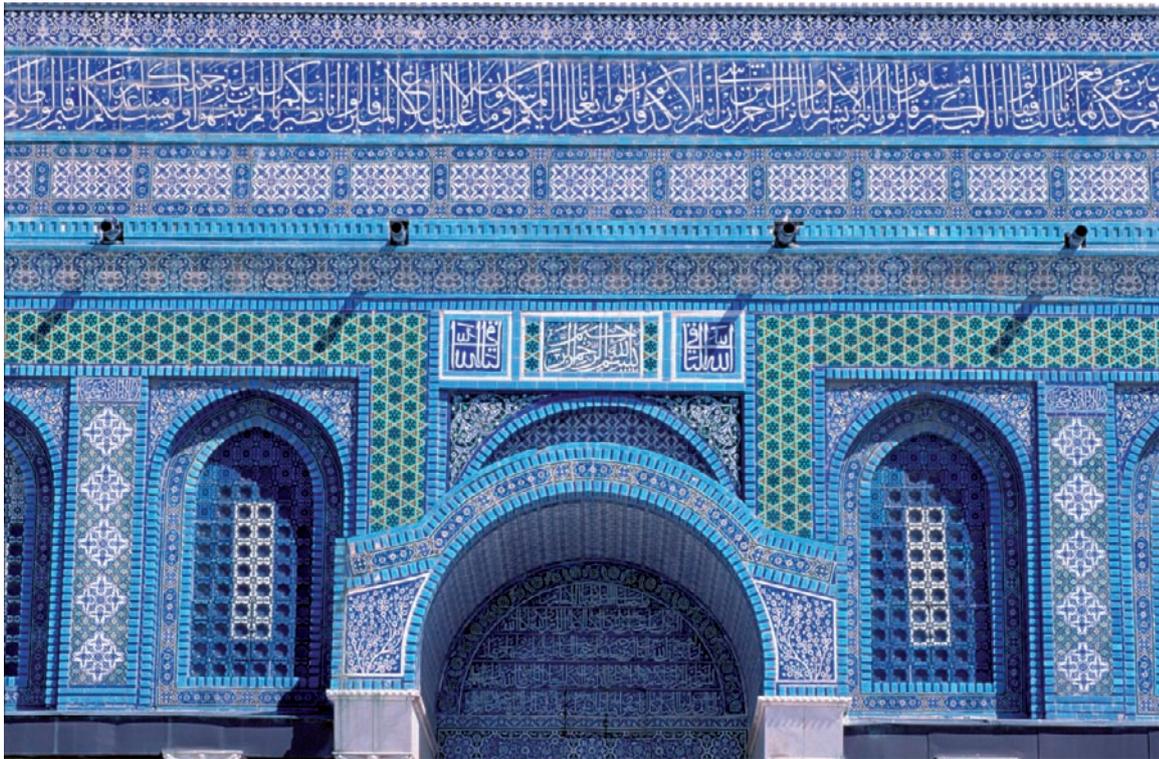

Fig. 21. Dome of the Rock, south tympanum and octagon tile revetments with inscriptions. (Photo: Carmen Rodondo/Corbis)

(*al-maqām al-sharīf al-sultānī*) our master, the sultan Süleyman, son of Selim, son of Bayezid Khan, may God prolong his sovereignty and perpetuate his reign until the Day of Judgment (*yawm al-mī'ād*, Day of Promise). In the year 969 (1561–62).[222]

The same verse, which concludes with a warning about the awful doom awaiting those who "wander away from the path of God" and "forget the Day of Reckoning," is partially quoted on the sultan's bronze-plated doors at the Dome of the Rock's east gate, named after David in Ottoman times (fig. 15). Hence, the door inscriptions make reference to the neighboring Dome of the Chain, as does 'Abd al-Malik's epigraphic bronze plaque on the same gate (then in situ), alluding to the divine origin of earthly authority and to the Day of Resurrection.[223] The parallel between Sultan Süleyman's and David's appointment as God's caliph in order to administer justice is also stressed in contemporary Ottoman texts. For example, the preface of Ebussu'ud's renowned commentary on the Qur'an, dedicated to Süleyman in 1566, declares the sultan to be the person upon whom "God Most High has bestowed the caliphate of the earth" and whom "He has chosen for its sultanate through its length and breadth." Ebussu'ud likewise greets the sultan as "the caliph of God Most High on His earth" in a treatise on ritual ablution written around that time.[224] The Dome of the Chain is identified as "the prophet David's tribunal (*maḥkeme*)" by Evliya Çelebi, who devoutly offered prayers at its mihrab.[225] Designated by its inscription as a quasi-sacred royal edifice, the Dome of the Chain was, as we have seen, occasionally the venue for legal proceedings of the shari'a court (adjacent to the Gate of the Law Court, fig. 3[1]), which were presided over by the caliph-sultan's deputies. It is not a coincidence, then, that the "lawgiver" Süleyman lavished his personal attention on the renovation of this highly charged domical edifice, which mediated between the realms of heavenly and earthly justice.

The "second Solomon," Süleyman, is frequently also called a "second David" in contemporary sources.[226] It is noteworthy that the sultan's earliest building project in Jerusalem was the Mosque of the Prophet David (*masjid al-nabī dāwūd*), which adjoined that prophet's revered tomb at the Coenaculum in Mount Zion; an inscription dated 930 (1524) records the order to create this masjid by the "sultan of humankind, the defender of the religion of Islam, the servitor of the House of the Sacred Precinct [in Jerusalem] (*khādim al-bayt al-ḥaram*), and the establisher of justice and

security."[227] Just around that time, in 1523, Elijahu Capsali of Candia completed his Hebrew chronicle, in which he hails Sultan Süleyman as the emperor of the last kingdom of world history, which would precipitate the gathering of the exiles into Jerusalem as well as the coming of the messiah, who was predicted to appear in the year 1529–30, an event that Capsali hoped to witness personally: "He [Süleyman] is the tenth king [sultan] of the Turks, and the tenth one shall be holy to the Lord (Leviticus 27:32); in his days Judah shall be delivered…and a redeemer shall come to Zion (Isaiah 59:20)." The gradual process of appropriating the dependencies of Masjid al-Nabi Dawud from the Fransican monks culminated in the final expulsion of the order in 1551–52 and the *prise de possession* of the venerated complex as a personal waqf of the Ottoman sultan.[228]

Cornell Fleischer has argued that Süleyman's "legal innovations were founded on the assumption of extraordinary legislative authority that was the natural concomitant of his messianic identity." The "apocalyptic content of Süleymanic ideology" was in part derived from the popular expectation of momentous change throughout the Mediterranean world; chroniclers often attributed to the arrival of the millennium his ability to bring about startling transformations in the Ottoman order. A chronicle of Süleyman's reign written in 1540 by Sena'i, for instance, describes the sovereign as "the world emperor and messiah of the last age" (*ṣāḥib-ḳırān ve mehdī-yi āḫirü'z-zamān*). The 1543 rescension of Mevlana Isa's Ottoman chronicle also salutes him as the universal ruler and renewer of religion (*müceddid*), destined to combine temporal with spiritual authority in the last age of history. It provides a list of "signs" pointing to the imminent end of time and predicts that Süleyman will inaugurate the millennium in the year 960 (1552–53), either as mahdi-messiah or as his forerunner.[229]

The influential court chancellor Mustafa Celalzade, who around that time translated for the sultan a recently written Persian biography of the Prophet, characterizes Süleyman in similar terms. In the dedicatory preface of this work, dated 959 (1551–52), the year the Dome of the Rock's foundation inscription was written, Celalzade prays God to make lofty the edifice of the "world emperor" (*ṣāḥib-ḳırān*) Süleyman's caliphate until the Day of Judgment, affirming that he is "certainly the messiah of the last age" (*muḳarrer mehdī-yi āḫir zamāndur*).[230] Celalzade refers to his patron as the "unique possessor of the noblest

caliphate and sultanate, the servitor of the Two Venerable Harams, and the lord of the Two Great Qiblas (*ḳıbleteyn-i muʿazzamateyn*).” The last epithet captures the pride the caliph-sultan derived from being the guardian of both the Jerusalem and the Meccan sanctuaries, the loci of the first and second qiblas of Islam. The augmented sacralization of the “Rock of God,” amplified by the visual impact of Süleyman’s restorations, is comparable to its architectural glorification by ʿAbd al-Malik. Just like the Marwanid caliphs who prided themselves on being the lords of the two “houses” (*bayt*) of God in Mecca and Jerusalem, the Ottoman sultan particularly exalted the Kaʿba and the Dome of the Rock in his renovation projects in the three holiest cities of Islam.[231]

Evliya Çelebi refers to the Dome of the Rock as the “Masjid of the Rock of God” (*mescid-i ṣaḫratu’llāh*), where large congregations performed the five daily prayers in accordance with the Hanafi rite (to which the Ottomans subscribed), while other *madhdhab*s were assigned their own prayer spaces, as in Mamluk times. He proudly declares that only the Ottoman emperor, who no doubt is the greatest ruler on the face of the earth, could be the possessor of the Dome of the Rock, a world-renowned “House of God” (*beytu’llāh*) unequalled in its astonishing beauty. He attributes to the prophet-kings David and Solomon the construction of the grand complex, which continued to be venerated by Muslims. Pointing out that the Dome of the Rock was built by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan, embellished by later rulers as the “former qibla,” and exquisitely renovated by Sultan Süleyman, he states that during his thirty-eight years of travel he has not encountered anything like this unique building, a veritable replica of the pavilion at the uppermost level of the eight paradises (*ḳaṣr-i ʿilliyyīn*), resembling the legendary Khawarnaq palace.[232]

Evliya’s mid-seventeenth-century description of the Rock sheds light on popular perceptions of its sanctity in the Ottoman context, as he was given a tour of the complex by pilgrim guides. He reports that earlier historians have said that both the “Rock of God” and the Black Stone of the Kaʿba originated in Paradise. He also cites some commentators of the Qurʾanic verse “His are the keys (*maqālīd*) of the heavens and the earth” (Qurʾan 42:12) who identified the “Rock of God” as the second of the “two keys” (mountains) that God created on earth, the first being the Mountain of ʿArafat in Mecca, and the second the one in Jerusalem. The “Rock of God” was therefore vener-

ated from the beginning of creation and served as the qibla of the “sons of Adam” until the direction of prayer changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. Evliya says that it is popularly known as the “suspended rock” (*muʿallaḳ ṭaş*) because it has been hanging in midair by the power of the Almighty ever since the Prophet ascended from it to heaven on al-Buraq; at that time the Rock levitated and begged with its tongue to accompany Muhammad, who in turn replied, “O Rock of God, remain suspended, by God’s permission!”[233]

As we have seen, a different version of this tradition appears in Nasir-i Khusraw’s travelogue (1047) from the late Fatimid period. The Andalusian jurist Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1148), who visited Jerusalem about half a century later during the Seljuk period, further elaborated upon the same tradition in his commentary on the Qurʾanic verse 24:18, where he mentioned the Rock and described his encounter with it around 1092–95. His description was then copied in and disseminated by Mamluk texts on Jerusalem from which Evliya’s account seems to derive.[234] Ibn al-ʿArabi refers to the Rock as “one of God’s wonders” because it stays aloft by nothing other than what keeps the heavens from falling onto the earth “except by His permission.” Ibn al-ʿArabi reports that the Prophet’s footprint was imprinted on the Rock’s southern side as he ascended to heaven with al-Buraq, and that the Rock leaned in the Prophet’s direction in reverence to him. On the other side were the fingerprints of the angels who grasped the Rock when it leaned over with the Prophet. Both of these commemorative sites are marked on a plan of the Dome of the Rock made in 1865, which records the spots revered in it and its cave during the late Ottoman period (fig. 15[12, 13]). Nasir-i Khusraw’s earlier account refers only to the footprints of Isaac above the Rock, on which the Prophet prayed before moving to the Dome of the Ascension; according to him, it was the Prophet who held the Rock in place when it rose up to honor him and then proceeded to the site of his Ascension to mount on al-Buraq. Ibn al-ʿArabi’s version foreshadows the predominant association of the Rock with the Ascension of the Prophet in the post-Crusader era, even though divergent interpretations continued to prevail. Upon entering the cave underneath with trepidation, Ibn al-ʿArabi observed that the Rock was indeed disconnected from the earth, with some of its parts more detached than others. Quoting this eyewitness account, the Mamluk historian Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali explains that the Rock is said to have

remained hanging between heaven and earth until a pregnant woman went under it and was so overcome by fear that she lost her baby. He speculates that the circular structure constructed around the Rock, so as to conceal its frightful suspension from human eyes, must have been created after Ibn al-ʿArabi's visit.[235]

According to Evliya, it was one of the caliphs who had a thin partition wall erected under the Rock so that those visiting the cave could offer their prayers in peace, since its suspension frightened pilgrims and caused many pregnant women to miscarry. Yet he notes that a finger, or at some places even a hand, could still be inserted between the Rock and the wall. Sayyid ʿAli al-Husayni, the author of the above-mentioned Persian pilgrimage manual written in 1560-61, fancifully imagines that Sultan Süleyman ordered the renovation of the domed edifice with windows around the "Rock of God" because it had been reported to him that some pregnant women had miscarried from the terrifying sight of its suspension between heaven and earth.[236] Among the blessed traces on the Rock, Evliya mentions the mark left by the Prophet's turban as he prayed in its cave and the imprint left by his head and knees when he subsequently prostrated himself on the Rock proper, prior to his Ascension. Observing that pilgrims circumambulate (ṭavāf) the inaccessible Rock outside its balustrade, he lists the visitation places (makāmāt) around it, which included the Prophet's right footprint, displayed in a silver-grilled cupboard, complemented by other venerated sites inside the Aqsa Mosque and on the Haram precinct (fig. 15[12]).[237] A mid-sixteenth-century Arabic guidebook for pilgrims written by Nasir al-Din Muhammad b. Khidr al-Rumi, suggests that the number of visitation places within the Dome of the Rock and its cave may have proliferated after its refurbishment by Sultan Süleyman, although some of them are already mentioned in Mamluk sources.[238]

THE EXEGETICAL OVERLAY OF QUR'ANIC INSCRIPTIONS

The messages of Süleyman's historical inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock, announcing his titles and aspirations, were enhanced by the universal Qur'anic affirmations that were overlaid on its surfaces. These religious inscriptions can be read as a dialogical commentary on ʿAbd al-Malik's epigraphic program, providing insights into how the building was perceived by the Ottoman sultan and his advisers. Inscribed on several parts of the building along with the name of the patron, they actively construct exegetical meaning by reinterpreting the signification of the Dome of the Rock with more explicit eschatological overtones. Despite the then-prevalent association of the Rock with the Prophet's Ascension, these inscriptions primarily glorify God, for whom, according to his foundation inscription, Süleyman renovated the building "as an act of praise."

The earliest Qur'anic quotations, which appear on the sultan's stained glass windows inside the building, echo ʿAbd al-Malik's inscriptions in their emphasis on the absolute sovereignty of God and the messengership of the Prophet, but they are marked by more pronounced eschatological references to rewards awaiting believers in Paradise. Following a counterclockwise direction, the window inscriptions begin at the west side of the southern wall with verses from the Sura of Victory (48:1–5), which announce the manifest victory granted to the Prophet by the merciful God, to whom belongs all the forces of the heavens and the earth.[239] The quoted verses mention the divine favors bestowed upon the Prophet and promise him help and guidance on the "straight path" (sirāṭ al-mustaqīm). They declare that God strengthens the faith of believers by sending down tranquility (al-sakīna) into their hearts, so that He may admit them into the gardens of paradise, which is a great triumph in His sight. The next windows cite a short verse confirming the oneness and mercy of God: "Your God is One God; there is no God save Him, the Beneficent, the Merciful" (Qur'an 2:163). This is followed by the Throne Verse (Qur'an 2:255), repeated in earlier inscriptions, which exalts the omnipotence and omniscience of the eternal God, whose Throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and without whose permission nobody can intercede with Him on behalf of the believers on the Day of Judgment.

Süleyman's historical epigraphs, which we have already discussed, begin on the windows at the east side of the northern wall and end at the southwest, thereby delineating an axis within the building that separates secular texts from religious ones. This axis is reinforced by the placement of the sultan's tilework foundation inscription on the outer tympanum of the north gate, with its counterpart on the tiled tympanum of the south gate, facing the qibla direction and featuring Qur'anic inscriptions exclusively (figs. 19, 20, and 21). The primacy of the north–south axis

is visually marked by distinctive tile panels depicting blossoming prunus trees with paradisiacal associations, which flank the arches of the north and south gates. The less prominent east and west gates feature neither "paradise trees" nor tympana with epigraphic tiles. The historical window inscriptions, which beg God to aid Süleyman's armies and prolong his life, are accompanied by a short Qurʾanic verse that hints at his being among the rightly guided ones and at his maintenance of the building, now functioning as a mosque: "Only he shall tend the mosques of God who believes in God and the Last Day, and observes the prayers, and pays the alms, and fears none but God alone" (Qurʾan 9:18).

The two tilework inscription bands that encircle the exterior of the Dome of the Rock emphatically reinforce the underlying eschatological message of ʿAbd al-Malik's epigraphic program (fig. 18).[240] The one around the drum partially cites the Sura of the Night Journey (Qurʾan 17:1–20), thereby explicitly connecting it with the sanctity of the Rock, which is environed by blessed precincts. Starting at the southeast buttress of the drum, the quoted verses affirm the glory of God, who carried His servant there by night to reveal some of His signs. The verses describe how the Temple was destroyed twice to punish the Children of Israel when they disobeyed the divine scriptures revealed to Moses; they also confirm that the Qurʾan provides guidance to the "straightest path" leading to salvation on the Last Day, when a painful doom awaits those who disbelieve in the Hereafter.[241] The transfer of this sura from the Aqsa Mosque (where its first verse had been quoted in earlier inscriptions) to the more visible exterior of the Dome of the Rock recenters the grand complex around the Rock of God, by then commonly identified as the site of the Prophet's Ascension. The drum inscription also foregrounds the eschatological connection between the "signs" of God's sovereignty witnessed by the Prophet and the imminent end of time.

The reality of the impending Day of Judgment is further underscored by the second epigraphic band along the upper edge of the octagon, which fully quotes Sura Yā Sīn, whose very title is one of the epithets attributed to the Prophet (Qurʾan 36:1–83) (figs. 18 and 21).[242] Beginning at the southeast, it thematically complements the Ayyubid mosaic inscription surrounding the inner base of the drum, which cites Sura Tā Hā, whose title is yet another epithet of the Prophet (Qurʾan 20:1–21) (fig. 10). Both suras affirm

that the Qurʾan was revealed to the chosen Prophet by the beneficent creator of the heavens and the earth as a reminder of the approaching Hour.[243] The sura called Yā Sīn starts with a declaration of the divine source of the Qurʾan, sent to the Prophet as a warning of the day of reckoning and as a good tiding of the rewards promised to the believers in Paradise. The sura confirms the immense power of God displayed in the bountiful "signs" of His creation and concludes by instructing the Prophet to remind disbelievers that all created beings ultimately return to Him, by saying to them:

> Is not He, who created the heavens and the earth, able to create (again) the like of them? Indeed He is the All-Knowing Creator. When He intends a thing, His command is "Be" and it is. So glory be to Him, in whose hands is the dominion over all things and unto Him will you be brought back!

Süleyman's Qurʾanic inscriptions thus reiterate the idea of the absolute sovereignty of God as an essential component of cosmology and eschatology, forcefully amplifying the latent narrative strands of ʿAbd al-Malik's epigraphic program. The message that emanates from the polychromatic tiled surfaces of the Dome of the Rock is a glorious vision of divine justice and the promise of salvation for the rightly guided, just believers.[244] Süleyman's Qurʾanic inscriptions on the gates of the building provide additional commentary on its many associations. The tilework epigraphic band on the inner face of the north gate's tympanum (behind the sultan's foundation inscription) evokes the name given that gate in Mamluk and Ottoman sources, the Gate of Paradise (bāb al-janna), which, according to Ibn Kathir was one of the "deceitful signs and marks" of the Last Day depicted in the Haram during the times of ʿAbd al-Malik. The same name appears in Nasir al-Din al-Rumi's mid-sixteenth-century guidebook for pilgrims, which instructs the visitor to enter the building from the north gate and then pray at the Black Paving Stone across from its threshold, associated with Paradise and divine mercy since Marwanid times (figs. 4[1] and 15[1]). The tilework inscription band of Süleyman on the north gate quotes Qurʾanic verses promising believers God's forgiveness and His acceptance of them into the eternal gardens of paradise: "Their Lord gives them the good tidings of His mercy, and acceptance, and gardens of lasting bliss, where they will dwell forever" (Qurʾan 9:21 and part of 22).[245]

The sultan's bronze-plated doors at the same gate feature upper inscription bands that similarly welcome believers into the gardens of paradise, and quote the opening sentence of Solomon's letter inviting the Queen of Sheba to surrender to the true faith: "These are the Gardens of Eden, so enter you to dwell therein" (a paraphrase of several Qur'anic verses) and "It is from Solomon, and it says, 'In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate'" (Qur'an 27:30). The reference here to Solomon seems to allude to an early tradition that locates his tomb in a subterranean corridor extending between the north gate and the Black Paving Stone. The site of the tomb, marked on a plan from the late Ottoman period, is said to have been discovered when the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–85) ordered the platform or bench (*maṣṭaba*) in front of the paving stone enlarged; perhaps this was a stone screen like the one with arcaded "mihrabs" seen there today (figs. 15[1, 2] and 8). Solomon's letter beginning with the *basmala* was followed by the divine command, "Do not exalt yourselves above Me, but come to Me as those who surrender (Qur'an 27:31)," which eventually led the idolatrous queen and her subjects to submit to the Lord of the Universe. This verse affirms that Solomon subscribed to the same universal monotheistic faith, which demanded total submission to the one God, as did the Prophet Muhammad and the other prophets.[246] Like the epigraphic bronze plaque of ʿAbd al-Malik, which at that time was still installed at the north gate, Süleyman's complementary inscriptions indicate that the "religion of truth" as revealed to the Prophet and his predecessors is the key to Paradise.

The Qur'anic inscriptions on the tiled tympanum of the south gate form a pendant to the sultan's historical foundation inscription on the north gate's tympanum tiles (fig. 21). Their religious content highlights the special status of this gate, which was designated the Qibla Gate. The quoted verses refer to its name by announcing the change of the Prophet's direction of prayer to Mecca by divine command (part of Qur'an 2:143 and 144–45). The epigraphic bands on the sultan's bronze-plated doors at the south gate repeat this message by citing the first half of verse 2:144. The inscriptions thus imply that the Rock was the former qibla towards which the Prophet prayed, while also stressing the primacy of the north–south axis facing the new qibla ordered by God.[247]

Süleyman's Qur'anic inscriptions on the interior and exterior of the Dome of the Rock, all of which begin and end on the south side of the building, privilege the qibla direction aligned with the Kaʿba, much like those of ʿAbd al-Malik. Nevertheless, the Paradise Gate to the north, featuring the sultan's foundation inscription, is consistently mentioned in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman guidebooks as the primary entrance to the building. Unlike early texts that identify the precinct's main entrance as the western Gate of David, these guidebooks now instruct the pilgrim to enter the Haram from the Gate of Remission, which has migrated north from the eastern wall (fig. 3[2, 14]). The counterclockwise circuit of prayer stations outlined in two guidebooks from the mid-sixteenth century—one by Nasir al-Din Rumi in Arabic and another, in Ottoman Turkish, by an anonymous author—therefore differs from the circuit described in Ibn al-Murajja's treatise, in which the first place to be visited was the Dome of the Rock. The new prayer route moves from the northern Gate of Remission to the Dome of Solomon in the northwest (fig. 3[14, 36]), ascending to the central raised platform from the northwestern stairway, whose arcade, according to an extant undated inscription, was restored by Süleyman. The pilgrim is then instructed to pray at the minor domes in the northwest quadrant of the platform before visiting the Dome of the Rock; at the Cave of the Spirits (ten cubits away from the stairway by which the pilgrim reached the platform), where the Prophet prayed with the resurrected souls of the earlier prophets; at the Dome of the Ascension; and at the Red Mihrab (located today under the Dome of the Prophet) (fig. 3[30, 27, 26]). The anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook reports the lack of consensus as to whether it was at the Dome of the Ascension or the Red Mihrab that the Prophet, having descended from heaven, performed two prostrations—a confusion apparently triggered by the by-then-current identification of the Rock itself as the site of his heavenly ascent (fig. 3[27, 26]).[248]

Upon entering the Dome of the Rock from the Gate of Paradise to the north, the following spots are to be visited in counterclockwise order, a conspicuous departure from the clockwise circumambulation prescribed by Ibn al-Murajja (variants in the anonymous Ottoman Turkish text are indicated in parentheses): the Black Paving Stone (the Green Marble Slab); the Fingerprints of Angels (the Fingerprints of Gabriel); the Footprint of the Prophet; (the Buckler of Hamza and the Iron Pomegranate Tree fashioned by the prophet David) (fig. 15[1, 9, 12, 13, 14]). The

pilgrim is then directed to descend into the cave to visit the Tongue of the Rock; the Station (maqām) of Solomon (the Mihrab on the right); the imprint of the Prophet's Turban on the Rock; and other spots not mentioned in the Ottoman Turkish guidebook, such as the Stations of Isaiah (Shaʿbaʾ?), Gabriel, and David; and the Hole of the Rock (fig. 15[A–H]). Ascending from the cave, the pilgrim then visits the Footprint of Enoch and the station of the caliph ʿAli near the east gate before moving on to the Dome of the Chain (the Ottoman Turkish text mentions only the Hanafi mihrab) (fig. 15[4, 15]).

The next prayer station is the Place of the Scales (al-mīzān) in the arcade of the southern stairway, adjacent to the marble minbar, from which one proceeds to the axially aligned main gate of the Aqsa Mosque, "which according to the shariʿa, however, denotes the whole area within the precinct walls," according to the Ottoman Turkish text (fig. 3[23, 24, 41]). The pilgrim then visits commemorative stations inside the congregational mosque, such as the Pillar where the Prophet prayed; the Great Mihrab; the mihrabs of Muʿawiya, ʿUmar, and Zechariah; and the Well of the Leaf (fig. 3[41a, b, d]). He or she also tours the following sites along the southern and eastern walls of the Haram, before exiting from the northern Gate of the Tribes: the Mihrab of David; the Sanctuary of Mary, known as the Cradle of Jesus; the Place of al-Sirat; (the Station of the Forties [maḳām erbaʿīn]); the Mihrab of al-Khidr; the Gate of Repentance and Mercy; and (the Worshipping Place of Solomon) (fig. 3[42, 44, 7, 9–12]). The itinerary concludes with visits to holy places outside the precinct, including the Mount of Olives, the Spring of Silwan, and the tomb complex of the prophet David on Mount Zion. The circuit of pilgrimage stations outlined in these two guidebooks from the early Ottoman period accentuates the processional north–south axis within the Haram, oriented towards the qibla direction, along which the Dome of the Rock, the southern stairway, and the main mihrab of the Aqsa Mosque are aligned.

A FUSION OF PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND ESCHATOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

This processional axis also informed the novel iconography that emerged in mid-sixteenth-century pictorial representations of the Haram al-Sharif, colored by the eschatological traditions concerning the merits of Jerusalem that were enthusiastically embraced in the course of Sultan Süleyman's renovations. Echoing the emphasis on eschatology in the sultan's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock, visual signifiers of the Last Day are prominently depicted on painted images of the Jerusalem sanctuary in contemporary pilgrimage scrolls and devotional guidebooks (figs. 22 and 23). These mid-sixteenth-century pictorial representations differ considerably from their earlier counterparts in Ayyubid-period pilgrimage scrolls, dating between 1205 and 1229, which display the black banners of the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad (fig. 24, a and b). The absence of apocalyptic signs in the Ayyubid scrolls may reflect an official attempt to curb the popularity of contested eschatological traditions associated with Jerusalem.[249] Confined to narrow bands at the end of these scrolls, which begin with images of pilgrimage places in Mecca and Medina, the standardized representations of the Jerusalem sanctuary comprise a selected group of sites that are lined up in a row and punctuated by a minaret (manāra) at each end, with little regard to spatial order. The monumental cupola of the Dome of the Rock, identified as the Dome of the Holy House (qubbat bayt al-maqdis), occupies the center, above the Rock (al-ṣakhra), which is marked by the Prophet's footprint. The Dome is flanked by smaller arched compartments containing the Cradle of Jesus (mahd ʿīsā); an enigmatic tree named after the Prophet (shajarat al-rasūl) that is sometimes labeled the olive tree (al-zaytūna); and a mihrab at both ends. These two mihrabs are either unidentified or designated variously as the Mihrab of the Aqsa Mosque (miḥrāb al-masjid al-aqṣā), Mihrab of David (miḥrāb dāwūd), or Mihrab of Zechariah (miḥrāb zakariyā) (figs. 24b and 25[a, b]).[250]

The pictorial representation of the Haram al-Sharif in a pilgrimage scroll made for Sultan Süleyman in 951 (1544–45) departs radically from its Ayyubid predecessors in spatial conception and iconography (fig. 22).[251] Its vertical processional axis from a northern vantage point is entirely missing in the abbreviated frontal rendering of the sanctuary in Ayyubid scrolls, where space is conceptualized as a horizontal string of juxtaposed memorial stations. This well-known Ottoman scroll is the record of a pilgrimage made by proxy to the three holy sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem on behalf of the sultan's beloved deceased son, Şehzade Mehmed (d. 1543), just around the time when the drum of the Dome of the Rock was being tiled. The Haram of Jerusalem is once again the last
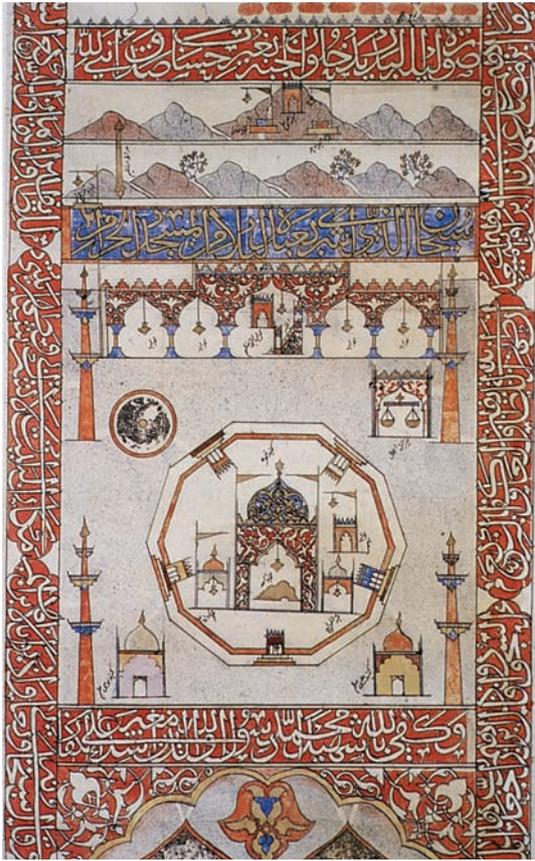
Fig. 22. Pilgrimage certificate, painted scroll dated 951 (1544–45): detail representing the Haram al-Sharif, with the Valley of Hell and the Mount of Olives above. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1812. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum)
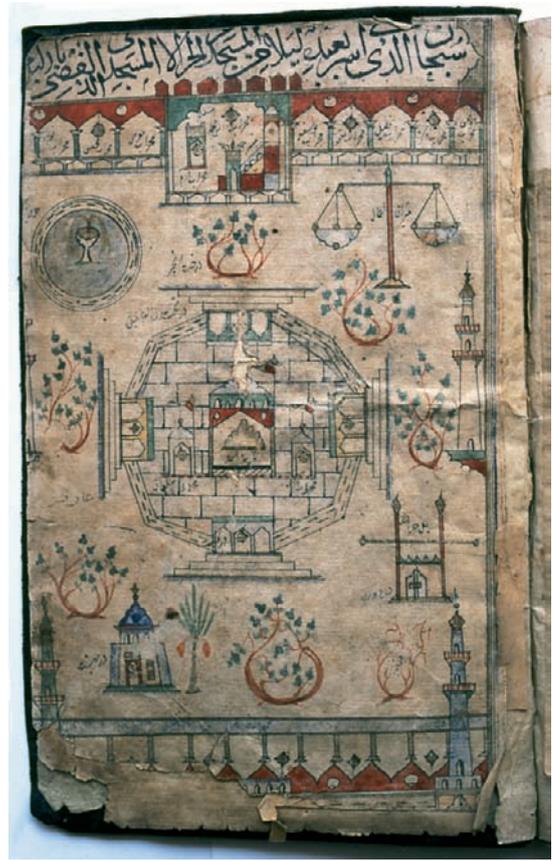
Fig. 23. Pictorial representation of the Haram al-Sharif, from Sayyid ʿAli al-Husayni's *Kitāb Shawq-nāma*, a guidebook for pilgrims dated 968 (1560–61). Haifa, National Maritime Museum, inv. no. 4576, fol. 49r. (Photo: courtesy of Rachel Milstein)

pilgrimage site depicted on the scroll, followed by an iconic image of the Prophet's sandals constituting a witness to the document; an accompanying inscription urges the viewer to kiss the representation of these sandals with reverence.[252] The end of the pilgrimage certificate is signed by six witnesses, including three guides (*mürşid*) to the sanctuary in Mecca and the scribe Muhammad Abu 'l-Fazl al-Sinjari (the author of two illustrated books on Mecca that feature paintings of the sanctuary in Jerusalem). These signatures attest the written statement of Hajji Piri b. Sayyid Ahmad that he made the hajj by proxy as a "gift to the blessed soul" of the late prince.[253]

The epigraphic band above the painting of the Haram al-Sharif cites the beginning of verse 17:1, which

is fully quoted with subsequent verses on the Dome of the Rock's drum inscription, executed a year later, in 1545–46. The verse is thus presented as the raison d'être of the pilgrimage to the sanctuary in Jerusalem, which is visually represented as an amalgam of schematically rendered visitation sites and eschatological signs. The square precinct, featuring four minarets at the corners and the Aqsa Mosque in the upper part, is dominated by the Dome of the Rock, raised above a central platform that is depicted with ten rather than four sides. The façade of the congregational mosque has five instead of seven arches, each of them featuring a suspended lamp and labeled *miḥrāb*; the larger central arch contains the mihrab of the Prophet (*miḥrāb al-nabī*) and the minbar (*al-minbar*). The association

Fig. 24, a and b. Pilgrimage certificate, painted scroll dated 608 (1211). a. Full scroll with banners of the Abbasid caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah (r. 1180–1225) depicted at Mount ʿArafat. b. Detail representing the sanctuary in Jerusalem. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, inv. no. 4091. (Photo: Ali Konyalı)

of the Aqsa Mosque's main mihrab with the Prophet is probably related to the commemorative pillar near it, where he is said to have prayed on the night of his Ascension, according to the mid-sixteenth-century guidebooks discussed above.[254]

The two domes of Jesus and Moses, shown in the lower part of the precinct (*gunbad-i ʿīsā* on the right and *gunbad-i mūsā* on the left), correspond to buildings later visited by Evliya, but they seem to be represented here as eschatological signs of the Day of Judgment, when both of these prophets will intercede on behalf of the believers. The actual locations of these domes are shifted so as to form a visual triangle with the Prophet's mihrab at the Aqsa Mosque.[255] The Prophet is thereby linked with the two predecessors who are honored in the Dome of the Rock's inscriptions, even as his precedence in rank is spatially asserted. By aligning the two qiblas of Islam along the central axis culminating in the Aqsa Mosque's mihrab, the image (which echoes that of the Meccan Haram in composition) stresses the primacy of the Kaʿba, itself depicted at the beginning of the scroll and the point towards which the sanctuary in Jerusalem orients itself. Hence, the visual mapping of the Haram al-Sharif on the scroll parallels the north–south directional orientation of the pilgrimage circuit and of Süleyman's
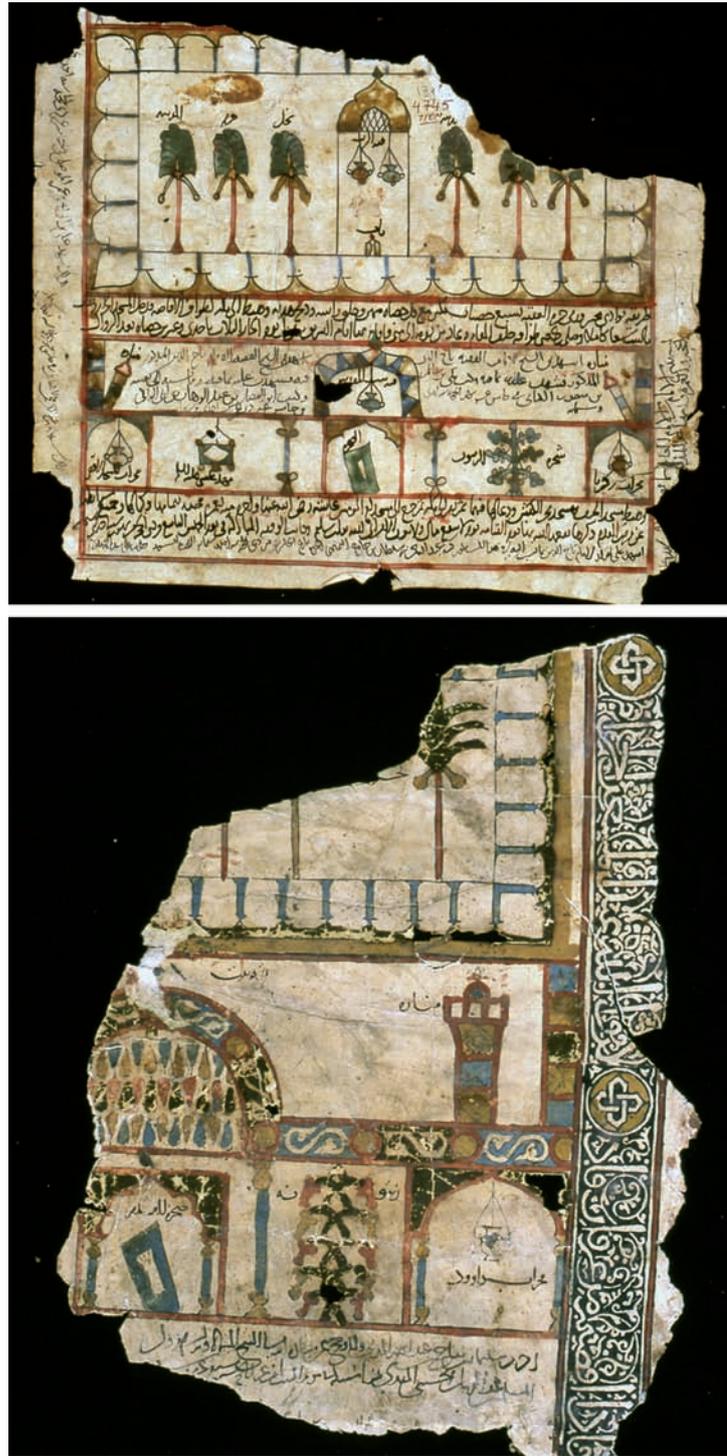
Fig. 25, a and b. Pilgrimage certificate fragments depicting the sanctuary in Jerusalem. a. Painted scroll dated 601 (1204). Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, inv. no. 4745. b. Block-printed and hand-painted scroll dated 617 (1220–21). Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, inv. no. 53/18. (Photos: Ali Konyalı)

inscription program at the Dome of the Rock, which was implemented around the same time.

The decagonal raised platform, accessible by five staircases with monumental arcades, visually accentuates the centralized layout of the dome over the Rock, from which sanctity emanates to the blessed precinct and beyond. The Dome of the Rock (*gunbad-i ṣakhra*) is depicted as an ornate domical building with a hanging lamp, enshrining the Rock of God (*ṣakhratu'llāh*) suspended in midair. It is flanked by two smaller domed structures on each side, with a simpler domeless mihrab at the upper right corner. The two edifices on the right, the Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-miʿrāj*) and the Red Mihrab (*miḥrāb-i aḥmar*), which had been renovated in 1538–39, commemorate the Prophet.[256] The Dome of the Chain on the left, identified as David's Tribunal (*maḥkama-i dāwūd*), would receive its tile revetments and inscription later in 1561–62. This dome, too, can be interpreted as an eschatological sign because David will also intercede on behalf of the believers at the Last Judgment.

The omission from the Rock of the Prophet's footprint, which is prominently marked on Ayyubid scrolls, underscores the primacy of the Rock's association with God. Forming a pair with the twin domes of Moses and Jesus, the other two signs of the Day of Judgment placed between the polygonal platform of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque commemorate the eschatological future. On the right are the Scales of Acts (*mīzān al-aʿmāl*), where the good deeds of resurrected humans will be weighed against their sins. On the left is the Pool (*ḥawḍ*) of Kawthar (abundance), a gift from God to the Prophet, according to a widespread interpretation of the sura named after it, which declares, "We have surely given you *al-kawthar*" (Qur'an 108:1). The word *kawthar* became almost synonymous with *ḥawḍ*, "the Prophet's Pool," which was shown to him at the time of his Ascension to the Throne of God and designated as his on the Last Day, when believers would quench their thirst and purify themselves by drinking its water from goblets before entering Paradise.[257]

It has been noted that the circular pool on the scroll image bears a striking resemblance to the round ablution fountain in front of the Aqsa Mosque's central gate, situated along the axial path leading to the southern stairway of the raised platform, whose arcade is identified by Evliya as the "Gate of the Scales" (*bābü 'l-mīzān*) (fig. 26). The anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook instructs the pilgrim to stand under the central arch of that arcade, known as the "Place of the Scales" (*mīzān yiri*), and offer a prayer for the souls of all the prophets, in the hope of obtaining their intercession on the Last Day. According to Evliya, who saw a depiction of scales on that arcade, the Prophet asked Sultan Süleyman in a dream to construct this distinctive "round pool" (*ḥavz-i müdevver*) on his behalf. The pool, known as the Cup (*al-kāʾs*), continued to be attributed to the sultan over the centuries; on an 1857 image of the Haram al-Sharif it is labeled "the ablution fountain (*ṣādīrvān*) of Sultan Süleyman from the House of Osman."[258]

Another eschatological sign represented on the scroll is the Bridge of Sirat (*ṣirāṭ-i mustaqīm*) that spans the Valley of Hell between two rows of mountains on the distant horizon. The bridge, whose name evokes the "straight path" repeatedly mentioned in the Qur'an as the surest guide to salvation, is visualized here as leading from the Mount of Olives to the Haram al-Sharif. It links the sanctuary with the narrow rectangular image above, which depicts the hilly landscape of holy sites extending between the eastern wall of the Haram and the Mount of Olives. Accompanied by the revered tomb of Mary, one of these sites is the octagonal Church of the Ascension, which features the footprint of Christ (a counterpart to that of the Prophet inside the Dome of the Rock). The eschatological dome of Jesus depicted on the Haram itself acknowledges the Muslim belief in his return to earth as "a sign of the Hour."[259] As we have seen, the future site of the Bridge of Sirat is marked by an extant pillar protruding from the south end of the Haram's eastern wall, which according to Evliya had been moved to a higher position during Sultan Süleyman's restoration of that wall (fig. 3[7]). The anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook instructs the pilgrim to perform a supererogatory prayer at the "marker of Sirat" (*ṣirāṭ nişānı*) and then to climb on top of the precinct wall to recite another prayer asking for God's help to pass quickly over the bridge at the end of time. Instead of depicting the bridge, scales, and pool at their actual locations on the Haram, the image on the scroll represents them as abstract symbols heralding the Last Judgment, like the domes of Moses and Jesus. The image is therefore a "cognitive map" rather than a visual catalogue of the visitation sites listed in devotional guidebooks and treatises on the merits of Jerusalem. Seamlessly blending the present and future, it portrays the sanctuary as a liminal sacred space mediating between this world and the world to come.[260]
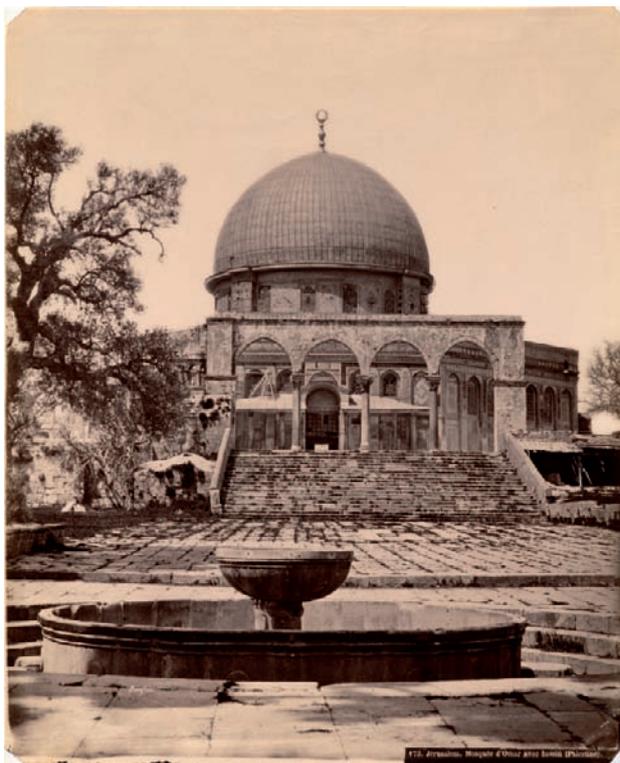
Fig. 26. Dome of the Rock, view from the south with circular fountain in the foreground and southern stairway of the raised platform (Photo: Félix Bonfils, ca. 1870–75, Tassel no. 61. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)

Another image of the Haram al-Sharif, painted in 968 (1560–61), fifteen years later than Sultan Süleyman's pilgrimage scroll, even more powerfully conceptualizes the complex as an apocalyptic space centered on the Rock (fig. 23). It appears at the end of a Persian pilgrimage manual, titled *The Book of Longing* (*Kitāb Shawqnāma*), that has been brought to light by Rachel Milstein. Sayyid ʿAli al-Husayni, a descendant of the Prophet who resided in Mecca, wrote and illustrated this work in order to incite in the reader an ardent yearning to visit the holy sites depicted therein. In the preface, the author affirms his devotion to the Shiʿi imams and expresses his continuous spiritual longing for God, saying, "My body is from the soil of Iran, my heart-and-soul is the pigeon of Hijaz." Sayyid ʿAli has been identified as the scribe of another illustrated manuscript, produced in Mecca eight years earlier, in 957 (1550–51); it is a copy of Muhyi al-Din Lari's famous

Persian poem *Futūḥ al-haramayn*, written for Muzaffar b. Mahmud Shah of Gujarat in 911 (1505–6). The text of the *Shawqnama* derives almost entirely from this popular work on the sites and rites of the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, with some additions, particularly in the preface and in the concluding section, to which is appended a brief description and image of the sanctuary in Jerusalem.[261]

It is interesting to note that the first image of the manuscript prefigures the last one, for it depicts Mount Abu Qubays, identified in the accompanying text as the earliest mountain created by God on earth, which at the end of time will carry the people of Mecca to the Land of Jerusalem (*arż-i quds*).[262] Unlike the image on the scroll made for Sultan Süleyman, which is an official legal document, the *Shawqnāma* painting presents a highly personalized vision of the sanctuary in Jerusalem that vividly captures the popular veneration of the Rock. The text accompanying it explains that the *masjid-i ʿaqsā* (meaning the whole mosque precinct) is one of the greatest memorial shrines (*mashāhid*), and that it was alluded to by God in several places of the Qur'an, since it was the qibla of all the prophets and of the Prophet Muhammad before the Kaʿba. The author explains that God ordered David to construct it, and that it was completed by Solomon with the help of divs. He singles out among all its "wonders" (*ʿajāʾibāt*) the "stone of the Rock of God that stands suspended between heaven and earth" (*sang-i ṣakhratuʾllāh ki muaʿllaq dar miyāna-i zamīn va āsmān istāda*), which is enveloped by a domed edifice with windows recently renovated by "His Majesty Sultan Süleyman." He adds that the sanctuary contains "the knife that Abraham turned away [during the sacrifice], the mihrab of all the prophets (*miḥrāb-i jamīʿ-i anbiyā*), the Pool of Kawthar, the Scales of Acts, the gates of Hell and Paradise, the Bridge of Sirat, the Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*) and other gates, as is depicted on the opposite page."[263]

Judging by the inscription band above the painting, which quotes verse 17:1, Milstein suggests that Sayyid ʿAli must have derived his composition from a scroll. There is, indeed, a striking similarity between the *Shawqnāma* image and its counterpart on the scroll made for Sultan Süleyman. In both images the sanctuary features four minarets, and its main components consist of the congregational mosque and the polygonal central platform crowned by the Dome of the Rock. Yet the *Shawqnāma* painting labels these components differently, populating the outer precinct

with a diverse group of eschatological signs. Like the scroll image, it represents the congregational mosque as a collection of mihrabs, individually identified. The central nave, featuring a minbar, has the Mihrab of Adam, coupled with that of the Prophet Muhammad (*miḥrāb-i ādam, miḥrāb al-nabī muḥammad*). The aisles that flank it contain the mihrabs of other prophets, two of which are missing because the left side of the page has been cropped; depicted from right to left, are the mihrabs of John the Baptist, Zechariah, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Jesus, and Noah. As in the scroll made for Süleyman, the Rock of God (*ṣakhrat'ullāh*) is shown suspended under a domed building. However, neither of the two smaller domes flanking the unlabeled Dome of the Rock commemorates the Prophet; instead they stress the eschatological theme of justice, with Solomon's Tribunal (*maḥkama-yi sulaymān*) on the left, and David's Tribunal on the right (*maḥkama-yi dāwūd*). These minor domes can therefore be read as structures that will accompany the divine Throne of judgment at the end of time. The dodecagonal raised platform, reached by four grand staircases with triumphal triple arcades, is here interpreted as the future pedestal of God's Throne (or Footstool), as suggested by the labels given the south and north arcades, respectively, the Gate of the Throne of the Lord of the Worlds (*dar-i takht-i rabb al-ʿālamīn*), and the Gate of the Throne (*dar-i takht*).[264]

The signifiers of the apocalypse that surround the polygonal platform on four sides reinforce its association with the Day of Judgment. The Scales of Acts (*mīzān-i aʿmāl*) in the upper right corner and the round Pool (*ḥavẓ*) to the upper left echo their counterparts in the earlier scroll image. The domes of Jesus and Moses at the bottom, however, have been replaced here by other signs, namely, the domed Gate of Paradise (*dar-i bihisht*) on the left, and the Gate of Hell (*dar-i davzakh*) on the right, the two posts of which support the Bridge of Sirat (*pul-i ṣirāt*). The symbolic date palm accompanying the Gate of Paradise forms a counterpoint to the leafless red tree, labeled "Hell" (*jahannam*), which is depicted under the Gate of Hell. The unusual fig trees (*dirakht-i anjīr*) that sprout all around the precinct can perhaps likewise be interpreted as eschatological symbols, for they resonate with the Sura of the Fig, which promises unfailing reward to those who believe and do good deeds and questions how one can deny the Judgment, asking: "Is not God the most just of judges?" (Qur'an 95:1–8).

CONCLUSION

The iconography of the two images painted in the course of Süleyman's renovation of the Dome of the Rock is echoed in more generic versions from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which differ in detail but invariably include the Scales and the Pool as codified signifiers.[265] These pictorial representations, like the structures mapped on the pilgrimage complex itself, signal the ontological status of the blessed precinct as a site of memory saturated with supernatural signs, among which the Rock of God reigns supreme. Conveying the emotional and spiritual perceptions of a *genius loci*, as distilled through memory, was a central aspect of the signification process of the Haram al-Sharif, which had been accumulating multilayered associations since its very inception. These memories, extending from the creative act of God to the ever-approaching end of time, were condensed around concrete sites of witnessing that simultaneously enabled the recalling of the past and the contemplation of the future through networks of interlinked narratives that were transformed over the centuries and yet remained remarkably the same. The paratactical complex subordinates the materiality of architecture to ancient vestiges and to the irregular topography of the landscape, since associations of holiness were attached more to its hallowed grounds than to the buildings themselves. *Fadāʾil* narratives, too, focus more on the associative resonances of stones, rocks, and memorial spots than on the architectural structures marking them, which is why the Dome of the Rock is often referred to as the "Rock" or the "Rock of God."

Paradoxically, then, the astoundingly beautiful architecture of the Dome of the Rock is essentially an ephemeral shelter for the primordial Rock, an exquisite domed reliquary that will be replaced in the future by the ineffable divine Throne of Judgment. Likewise, the signs of the Hour mapped onto the surrounding complex are only reminders and precursors of their real versions, a preview of things to come. The predetermined places of these signs had already been indicated in the Temple of Solomon, which was commissioned by God, according to a popular cosmological treatise written around 1453 by the Ottoman Sufi shaykh Ahmed Yazıcıoğlu. This work claims that Solomon's Temple, predestined to be the site of the Prophet's heavenly ascension, had bejeweled walls inscribed with the Muslim profession of faith, a dome with a gold mihrab built by Gabriel, and a prayer station

(*makām*) made by al-Khidr, who revealed the places of the Scales, the Bridge of Sirat, and other "signs of the Judgment" (*kıyāmet nişānları*). The author points out that after the Temple's destruction the Rock was rediscovered by the caliph ʿUmar; the lost signs were then reinstalled in their appointed places in Umayyad times, during the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque.[266]

The associative memories of monuments in the Haram complex were mediated over the ages by texts that elaborated upon early traditions on the merits of Jerusalem, fusing them with new elements derived from cosmological works on the "wonders of creation" and from the increasingly popular *miʿrāj* literature. In the Ottoman context, too, the semantic horizons of architectural monuments in the Haram al-Sharif were largely defined by the constellation of meanings disseminated by *faḍāʾil* collections, which were compiled from previous works and provided with updated instructions to pilgrims. These written sources, together with the formal logic and inscriptions of the inherited monuments themselves, established the parameters within which the resignification process took place. Lacking the compositional coherence of a continuous linear narrative, the Ottoman *faḍāʾil* compendiums and their earlier models stitched together, in the manner of a patchwork, fragments of collective memories that sometimes contradicted each other and around which webs of meaning were interwoven, often without reference to ongoing building activities. The primary significance of the *faḍāʾil* discourse, then, lies in the promotion of a culturally constructed mode of seeing and conceptual mapping. This ensured a considerable degree of continuity in the associations of the pilgrimage complex, which were orally perpetuated by pilgrim guides and experienced through performative rituals. Yet the absence of a coherent narrative structure in books on the merits of Jerusalem, which constitute a by-product of hadith literature, encouraged open-ended readings, the coexistence of differing interpretations, the erasure or transformation of previous recollections, and, at times, the revival of dormant regional memories.[267]

An instance of such revival was triggered, I believe, by Sultan Süleyman's architectural renovations at the Haram al-Sharif, and particularly the Dome of the Rock. These protracted building activities seem to have unleashed a deep-seated popular veneration of the Rock, along with formerly suppressed ritual practices that had frequently been censured in Mamluk written sources as unorthodox innovations.[268] The resuscitation of latent memories and popular festivities (severely reproached in a pamphlet by the seventeenth-century Shafiʿi scholar al-Dajjani, who condemns their institutionalization by local administrators) can in part be attributed to the establishment of a lenient Hanafi regime under the Ottoman state, which sought to legitimize itself by reversing some of the restrictive policies of the "Circassian" Mamluk administration.[269]

The pilgrimage complex continued, as in the past, to subsist as a terrain of contestation, with multiple collisions of discordant narratives, divergent perceptions, and differing conceptions of ritual decorum. It is therefore a misguided exercise to attempt to pinpoint "the meaning" of the Dome of the Rock at any given historic moment, for the enigmatic character of the memories it sheltered was inherently open to a multiplicity of collective and personal responses. By drawing attention to some of the parallels between ʿAbd al-Malik's and Süleyman's architectural patronage, I have tried to show that comparable "official" responses were prompted by the politico-religious motivations and pious orientations of two ambitious rulers who sought to create a superb monument exalting the Rock, themselves, their dynasties, and their own versions of Islam.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the architectural projects of both patrons combined a number of narrative threads in which the traditions of the Solomonic Temple played a significant role, even as they were subsumed by an overriding emphasis on God's absolute sovereignty as the source of prophetic and caliphal authority. The theme of divinely guided Davidic justice, with its messianic overtones, was a major component of these narratives, which were colored by intimations of the Last Judgment to come, the promise of God's infinite mercy, and the abiding belief in the Prophet's intercession. Süleyman's inscriptions on the "palimpsestous" surfaces of the Dome of the Rock amplified the implicit eschatological message of ʿAbd al-Malik's grand narrative by expanding its semantic horizons, thereby investing its relatively loose strands with a new coherence. Hence, the widespread view that the original "political" signification of the Dome of the Rock was entirely forgotten with increasing "Islamization," to be supplanted by the "religious" theme of the Prophet's Night Journey-*cum*-Ascension, fails to account for the complexity of intertwined narratives in the Marwanid master plan

and the striking elements of continuity manifested in Süleyman's glosses, despite obvious changes. Whatever the contextual specificity of its wealth of meanings, however, the sublime architecture of the Dome of the Rock announces in its own self-assured way a universal message. Majestically sited as a "visual magnet" in the cityscape of Jerusalem, it salutes the end of time by heralding the deeply human hope for salvation in eternal life that is promised by the city's three monotheistic religions as the culmination and ultimate fulfillment of God's creation.[270]

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NOTES

1. Grabar explains the aim of his book as follows: "However much I had written on Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock over five decades, I knew that I had not succeeded in telling what the building meant in its long history." See Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2006), vi–viii. For his previous monograph on the subject, a grand synthesis ending with the year 1099, see Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1996). See also Said Nuseibeh and Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (New York, 1996). Grabar's groundbreaking essays on the Dome of the Rock are conveniently collected in Oleg Grabar, *Jerusalem,* Constructing the Study of Islamic Art, vol. 4 (Hampshire, Eng., and Burlington, VT, 2005). Included among these is his first major article, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62, which remains a classic despite his revisions of some of its arguments in later publications. See reprint in Grabar, *Jerusalem*, 29–34.

2. Grabar, *Dome of the Rock,* vi–vii, 205–12.

3. Grabar observes that the building as it stands, is "almost entirely the work of our own times" and that "the present Dome of the Rock is a reasonable approximation of what it was like in the last version we know of it." Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 3–4, 200, 203–4.

4. Ibid., viii.

5. For the secondary literature and a general survey of this genre, which under the Ottomans acquired encyclopaedic scope, with commentary on accompanying traditions regarding contested points, see Izhak Hasson, "The Muslim View of Jerusalem—The Qurʾān and Ḥadīth," in *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period 683–1099*, ed. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (New York, 1996), 349–85. See also the articles and books cited below. Some preliminary studies on examples from the Ottoman period include Joseph Sadan, "Three New Sources in Praise of the Holy Land from the Sixteenth–Seventeenth Centuries," *Cathedra* 11 (1979): 186–206 (in Hebrew). For a mid-sixteenth-century Arabic work written by Nasir al-Din Muhammad b. Khidr al-Rumi and titled *al-Mustaqsā fī faḍāʾil al-masjid al-aqsā,* see Eliyahu Ashtor, "An Arabic Book on the 'Merits of Jerusalem,'" *Tarbiz: A Quarterly for Jewish Studies* 30, 2 (1960): 209–14; a summary of *al-Mustaqsā* is provided in an appendix in Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden and Boston, 1999), 164–73. Unpublished Ottoman Turkish versions, which have not yet attracted the attention they deserve, are briefly discussed below (see nn. 246, 248). This is a subject that requires an in-depth study comparing the Ottoman Turkish manuscripts with their Mamluk precedents, which goes beyond the purview of the present article.

6. Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 199. For the "latent state" of local traditions that may disappear and reemerge see a recent study, which notes the parallel between the "exaggerating" trend in glorifying Jerusalem under the Umayyads and again under the Ottomans, so many centuries later: Joseph Sadan, "A Legal Opinion of a Muslim Jurist Regarding the Sanctity of Jerusalem," *Israel Oriental Studies* 13 (1993): 231–24.

7. For terminology in early texts see Andreas Kaplony, *The Haram of Jerusalem 324–1099: Temple, Friday Mosque, Area of Spiritual Power* (Stuttgart, 2002), 214–25. The term *al-ḥaram al-sharīf* in reference to the sanctuaries in Jerusalem and Hebron became current in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. See Robert Schick, *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* (henceforth *EQ*) (Leiden and Boston, 2001–6), s.v. "Archaeology and the Qurʾān." Mamluk governors of Jerusalem were sometimes called *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*, "Supervisor of the Two Sacred Enclaves [Jerusalem and Hebron]." See Donald P. Little, "Jerusalem under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks," in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. Kamil J. Asali (New York, 1990), 187–88. For the notion of a Marwanid "master plan" see Myriam, Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharīf: An Iconographic Study* (Jerusalem, 1989); Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*. The concept of a "grand narrative" is mine.

8. The term "palimpsestous," coined by Philippe Lejeune, is theorized in Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes* (Paris, 1982); Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, NE and London, 1997). Genette stresses the "open" nature of literary texts as "hypertexts" grafted upon "hypotexts," some of them more "hypertextual" and explicitly "palimpsestuous." On the concept of palimpsest as it relates to the theoretical literature on "intertextuality" see Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London and New York, 2000).

9. Eschatological traditions recorded in books on the merits of Jerusalem and identifying the Rock as the site of the divine Throne on the Day of Judgment are discussed later in this essay and cited in the notes below. For the "People of the Book" and the "Children of Israel" (Jews and Christians) see Moshe Sharon, *EQ,* s.v. "People of the Book"; S. D. Goitein, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1960–2004), s.v. "Banū Isrāʾīl." The centrality of "belief in God and the imminence of the Day of Judgment" in the dogma of the seventh-century Muslim polity is discussed in Robert Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69, 3 (2006): 395–416.

10. For bibliography and the debate on the relationship between the Temple and the existing topography of the Haram,

see Klaus Bieberstein and Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte von Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1994); David M. Jacobson, "The Plan of Herod's Temple," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 10 (1990–91): 36–66; Herbert Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 93 (1977): 1–11; Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem, von Salomo bis Herodes: Eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des westsemitischen Tempelbaus*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1970–1980).

11. Relevant primary sources are published and analyzed in Bernard Flusin, "L'Esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes, d'après deux récits byzantins," in *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem,* ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns (Oxford, 1992), 17–31; Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton, 1997), 61–73, 92–103, 219–23, 313–17. For building activities on the Haram attributed to the caliphs ʿUmar and Muʿawiya see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 29–35; Abdul Aziz Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period, 7th–11th Centuries A. D.," in Asali, *Jerusalem in History*, 108. A hypothetical reconstruction of the pre-Marwanid plan of the Aqsa Mosque, to be published in a forthcoming study by Julian Raby, who attributes it to Muʿawiya, is included in Jeremy Johns, "The 'House of the Prophet' and the Concept of the Mosque," in *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns (Oxford, 1999), 62, 64, fig. 9. For accounts concerning ʿUmar's visit to the Temple Mount see Heribert Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb in Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984): 73–119. Unlike Busse, who entirely dismisses these traditions as myth, others believe they contain a core of truth. See S. D. Goitein, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Ḳuds"; Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099* (Cambridge, 1997), 65–74; J. Pedersen, *EI*, s.v. "Masdjid"; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 106–8. Duri cites one of the earliest sources mentioning ʿUmar's mosque at the Haram, namely, the commentary on the Qurʾan by Muqatil b. Sulayman (d. 767–68). Goitein was among the first to note Muʿawiya's contribution to the Haram's architectural development, a view subsequently elaborated upon by Grabar in "The Meaning of the Dome of the Rock," in *The Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. M. J. Chiat and K. Reyerson (St. Cloud, MN, 1988), 3–5.

12. For texts mentioning the two mihrabs see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 71, 76–77, 169; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 767–69.

13. For the first civil war (*fitna*) and the repentant pilgrimage of ʿUmar's son, mentioned by Waqidi, see Erling L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1964), 88. ʿUthman's charitable endowment and early pilgrimages by the Prophet's Companions are discussed in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 108–9. Both ʿUmar's son and ʿAbdallah b. al-ʿAbbas (d. 678) are listed among early pilgrims who went to Jerusalem to enter into a ritual state of *iḥrām* (consecration) before performing the hajj to Mecca. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 64.

14. The Syrians swore allegiance to Muʿawiya as caliph in April–May 658, before the conquest of Egypt in July; a formal ceremony in general recognition of his caliphate took place in Jerusalem in July 660. See M. Hinds, *EI2*, s.v. "Muʿāwiya I." The latter date is provided in a Syriac source, while Arab sources give the date as 661: see Gil, *History of Palestine*, 78. For texts mentioning Muʿawiya's building activities in the

Jerusalem sanctuary see n. 11 above. The monk Anastasius of Sinai, writing during the construction of the Dome of the Rock, which was completed in 72 (691–92), reports that he witnessed Egyptian workers being helped by demons as they participated in clearing work on the Temple Mount "thirty years ago." See Flusin, "L'Esplanade du Temple," 19–22, 25–26, 29–31. Flusin proposes a date around 660 for Muʿawiya's clearing of the Temple Mount; the same date is suggested in Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 101. I find it likely that the Egyptian workers arrived after the conquest of Egypt in 658, and thirty years prior to the initial stages of the construction of the Dome of the Rock around 688—that is, ca. 658–60. The clearing work may have been necessitated by a major earthquake in Jerusalem in June 658, which is mentioned in a Syriac chronicle and by Theophanes, as cited in Moshe Gil, "The Political History of Jerusalem during the Early Muslim Period," in *History of Jerusalem*, 10. For the controversy over the construction date of the Dome of the Rock see n. 20 below.

15. Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdīsī, *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, ed. and trans. Clément Huart, 6 vols. (Paris, 1899–1919), 4: 87; trans. on p. 82. Cited in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 24; Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 390–91; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 108 n. 47; Jeremy Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam: The First Seventy Years," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46, 4 (2003), 423 n. 20.

16. For this tradition, whose chain of transmission ends with Khalid b. Maʿdan (d. 721), see Abū al-Maʿālī al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdīsī (Ibn al-Murajjā), *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis wa ʾl-Khalīl wa faḍāʾil al-Shām*, ed. Ofer Livne-Kafri (Shafa ʿAmr, Israel, 1995), 148 n. 186. Cited in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 33; Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 381–82; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 109.

17. Isaac Hasson, *EQ*, s.v. "Last Judgment."

18. For the emissaries from Iraq see Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī (Ibn al-Faqīh), *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885), 115. Cited in Ofer Livne-Kafry, "The Muslim Traditions 'in Praise of Jerusalem' (*Faḍāʾil al-Quds*): Diversity and Complexity," *Annali* 58 (1998): 184. Other traditions concerning Muʿawiya's exaltation of the sanctity of Syria-Palestine and his claim to be the predestined ruler of the Holy Land are discussed in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 109; Nasser Rabbat, "The Transcultural Meaning of the Dome of the Rock," in *The Open Veins of Jerusalem*, ed. Munir Akash and Fouad Moughrabi (Syracuse, NY, 2005), 77–78. Yazid I's oath of allegiance ceremony in Jerusalem is mentioned in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 50. Sources report that he was in Jerusalem at the time of his father's death, in Hims or elsewhere. See Gil, *History of Palestine*, 78.

19. For the oath of allegiance ceremony in Jerusalem see Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 109; Chase F. Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik* (Oxford, 2005), 26. According to the chronicle of al-Baladhuri (d. 892), ʿAbd al-Malik was his father's deputy in Palestine; this is cited by Rabbat, who speculates that his seat of government was presumably Jerusalem. See Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 78. The part of al-Baladhuri's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* covering ʿAbd al-Malik's reign is published in Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Balādhurī, *Anonyme arabische*

Chronik, Band XI, vermuthlich das Buch der Verwandtschaft und Geschichte der Andligen, ed. W. Ahlwardt (Greifswald, 1883). On the text by Sibt b. al-Jawzi (1186–1265) citing a report by al-Waqidi (d. 823) (derived from al-Sa'ib [d. 763]) that refers to Ibn al-Zubayr's anti-Marwanid propaganda and 'Abd al-Malik's prohibition of the hajj to Mecca, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 52–58. For the rebuilding of the Ka'ba by Ibn al-Zubayr, who consulted Meccan authorities and relied on a hadith of the Prophet favoring such a measure, see Uri Rubin, "The Ka'ba: Aspects of Its Ritual Functions and Position in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986): 102–3; G. R. Hawting, "'We Were Not Ordered with Entering It but Only with Circumambulating It.': *Ḥadīth* and *fiqh* on Entering the Ka'ba," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47, 2 (1984): 239 n. 59; A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier, *EI2*, s.v. "Ka'ba"; Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik,* 96–98.

20. Contrary to Creswell's widely accepted view that the date "obviously refers, as is usual in Arabic epigraphy, to the completion of works," it indicates the commencement of construction, according to Sheila Blair. See K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969), 1:72; Sheila Blair, "What Is the Date of the Dome of the Rock?" in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One,* 59–87. Blair's dating is accepted by Grabar, with the provision that 692 marks "the beginning of the implementation of an idea and the fulfillment of needs that were earlier." See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy,* 115. Recent studies that continue to regard this date as a reference to the building's completion include G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750* (London and New York, 2000), 59–61; Amikam Elad, "Community of Believers of 'Holy Men' and 'Saints' or Community of Muslims? The Rise and Development of Early Muslim Historiography," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 47, 1 (2002), 295; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 49–50; Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik,* 4–6; Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 424–27; Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts," 396–97; Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 81, 96.

21. Both of these points are made in Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 424–26. He adds that Blair's "principal arguments—epigraphic, numismatic, and artisanal—are entirely circumstantial." 'Abd al-Malik's fiscal and administrative reforms in the 680s are also discussed in Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik,* 71–72.

22. 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh = Kitāb al-Ta'rīj: La Historia,* ed. and trans. Jorge Aguadé (Madrid, 1991), 132–33. Partially cited in Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments,* 27; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 49–50; Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem,* 301, 315, 365. It is unclear what exactly the date 70 refers to. For dates provided in Mamluk sources see Blair, "What Is the Date," 63; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 44–45, 53. Robinson suggests the year 69 (688–89) as a plausible starting point for the Dome of the Rock's construction, assuming that it took around three years to build. That year, 'Abd al-Malik left Syria for a campaign in Iraq after signing a peace treaty with Byzantium; he defeated Ibn al-Zubayr's brother in Iraq in 691, when his fortunes began to improve: see Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik,* 6, 28, 39, 41. Johns also proposes a beginning date about three years after 'Abd al-Malik's accession (namely, 69) and a completion date of 72 (691–92): see Johns, "Archaeol-

ogy and the History of Early Islam," 424, 426. Elad accepts as plausible either of the beginning dates (66 or 69) provided in Mamluk sources: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 44–45; Elad, "Community of Believers," 295.

23. On al-Walid's completion of the Aqsa Mosque see n. 25 below. For Sulayman's governorship of Palestine during the reign of his father and brother al-Walid, and the tradition mentioning his bathhouse (without providing a date), see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 27–28; Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem,* 323. The bathhouse is identified as one of the excavated buildings abutting the southwestern side of the Haram in Julian Raby, "In Vitro Veritas: Glass Pilgrim Vessels from 7th-century Jerusalem," in Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two,* 170–72. The decline of Jerusalem is generally attributed to Sulayman's construction of the new city of Ramla as the capital of Palestine: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 12, 27–28.

24. For the components of the Marwanid complex see Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments,* 1–45, 70–73; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* map 1 on xiii–xv, 24–50, 160; Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem,* 53 (fig. 13), 213–382; Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 426; Paul Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands, Seventh through the Tenth Centuries* (Chicago and London, 2001), 295–98; Donald Whitcomb, "Islam and the Socio-Cultural Transition of Palestine: Early Islamic Period (638–1099 C. E.)," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land,* ed. T. E. Levy (London, 1995), 499. For the suggestion that the excavated buildings housed the city's governor, distinguished guests, and the Umayyads who were frequent visitors, see Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 111. With its neighboring bathhouse, one of these buildings may have housed the staff of the complex (*dār al-akhmās*) according to Raby, "In Vitro Veritas," 170–72. The building connected by a bridge to the west side of the mosque's qibla wall is often interpreted as a palace or *dār al-'imāra*: see Rafi Grafman and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 1–15. Grabar notes that the excavations are not properly published, and that the Aphrodito Papyri referring to al-Walid's construction of a palace, are not always properly interpreted; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy,* 129. The milestones are discussed in Moshe Sharon, "Notes and Communications: An Arabic Inscription from the Time of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29, 2 (1966): 367–72; Amikam Elad, "The Southern Golan in the Early Muslim Period: The Significance of Two Newly Discovered Milestones of 'Abd al-Malik," *Der Islam* 76 (1999): 33–88; Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik,* 98, 113–19.

25. The congregational mosque is attributed to 'Abd al-Malik in most sources discussed below, including Ibn Habib, al-Muqaddasi, and early traditions recorded in al-Wasiti's and Ibn al-Murajja's eleventh-century *faḍā'il* treatises. It is ascribed by Eutychius and al-Muhallabi to al-Walid, whose construction activities at "the mosque in Jerusalem" are recorded in the Aphrodito Papyri (dated between 709 and 714), which only list a handful Egyptian laborers: see H. I. Bell, "Translation of the Greek Aprhrodito Papyri in the British Museum," *Der Islam* 2 (1911): 269–83, 372–84; 3 (1912): 132–40, 369–73; 4 (1913): 87–96. For sources mentioning the building of the mosque by 'Abd al-Malik, as well as subsequent construction

carried out by al-Walid, which seem to have been "finishing touches" or "merely renovations" after a series of earthquakes in 94 (713–14), see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 26, 35–39. Following Creswell, most scholars used to date the Marwanid phase of the Aqsa Mosque to al-Walid, but lately the consensus is that its construction was initiated by ʿAbd al-Malik, "though possibly brought to fruition or completion by his son al-Walid I." See Grafman and Rosen-Ayalon, "The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques," 1. For this revised view see also Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 122; Wheatley, *Places Where Men Pray*, 296; Johns, "House of the Prophet," 59–62.

26. Oleg Grabar, "Notes on the Dome of the Rock," in *Jerusalem*, 225. The texts and list of buildings have been compiled and analyzed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, and Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*. The authors catalogue each building separately, without exploring their interactive, dialogical dimension. Earlier anthologies of texts, such as those of A. S. Marmarji, Guy Le Strange, and J. Gildemeister, excluded the *faḍāʾil* traditions examined by Elad and Kaplony because they were thought to have originated later in the eleventh century and were dismissed as "popular" beliefs unworthy of serious positivistic scholarship. For the early dating of these traditions, some of them traceable to the eighth and ninth century or even earlier, see nn. 64 and 66 below. (For the anthologies mentioned above see A.S. Marmarji, ed. and trans., *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine* [Paris, 1951]; Guy Le Strange, ed. and trans., *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A. D. 650 to 1500* [Boston and New York, 1890]; Johann Gildemeister, "Die arabischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Harambauten," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 13 [1890]: 1–24.) Grabar continues to have misgivings about the reliability of *faḍāʾil* traditions and their usefulness for reconstructing architectural forms, finding them more relevant for understanding the piety and memories surrounding the Haram. See Grabar, "Notes on the Dome of the Rock," 217–21. I agree with him that these traditions are often too vague in terms of specifying the exact locations of buildings. Therefore, I will not use them to reconstruct the Marwanid topography of the Haram, as has been attempted by Kaplony. I do believe, however, that *faḍāʾil* traditions provide invaluable insights into the narrative discourses that were associated with individual components of the Haram complex—narratives that build upon early traditions datable to the Marwanid period, if not earlier.

27. This inference is made in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, and Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*.

28. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Tāʾrīkh*, 132–33; cited in Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 27; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 49–50; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 297, 301, 315, 365. Kaplony argues that the reference to the three domes "does not imply any particular action by ʿAbd al-Malik," disagreeing with Ayalon, who links them with his patronage—a reasonable inference, in my opinion, and one that is also made by Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 47–50. Early traditions on the chain of David are discussed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 47–48; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 298–304, 482–83. For al-Shaʿbi's biography, see G. H. A. Juynboll, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Shaʿbī."

29. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsitī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson (Jerusalem, 1979), 73–75 no. 119.

Cited with a discussion of its chain of transmission dating back to the Umayyad period in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 48; other related traditions recorded by al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja are cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 308–11.

30. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 93–102; French trans.: *Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī, Abrégé du livre des pays*, trans. Henri Massé (Damascus, 1973), 113–25. See too the translated sections in the chapters on Jerusalem in Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 83–223. Also partially cited in Kaplony, who, in his reconstruction of the "High Abbasid" phase of the complex, attempts to identify the sites of the buildings mentioned by Ibn al-Faqih: see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 59–82, 383–557.

31. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān,* 100–101; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqīh*, 123–25. Wahb b. Munabbih was one of the early figures to have assembled material on Biblical history, especially the history of prophets, most of which is lost. He was consulted by Muʿawiya regarding Solomon's throne, and by the Marwanid caliphs al-Walid I and Sulayman to decipher ancient archaeological inscriptions on stones. For his connections with the Umayyad court, the surviving fragment of his biography of the prophet-king David, and his lost writings, see Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1972).

32. For the imprint of Hamza's shield see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 593–99. For the gates with their changing positions and names see Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, "The Gates of the Haram al-Sharif," in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis*, *Part One*, 105–24; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 187–98, 404–63, 579–644.

33 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd*, 9 vols., ed. Mufīd Muḥammad Qumayḥah and Abd al-Majīd al-Tarḥīnī (Beirut, 1987), 7:290–93; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems,* 83–223 (the sections translated in his chapters on Jerusalem). Also see Kaplony, 59–82, 383–557.

34. For the extant inscription and references to the dimensions of the Haram (*masjid*) in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih's text and other sources see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 567–70; Mahmoud K. Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187–1250): An Architectural and Archaeological Survey* (Oxford, 2007), 133–135.

35. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 58–62 no. 47. This long tradition, consisting of several parts, is included with others in a chapter on "ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan's Construction of the [Dome of the] Rock." The last part of the tradition (on pp. 60–62) is a report by Abu Bakr b. al-Harith, one of the attendants of the sanctuary, that catalogues the various features of the complex built by ʿAbd al-Malik—including seven mihrabs, fifteen domes (besides the one over the Rock), twenty-four cisterns, and four minbars—ending with the dimensions of the mosque precinct. This tradition was copied from Ibn al-Murajja's treatise by several Mamluk authors. See translations in Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 147–48; Henry Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Abraham jusqu'à la fin du XVe siècle de J.-C.: Fragments de la Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn* (Paris, 1876), 55–56.

36. For traditions about the Gate of Remission (*bāb ḥiṭṭa*) and the exegesis of the Qurʾanic passage mentioning it, see Uri Rubin, *Between the Bible and the Qurʾān: The Children of Israel and the Islamic Self-Image* (Princeton, 1999), 83–91; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 114–17. The name *ḥiṭṭa* was transferred from the

gate on the western wall to another gate on the northern wall of the Haram at a later date. See fig. 3[2, 14].

37. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 95; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqīh*, 117. For traditions related to the Gate of the Divine Presence, and a different tradition reporting that the Ark of the Covenant rested on the Rock itself until God became angry with the Children of Israel and raised it up, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 27–28 n. 28, 109–14.

38. For the mention of the Black Paving Stone (*al-balāta al-sawdāʾ*) in traditions dateable to the early eighth century or even earlier, and for Wahb b. Munabbih's recommendation to that pilgrim to enter the Dome of the Rock from its north gate, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 78–81; Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 333–37.

39. The Arabic texts by al-Muhallabi and al-Yaʿqubi are cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 391–92, 571–72. The one by al-Yaʿqubi is translated in F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1985), 197. Al-Yaʿqubi's statement that the Rock was circumambulated until the end of the Umayyad regime has been interpreted as a false claim, since the hajj to Mecca was resumed soon after ʿAbd al-Malik established control over its sanctuary. I read this statement as a reference to the continuation of the circumambulation ritual in Jerusalem, which does not necessarily mean that the Meccan hajj was abandoned throughout Umayyad times. The statement does imply, however, that the circumambulation of the Rock officially ceased under the Abbasid regime.

40. The Arabic text is cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 394–95, 501. Also see Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, *Eutichio, Patriarca di Alessandria (877–940), Gli Annali*, trans. and ed. Bartolomeo Pirone (Cairo, 1987), 360–65.

41. Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 29–34. Kaplony assumes that the order in which al-Muhallabi mentions these domes indicates their respective places on the raised platform. The text is too vague, however, to draw definite conclusions about their exact locations. For the hypothetical positions Kaplony assigns to the two domes see Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 676–78, 699, 704–9. In my view, the Dome of the Scales may have been replaced in the Ayyubid period by the small aedicule bearing the same name, located by the Mamluk historian al-ʿUmari at the present site of the domical minbar of Burhan al-Din abutting the southern stairway of the raised platform (fig. 3[24]): see n. 46 below. The Dome of the Gathering (*qubbat al-maḥshar*) could be an alternative name for the Dome of the Prophet near the prayer station of Gabriel at the north or northwest side of the raised platform, where the Prophet is said to have prayed with angels and the "resurrected" (*ḥashar*) souls of former prophets gathered there by Gabriel: see reference cited in n. 108 below.

42. After the victory over Byzantine forces in 692, there was a pause in hostilities; this was followed in 695 by four years of fighting on the Byzantine frontier, as a result of which ʿAbd al-Malik gained control over Armenia in 700: see Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 69. ʿAbd al-Malik's Christian finance minister, Sergios the son of Mansur (the father of the celebrated theologian John of Damascus), and "his co-leader of the Palestinian Christians, Patricius," asked the caliph to request from Justinian II "other columns in place of these"; see Harry Turtledove, *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia, 1982), 63–64. According to Theophanes, this happened in 692, when Justi-

nan II broke the peace with ʿAbd al-Malik: cited in Gil, *History of Palestine*, 471–72.

43. For the rebuilding of the Kaʿba and the criticism voiced by the caliph's opponents see Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 95–100; Rubin, "The Kaʿba," 102–3; Wensinck and Jomier, *EI2*, s.v. "Kaʿba." The renovation of the Kaʿba, together with ʿAbd al-Malik's leadership of the hajj procession in the year 75 (694–95), is mentioned in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar = Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. Charles Barbier de Meynard, Jean-Baptiste Pavet de Courteille, and Charles Pellat, 5 vols. (Paris, 1962–77), 3:765–78, 1452–53. For three Christian apocalyptic texts written in northern Mesopotamia in the decade following the second civil war see Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 42–43; Chase F. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge, 2000), 48–49; Jean Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps: L'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans chrétienté médiévale* (Paris, 2007). For the assumption that al-Walid's construction of the Aqsa Mosque marked a turning point with respect to the "increasing Islamization" of the complex see Heribert Busse, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam," *Judaism* 17 (1968): 454–60; Heribert Busse, "Jerusalem in the Story of Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991): 1–40; Heribert Busse, "The Temple in Jerusalem and Its Restitution by ʿAbd al-Malik," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art,* ed. Bianca Kühnel, special issue of *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997–98): 23–33; Priscilla Soucek, "The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art," in *The Temple of Solomon*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Missoula, MT, 1973), 73–123; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 161–63. For the argument that al-Walid's Aqsa Mosque foregrounded the "Islamic functions" of the Dome of the Rock and of the sanctuary as a whole, supplanting their original "political messages," see too Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 71–107. Grabar, too, made a similar argument in his seminal article from 1959, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," but has considerably modified this interpretation in his latest books: see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, and Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*.

44. Ibn Kathīr (Abū 'l-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn), *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fī 'l-taʾrīkh*, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1932–38), 8:280–81. I have modified Elad's translation of *ṣawwarahu* and *ṣūrat* as "painted images" because not all of the "signs" were painted: "They painted there the picture of *al-ṣirāt*, the Gate of Paradise and the footprint of the Messenger of God (S) and the Valley of Gehenna. And [they also painted] on its gates and in the [holy] places there." See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 57 n. 28; Amikam Elad, "Why did ʿAbd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock? A Re-examination of the Muslim Sources," in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 46 n. 69, 51–52.

45. For references to the Prophet's footprint see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 72–73. The description by Abu Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabi (not to be confused with the great Andalusian Sufi Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-ʿArabi [d. 1240]), cited below in n. 234, seems to be the earliest reference to the Prophet's footprint. The footprint seen by al-Harawi during the Crusader occupation is mentioned in n. 235 below; according to Christian sources, Christ's footprint was displayed at that time in the Dome of the Rock (see n. 170 below). The reliquary on columns is described in Mamluk sources such as those of al-Suyuti and

Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali; for translations see Guy Le Strange, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470 A.D., by Kamâl (or Shams) ad Dîn as Suyûtî," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n. s., 19 (1887): 258; Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 106.

46. For the Fatimid arcade described by Nasir-i Khusraw see n. 61 below. Evliya visited Jerusalem in Ramadan 1082 (January 1672) and on several other occasions: see *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Vol. 9*, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff (Istanbul, 2005), 238. On the arcaded stairway, Evliya saw "the figures of scales and balances that have been represented at this place" (*bu maḥalde mīzān ve terāzū eşkāli taṣvīr olunmuşdur*). For the text by al-ʿUmari and the extant minbar, which features a domed ciborium with two superimposed marble cupolas carried on columns, see Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, "Summer Pulpit," in *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (London, 1987), 319–20; L. A. Mayer, "A Medieval Arabic Description of the Haram of Jerusalem," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 1, 1 (1931): 44–51; 1, 2 (1931): 74–85 (the double-domed ciborium is described on p. 48). Burgoyne also cites Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's 1496 description of how the qadi Burhan al-Din "restored" this minbar, which was used for rainmaking prayers and on the Muslim feasts. In a mid-sixteenth-century guidebook, the arcade of the southern stairway is referred to as *al-mīzān* (The Scales) and the pilgrim is instructed to pray at its mihrab. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 168.

47. Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 240–41. For the extant pillar marking the site of the Bridge of Sirat see the fold-out photograph and elevation drawing, "The East Wall of al-Haram al-Sharif," in *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, 2 vols. (London, 2000) 1:481, pl. 31.1.

48. Maqdīsī, *Kitāb al-badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, 2:193–94. Ibn Kathir's and al-Maqdisi's comments are cited together with a list of ascetics and Sufis who visited Jerusalem in Goitein, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Ḳuds."

49. The places of these buildings are not specified, but they seem to be located within the Haram complex. Cited and discussed in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 401–3. Nasir-i Khusraw describes Sufi convents abutting the north wall of the precinct during the Fatimid period: ibid., 632–36.

50. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsān al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm* (Leiden, 1866); al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm = La Meilleure repartition pour la connaissance des provinces*, trans. André Miquel (Damascus, 1963), 145–52, 197–99; trans. Guy Le Strange as "Description of the Province of Syria, including Palestine, by Mukaddasi," in *Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society* (London, 1896), 1–5, 21–23, 34–50.

51. For the "eastern Mihrab of David," mentioned in a tradition that concludes with the *isnād* (chain of transmission) of Khalid b. Maʿdan (d. 721–22) see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 63, 137. Among several options on the Haram, the most widely accepted Mihrab of David is the one on the south wall: see fig. 3[42]. For the Rock on the central raised platform (*dikka*) of the mosque of Jerusalem, called the "Rock of Moses," see Muḥammad Ibn Ḥawqal, *La Configuration de la terre = Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard*, trans. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, 2 vols. (Paris, 2001), 1:168.

52. Traditions identifying Silwan and Zamzam as the springs of Paradise are discussed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 80–81. For the Arabic text and translation of al-Harawi's guidebook see *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage: ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī's Kitāb al-Ishārāt ilā Maʿrifat al-Ziyārāt*, trans. Josef W. Meri (Princeton, 2004), 74–75.

53. Cited from al-Azdi's history in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 48. For traditions on the well and a mid-sixteenth-century guidebook, in which it is referred to as "Solomon's Well," see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 169.

54. Al-Muqaddasi mentions mosaics (*fusayfisāʾ*) on the mosque's back part, or north wall; textual sources around that time on the Aqsa Mosque are cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 538–58. For the hypothetical reconstruction plan of the Marwanid phase of the Aqsa Mosque featuring a domed central nave, see Grafman and Rosen-Ayalon, "Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques," 6, fig. 5. The plausible presence of a domed space, possibly with mosaics and a mihrab niche, is also proposed in Johns, "House of the Prophet," 59.

55. For the *rawḍa* in the Medina Mosque, see Muhammad Shafiʿ, "A Description of the Two Sanctuaries of Islam by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 940)," in *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and Reynold A. Nicholson (Cambridge, 1922), 434. A special sacredness is attributed in traditions to the part of the *ḥijr* that lies between the *rukn* and *maqām* at the Meccan sanctuary; it functioned as a place for oaths and was the burial site of Ishmael, Hagar and several prophets. See Rubin, "The Kaʿba," 108–9.

56. For the attribution of the arcaded stairways to ʿAbd al-Malik's time see Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 30–32; John Wilkinson, *Column Capitals in al-Haram al-Sharif* (Jerusalem, 1987), 21–22. The inscription on the western stairway arcade refers to a builder (*al-bannāʾ*) named Ahmad b. Abi Bakr: see Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 46 n. 69. For al-Baghdadi's dream see Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 177 no. 249; cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 397. The term *maqām* is also used by Nasir-i Khusraw (see n. 61 below) for the late Fatimid arcaded colonnades; these are discussed in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 682–98.

57. On the places of Paradise and the Fire, see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 70 no. 114. Traditions similar to this one are discussed below.

58. Ibn Ḥawqal, *La Configuration de la terre*, 167–68; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, ed. Mahmud Ghanīzāda (Berlin, 1922–23), 28–45; W. M. Thackston Jr., *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)* (Albany, NY, 1986), 23–35. For the Haram's transformations in the Fatimid period (969–1099) see Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 121–57; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 135–69; Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 43–49; Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 558–789.

59. For the suggestion that the collapse of the dome over the Rock may have prompted al-Wasiti to collect traditions in praise of Jerusalem as a "fundraising campaign" for restoration work see Isaac Hasson, "Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem: Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis," in *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, ed. Lee Levine, 3 vols. (Jerusalem and Detroit, 1981–83), 1:173. The emergence of the *faḍāʾil* literature on Jerusalem is analyzed in Suleiman A. Mourad, "A Note on the Origin of Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis Compilations," *Al-Abhath* 44 (1996):

31–48. The books of Ibn al-Murajja and al-Wasiti, cited above in nn. 16 and 29, also contain sections on the merits of Syria and Hebron.

60. For mihrabs at the Dome of the Chain; at Gabriel's Dome; and at the masjids of David, the Cradle of Jesus, and the Gate of the Divine Presence see Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 26, 29, 32. Qurʾanic inscriptions identifying the Mihrab of Zechariah at the northeast corner of the precinct and referring to the mihrabs of Zechariah and Mary at the Cradle of Jesus are mentioned in ibid., 25–26. The double gate known today as the Golden Gate was formerly the Gate of Mercy; it came to be called the Gate of Repentance and Mercy during the late Fatimid period. Before its name migrated to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Repentance was situated to the south, near the Mihrab of Mary (incorporated into the late Fatimid masjid of the Cradle of Jesus).

61. Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 26, 28, 33; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma,* 35–37, 44.

62. Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 29–33; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma,* 39–43.

63. For Ibn al-ʿArabi's reference to the Prophet's footprint see n. 234 below. On the controversy concerning the intended victim of Abraham's sacrifice (Isaac or Ishmael) see n. 90 below. Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 23, 29–30, 32–33; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, 31, 41–43. Epiphanios' reference to the Rock as the "invisibly suspended stone" is cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 581.

64. On the early date of *faḍāʾil* traditions see M. J. Kister, "A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem," in *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, 1:185–86; Mourad, "A Note on the Origin of *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* Compilations," 31–48; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Some Traditions of *Faḍāʾil al-Quds*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1991): 71–83; Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 365–67, 383–85. For Muqatil's exegesis and the traditions on Jerusalem included therein see Muqātil ibn Sulaymān al-Balkhī, *Tafsīr Muqātil ibn Sulaymān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Maḥmūd Shaḥāta, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1969–87) 2: 513–15. For translations of these traditions see Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 383–85. Muqatil's lectures at the Aqsa Mosque are mentioned in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 114. The theological institution created by the Umayyads was the *quṣṣāṣ,* whose position had been fixed by Muʿawiya and became officially established in mosques under ʿAbd al-Malik. See Josef van Ess, "Early Development of Kalām," in *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society,* ed. G. H. A. Juynboll (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1982), 123.

65. al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 86–87 no. 140; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 229 no. 338; 259–64 no. 399. Cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 320, 327, 329, 370.

66. M. Plessner [A.Rippin], *EI2*, s.v. "Mukātil b. Sulaymān." For traditions on Jerusalem cited by Muqatil, see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2:513–15; these are translated in Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 383–85. Additional traditions are incorporated into Muqatil's exegesis of suras in other volumes. Muqatil was selected by the Umayyad governor Nasr b. Sayyar to negotiate with the revolutionary Harith b. Surayy, whose executed secretary, Jahm b. Safwan, had once engaged Muqatil in a theological dispute about whether "God can be located on His Throne or whether he is *lā fī makān* [without a location]." See van Ess, "Early Development of Kalām," 119. On al-Walid b. Hammad b. Jabir al-Ramli, who may have written a lost *faḍāʾil* treatise on Jerusalem, and on other ninth-century Syrian-Palestinian transmitters of local traditions that are recorded in al-Wasiti's and Ibn al-Murajja's treatises, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 14–22; Mourad, "A Note on the Origin of *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis* Compilations," 31–48 (an appendix on 42–43 lists al-Ramli's informants).

67. The tradition is attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih, who also locates Jacob's dream on the Rock: see Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 97–100; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqīh,* 120–23. For "Kursī Sulaymān" see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 82–85. The Ayyubid "Dome of Solomon" and the rock inside are described in Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, 103–11. On David's Mihrab see Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 34; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, 45; and n. 51 above. Nasir-i Khusraw reports that God accepted David's repentance at the Gate of Mercy and Repentance on the eastern side—probably because the name of the southern Gate of Repentance migrated to the east after it was walled up in the late Fatimid period: see Thackston, *Book of Travels,* 25; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safarnāma*, 33–44.

68. For Muqatil's commentary on Sura 17 and traditions he cites in connection with it on the merits of Jerusalem see his *Tafsīr*, 2: 513–56; translated in Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 383–85. On the date around 70 (689–90) and the context of the hadith transmitted by al-Zuhri, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 153–57. This hadith, which was reported in the names of several transmitters, including al-Zuhri, underwent modifications: see M. J. Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques," *Le Muséon* 82 (1969): 173–96.

69. For traditions on Jerusalem recorded by Muqatil see n. 68 above. See also the exegesis of verse 50:41 in Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 4:116. Muqatil does not specify the Qurʾanic verse in which the "Rock of Bayt al-Maqdis" is cited. Hasson thinks this is a reference to the rock mentioned in the Sura of The Cave (Qurʾan 18:63): see Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 383 n. 1. On that rock, Moses and his companion met "the one gifted with knowledge of God," al-Khidr, at the site marking the confluence of the two seas (*majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*). The tradition reported from Abu al-ʿAliya in al-Wasiti's book is translated in Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 181: "When Allah, glorified be He, said 'unto the land we had blessed for all beings,' He meant that all sweet water originates from the Rock."

70. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 93–97; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī*, 115–24; al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 61–62 no. 98; 70–75 nos. 114–19; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 104 nos. 108–9; 108–10 nos. 120–23; 208–13 nos. 299–310. For the ascension of God from the Rock, see Josef van Ess, "ʿAbd al-Malik and the Dome of the Rock: An Analysis of Some Texts," in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 89–103. For traditions ascribed to Kaʿb al-Ahbar (d. 650s) in al-Wasiti's and Ibn al-Murajjah's books about the setting of the divine Throne on the Rock at the end of time see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 162–63; Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 351–62. There are references in the Qurʾan to God's ascent to heaven (Qurʾan 2:29; 13:2; 25:59; 41:11) and to the descent of the divine Throne on the Day of Judgment (Qurʾan 69:17).

71. For the Rock's complaint to God about its reduced status
when the qibla was transferred to Mecca, and the reassuring
response given to it by God concerning the exalted role it
would play on the Last Day as the site of the divine Throne,
see J. W. Hirschberg, "The Sources of Moslem Traditions
concerning Jerusalem," *Rocznik Orientalisticzny* 17 (1951–52):
326–27. For a complaint made by the Ka'ba to God see
M. J. Kister, "On 'Concessions' and Conduct: A Study in Early
Ḥadīth," in Juynboll, *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*,
98. On the Day of Resurrection, the Black Stone of the Ka'ba,
which originated in Paradise, will have two eyes and a tongue
to intercede on behalf of pilgrims, according to the *Multaqā
al-abḥur,* a compendium of Hanafi jurisprudence compiled
by Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Halabi (d. 1549), which was
widely used in the Ottoman Empire. For the Turkish trans-
lation and Arabic text see *Mültekâ Tercümesi, Mevkûfât,* trans.
Ahmed Davudoğlu (Istanbul, 1990), 387. The Mamluk authors
al-Suyuti and Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali mention the "Tongue
of the Rock" at the cave entrance: see Le Strange, "Descrip-
tion of the Noble Sanctuary," 259; Sauvaire, *Chronique de
Moudjir-ed-dyn,* 106. The Rock's tongue is also listed among
pilgrimage stations in a mid-sixteenth-century guidebook
summarized in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 167.

72. Ascribed to the Prophet's companions 'Ubada b. al-Samit
and Rafi' b. Hadij: see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas,*
70–71 no. 115; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis,* 109 no.
121. Translated in Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Tradi-
tions," 330. According to a variant of this tradition in the
name of Sawada b. 'Ata al-Hadrani, when God was seated
on the Rock after having created the earth, He pointed out
several places before ascending to heaven: "This to the west
is Paradise; this to the east is the Fire (of Hell); and this is
the place of My Scales of Justice, for I am God, the Judge on
Judgment Day." See Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Tradi-
tions," 329–30. For other variants see Hirschberg, "Sources
of Moslem Traditions," 326–27; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb
al-buldān,* 93–97; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqīh,* 118–19; al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il
al-bayt al-muqaddas,* 70–72 nos. 114 and 116; Ibn al-Murajjā,
Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis, 104 nos. 108 and 109.

73. These divine utterances are quoted from the Torah by Ka'b
al-Ahbar (d. 650s); they also refer to walls of gold, silver, and
gems that will be raised around Bayt al-Maqdis. See al-Wāsiṭī,
Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas, 71–73 nos. 116 and 118; Ibn
al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis,* 109–10, 308–9 nos. 122–23,
300, 301. Partially cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem,* 319–20,
362. The tradition about the Rock's expansion as a white coral
is reported from Abu Idris al-Khawlani (d. 699), who was a
qadi of Damascus under 'Abd al-Malik and one of the *qurrā'*
(Qur'an reciters and transmitters of traditions) of Syria-Pal-
estine. See Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis,* 104 no. 108;
a shorter variant is on 104 no. 109. According to Muqatil's
commentary on the Qur'an, at the end of time the earth "will
be laid out new and white, as if it were silver" (Qur'an 99:2).
See Frederik Leemhuis, *EQ,* s.v. "Apocalypse."

74. Gil, *History of Palestine,* 96, 102: "'Abd al-Malik and his sons
turned the Temple Mount into a magnet…and this is where
the process of sanctification began"; "this aura of santity was
the direct consequence of the great building enterprise of
'Abd al-Malik and his sons."

75. 'Abd al-Malik was able to build the Dome of the Rock "just

because these traditions were alive and current among the
inhabitants of Palestine and Syria," according to Hirschberg,
"Sources of Moslem Traditions," 317, 320–21. The Rock
attracted a multitude of "cosmologic and ethico-historical
traditions that were probably in circulation locally at the time
of the Umayyad building activities," before the codification
of hadith literature: see Angelika Neuwirth, "The Spiritual
Meaning of Jerusalem in Islam," in *City of the Great King: Jeru-
salem from David to the Present,* ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge,
MA, and London, 1996), 109. The already existing local belief
about God having set up His Throne in Jerusalem at the time
of the creation was strengthened by the building activities of
'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid and quickly acquired a Muslim
identity of its own, according to van Ess, "'Abd al-Malik," 99.
See also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 13–14; Duri, "Jerusalem in
the Early Islamic Period," 108–11; Hawting, *First Dynasty of
Islam,* 59–61; Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 83, 87.

76. In a tradition ascribed to the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Ahbar,
when Jerusalem complains about the destruction of her sanc-
tuary (*al-bayt,* house), God consoles her, saying, "I manifest to
you a new Torah, which means the Koran, and new inhabit-
ants, which means the nation of Muhammad, peace be upon
him. They will hover over you like the hovering of the eagle,
and they will long for you as the dove longs for its eggs, and
they will enter you prostrating and bowing." See Livne-Kafri,
"A Note on Some Traditions," 82. The reference here to the
Qur'anic *ḥiṭṭa* passage (2:58), associated in Muqatil's exege-
sis with Jerusalem and identified in other texts with the Gate
of Remission (*bāb ḥiṭṭa*) at the Haram, turns the rebuilt Mus-
lim sanctuary into the realization of a preordained divine
scheme signaling the establishment of a "new covenant" with
the Muslims, who unlike the disobedient Children of Israel
will submissively obey the divine commands. See Uri Rubin,
Between the Bible, 83–91. Traditions on 'Umar's "discovery" of
the Rock are analyzed in Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb in Jeru-
salem"; Suliman Bashear, "The Title *Fārūq* and Its Associa-
tion with 'Umar," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 47–70. Regard-
ing collective memory and the Holy Sepulcher see Maurice
Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chi-
cago and London, 1992), 87, 213–19.

77. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam,* 48–49; Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik,* 6–7.

78. Annabel Jane Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura
Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge, 1995), 99;
Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 333.

79. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fī 'l-ta'rīkh,* 8:280; translated
in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 57.

80. As translated from Sibt b. al-Jawzi, *Mir'āt al-zamān,* based on
a report by al-Waqidi (d. 823) that was derived from Hisham
b. Muhammad al-Kalbi (d. 819 or 821) via his father Muham-
mad b. al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi (d. 763), whose own father was a par-
tisan of Ibn al-Zubayr. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 53–54.

81. Johns, "Archaeology and the History of Early Islam," 425;
Elad, "Why Did Abd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock?,"
33–58. The scholarly debate on this issue is analyzed in Elad,
Medieval Jerusalem, 149–63. Elad concludes that 'Abd al-Malik
built the Dome of the Rock to "divert the hajj from Mecca
to Jerusalem," because of the association of the Dome's site
both "with the Last Days and with the Temple of Solomon."
Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 161.

82. Goitein rejected the allegation that 'Abd al-Malik forbade

the hajj to Mecca as anti-Umayyad propaganda: see Shelomo Dov Goitein, "The Historical Background for the Erection of the Dome of the Rock," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, 2 (1950): 104–8; Goitein, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Kuds." Following Goitein, Grabar disagreed with Creswell's view that the Dome of the Rock was built on the site of the Prophet's Ascension to abolish the Meccan hajj; see Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock." I concur with Hirschberg's assessment that the prohibition may have been real, and that it was a measure legitimized by the war against Ibn al-Zubayr, rather than meant to abolish the hajj for all time. See Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 318–19. For the differing view that "Ibn al-Zubayr's revolt had nothing to do with the building of the Dome of the Rock, contrary to the opinion of some positivist historians," see Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 81.

83. For a report that denounces as an "innovation" the introduction of the *taʿrif* ritual at the Dome of the Rock in the days of ʿAbd al-Malik, when people gathered there on the Day of ʿArafa and performed the *wuqūf* (a "standing" ceremony held on the plain of ʿArafat), see Kister, "On ʿConcessionsʾ and Conduct," 104–5. For my revisionist interpretation of al-Yaʿqubi's statement about the circumambulation of the Rock until the end of the Umayyad dynasty, see n. 39 above.

84. al-Tabarī, *The History of al-Tabarī = Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa ʾl-mulūk*, vol. 12, *The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine*, trans. Yohanan Friedman (Albany, 1992), 194–95; discussed in Rubin, *Between the Bible*, 56–57. For a version of this tradition quoted from Kaʿb al-Ahbar, in which ʿUmar prefers to build the mosque at the south of the Rock because Muslims are entitled to the "front parts" of mosques, see Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 132 no. 162: cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 377–78. According to another version, ʿUmar rejected Kaʿb's proposal to join the two qiblas (*al-qiblatayn*) by declaring that the Rock is the "qibla of Moses," not the "qibla of Muhammad": see Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 53 no. 39; cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 353.

85. As quoted from ʿAtaʾ al-Khurasani in al-Wasiti, translated in Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 177–78.

86. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 174 no. 246; cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 229–30.

87. On the reduced sanctity of Jerusalem under the Abbasids see the introduction by Hasson in al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 16–21; Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out"; Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam," in *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* (Leiden, 1981), 58–71; Moshe Sharon, "The ʿPraises of Jerusalemʾ as a Source for the Early History of Islam," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 49, 1–2 (1992): 56–68. Nasir-i Khusraw's report is translated in Thackston, *Book of Travels*, 21.

88. The famous essay by the Mamluk scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) on rules of conduct for visiting the sanctuary in Jerusalem sanctions only ritual prayer (*salāt*) and the prayer of pardon (*ghafr*) at the Aqsa Mosque, following the precedent set by the caliph ʿUmar I. He criticizes other rituals as "innovations," namely, ritual prayer in the direction of the qibla of the Rock, circumambulating the Rock, slaughtering animals for sacrifice near the Rock, holding the ritual of *taʿrif* there on the day of ʿArafa, making a pilgrimage to it for the fulfillment of vows, and combining the pilgrimage to Mecca with a visit to Jerusalem. He rejects the precinct's status as a Haram; refuses to believe that one can see either the Prophet's footprint on the Rock or the imprint of his turban on the Rock's underside facing the cave; disapproves of representations of the signs of the Last Day such as the Bridge of Sirat, the Scales, or the barrier between Paradise and Hell indicated on the precinct's east wall; and condemns the glorification of the Chain. Nevertheless, he accepts the sanctuary's importance as the site of the first qibla and the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension, as well as its eschatological role during the Last Judgment. See Henrik Olesen Niels, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez Ibn Taymiyya (661/1263–728/1328)* (Paris, 1991); Charles D. Matthews, "A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymīyyeh) on the ʿMeritsʾ of Jerusalem and Palestine," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56 (1936): 1–21; Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 176–77. The fact that Ibn Taymiyya's critique was not well received and he died in prison signals the ongoing popular veneration of the pilgrimage complex; similar critiques were made by some scholars in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods: see M. J. Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided: On Holy Places in the Islamic Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 18–65; L. A. Mayer, "A Sequel to Mujir ad-Din's Chronicle," *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 11, 2 (1931): 7–12; Moshe Perlmann, "A Seventeenth-Century Exhortation Concerning al-Aqsā," *Israel Oriental Studies* 3 (1973): 261–92. The sequel to Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's chronicle, covering thirteen years beginning with 901 (1495–96), includes an exhortation to pilgrims (pp. 7–11) not to touch or kiss the Rock or the cave underneath while asking for God's forgiveness, or to perform rituals at the Rock that resemble those of the Meccan hajj, such as circumambulating it; pilgrims are also instructed not to venerate sites like the Dome of the Scales (*qubbat al-mīzān*), the Market of Understanding (*aswāq al-maʿrifa*, fig. 3[43]), the Cradle of Jesus, and the Gate of Remission (*bāb ḥiṭṭa*)— indeed, the pilgrim should enter the sanctuary from any gate but this one!

89. For the argument that the Dome of the Rock was intended by ʿAbd al-Malik as a "contender for the role of the Muslim sanctuary," a status it failed to achieve when the Kaʿba came under his control, see Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 60–61. This argument is adopted, with the conclusion that the Dome of the Rock was a failed experiment, in Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 95–100, 126. The fluid nature of the pilgrimage rites to Mecca and the architectural transformations the Kaʿba underwent during the second civil war do not, in my view, support the conclusion that the Meccan hajj was not a fixed feature of Muslim belief at that time. See Ibn Isḥāq, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, trans. A. Guillaume (London and New York, 1955), 135. For the joint qibla tradition and others claiming that the Prophet prayed towards Jerusalem only after moving to Medina to please the Jews see Rubin, "Kaʿba," 103–4 n. 29.

90. The Kaʿba is accompanied by the *maqām* of Abraham, featuring a stone with his footprints and commemorating the construction of the sanctuary, which, according to the Qurʾan, God had commanded Abraham and his son Ishmael to build. The Dome of the Rock is near Abraham's Cave, where he used to worship God, and ʿAbd al-Malik may have attempted

to link the Rock with the sacrifice of Isaac. For the horns of Abraham's ram hanging on a chain above the Rock in Marwanid times, and the controversy concerning whether the intended victim of Abraham's sacrifice was supposed to be Isaac or Ishmael, see Nasser Rabbat, "The Dome of the Rock Revisited: Some Remarks on al-Wasiti's Account," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 71–73; Uri Rubin, *"Ḥanīfiyya* and Kaʿba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of *Dīn Ibrāhīm,*" *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990): 87–112; Suliman Bashear, "Abraham's Sacrifice of his Son and Related Issues," *Der Islam* 67, 2 (1990): 243–77. The pro-Isaac view was prevalent among the Muslims of Syria-Palestine, according to the theologian John of Damascus (d. ca. 750), and Muqatil's exegesis locates the sacrifice of Isaac in Jerusalem: see Rubin, *"Ḥanīfiyya* and Kaʿba," 264–65, 277 n. 180. Nasir-i Khusraw saw Isaac's footprints imprinted on the Rock at the time he was there with his father, Abraham (for the sacrifice): see n. 63 above. The Persian chronicle of Muʿali written in 1474 refers to the footprints of the Prophet and of Ishmael on the Rock: see n. 205 below. Later on, Sayyid ʿAli al-Husayni's mid-sixteenth-century Persian guidebook mentions the presence of Abraham's sacrificial knife at the Dome of the Rock. See Rachel Milstein, *"Kitāb Shawq-nāma*—An Illustrated Tour of Holy Arabia," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 317.

91. I am not convinced by the widespread presumption that the connection between the Prophet's Night Journey and the sanctuary in Jerusalem did not exist until al-Walid's completion of the Aqsa Mosque (ca. 715) or even later. See references in n. 43 above, particularly the articles of Busse. As Hirschberg argues, there is no reason to assume that the interpretation of Qurʾan 17:1 as a reference to a celestial sanctuary preceded the one linking it with the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem: see his "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 338–42. It seems reasonable to me that among the diverse coexisting interpretations, the one connecting "the Furthest Place of Prayer" with Jerusalem (accepted in Muqatil's exegesis) must have been prevalent in Syria-Palestine by the late seventh century. The assumption of a monolinear evolution is not warranted; instead, competing traditions that never became entirely resolved coexisted simultaneously. Pedersen concludes that the Muslims recognized the holiness of the Jerusalem sanctuary early on, as is evident from the first qibla and the "traditional interpretation" of Qurʾan 17:1, "according to B. Schrieke and Horovitz a place of prayer in heaven." Pedersen adds, "It must therefore have been natural for the conquerors to seek out the recognized holy place" as ʿUmar did in 638: Pedersen, *EI2,* s.v. "Masdjid." The heavenly sanctuary idea was eventually rejected by most exegetical collections on the Qurʾan and biographies of the Prophet; remnants of it remained in Shiʿi literature, which tried to diminish the sanctity of Jerusalem to glorify Kufa: see Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 355. Although Grabar initially argued that the Prophet's Night Journey (*isrāʾ*) was linked with the sanctuary in Jerusalem after al-Walid's construction of the Aqsa Mosque, he now believes that the identification of the Haram with the first qibla of Islam, the Prophet's Night Journey, and the place of God's return at the Last Judgment began to take root in Jerusalem between 640 and 690. Cf. Grabar's "Umayyad Dome of the Rock" and *Shape of the Holy,* 48–49, 114.

92. Tammām b. Ghālib al-Farazdaq, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Farazdaq,* ed. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣāwī, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1936), 2: 566. For the Arabic text and a fuller translation see Nadia Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb: Poetry as a Source for Interpreting the Transformation of the Byzantine Cross on Steps on Umayyad Coinage," in Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two,* 56. The two sanctuaries "are referred to as being on the same level," according to Kister, "You Shall Only Set Out," 182. However, as Rabbat points out, the wording of this verse, in a poem describing the hajj procession led by ʿAbd al-Malik in 694, clearly implies that the House in Aelia is not equal in sanctity to the Kaʿba. See Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 81.

93. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis,* 253 no. 386. The same tradition is included in al-Wasiti. For a slightly different translation see Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 179. The expulsion of the Umayyads from Medina may have embittered ʿAbd al-Malik, according to Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik,* 22, 26. For the attempt by Muʿawiya and ʿAbd al-Malik to transfer the Prophet's minbar from the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina to Syria-Palestine (which is reported by al-Tabari), see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 148.

94. For an overview of the controversy see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 147–63; Elad, "Why did ʿAbd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock?," 33–58; Hawting, *First Dynasty,* 60–61.

95. This tradition is reported by the descendants of Thabit b. Istanibiyadh al-Farisi al-Khumsi (one of the servants of the Marwanid sanctuary) on the authority of ʿAbd al-Malik's building supervisors Rajaʾ b. Haywa and Yazid b. Salam. See al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas,* 80–81 no. 136, and a longer version, combining several traditions, in Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis,* 58–62 no. 47. The short version is extensively analyzed in Rabbat, "Dome of the Rock Revisited," 68–71. A variant of the same tradition, recorded by Sibt al-Jawzi via al-Waqidi (d. 832), is translated in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 53–56.

96. Sharon, "Praises of Jerusalem," 58–59. Grabar states that this tradition, "from which all pious sentiments are absent, is clearly a later reaction to an existing building," and that it should not be taken too literally. See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy,* 115 n. 142. According to Rabbat, the simple explanation shows that the reader already knows the significance of the Rock, which ʿAbd al-Malik was "honoring as a venerated and possibly sacred object" in addition to claiming "an imperial presence." See Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 85–87.

97. It was reportedly Kaʿb's nephew Nawf al-Bikali who informed ʿAbd al-Malik about this tradition. See al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas,* 23 no. 28; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis,* 187 no. 267: translated in Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 181; Livne-Kafri, "Muslim Traditions," 184; Isaac Hasson, *EQ,* s.v. "Last Judgment."

98. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis,* 63–64 no. 50. A variant refers to the Torah instead of the Holy Books, and lacks the last sentence. See al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas,* 86 no. 138: cited in Livne-Kafri "A Note on Some Traditions," 82–83; Sharon, "Praises of Jerusalem," 59; Rubin, *Between the Bible,* 19, 23; Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 179; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem,* 162–63; Busse "Temple in Jerusalem," 25; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem,* 361–62. Kaplony proposes a new reading for *mulkahā ʾl-awwala* as *malikahā ʾl-awwala,* according to

which God will restore Jerusalem "to its first king," David, and "crown him with gold, silver and corals," before bringing His people back to it. Although both readings are possible, I prefer the earlier one because the tradition is clearly concerned with the rebuilding of Jerusalem as an apocalyptic sign: see Ibn al-Murajja's chapter on the "signs of the end of time," 208–10 nos. 300, 301–304; Suliman Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 1, 2 (1991): 176. Moreover, the Umayyad caliphs did not wear crowns; for a seventh-century Maronite chronicler who says "Mu'awiya did not wear a crown like other kings in the world," see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 136.

99. For a comparable prophecy concerning 'Umar's clearing of the Rock, which had been predicted by a sage long ago, see Bashear, "Title *Fārūq*," 47–70. The end of Ka'b's prophecy alludes to "an important element in Jewish eschatology: the 'House of David'": see Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Some Traditions," 83. The predestined replacement of the demolished Temple with a new Muslim sanctuary is also prophesied in other traditions with messianic overtones. Although there is no reason to assume that these traditions were promulgated at the time of 'Abd al-Malik, they do reflect popular perceptions that connect the rise of Islam with building activities at the former Temple Mount. In one of these traditions, reported by Ibn Sa'd (d. 845) quoting a man of Jewish origin, Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi, God announces to Jacob, "I shall send from your descendants kings and prophets, till I send the Prophet of the *haram* [Mecca]," the "Seal of the Prophets," whose "nation will build the Temple (*haykal*) of Jerusalem." Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Some Traditions," 82.

100. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 72–73, 92–103, 307–21; Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 111–47; Flusin, "L'Esplanade du Temple," 17–31; Bernard Flusin, "Démons et Sarrasins: L'auteur et le propos des *Dièmata stèriktika* d'Anastase le Sinaïte," *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991): 381–409. For Christian apocalyptic prophecies that the Antichrist would rebuild Solomon's Temple and dwell in it during the Last Days see Joshua Prawer, "Christian Attitudes Towards Jerusalem in the Early Middle Ages," in Prawer and Ben-Shammai, *History of Jerusalem*, 323–25.

101. For references see n. 43 above, especially the articles by Busse, who claims that 'Abd al-Malik aimed to "rebuild the Jewish Temple." The literature on the Muslim desire to rebuild the Temple, which anachronistically dissociates religious and political meanings, is summarized by Elad, who detects three interconnected themes in the Dome of the Rock that have no reference to the Prophet's legacy: successor to the Temple of Solomon, rival to Mecca, and symbol of the Last Days. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 161–63. The Temple also looms large in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*.

102. Mujir-al-Din al-Hanbali's chronicle was written in 1496. See Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-tarīkh al-quds wa 'l-khalīl*, 2 vols. (Najaf, 1968),1:272; Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 48–49. 'Abd al-Malik's image as a champion of Islam and his religious reforms are discussed in Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik,* esp. 49–57, 81–128. For the prevalence of messianic expectations see Wilfred Madelung, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdi," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40, 4 (1981): 291–305; Wilfred Madelung, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Mahdī." For

the emergence of prophetic claimants in the Muslim community that provided an impetus to the consolidation of the dogma concerning the finality of Muhammad's prophethood as the "seal of the prophets" (Qur'an 33:40), see Yohanan Friedman, "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7 (1986): 177–215. Those accused of falsely claiming prophethood during the times of 'Abd al-Malik included the Shi'i rebel al-Mukhtar (d. 687) and al-Harith b. Sa'id (d. 698–99).

103. Cited in Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 44, 82–86, 91; Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 39–40.

104. Bustami Khir, *EQ*, s.v. "Sovereignty." For the observation that "the sovereignty of God is an essential element of eschatology" also see Carolanne Mekeel-Matteson, "The Meaning of the Dome of the Rock," *The Islamic Quarterly* 43, 3 (1999): 164.

105. These sources are discussed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 21, 62–68; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 229.

106. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 64–81 nos. 52–69. Analyzed and mapped in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 69–71 (map on xviii–ix); Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 103–6 (map on 106, fig. 30).

107. Kaplony identifies the unnamed portal from which one enters the Haram as the Gate of David (see n. 106 above). He suggests that "the place" one is only allowed to touch may have been located at the west or north side of the Rock, and he situates the Prophet's *maqām* inside or outside the Dome of the Rock. See Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem,* 745–47. A tradition circulating in the early eighth century states that prayers made at the right (west) and north sides of the Rock, and at the "place (*al-mawḍi'*) of the chain" (the Dome of the Chain, to the east) are answered by God, removing one's sorrows and erasing all sins: quoted from Ka'b al-Ahbar in al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 75 no. 120; 23 no. 29. Another tradition recommends praying to the right and left of the Rock in order to enter Paradise. See Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 113 no. 131. On the merits of prayer at the Black Paving Stone to the north see n. 38 above.

108. For traditions about the minor domes see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 73–75 no. 119; 94–96 no. 155; 99–101 no. 162; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*, 119–21 nos. 142–44; 123–25 nos. 148 and 151. The hypothetical locations of these domes are indicated on the maps of Elad and Kaplony: see n. 106 above. See also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 47–50; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 307–11.

109. This interpretation is made in Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 317. The rituals established by 'Abd al-Malik are described in the traditions cited above in n. 95.

110. Modern scholars generally equate the Rock with the "Pierced Stone" (*lapis pertusus*) of the destroyed Temple, mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333), which was annually anointed by the Jews: see *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem: The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.)*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1887). The hole of the Rock is interpreted in a Muslim tradition as the place where offerings were made on a plate hanging from a chain in the days of the Children of Israel: see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 75 no. 121; cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 354. This tradition identifies the Rock as the Temple's altar (*haykal*) of offerings. According to another tradition, the Ark of the Covenant

rested on the Rock until God became angry with the Children of Israel and raised it up: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 27–28 n. 28, 109–14. For the perception of the Rock as the Holy of Holies in the Crusader period see n. 170 below. Mondays and Thursdays were the days on which the Jewish Temple was opened to the public for Torah readings; for the presumed parallel with the liturgy of the Temple, also imitated at the Holy Sepulcher, see Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem," 458–59; Busse, "Temple in Jerusalem," 25–29; Sharon, "Praises of Jerusalem," 59–63; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 53–56, 162; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 41–42, 321–25. The Anastasis Rotunda featured a circumambulation ritual on Holy Saturday, when the priests would cense it and perform a three-fold perambulation within it, according to a Georgian lectionary from the late fifth to the eighth century, cited in Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 56. The group of servants appointed to the sanctuary in Jerusalem by ʿAbd al-Malik included Jews and Christians, whose positions were hereditary; the Jewish servants, whose duties included lighting the lamps of the Dome of the Rock, were dismissed by the caliph ʿUmar II (r. 717–20). See Gil, *History of Palestine*, 71–72. Raby suggests that the vessels made for the Haram by ʿAbd al-Malik's Jewish glassmakers may have been connected to the ritual of anointing the Rock: see Raby, "In Vitro Veritas," 158–83. Raby is one of the few scholars to note that the entire Kaʿba was anointed with *khalūq*, as were parts of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. He also cites al-Masʿudi's report about the two days for the opening of Muʿawiya's tomb: see Raby, "In Vitro Veritas," 172 n. 188; 176–77. On Muʿawiya being the first to anoint the Kaʿba with *khalūq* see Massé, *Ibn al-Faqīh*, 25. In his *History of Mecca* (ca. 883), al-Faqihi mentions that the Kaʿba was opened on Mondays and Thursdays after the Quraysh rebuilt it in the time of the Prophet with a single gate raised above the ground that could be reached only by a ladder: cited in Sadettin Ünal, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Kâbe." Ibn al-Zubayr's rebuilding of the Kaʿba with two gates made it more accessible; ʿAbd al-Malik restored it to its former Qurashi form featuring a single raised gate. The shrine of the Prophet's sandal, created by the Mamluk ruler Qaytbay (r. 1486–96) in al-Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya in Jerusalem, had a cupola with silk curtains in a room that was also opened to the public only on Mondays and Thursdays. See M. J. Kister, "Do Not Assimilate Yourselves…*Lā tashabbahū*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 12 (1989): 349.

111. al-Ṭabarī, *History of al-Ṭabari*, 12:193–96; Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb," 74–75, 79–85; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 236–37, 356–57.

112. al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 171; discussed in Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 164–65. According to a tradition ascribed to him, the caliph ʿUmar ordered that a *muṣalla* be built for Muslims near the eastern wall overlooking the Valley of Hell while he disposed of refuse removed from the Rock: see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 78 no. 130. Another tradition transmitted in the name of his son, Ibn ʿUmar, identifies Qurʾan 57:13 with the eastern wall of the precinct: cited in Hirschberg, "Sources of Moslem Traditions," 329.

113. For traditions and sites on the Haram associated with al-Khidr see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 327, 485–86, 695–96. Places named after al-Khidr in the late Ottoman period are

marked on fig. 3(11, 29), 15(E); his mihrab along the eastern wall of the Haram is mentioned in a mid-sixteenth-century guidebook summarized in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 170. The Haram is characterized as a place where the "border between heaven and earth, between time and eternity is permeable," in Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 113. The minor domes of the Marwanid raised platform are shown on the hypothetical reconstruction maps of Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, xiv–xv, and Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 295. The extant minor domes on this platform, with the exception of the Dome of the Chain, are from the Ayyubid and Ottoman periods. For the Ayyubid Dome of the Ascension (*qubbat al-miʿrāj*) see Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, 84–96. For the Dome of the Spirits (*qubbat al-arwāḥ*), Dome of al-Khidr, Dome of the Prophet, Dome of Yusuf, and the domed Convent of Shaykh Muhammad al-Khalili (also known as *zāwiya al-muḥammadiyya* or *masjid al-nabī*), see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:701–8, 888–99, 936–40, 958–62.

114. For the treasury and related bibliography see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 305–7. Grabar considers Muʿawiya, ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Walid, and Sulayman as equally plausible candidates for the construction of the Dome of the Chain. See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 130–32. For the reference in the Syriac chronicle see Andrew Palmer, ed. and trans., *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool, 1993), 47.

115. This identification is based on a tradition recorded in Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 226 no. 333. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 27; Gil, *History of Palestine*, 104; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 109–10; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 304–5.

116. al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 87 no. 141; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 114 no. 133. Cited in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 110; Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 364–65. Gil mentions other sources indicating that Sulayman, while still governor of Palestine, sat at one of the minor domes near the Rock, where he gave audiences and had his orders written. According to Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, ʿUmar II acted in the same way: see Gil, *History of Palestine*, 104 n. 28.

117. For Ibn al-Faqih and Nasir-i Khusraw see nn. 31 and 62 above. The dome's centrality is noted in Busse, "Sanctity of Jerusalem," 442; Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 27–29; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 131; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 300. The concept of *quṭb* is discussed in Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb," 11–57.

118. al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 33–34 no. 44. Cited in Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 302–303; Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–72. The dome has also been associated by Garth Fowden with the Day of Judgment: "The possibility clearly exists that the Dome of the Chain was designed to shelter the caliph's throne on state occasions—and at the Last Judgment?" Garth Fowden, *Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria: Quṣayr ʿAmra* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2004), 124 n. 88. According to Neuwirth, who does not cite a source, the "chain holding the scales of Judgment will be hung" at this dome at the "very center of a vast scenario of Judgment." See Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 113–14.

119. For messianic expectations in the Umayyad period see Madelung, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Mahdī"; Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh, 2004), 74–80. For the frequent

use of the term *mahdī* implying a "redeemer" in court poetry, and the verses of al-Farazdaq discussed above, see Crone, *Islamic Political Thought*, 41–42; Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge, 2003), 34–37, 54–56; Uri Rubin, "Prophets and Caliphs: The Biblical Foundations of the Umayyad Authority," in *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, ed. Herbert Berg (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 98–99; Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 114; Reinhard Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion: Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. ʿAbdalmalik und seinem Bild in den Quellen* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 40, 147, 149, 151, 157–60.

120. al-Ṭabarī, *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 12:194.

121. The role of Umayyad caliphs in guiding the community by adjudicating the law and upholding justice is discussed in Crone, *Islamic Political Thought*, 40–43. The episode with the theologian Abu Zurʿa is cited in Rabbat, "Transcultural Meaning," 83; Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 258–59. For court poetry portraying ʿAbd al-Malik as a judge, his coins inscribed with the title "God's caliph," and the poet Nabigha b. Shayban's recommendation urging the caliph to judge by the *sunna* of David and also to follow the Prophet's *sunna*, see Robinson, *ʿAbd al–Malik*, 94, 49–57; Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 54.

122. Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 4–42; Rubin, "Prophets and Caliphs, 73–99; Wadad al-Qadi, "The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology and Practice," in *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam: Actas del simposio internacional, Granada, 15–18 octubre 1991* (Madrid, 1994), 231–73.

123. Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 38–41; al-Qadi, "Religious Foundation," 241–73. The statement of al-Hajjaj is quoted in Crone, *Islamic Political Thought*, 30. For the Prophet's saying see M. J. Kister, "Social and Religious Concepts of Authority in Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994): 106.

124. Rubin, "Prophets and Caliphs," 73–99; al-Qadi, "Religious Foundation," 241–73.

125. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 114. See also n. 91 above.

126. Ibn Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 181–87. The Prophet's early biographies were composed by scholars based in Medina, such as ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 712), who wrote one for ʿAbd al-Malik, and his pupil al-Zuhri: see Rubin, *Between the Bible*, 37. For narratives on the Prophet's Ascension see B. Schrieke-[J. Horovitz] and J. E. Bencheikh, *EI2*, s.v. "Miʿrādj"; Michael Sells, *EQ*, s.v. "Ascension."

127. For Muqatil's commentary on Sura 17 see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2:513–56. Elad suggests that al-Zuhri heard the caliph's sermon around 685–89, when he was in Jerusalem for the supervision of the Dome of the Rock's construction: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 155–56. The tradition concerning the controversy between al-Zuhri and the shaykh is reported on the authority of Damara b. Rabiʿa al-Ramli (d. 817) in al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 102 no. 165. Cited in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 21. Other traditions about the Rock that were transmitted by al-Zuhri are mentioned in Duri, "Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," 111 n. 80.

128. Al-Zuhri's tradition is recorded in al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 51 no. 78; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 98 no. 99. Cited in Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided," 52; Hasson, "Muslim Literature," 183.

129. For some Jews in Medina who referred to Ezra as "son of God" see Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabiʿ, *EQ*, s.v. "Ezra." Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2: 553, 556. For Qurʾan 17 see n. 91 above. S. D. Goitein persuasively argued that the link of verse 17:1 with Jerusalem is clearly implied: "It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII, 1, was combined with XVII, 2–8, the tradition identifying *al-masdjid al-aqsā* as the Temple of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another." See Goitein, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Ḳuds," For a counterargument see Hasson, "Muslim View of Jerusalem," 356–58. Hasson contends that during the compilation of the Qurʾan in the time of ʿUthman, verse 1 and verses 2–8 referring to the Temple were not connected by content or a topical link; that there are no reliable early prophetic traditions associating the Night Journey with Jerusalem; and that this association must have been made no earlier than during the construction of the Aqsa Mosque by al-Walid, because the first verse is not included among ʿAbd al-Malik's inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. Angelika Neuwirth, however, states that in the early Islamic religious context, Qurʾan 17:1 "can hardly be located anywhere else other than on the Temple Mount of Jerusalem." See Angelika Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam: The Three Honorific Names of the City," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:80 n. 22. The early connection of this verse with the sanctuary in Jerusalem, the first qibla, is also accepted in Pedersen, *EI2*, s.v. "Masdjid." For the current debate on the compilation date of the Qurʾan see Harald Motzki, "The Collection of the Qurʾan: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments," *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 1–34; Harald Motzki *EQ*, s.v., "Muṣḥaf." Motzki presents compelling circumstantial evidence in favor of the ʿUthmanic recension of the Qurʾan, based on a tradition transmitted in fifteen different versions from al-Zuhri (d. 742) and arguments against the assumption that he fabricated this report, which "must go back to the last decades of the 1st century AH."

130. Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–73. For the extant Fatimid inscription see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 149–52. The inscription is published in Max van Berchem, ed., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 2, sect. 2, *Syrie du Sud: Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (vols. 43–45 of *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* [Cairo, 1920–27]), vol. 1, *Jérusalem "Ville"* (vol. 43, 1922–23); vol. 2, *Jérusalem "Haram"* (vol. 44, 1925–27); vol. 3, *Planches* (vol. 45, 1920) (cited henceforth as *Corpus*, vols. 1–3): see *Corpus*, 2: 452–53 no. 301. Kaplony argues that the term *al-masjid al-aqsā* referred to the whole precinct prior to the "High Fatimid" period, when it became restricted to the covered part of the rebuilt congregational mosque: see Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 777. In later periods, however, the term continued to be ambiguous, sometimes referring to the whole precinct and sometimes to the congregational mosque to the south.

131. For the narratives of the Prophet's ascent to heaven, which link "three major boundary moments"—the divine creation, the revelation, and the final reckoning—see Sells, *EQ*, s.v. "Ascension," 179–80; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2:554.

132. Ibn Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad*, 182, 185.

133. Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 121–22 no. 144; cited and discussed in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 49. For traditions in al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja about God's ascent from the Rock and the Prophet's Ascension see Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 351–57; see also nn. 70, 72 above.

134. al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 72 no. 117. Cited with another version of the same hadith in van Ess, "ʿAbd al-Malik," 92. See also Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 352, 354, 357.

135. For al-Yaʿqubi see n. 39 above. The other report, by Hisham b. ʿUrwa, was derived from his father, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, the brother of the "anti-caliph," Ibn al-Zubayr: see van Ess, "ʿAbd al-Malik," 98–99. Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiyya (d. 700–701), the son of the caliph ʿAli, similarly denounced the Syrians, who "pretend that God put His foot on the Rock in Jerusalem": cited in van Ess, "ʿAbd al-Malik," 93–94.

136. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 68.

137. For the full Arabic texts, translations, and analysis see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:223–55; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 56–71, 184–86. See also, Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 90–96; Christel Kessler, "ʿAbd al-Malik's Inscription in the Dome of the Rock: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1970): 2–14; Blair, "What Is the Date," 59–87; Heribert Busse, "Die arabischen Inschriften im und am Felsendom in Jerusalem," *Das Heilige Land* 109 (1977): 8–24; Heribert Busse, "Monotheismus und islamische Christologie in der Bauinschrift des Felsendoms in Jerusalem," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 161 (1981): 168–78; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 93–116; Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam," 77–93.

138. For Qurʾanic texts used on different media by ʿAbd al-Malik see Priscilla Soucek, *EQ*, s.v. "Material Culture." The conflation and paraphrasing of verses in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock have been interpreted by some scholars as proof of the fluidity of the ʿUthmanic text of the Qurʾan, which had not yet reached its final form. For a recent argument against this view see Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts," 407–8.

139. For the four similar gate inscriptions seen by al-Harawi, who only cites those of the Fatimid caliph al-Qaʾim (r. 934–46) above the arch of the east gate, see Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–71; written sources from the Crusader period are listed in van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:285–87, 373–76.

140. The Ayyubid inscription has been discussed and interpreted in Busse, "Inschriften," 14; Rosen-Ayalon, "Jewish Substratum, Christian History and Muslim Symbolism: An Archaeological Episode in Jerusalem," in Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*, 463–66; Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 172–76.

141. Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–73. Al-Harawi refers to the inscription on the Aqsa Mosque's dome as *al-kitāba wa ʾl-awrāq bi ʾl-faḍḍ al-mudhahhab*. Van Berchem assumed that the inscription with the Throne Verse seen by al-Harawi was of "gold mosaics" like those on the octagonal arcade, even though, as he admits, the latter mosaics do not quote that verse; he suggests that the marble revetments of the circular arcade may have originally featured mosaic inscriptions as well: see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:370 n. 3. I interpret al-Harawi's statement as a reference to an inscription on or around the Dome of the Rock's dome, because *saqf* means "ceiling" or "vaulted roof," rather than "arcade." Morever, I see no reason why *al-kitāba bi ʾl-faḍḍ al-mudhahhab* should be translated

as "gold mosaics"; it more likely refers to a gilded inscription on wooden panels. Prior to the dome's Fatimid renovation, al-Muqaddasi mentions its gilded wooden (*khashab*) paneling (*alwāḥ muzawwaqa*), instead of mosaics (*al-fusayfīsā*): see Arabic texts cited in Kaplony, *Ḥaram of Jerusalem*, 529–30, 540–41. For the extant Throne Verse on the apex of the dome and the outer band surrounding it see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:289–98 no. 225. According to Neuwirth, the present Ottoman inscription quoting the Throne Verse is possibly "a restoration of the former epigraphic decoration of the cupola, about whose Umayyad shape we know nothing." See Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 109, 491 n. 77. Grabar resists accepting the possiblity of lost Umayyad inscriptions: "It was thought by some that the inscription originally continued on the outer side of the circular arcade. This is not very likely, because the text as it stands delivers a rhetorically completed argument and does not seem to require a continuation. Still, the possibility cannot be excluded that some additional statement on either or both sides of the arcade disappeared when the Crusaders refurbished the building for their own purposes, or during the numerous repairs of Mamluk and Ottoman times." Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 56–57.

142. Neuwirth argues that there is "no allusion whatsoever to the beginning of creation" in the inscription program of the Dome of the Rock, which has many references to "the reestablishment of creation on the Last Day, when the prophet will act as a mediator." She states that the cosmological associations of the site (emphasized by van Ess) are marginal in comparison with "the prominence given to the eschatological functions attributed to Muhammad in the text." See Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 111–12. For Neuwirth, the main message of the inscription program is that "the Prophet Muhammad, mentioned in the text more than ten times, is, like Jesus, a servant and a messenger of God": ibid., 109. This interpretation, foregrounding the status of the Prophet, downplays the primary emphasis of the inscriptions on God and the cosmological references on the bronze plaques of the east and north gates, which partially quote the Throne Verse along with others that refer to God as the creator of the heavens and the earth (discussed below).

143. For the Holy Sepucher complex and its competition with the Temple Mount see Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City*, 64–100. The view that Jesus was raised up alive by God and will die and be resurrected at the end of time was held by the majority of Muslims; for its predominance in Umayyad Syria-Palestine see n. 144 below. Muslim perceptions of Jesus, which were far from monolithic, are summarized in G. C. Anawati, *EI2*, s.v. "ʿĪsā."

144. For John of Damascus's father, who was ʿAbd al-Malik's finance minister, see n. 42 above and Daniel J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden, 1972), 73–74, 133–41. John describes the Muslim belief that Jesus was not crucified and did not die but was raised alive by God to Himself; when he ascended to heaven, God asked him whether he had said "I am Son of God and God," to which he responded, "I am your servant, but men who have gone astray wrote that I said this thing": see Sahas, *John of Damascus*, 78, 134–35. John adds that the Muslims are at a loss when told that the scriptures have foretold that Christ "will

be the judge of the living and of the dead alike": ibid., 135. For John of Damascus see also Andrew Louth, *St. John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (Oxford and New York, 2004); Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton and Oxford, 2008).

145. I have largely followed Grabar's translations, with some modifications, and have adopted his model in using italics for Qur'anic quotations, to differentiate them from Qur'anic paraphrases and invocations.

146. Valerie J. Hoffman, *EQ,* s.v. "Intercession"; A. J. Wensinck-[D. Gimaret], *EI2,* s.v. "Shafāʿa"; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* 2:553.

147. Grabar, *Dome of the Rock,* 93; Blair, "What Is the Date," 73, 77.

148. Matthias Radscheit, *EQ,* s.v. "Witnessing and Testifying."

149. John of Damascus starts his discussion of Muhammad's "heresy" with the Qur'anic doctrine of the oneness and unity of God, as expressed in Qur'an 112: "He says that there is one God, creator of all, who is neither begotten nor has begotten." See Sahas, *John of Damascus,* 75, 133.

150. This parallel is noted in Raya Shani, "The Iconography of the Dome of the Rock," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23 (1999): 177. For the emphasis on the intercession of the Prophet see also Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 109–10. Neuwirth argues that the account of the *miʿrāj,* which is integrated into the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Ishaq, was widely enough known to have contributed to the construction of the Dome of the Rock; she draws attention to the quotation of Qur'an 33:56, which alludes to the Prophet transcending the borders between heaven and earth. See Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam," 90 n. 78.

151. In later resurrection literature, where accounts of the Ascension and Resurrection (*qiyāma*) are clearly interrelated, the Prophet mounts al-Buraq "a second time to head for the Rock at Jerusalem and finally appear before the Lord": see J. E. Bencheikh, *EI2,* s.v "Miʿrādj." The eastern staircase of the raised platform is named after al-Buraq in the Mamluk historian Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's chronicle: see Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn,* 109.

152. The north gate, too, constituted an important point of entry into the Dome of the Rock, according to a tradition in which Wahb b. Munabbih instructs a pilgrim to go into the building from this gate and pray at the Black Paving Stone located to the south, across from its threshold: see n. 38 above. Based on the inscriptions, Busse suggests that the south gate must have been intended as the main entrance of the building; his assumption that the more elaborate portico of that gate is original has not been substantiated: see Busse, "Inschriften," 24. Blair notes that the motifs and texts on the inner face of the octagon give preeminence to the qibla wall to the south: see Blair, "What Is the Date," 77–78.

153. For the staff of the complex see n. 110 above. It is reported that the mosques in Damascus and Medina were open to non-Muslims until ʿUmar II put an end to this practice, but even after that date Byzantine embassies were shown the Damascus mosque, suggesting that "it was accessible to at least some non-Muslims": see Finbarr Barry Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies in the Making of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden and Boston, 2001), 224 n. 175. For the accessibility

of mosques to non-Muslims from the times of the Prophet through the early Umayyad period see Pedersen, *EI2,* s.v. "Masdjid."

154. The use of the future tense in the paraphrase of the words Jesus utters at his cradle in Qur'an 19:33 clarifies that he has not yet died nor been resurrected. It has been suggested that Jesus's utterance in the Qur'an is ambiguous and does not necessarily hint at his death in the eschatological future, as is commonly assumed by Islamic tradition; nor does his future descent from heaven necessitate his being spared death on the cross. For this view see Neal Robinson, *EQ,* s.v. "Jesus." That this was not the current belief in Umayyad Syria-Palestine is indicated by John of Damascus's account mentioned above in nn. 143 and 144 above.

155. Gilbert Dagron and Vincent Déroche, "Juifs et chrétiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle," *Travaux et Memoires* 11 (1991): 247, 265, following a translation of *Doctrina Jacobi* on 47–229; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam,* 57. Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) wrote that Muslims considered Jesus the "true Messiah, who was to come and who was foretold by the prophets," but that they did not acknowledge him as the son of God: Hoyland, *Seeing Islam,* 166. Guillaume Postel (ca. 1530s) attests to the currency of this belief among Muslims in the Ottoman empire: see Guillaume Postel, *Des histoires orientales,* ed. Jacques Rolles (Istanbul, 1999), 145, 147, 154. Postel mentions their belief in the Resurrection and in the Last Judgment, during which Jesus (who is alive with his mother in heaven) will return to earth; God will command him at that time to condemn disbelievers and will order Muhammad to act as witness on behalf of the believers at the Valley of Jehoshaphat. For the painted images see Rubin, "Kaʿba" 102; Rubin, "Hanīfiyya and Kaʿba," 104; Ibn Ishāq, *Life of Muhammad,* 552; and al-Harawi's description of Mecca in Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide,* 234. The images of Jesus and his mother at the Kaʿba were still extant in the days of ʿAta b. Abi Rabah (d. 732).

156. For differing interpretations of the decorative program, the mosaics, and related bibliography see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy,* 71–104; Grabar, *Dome of the Rock,* 77–90; Soucek, "Temple of Solomon," 74–123; Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments,* 46–69; Shani, "Iconography," 158–207.

157. The mosaics to the southeast (mislabeled northeast) are illustrated in Nuseibeh and Grabar, *Dome of the Rock,* 104–5. Another exception is a tree to the northwest (mislabeled southwest), growing from a jewel-encrusted cornucopia: see Nuseibeh and Grabar, *Dome of the Rock,* 92. It is generally noted that the trees display a stylistic affinity to Sasanian works, such as the capitals at Taq-i Bustan; Raby has shown that they also resemble trees depicted on Jewish glass vessels produced in Jerusalem: see his "In Vitro Veritas," 139–45, 181–83.

158. Even though it is difficult to detect a consistent pattern, the minute variations in the mosaic designs have been assigned iconographic specificity in Shani and Rosen-Ayalon (see n. 156 above). Grabar no longer subscribes to his 1959 interpretation that the mosaics represent through insignia of power the defeated enemies of the early Muslims or of rulers incorporated into their realm, nor does he believe that these are "images or even evocations of something as specific as Paradise or the gardens of Solomon's palace." He writes: "Such iconographic interpretations would be possible if the

major motifs on which they are based—specifically imperial Persian and Byzantine crowns and jewel-laden trees—had been shown only once, but the constant repetition weakens the charge of any meaning when there is no established outside referent." See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 206 n. 98. In my view, the repetition of motifs with subtle variations creates a powerful gestalt rather than weakening the potential of signification.

159. Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 78.

160. An exception to the northeast is a vase featuring a central stem with superimposed crowns and no pair of wings, which Grabar attributes to a later restoration: see Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 82, fig. 31. Yet it may be an intentional marker, given the additional presence of distinctive motifs on the northeast side of the octagonal arcade, the incriptions of which allude to the eschatological roles of the Prophet and Jesus on Judgment Day: see n. 162 below.

161. In addition to abstracted angels, Rosen-Ayalon identifies a pair of trumpets near the north gate, allegedly alluding to that gate's eschatological name (*bāb al-sūr*) as mentioned by al-Muqaddasi. See Rosen-Ayalon, *Early Islamic Monuments*, 46–69. A forthcoming study by Julian Raby, interpreting the decorative program as a suitable shelter and earthly setting for the divine Throne on the Last Day, is cited in Flood, *Great Mosque*, 89–90 nn. 148–9, 220–21, 243 n. 12.

162. Crowns with wings that are represented on "Sasanian type" Marwanid coins feature Middle Persian inscriptions referring to the concept of *khwarna*: "May his sovereign glory (*khwarna*) increase!" See Luke Treadwell, "The 'Orans' Drachms of Bishr ibn Marwān," in Raby and Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part One*, 231, 261–69; Luke Treadwell , "A Reconsideration of an Early Marwanid Silver Drachm," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 1–28. For this multivalent concept see Gherardo Gnoli, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Farr(ah)." Two crowns with tiny "Sasanian" wings also appear on the inner face of the octagonal arcade (to the northeast and west); a crownless pair of wings distinguishes one of the trees at the northeast side of the same arcade's outer face. Illustrated in Nuseibeh and Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 90, 99; Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 94, 98, figs. 45, 48. Grabar writes (*Shape of the Holy*, 91): "The more insidious problem is whether these features should be explained, as I did over thirty-five years ago, as culturally specific elements recognized as such and represented in order to specify Byzantine or Iranian, male or female, associations, or whether they must be interpreted as expensive offerings in a shrine, or as evocations of something else: a building, a memory, or an expectation. This problem cannot be resolved yet."

163. For the tree cult and idols decorated with jewelry see Ibn Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad,* 14, 36, 39. According to a Syriac chronicle dated 775, Muhammad had turned the Arabs "away from all sorts of cults and had told them that there is a single God, Maker of the Creation. He also laid down laws for them, since they had been much addicted to the worship of demons and the cult of idols, especially the cult of trees." See Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 56. The tree under which Muslims swore allegiance to the Prophet at Hudaybiya (Qurʾan 48:18) was visited by pilgrims seeking blessings until the caliph ʿUmar I cut it down lest it become an object of worship: see David Waines, *EQ,* s.v. "Tree(s)."

164. See, for example, al-Ghazālī, *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife: Book XL of The Revival of the Religious Sciences = Kitāb dhikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdahu: Ihyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, trans. T. J. Winter (Cambridge, 1989). Traditions mention among the prerogatives of martyrs an abode in Paradise and "the crown of dignity, one ruby of which is better than this world, which will be placed on his head": see Wim Raven, *EQ,* s.v. "Martyrs." Therefore, the crowns and jewelry motifs that pervade the heavenly landscape evoked by the mosaics belong not only to the eternal court of the enthroned divine king but potentially to the audience of righteous believers.

165. Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 29–34. For the description of the Piacenza Pilgrim see John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, Eng., 1977), 83.

166. Grabar, "Umayyad Dome of the Rock," 29–34. For the votive objects at the Dome of the Rock see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 75–76 no. 122; Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 127 no. 156. Also see n. 90 above.

167. Ibn al-Zubayr's critique is cited by Sibt b. al-Jawzi (1186–1265), based on a report by al-Waqidi (d. 823) derived from al-Kalbi (d. 819) and his father al-Saʾib (d. 763): see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 54. For Muʿawiya's palace in Damascus see Flood, *Great Mosque*, 13 n. 42, 147–48; Gil, *History of Palestine*, 136–37; Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 47. The soffit mosaics are interpreted as "allusions to earthly abundance" in Qurʾanic passages on the blessed land in Soucek, "Temple of Solomon," 98–99. Al-Akhtal's ode is translated in Robinson, *ʿAbd al-Malik*, 82–83. For Umayyad panegyrics and caliphs leading the prayers for rain see Johns, "House of the Prophet," 84–85; Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 8–9, 35. Prayers for rain made at the minbar of the raised platform in Ottoman and Mamluk times are mentioned in Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 319–20; Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 238.

168. See n. 65 above. A tradition identifies the Rock as "God's nearest throne" (*ʿarsh allāh al-adnā*): see al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-bayt al-muqaddas*, 30 no. 41.

169. Cited in van Ess, "ʿAbd al-Malik," 89; Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 242 n. 1.

170. Sylvia Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages," *Traditio* 40 (1984): 175–95. The kings of Jerusalem were crowned at the Holy Sepulcher and as "last emperor" surrendered their crown on the altar of the Rock at the *Templum Domini*, which featured a cross (rather than on the Rock of Calvary). They thus identified the Dome of the Rock as the site of the apocalyptic end of the Roman Empire, when the triumphant Christ would enter the Temple Mount from the Golden Gate: see Schein, "Between Mount Moriah," 183–84, 190. Schein points out that the Rock was first identified as the Holy of Holies, containing the Ark of the Covenant and Aron's Rod, and as the place from which Jesus ascended to heaven (traditionally associated with the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, which featured his footprints), but some of these notions were rejected later on. For parallels with Islamic traditions and the footprint of Christ shown at the Dome of the Rock in Crusader times see Heribert Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini," in *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfdietrich Fischer and Jürgen Schneider (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1982), 19–32.

171. The sermon delivered by the chief Shafiʿi judge of Aleppo is recorded in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. Ihsan Abbas, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1977) 4:232; it is analyzed in Little, "Jerusalem under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks," 177–79; Neuwirth, "Spiritual Meaning," 93–107. Neuwirth interprets the second epithet, *al-masjidayn*, as a reference to the transfer of the prayer direction from Jerusalem to Mecca. I believe it refers to the rank of the sanctuary in Jerusalem as the second place of worship that God created on earth, forty years after the one in Mecca. This tradition is often quoted in books on the merits of Jerusalem: see, for example, Ibn al-Murajjā, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, 114 no. 132. It is cited from *History of Mecca* by al-Azraqi (ca. 865) as a prophetic tradition reported by Abu Dharr: see G. E. von Grunebaum, "The Sacred Character of Islamic Cities," in *Mélanges Taha Husain*, ed. Abdurrahman Badawi (Cairo, 1962), 32. It is also quoted from al-Tabari's commentary on the Qurʾan in Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided," 61.

172. See Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*; Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*.

173. See Michael Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaimān Qānūnī," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine* 3 (1988): 257–83, 338–60; Robert Hillenbrand, *The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem: An Introduction* (London, 2002); Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*. Evliya refers to the sanctuary in Jerusalem as *ḳiblegāh-i fuḳarā* and *fuḳarālaruñ kāʿbesi*; see Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 230, 233.

174. Haydar Çelebi, *Rūznāme*, in Ferīdūn Aḥmed Beg, *Münşeʾātü 's-selāṭīn*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1847–49), 1:431–32; Celālzāde Muṣṭafā, *Selīm-nâme*, ed. Ahmet Uğur and Mustafa Çuhadar (Ankara, 1990), 195–96. According to the Mamluk historian Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, the Maliki imam led prayers at the mosque of the Maghribis, along the southwest side of the Haram; the Shafiʾi imam at the Aqsa Mosque; the Hanafi imam at the Dome of the Rock; and the Hanbali imam at the Madrasa of al-Malik al-Ashraf, along the eastern portico of the Haram. See Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 136–37.

175. Denis Gril, "L'énigme de la *Shajara al-nuʿmāniyya fī 'l-dawla al-ʿuthmāniyya*, attribuée à Ibn ʿArabī," in *Les Traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Stéphane Yerasimos (Paris, 2000), 133–51; Ryad Atlagh, "Paradoxes d'un mausolée," in *Lieux d'islam: Cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir Moezzi (Paris, 1996), 132–53.

176. Halil İnalcık, *EI2*, s.v. "Selīm I"; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü 't-tevarih*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, 5 vols. (Ankara, 1992), 4:320–24, 332–34. For the legal discourse of peace during the reign of Süleyman I see Snjezana Buzov, "The Lawgiver and His Lawmakers: The Role of Legal Discourse in the Change of Ottoman Imperial Culture" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2005), 177–82.

177. Buzov, "The Lawgiver," 35–45, 197–232; Ahmed Akgündüz, ed., *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 9 vols. (Istanbul, 1990-), 6:81–176. For the concept of the divine caliphate (*khilāfet-i raḥmānī, khālifetuʾllāh*) see also the treatise "Qānūn-i Şehinşāhī," written by the Ottoman historian İdris-i Bidlisī (d. 1520) for Selim I and presented to Süleyman I; published in Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 3:11–84. For-

merly a chancellor at the Aqqoyunlu court, the Sunni Kurdish author İdris fled from Shah Ismaʿil in 1501–2 and accompanied Selim I's Safavid and Mamluk campaigns.

178. Robinson, ʿ*Abd al-Malik*, 69.

179. Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleymān," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 159–77; Barbara Flemming, "Ṣāḥib-ḳırān und Mahdī: Türkische Endzeiterwartungen im ersten Jahrzehnt der Regierung Süleymāns," in *Between the Danube and the Caucasus*, ed. György Kara (Budapest, 1987), 43–61; Ebru Turan, "The Sultan's Favorite: Ibrahim Pasha and the Making of Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516–1526)" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007).

180. Colin Imber, "Süleyman as Caliph of the Muslims: Ebū's-Suʿūd's Formulation of Ottoman Dynastic Ideology," in Veinstein, *Soliman le Magnifique*, 179–84; idem, *Ebu's-Suʿud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1997).

181. The Süleymaniye complex and the sultan's empire-wide architectural patronage are discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2005), 189–230. For the chronology of Süleyman's building projects and monumental inscriptions at the Haram al-Sharif and in the city of Jerusalem see Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds," 257–83, 338–60. The sultan's historical inscriptions, published by van Berchem, have conveniently been compiled in Mehmet Tütüncü, *Turkish Jerusalem (1516–1917): Ottoman Inscriptions from Jerusalem and Other Palestinian Cities* (Haarlem, 2006), but the English translations are not always reliable. See also Archibald G. Walls and Amal Abul-Hajj, *Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem: A Handlist and Maps* (London, 1980).

182. For the connection with the Vienna campaign see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:329–33 no. 238; Finbarr B. Flood, "The Ottoman Windows in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:431–63. On Charles V's plans for a crusade after the 1527 Sack of Rome see Robert Finlay, "Prophecy and Politics in Istanbul: Charles V, Sultan Süleyman, and the Habsburg Embassy of 1533–34," *Journal of Early Modern History* 2, 1 (1998): 21–22.

183. For the reconstruction see Flood "Ottoman Windows," 431–63. He aptly notes that the buildings of the Haram al-Sharif constitute an "architectural palimpsest on the surface of which successive generations, whether motivated by piety or politics, attempted to make their mark," and considers the stained glass windows commissioned by Süleyman for the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque a prime example of this phenomenon: see ibid., 451. Some of the windows were removed from the Dome of the Rock during restorations carried out in 1874 and replaced by others bearing the name of Sultan Abdülaziz. Their inscriptions, recorded by Melchior de Vogüé in 1864 and Henri Sauvaire in 1893, were checked by van Berchem in 1914 and published in his *Corpus* (see n. 182 above). The windows of the drum lack inscriptions and differ in design from those Süleyman installed on the octagonal walls, some of them more closely resembling Mamluk models. Flood argues that only some of the drum windows were replaced by Süleyman in 1528–29.

184. I have modified parts of Flood's translation; for instance, he interprets ʿajam as "foreigners," which I prefer to translate as "Persians," namely, multiethnic Iranians. A substantial group of émigrés from the Safavid domains resided in Syria-Palestine, and Selim I's intimate entourage during his campaign against the Mamluks included several "Persians": see Atlagh, "Paradoxes," 132–53; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacü't-tevarih*, 305–6, 335. The sultan ordered the deportation to Istanbul of the "Persian contingent" of Aleppo after his conquest of Egypt: see Ḥaydar Çelebi, *Rūznāme*, 1:447. The honorific title "possessor of the necks of the nations" was used by earlier Turkic rulers of the eastern Islamic lands. It appears in an inscription at Ghazna in the name of Ibrahim, the son of Masʿud I (r. 1059–99), and in an early-fifteenth-century manuscript commissioned by the Timurid ruler Baysunghur. I thank David Roxburgh for the following references: Sheila S. Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana* (Leiden and New York, 1992), 182–84, no. 69; Arthur J. Arberry, Mujtaba Minovi, Edgar Blochet, J. V. S. Wilkinson, et al., *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1959–62), 1:39–40.

185. These documents, which have not yet been studied extensively, may in the future provide additional information on Süleyman's building activities. See Yusuf Natsheh, "The Architecture of Ottoman Jerusalem," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:593. A document dated 28 Dhuʾl-Qaʿda 936 (24 July 1530) refers to Hasan Beg as *al-mushīd ʿalā ʿimārat al-masjid al-aqsā al-sharīf* (the person in charge of the [re] building of the Noble Aqsa Mosque). He is also referred to as *al-mushīd ʿalā al-ʿamāʾir al-sharīfa bi ʾl-quds al-sharīf* (the person in charge of the noble buildings in Jerusalem the Noble).

186. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:439 no. 294. For the date "correction" see Meinecke, "Erneuerung von al-Quds," 260–61.

187. For a reference to the renovation of the aqueduct on 1 Jumada II 936 (31 January 1530) see Khadr Salameh, "Aspects of the *Sijills* of the Shariʿa Court in Jerusalem," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:104. The *mushīd* of the citadel's restoration in 938 (1531–32) was Muhammad Beg: see Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:530.

188. See Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 92–17; Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 191; Sylvia Auld, "Stars, Roses, and Interlace: Architectural Decoration in Ottoman Jerusalem," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:355–88.

189. For my interpretation of Süleyman's architectural projects in the context of Ottoman religio-dynastic ideology, with only brief reference to his building activities in Jerusalem, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 60–74; 189–230.

190. For the signs of the apocalypse see n. 98 above. Apocalypses from the Umayyad period stress the fall of Constantinople as one of the signs of the Hour, for which the fall of Rome was substituted in Ottoman times. (Some traditions circulating in the Umayyad era specify that Constantinople would fall first, to be followed by Rome: see Wilferd Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad Age," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31, 2 [1986]: 155.) According to an apochryphal book of divination attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabi, the Ottoman dynasty would last until the appearance of the Mahdi at the end of time, when the church in Rome (St. Peter's)

would be destroyed and the sanctuary in Jerusalem rebuilt: see Gril, "L'énigme de la *Shajara al-nuʿmāniyya fi ʾl-dawla al-ʿuthmāniyya*," 134.

191. For the titles claimed by Charles V in 1530 see Harald Kleinschmidt, *Charles V: The World Emperor* (Gloucestershire, 2004), 123–24. Süleyman resented Charles V's arrogation of his titles, such as "King of Jerusalem," which the emperor used in his correspondence with the sultan in 1533: see Finlay, "Prophecy and Politics," 16–17.

192. For Süleyman's helmet with four superimposed crowns see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71, 3 (1989): 401–27. The inscription is published in van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1: 146–49 no. 45. I prefer "Holy Precinct" to "Holy Land," the translation proposed by van Berchem, who admits that it could refer to Jerusalem, the Haram, or the Rock itself, which the inscription mentions later on. For Süleyman's renovations and inscriptions at the citadel see Mahmud Hawari, "The Citadel (*Qalʿa*) in the Ottoman Period: An Overview," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:493–518.

193. The titles "Second Solomon" and "Solomon of the Age" appear in the inscriptions of Süleyman's fountains in Edirne and the Topkapı Palace, an allusion to his namesake, who controlled not only the jinns, but also the winds and water: see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 190; Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1991), 101. Güzelce Kasım Pasha served as the sanjak governor of Hama (ca. 1516–21) before becoming third vizier in 1522–23 and governor of Egypt in 1524; he was vizier and chief governor of Rumelia around 1527. For his fountain inscription see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2: 162–63 no. 191.

194. The translation of *al-rūm* should be "Ottomans" rather than "Turks," given the multiethnic character of the Ottoman polity; van Berchem mistranslates it as "Greeks." The fountain within the Haram forms an aedicule with a mihrab in the back; dated to the beginning of Shaʿban 943 (January 1537), it is the only fountain whose inscription ends with "blessings upon the Prophet and all of his descendants": see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1: 415–16 nos. 113–113 bis. For the inscriptions of other fountains see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1:412–27 nos. 110–15. The undated inscription of the "noble mihrab," which was "renewed" by Süleyman, is in van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:168–69 no. 192. Süleyman's fountains are catalogued in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:677–700; see also Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "On Suleiman's *Sabīls* in Jerusalem," in *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis: The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 589–607.

195. For the Gate of the Law Court (*bāb al-maḥkama*) and the contiguous Madrasa al-Tankiziyya, which housed the shariʿa court, see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2: cat. no. 2; 665 n. 1. The sanctuary in Jerusalem is referred to in Ottoman texts as the "third after the Two Harams" (*s̠ālis̠ü ʾl-haremeyn*), but is only rarely included in Süleyman's official titulature; a document of 1565 calls him possessor of "the Magnified Kaʿba, Medina the Illuminated, and Jerusalem the Noble (*kuds-i şerīf*)." Cited in Klaus Kreiser, "The Place of Jerusalem in Ottoman Perception," in Auld and Hillen-

brand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:53. The sultan's epithet on these fountains, referring to his protection of the Two Harams, can be read as an indirect reference to the neighboring Haram al-Sharif, whose waqfs were integrated with those of Mecca and Medina. Süleyman's law code for the province of Damascus, *ḳānūnnāme-i vilāyet-i şām*, dated 955 (1548), lists together the waqfs of the sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron: *ḥaremeyn-i şerīfeyn ve ḳuds-i şerīf ve ḥalīlü'l-raḥmān*; see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 7:32. The sultan's law code for the subprovince of Jerusalem, *ḳānūnnāme-i liva-i ḳuds*, dated 970 (1562), mentions the same waqfs: see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 7:54. Several hitherto unnoted sixteenth-century archival documents list the yearly accounts of these waqfs, e.g., Topkapı Palace Library, E. H. 3061, dated 967 (1559–60), *muḥāsebe-i ḥaremeyn-i şerifeyn* in the province of Damascus; and Topkapı Palace Archives, D. 9157, dated 1005 (1596–97), *evḳāf-i ḥaremeyn-i şerīfeyn-i dımışḳ el-maḥmiyye*, which includes the waqfs of Jerusalem and Hebron (*ḳuds-i şerīf ve belde-i ḥalīl*).

196. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt in the course of naval battles with Christian forces and completed at the time of Charles V's disastrous expedition against Algiers in 1541, which deflated the prestige he had won as a "victorious crusader" after conquering Ottoman Tunis in 1535. On the rumors circulating in 1538 that Charles V was preparing to launch a crusade in 1539 see Kleinschmidt, *Charles V*, 167. For the Jerusalem walls see Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:601–4. For Süleyman's walls in the three holy cities, complemented by fortresses along the hajj route that were built for protection against unruly Bedouin tribes, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 72–74, 190–91.

197. Amnon Cohen, "The Walls of Jerusalem," in Bosworth et al., *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, 467–77; Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:593, 600, 603; 2:677–78. For the unpublished Ottoman Turkish document (Topkapı Palace Library, K. 888, fol. 283r, dated 2 Rajab 959 [24 June 1552]), which refers to *naḳḳāş Meḥmed nām emīn*, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 278.

198. See Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:593, where "finial" (*ʿalem*) is mistranslated as "banner."

199. Milstein, "*Kitāb Shawq-nāma*," 317. Van Berchem believes that Süleyman may have restored the dome: "Enfin, j'ai supposé, mais sans indice précis, qu'il à restauré la coupole": *Corpus*, 2:340 no. 242.

200. The Dome of the Prophet, which according to Evliya had four columns, is not mentioned in the mid-sixteenth-century guidebook of al-Rumi, which only refers to the "Red Mihrab." The Mamluk author al-Suyuti writes in 1470 that the Dome of the Prophet above the red floor mihrab was dismantled when the raised platform was being repaved and that it was at this mihrab that the Prophet prayed with angels and earlier prophets. See Le Strange, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary," 261. The extant eight-columned Ottoman dome over it is therefore dated to a later period in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:701–8 no. 10. In a painted scroll made for Süleyman in 1544–45 only the Red Mihrab is shown, without the dome above it (fig. 22). Other undated Ottoman domes on the raised platform, such as the Dome of the Spirits and the Dome of al-Khidr, also feature floor mihrabs. The *ḥujrat muḥammad amīr liwāʾ al-ḳuds* (ca. 956 [1549]), at the northern edge of the platform,

was probably built by the same patron: see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:742–46 no. 14. Estimates prepared for a Hanafi madrasa in 947 (1540–41) and a *dār al-ḥadīth* (college for the study of hadith) in 956 (1549) in Jerusalem are mentioned in Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:622–29. The madrasa is listed among Sinan's works in one version of his autobiography: see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 276.

201. The testimony was given in the presence of the scribe of the provinces of Syria and the kadi of Jerusalem (Salih Efendi ibn al-Qazwini): see Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:600; 2:677–78. The gap between the endowment of Süleyman's waterworks and their completion may be due to the creation of additional ablution facilities in the Haram. For estimates prepared for ablution fountains in the Haram in 948 (1541–42) by Husain ibn Nammar, the master builder of Jerusalem, who was accompanied by the city's kadi, see ibid., 1:593–94.

202. See Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:678 no. 4, where it is suggested that he must have been the waqf administrator of the Dome of the Rock because he received the revenue and tithe for that year from Bayram Çavuş. However, the term *emīn* is commonly used in Ottoman documents for building overseers in charge of the organization of labor and financial aspects of construction projects. Records in the Jerusalem *sijill*s show that during the 1530s and 1540s, until his death in 1549, Naqqash Muhammad was assisted by both technical and administrative experts in overseeing the sultan's buildings in Jerusalem, on which detailed account books were kept. For the account books and the names of builders see Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:601–4, 619–29. Bayram Çavuş went to Cairo to recruit experts for the wall and fountain projects.

203. He died in 956 (1549) with no heirs: see Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:678 no. 4. Ottoman painter-decorators were often appointed as the overseers of imperial construction projects because of their combined expertise in financial administration, the selection and supervision of artisans, and aesthetic matters. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 178.

204. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Künhü'l-aḫbār*, Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Library, ms. 3904, fol. 118v: *ḳuds-i şerīfde ṣaḫratu'llāh-i müşerrefenüñ içi ve ṭışı kāşī vażʿıyla inşā ḳılındı ve elli ṭoḳuz tārīḫinde bināsı itmām oldı.*

205. When this appellation gained currency is worth investigating. It is already used in the versified Persian chronicle of an author from Tus affiliated for more than two decades with the Ottoman court, Muʿālī's *Khunkārnāma*, written for Sultan Mehmed II in 1474 (Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1417, 149v–150v). See Yalçın Balata, "Khunkārnāma (Tavārikh-i āl-i ʿoṣmān), Mīr Sayyid ʿĀlī b. Muẓaffar-i Maʿālī" (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 1992), 193–94. In a chapter describing his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Muʿali mentions the "Rock of God" (*ṣakhratu'llāh*); the "stone of the Rock" (*sang-i ṣakhra*) with the footprints of the Prophet and of Ishmael, who was to be sacrificed on it; and the cave featuring the imprint of the Prophet's head on the "stone of the Rock." He also refers to the Gathering, Resurrection, and Last Judgment that will take place in Jerusalem when the "Scales" (*mīzān*) of justice appear there. Another versified fifteenth-century pilgrimage account in Ottoman Turkish identifies the building as the "Dome of the Rock" (*qubbe-i ṣaḥra*), mentioning

that the Prophet's footprint was imprinted on the Rock during his Ascension, at which time it levitated. The work also refers to the mark of his turban on the underside of the Rock at the cave, the iron pomegranate tree (fashioned by the prophet David according to later Ottoman texts cited below), and the Gate of Paradise (north gate of the Dome of the Rock). The same work mentions, within the precinct, the fragment of the Rock under Solomon's dome; the Cradle of Jesus; the *maqām* of al-Khidr; the Cave of the Spirits; and the predetermined places of Paradise, Hell, the Scales (*terāzu*), and the "sign" (*niṣān*) of the Bridge of Sirat. See Ahmed Faḳīh, *Kitābu Evṣāfı Mesācidi'ṣ-Şerīfe*, ed. Hasibe Mazıoğlu (Ankara, 1974), 42–45.

206. For early Ottoman pilgrimage accounts see n. 205 above. Theodore Spandounes, *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, trans. (from the Italian text of 1538) Donald M. Nicol (Cambridge, 1997), 132. The earlier French version, dated 1519, is published in Théodore Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit Traicté de l'origine des Turcqz*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1896), 196–97. The endowment made by Murad II on 18 Rajab 833 (12 April 1430) is mentioned in Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's history: see Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn,* 259.

207. For the extant sections of the Qur'an endowed by Süleyman and a Qur'an manuscript donated in 964 (1556) by his son, Prince Bayezid, to the Dome of the Rock see Salameh, "Aspects of the *Sijills*," 105–6, 139. In an undated letter addressed to Süleyman, the governor of Jerusalem, Mehmed Beg, reports that in order that the sections of the Qur'an recently sent by the sultan be read for the soul of his late father, Mevlana Seyyid Abdülkadir b. Ebi'l-Vefa has been appointed the chief of readers and Hacı Bekir the keeper of manuscripts. The letter asks for a document (*berāt*) confirming these appointments. See Topkapı Palace Archives, E. 8842 no. 4.

208. The historical sources mentioning Süleyman's intention to visit Jerusalem (*sālisü'l-harameyn*) in 1548 and 1553–54 are cited in Kreiser, "The Place of Jerusalem," 54. According to the chronicler Celalzade, the second visit did not materialize due to the urgent necessities of the Safavid campaign. Kreiser speculates that Süleyman may have been concerned about the contested status of Jerusalem among such Ottoman scholars as Mehmed Birgivi (an opponent of Ebussuʿud), who wrote a treatise (ca. 1563) in which he declared that going to Jerusalem during the period of pilgrimage to Mecca was objectionable. I doubt that this would have deterred Süleyman who, in fact, ordered that provisions be prepared for his visit. See the *sijill* document on the preparation of these provisions by Bayram Çavuş before the sultan's arrival in December 1553: cited in *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 2:710 no. 11. In addition to the pressing needs of the campaign, Süleyman may have been worried about the unrest in his army following his execution of his son Prince Mustafa during that campaign. The chronicle of Rüstem Pasha states that after the execution of Mustafa and the sudden death of Prince Cihangir, who attended the campaign, the dejected sultan announced his desire to go on a pilgrimage from Aleppo, where he was hunting, to Jerusalem and Hebron: see Rüstem Pasha (attrib.), *Kitāb-i tārīḫ-i āl-i ʿoṣmān*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus, Mxt. 339 (Flügel 1012), fol. 279v.

209. Robert Hillenbrand, "Introduction: Structure, Style and Context in the Monuments of Ottoman Jerusalem," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:2. According to Grabar, the sources do not indicate "whether these restorations were needed because of deterioration in the building or whether they were an expression of ideological piety. Both reasons were probably involved." See Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 192.

210. The severe earthquake in Syria-Palestine in the year 952 (which began in March 1545) damaged the minaret at the Gate of the Chain (*bāb al-silsila*) and Qaytbay's madrasa abutting the Haram: see Mayer, "A Sequel to Mujir ad-Din's Chronicle," 3. For damages suffered at the Franciscan convent on Mount Zion and the permission granted in 1546 to make the requested repairs, provided that all roofs be flat and that no domes be added thereto, see Amnon Cohen, "The Expulsion of the Franciscans from Mount Zion," *Turcica* 18 (1986): 151–52. It has been assumed that the date on the drum tiles, 951 (1545–46), refers to their completion, and since they could not have been completed in one year, the tiling project must have been initiated before the earthquake: see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:333–35 no. 239; Beatrice St. Laurent, "The Dome of the Rock, Restorations and Significance, 1540–1918," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:418. There is no reason to assume that the whole drum was tiled at that time, however; it is more likely that the date inscribed on the southwest face of the southeast buttress (top lefthand corner) refers to the mosaic tile inscription band on which it is found. The inscription band, technically different from the cuerda seca tiles at the lower part of the drum, may well have been completed within a year.

211. The governor of the province of Damascus, Mehmed Beg, was probably the same person who renovated the Red Mihrab, now under the Prophet's Dome, in 1538–39: see Topkapı Palace Library, K. 888, fol. 162v, dated 17 Rabiʿ II 959 (12 April 1552). The damaged sections of the Haram's eastern wall are referred to as *ṣaḫratullāh-i şerīfüñ şarḳ cānibinde vāḳiʿ olan sūruñ baʿẓı yirleri zelzeleden yıḳılub*. For a document in the Jerusalem *sijill* archives concerning the repair in 1552 of collapsed domes over the tombs of patriarchs in Hebron see Hillenbrand, "Introduction," 10. Between 1552 and 1554, Haydar Kethüda was the waqf administrator and construction overseer (*emīn*) of a bathhouse in the hospice complex of the sultan's wife. He was also in charge of the Dome of the Rock, the sanctuary in Hebron, the tomb complex of Moses, and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. See Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany, 2002), 105–9.

212. Cited in Mahmud Atallah, "Architects in Jerusalem in the 10th–11th/16th–17th Centuries: The Documenary Evidence," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:171. Also see a reference to building with brick the interior of the Dome of the Chain (*qubbat al-silsila*) in a document bearing the same date, which implies the dome was structurally consolidated as well. Cited in Atallah, "Architects in Jerusalem," 171. For the tilework inscription band and the hypothetical dating of the polychrome marble mihrab to the reign of the Mamluk ruler Baybars see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:180–83 no. 196.

213. For a preview of a forthcoming joint publication on the tiles by these two scholars, see John Carswell, "The Deconstruction of the Dome of the Rock," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:425–29. Max van Berchem was the first to suggest that the Tabrizi scribe who designed the foundation inscription may also have created the tiles: see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:336–37 no. 240. This is possible, but he may simply have been the calligrapher. The calligrapher Hasan Karahisari, for instance, was given the honor of signing the foundation inscription of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul in 1577, an honor denied to Sinan and the artisans who decorated the mosque.

214. Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 195.

215. See van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:335–38 no. 240. I have changed the reading van Berchem proposed for the first line and have filled in the parts that he could not read in the last line. I am grateful to Wheeler Thackston for checking my translation and improving particularly the reading of the difficult first line, which van Berchem records as *qad jaddada bi-hamdahu qubbat Allāh min al-ṣakhra bi-baytihi al-muqaddas*. The reference to the building as "dome of God" is not found in any source; moreover, the words *qubba* and *Allāh* are too far apart to belong together. I also changed other parts of van Berchem's translation: he translated *quṣūr* (defects) as "palaces" and misunderstood the lines referring to Süleyman's caliphate. The phrase referring to legally legitimate pure financial resources, expended on the project like flowing water, is interpreted by Busse as a reference to the sources of sweet water emerging from under the Rock, which I find farfetched (see Busse, "Inschriften," 19–20 no. 13). Thackston and I searched for a chronogram in the last line, but could not find one; I therefore moved the numerical date written under the date reference into the text of my translation: see fig. 19.

216. The chief architect "(*miʿmarbashi*) for the Khashi building, which so far has not been identified (*ʿala ʿamal al-khashi*)," is mentioned in Natsheh, "Architecture," 1:620. This reference is found in a document dated 17 Rajab 958 (21 July 1551). The word *al-khashi* is spelled *al-kashi* in ibid., 629. In my opinion it most likely refers to tiles, but I have not had an opportunity to check the original document (*Sijill* 24: 523).

217. *Mālik-i ʿimāmet-i ʿuẓmā* and *vāris̱-i ḫilāfet-i kübrā*. See the Ottoman Turkish draft of the queen's *waqfiyya* written on 30 Jumada I 959 (24 May 1552); the final Arabic version was registered in mid-Shaʿban 964 (14 June 1557). It appoints Haydar Kethüda as her waqf administrator and is legally approved by Ebussuʿud. Translated into English with appended facsimile (Ms. Tur. Khalidi Library, Jerusalem) in St. H. Stephan, "An Endowment Deed of Khāṣṣeki Sulṭān, Dated the 24th of May 1552," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 10 (1944): 170–94, pls. 36–40. Süleyman's long list of titles is on page 10, pl. 36.

218. See van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1:150–56 no. 48. The undated inscription refers to the construction of a bastion, located on the moat of the wall between the Jaffa Gate and the Citadel; it was buried when the moat was filled in 1898. Van Berchem proposed a date around 940 (1533–34) or 945 (1538–39), based on the style of the calligraphy, which resembles the

sultan's inscription on the gate of the citadel (no. 45). He remarked that the latter date coincides with the death of the last Abbasid caliph of Cairo in 945 (1538), correctly discounting the possibility that he officially ceded the caliphate to Süleyman.

219. For the Arabic text carved in stone and the longer version of it that was abridged in the foundation inscription see Cevdet Çulpan, "İstanbul Süleymaniye Camii Kitabesi," in *Kanunî Armağanı* (Ankara, 1970), 291–99; pls. 1–3. Translated in Imber, *Ebu's-suʿud*, 75.

220. *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın Su Vakfiyesi*, ed. İbrahim Ateş (Ankara, 1987), fols. 7r–8r, on 11–12. See also the golden rainspout of the Kaʿba, now at the Topkapı Palace Museum, commissioned by Süleyman and featuring an inscription written in 959 (1551–52) by the famous calligrapher Ahmed Karahisari (d. 1555–56), which refers to the ruler as "inheritor of the Greatest Caliphate"; cited in Çulpan, "Süleymaniye Camii Kitabesi," 296.

221. See van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:339–40 nos. 241–42, where the doors of the north and south gates are attributed to Süleyman on the basis of their identical calligraphy. The inscription on the pair of doors to the west reads: "Renewed these beautiful doors the greatest of the celebrated khaqans, the sultan Süleyman, son of Sultan Selim Khan…in the year 972 (1564–65)."

222. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:180–83 no. 196. The polychrome marble mihrab is attributed to the Mamluk ruler Baybars (r. 1261–72/73). For an illustration see Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds," 340, fig. 3.

223. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:340 no. 242: "O David, We have appointed you as a viceroy on Earth, therefore judge among humankind justly, the year 972 (1564–65)."

224. These texts are cited in Imber, *Ebu's-suʿud*, 104–5.

225. Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 238–39.

226. The *Şehnāme* of Mahremi (ca. 1522), which identifies Süleyman as the "second Solomon and second David," is quoted in Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah," 177 n. 42. See also the sultan's law code for Egypt (1525), which refers to him as a "David in caliphate and Solomon in sultanate" (*dāvūd-i ḫilāfet ve süleymān-i salṭanat*), in Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, 6:92.

227. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 1:109, 403–14. The "House of the Sacred Precinct" alludes to Mecca, according to van Berchem. However, it is more likely a local reference to the sanctuary in Jerusalem, which is often called a *bayt*. Moreover, the titulature of the Ottoman sultans generally identifies them as servitors of the "Two Harams" rather than only that of Mecca.

228. For Capsali's chronicle see Martin Jacobs, "Exposed to All the Currents of the Mediterranean—a Sixteenth-Century Venetian Rabbi on Muslim History," *American Association of Jewish Studies Review* 29, 1 (2005): 33–60. In 1549, the sultan declared his intention to turn "the entire convent known as the convent of Zion outside the city of Jerusalem near the tomb of the prophet David" into a waqf, whose beneficiaries would be shaykh Ahmad al-Dajjani, his progeny, and his dervishes. The project was not realized until 1551–52, however: see Cohen, "Expulsion of the Franciscans," 154–55.

229. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah," 164–65, 169, 174. For the chronicle of Mevlana Isa see Barbara Flemming, "Der

Ğāmiʿül-Meknūnāt: Eine Quelle ʿĀlīs aus der Zeit Sultan Süleymāns," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients*, ed. Hans S. Roemer and Albrecht Noth (Leiden, 1981), 79–92.

230. *Eşref-i ḫilāfet ve salṭanatuñ vāḥidi, ḥaremeyn-i şerīfeynüñ ḫādimi, ḳıbleteyn-i muʿazzameteynüñ ḥākimi*. See Muṣṭafā bin Celāl (Celālzāde), *Miftāḥüʾl-cennet*, Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1229, fols. 5v–6r; translated into Ottoman Turkish from the Persian work of Muḥammad al-Farāḥī, nicknamed Molla Miskin (d. 1547), titled *Maʿārij al-nubuvva*.

231. For Süleyman's restoration of the Kaʿba and his building activities in each of the three holy cities see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 74, 160, 190–91, 276–78.

232. Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* 234–35, 237. The legendary Khawarnaq palace was built by the Lakhmid ruler Nuʿman (d. ca. 418) for his Sasanian suzerain and famed for its domed construction echoing the structure of the heavens.

233. Ibid., 236–37.

234. See Joseph Drory, "Some Observations during a Visit to Palestine by Ibn al-ʿArabī of Seville in 1092–1095," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 111. Drory quotes an excerpt from the Mamluk author Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's history, based on the *Muthīr al-Gharām* by Shihab al-Din al-Muqaddasi (d. 1364), which recorded Ibn al-ʿArabi's eyewitness account related in his book commenting on Malik ibn Anas's *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*. Other versions of Ibn al-ʿArabi's account are cited and discussed in Samer Akkach, "The Poetics of Concealment: Al-Nabulusi's Encounter with the Dome of the Rock," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 114–15.

235. Al-Harawi, who saw the Dome of the Rock during the Crusader occupation, mentions the site where the Prophet ascended to heaven, marked by his footprint at the southern side of the Rock, which was surrounded by an iron grill: see Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide*, 70–71. On the footprint of Jesus displayed in the Dome of the Rock in Crusader times see Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini," 30. Pictorial representations of the Dome of the Rock from the Ayyubid period that depict the Prophet's footprint on the Rock are illustrated in the text of this article: see figs. 24(a, b) and 25(a, b). See also Sauvaire, *Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, 108–9. Citing Ibn al-ʿArabi's statement from the Cairene scholar al-Halabi (d. 1634), the Damascene Hanafi scholar al-Nabulusi reached the extraordinary conclusion during a pilgrimage in 1690 that the Dome of the Rock must have been built by the Crusaders in order to conceal this "great wonder whereby the significance of Islam is clearly manifested": see Akkach, "Poetics of Concealment," 110–27. For a dispute between two men who, debating the reality of the Rock's suspension, consulted the jurist Shihab al-Din b. Hajar al-Haythami (d. 1565) for his legal opinion see Akkach, "Poetics of Concealment," 115–16.

236. Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* 237. For the comment on Süleyman's renovation see Milstein, "*Kitāb Shawq-nāma*," 317. I am very grateful to Rachel Milstein for sending me a copy of the manuscript, on the basis of which I have modified her translation, which misinterprets the reference to the miscarriages of pregnant women as "some women became pregnant there."

237. Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* 230–45, 237. The visitation places that Evliya lists inside the cave include the station (*maḳām*) and mihrab of Gabriel at the right side of the staircase, the station of David at the left side, the mark of the Prophet's turban on the Rock, the platform of the station (*maḳām-i ṣoffa*) of al-Khidr, and the alcove (*ḥücre*) of Solomon. Sites mentioned around the Rock's balustrade are the Prophet's right footprint; the Buckler of Hamza, known as the Mirror of Alexander; the iron pomegranates fashioned by the prophet David; and the stations of the four Sunni caliphs at the four gates (ʿAli to the east, Abu Bakr to the south, ʿUmar to the west, and ʿUthman to the north, also called the Gate of Paradise). He reports that the Prophet ascended from the cave through the Rock's hole created by Gabriel, a tradition attested in other sources as well: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 100. Some of the visitation sites mentioned by Evliya are shown on a late Ottoman plan of the Dome of the Rock and its cave (see fig. 15).

238. This guidebook is summarized in an appendix in Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 166–68. Elad observes that it mentions twelve holy places inside the Dome of the Rock, whereas Ibn al-Murajja mentioned only four in the mid-eleventh century: Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 167. Fifteenth-century Mamluk and Ottoman texts list some of these sites (see n. 205 above) but prescribe no itinerary. The Mamluk historian al-ʿUmari (ca. 1345) refers to the following holy places that also appear among the more numerous sites listed in the mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman guidebooks: the northern Gate of Paradise; the prayer niche in front of it marking the Black Paving Stone where people used to pray, but which was replaced long ago by a green marble slab; the reliquary of the Prophet's footprint, resting on columns; and the nearby Buckler of Hamza, also supported on columns. In the cave he lists the two mihrabs flanking the stairway, a bench called the place of al-Khidr, and the place of Abraham. (For the counterparts of these sites in the late Ottoman period see fig. 15.) Translated in Mayer, "A Medieval Arabic Description of the Haram of Jerusalem," 44–51, 74–85. In 1470, al-Suyuti mentions the Prophet's footprint on a separate stone supported on columns, in the southwest; the Place of the Angel's Fingerprints, on the western side of the Rock; the Black Paving Stone, near the Gate of Paradise; and the Tongue of the Rock, at the cave entrance. Translated in Le Strange, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary," 258–60.

239. For the reference of the Victory Sura to the armistice in Hudaybiya, where believers swore allegiance to the Prophet under a tree and God imposed on them the *shahāda* as a covenant that would bring reward in Paradise, see Ibn Isḥāq, *Life of Muhammad,* 506–7. I have largely followed Barry Flood's reconstruction of the inscription program, with one exception: He believes that the inscriptions begin at the middle of the east wall, with the historical texts falling in the middle of the sequence; it makes more sense to me that they start to the south with Quʾranic passages and continue with the historical inscriptions placed at the end of the sequence (as in ʿAbd al-Malik's inscription band on the outer face of the octagonal arcade).

240. Neuwirth observes that "the Ottoman inscriptions unequivocally take up the eschatological theme": see Neuwirth, "Jerusalem in Islam," 91.

241. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:333–35 no. 239. The numerals 952 (1545–46) are inscribed on the lateral west face of the south-east buttress. Van Berchem assumes that this date refers to the completion of tile revetments on the whole drum, but I find it more likely that this is the date of the inscription band; see n. 210 above. Busse lists only verses 1–19, but verse 20 is included as well: see his "Inschriften," 16–17 no. 9.

242. For hadith referring to epithets of the Prophet incorporated into the Qurʾan see Uri Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muḥammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims* (Princeton, 1995), 41–43. See van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:362–63 no. 272; Busse, "Inschriften," 15–16 no. 8. Evliya perceptively remarks that Sura *Yā Sīn* is written in the manner of the calligrapher Ahmed Karahisari: Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 235. Now kept in storage at the Haram's Islamic Museum, the original tiles of Süleyman were seen by de Vogüé and Wilson-Bonfils before being removed in the late nineteenth century; in 1292 (1875), they were replaced with new copies ending with the signature "This was written by Seyyid Mehmed bin Shefiq, may God pardon his sins, 1292." These epigraphic tiles were renewed in the 1960s.

243. For the Prophet's epithets see n. 242 above. Busse noted the link between these two suras, suggesting that the Ottoman theologians most likely selected Sura *Yā Sīn* because of its connection with Sura *Tā Hā* perhaps even renewing an older post-Umayyad inscription. (He thinks the drum inscription may have had a predecessor as well.) See "Inschriften," 23. For Rosen-Ayalon's and Grabar's differing interpretations of the Ayyubid inscription with Sura *Tā Hā* see n. 140 above.

244. According to Grabar, Süleyman's inscriptions confirm that "the message that shines forth from Jerusalem is the promise of divine judgment and eternal life for the just." See Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 196–99.

245. Ibn Kathir's text is cited in n. 44 above. For al-Rumi's instruction see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 166. Van Berchem attributes the gate inscriptions to Süleyman on the basis of their calligraphic style: see van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:366 no. 273 (a, b) nn. 2–4. Evliya saw an inscription with a verse referring to the garden of paradise on the Gate of Paradise: see Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 235.

246. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:366 no. 273 (a, b). For the *maṣṭaba* near the Black Paving Stone and the discovery of Solomon's tomb see Kaplony, *Haram of Jerusalem*, 333–37. The partially quoted verse on the gate is fully inscribed with the verses that follow it (Qurʾan 27:30–33) on a stone cenotaph inside the Throne of Solomon, an edifice abutting the eastern wall of the Haram that may have been renovated by Sultan Süleyman during the restoration of that wall, which was damaged in the 1552 earthquake (fig. 3[10]). Evliya mentions the two-domed Throne of Solomon (*kürsī-i süleymān*) along the eastern wall, as well as the Dome of Solomon (*kubbe-i süleymān*) to the north (fig. 3[10, 36]): see Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 241. The Throne of Solomon consists of two parts: an Ottoman mosque with twin domes (ca. 1608–9) in the western section, and an older rectangular hall to the east, abutting the Haram wall, which contains the cenotaph and could be considered a *maqām*. For a description of this building, which is mentioned by such Mamluk authors as al-Suyuti and Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, and for the inscription in *naskh* script on the cenotaph, see Auld and Hillenbrand,

Ottoman Jerusalem, 2:953–957. Al-Rumi's guidebook lists only the Dome of Solomon to the north: see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 165–66. However, both the Dome of Solomon (*süleymān peyġamberüñ kubbesi*) and the prayer place of Solomon on the eastern wall (*süleymān peyġamber ibādet itdügi maḳām*) are cited in an anonymous illustrated Ottoman Turkish guidebook datable to the mid-sixteenth century, which is appended to a text titled *Şerḥ-i şeceretüʾl-īmān*: see Topkapı Palace Library, A 3547, fol. 93r, 101r. The author says that while he was a resident (*mücāvir*) in Mecca, he read all available pilgrimage guidebooks (*menāsik*) and compiled his text from two Arabic works titled *Iḥyāʾ al-ḥajj* and *Qurrat al-ʿuyūn*. The topographic illustrations of this hitherto unstudied text have been dated on the basis of style to around 1540 to 1545 in Zeren Tanındı, "İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri," in *Orhan Şaik Gökyay Armağanı*, ed. Ahmet Turgut Kut and Günay Kut, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (1983): 409 figs. 6–8.

247. Van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:364–65 n. 273 (a, b), nn. 5–6; Busse, "Inschriften," 17–19 nos. 10–11.

248. For the Arabic text of al-Rumi, who was from Aleppo and served as a judge in Medina in the mid-sixteenth century, see Ashtor, "An Arabic Book," 7–8; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 164–73. The unpublished anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook is cited above in n. 246; its instructions to pilgrims are on fols. 92v–103r. I have also consulted a mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman Turkish *faḍāʾil* book compiled from "many manuscripts," whose author was a resident (*mücāvir*) of Jerusalem for three years after arriving there in 1051 (1641–42); it contains a section prescribing the same pilgrimage circuit, with a few differences. See Ḥifzī, *Feẓāʾil-i Ḳuds*, Topkapı Palace Library, E. H. 1443, fols. 102v–107v. According to an early tradition, Wahb b. Munabbih advised a pilgrim to enter the Dome of the Rock from the north gate and pray at the Black Paving Stone (see nn. 38 and 152 above). The "Cave of Spirits" is probably the present Dome of the Spirits, raised over a natural rock with a floor mihrab; another option is the subterranean vault with a medieval mihrab featured under the Convent of Shaykh Muhammad of Hebron (also known as *masjid al-nabī*). For these Ottoman-period domes see n. 113 above. Süleyman's faded inscription on the raised platform's northwest arcade is recorded in van Berchem, *Corpus*, 2:184–86 no. 198. It mentions his "renovation of this blessed balance (*al-mīzān*)," a term generally believed by modern scholars to refer to the scales of judgment that will be hung on the platform arcades; however, Ottoman guidebooks only mention the place of the scales at the southern stairway, and medieval texts imply that there will be a single balance with two huge plates.

249. These traditions are often criticized in later Mamluk sources: for some of them see n. 88 above.

250. For the Jerusalem images in Ayyubid scrolls see Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Une image musulmane de Jérusalem au début du XIIIe siècle," in *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople: L'image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Age*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris, 1986), 217–33; Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," in *M. Uğur Derman Festschrift*, ed. İrvin C. Schick (Istanbul, 2000), 101–34. Sourdel-Thomine suggests that the tree may refer to the "Dome of the Tree" (*qubbat al-shajara*) mentioned in

Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali's chronicle: see Sourdel-Thomine, "Une image musulmane de Jérusalem," 228. This dome was replaced by the extant Ayyubid Dome of Moses (fig. 3[39]). Sourdel-Thomine argues that the position of Jerusalem at the end of these scrolls reflects its inferior rank with respect to Mecca and Medina, but Milstein proposes that this may show the order of the pilgrimage as ending in Jerusalem. See Rachel Milstein, "The Evolution of a Visual Motif: The Temple and the Ka'ba," *Israel Oriental Studies* 19 (1999): 30.

251. Tanındı, "İslam Resminde," 409, figs. 11–14; Zeren Tanındı, "Resimli bir Haç Vekaletnamesi," *Sanat Dünyamız* 9 (1983): 2–5; Rachel Milstein, "Drawings of the Ḥaram of Jerusalem in Ottoman Manuscripts," in *Aspects of Ottoman History*, ed. Amy Singer and Amnon Cohen (Jerusalem, 1994), 62–69; Eva Baer, "Visual Representations of Jerusalem's Holy Islamic Sites," in Kühnel, *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*, 384–92; Michele Bernardini, "Popular and Symbolic Iconographies Related to the Haram al-Sharif during the Ottoman Period," in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:95–102; David Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City: Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem," in *The City in the Islamic World*, ed. Renata Holod, Yusuf Natsheh, Attilio Petruccioli, and André Raymond (Leiden, 2008), 753–74.

252. The inscription on the sandals reads: *sawwara na'l al-rasūl qubl bi-ḥusn al-qabūl*. The image of a single sandal, accompanied by an inscription instructing the onlooker to humbly kiss it and referring to the benedictions attached to the person of the Prophet (*baraka al-nabī*), appears at the end of a fifteenth-century pilgrimage scroll depicting only Mount 'Arafat and the sanctuaries at Mecca and Medina. Hence, the two sandals on the Ottoman scroll do not allude to the Prophet's Ascension from the Dome of the Rock. See British Library, ADD 27.566, hajj certificate dated 836 (1432–33), made for Maymuna bint Muhammad b. Abdullah al-Zardali. For the inscription of the *mithāl na'l al-nabī* on this early scroll see Joseph T. Reinaud, *Description des monumens musulmans du cabinet de M. Le Duc de Blacas* (Paris, 1828), 2:321.

253. The prince endowed a Qur'an manuscript to the Dome of the Rock in 1556: see n. 207 above. For Muhammad Abu'l-Fazl al-Sinjari's illustrated manuscript, titled *Menāqib-i Mekke*, see *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, türkische Handschriften*, vol. 13, pt. 3, ed. Hanna Sohrweide, (Wiesbaden, 1974), 168–69 no. 197: Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. or. Oct. 1602, an eighteenth-century copy featuring illustrations of the Aqsa Mosque (fol. 40b) and the Dome of the Rock (fol. 41a). An illustrated manuscript titled *Fezā'il-i Mekke*, by the same author, has a copy dated 1820, and ends with two images of Jerusalem: see *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, türkische Handschriften*, vol. 13 pt. 1, ed. Barbara Flemming, (Wiesbaden, 1968), 245–46 no. 309: Tübinger Depot der Saatsbibliothek, Ms. or. (fol. 4072).

254. According to al-Rumi's guidebook, upon entering the Aqsa Mosque the pilgrim should first go to "the pillar" (*al-'amūd*) where the Prophet is said to have prayed; see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 169. The anonymous Ottoman Turkish guidebook instructs the pilgrim to pray at the "large mihrab" (*büyük miḥrāb*) and then at the pillar near it (*miḥrābuñ ṭarafında bir direk*), where the Prophet prayed on the night of his Ascension (TSM. A. 3547 fol. 99r–v). Ibn al-Faqih mentions a black

marble slab commemorating the Prophet at the right side of the Aqsa Mosque's mihrab: Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān,* 100; Massé, *Ibn al-Faqīh,* 123.

255. Evliya mentions the Dome of Moses on the west side of the precinct near the Gate of the Law Court (fig. 3[39]) and a no-longer-extant Dome of Jesus (*maḳām-i kubbetü'r-rūḥ*) resting on eight small columns, at the north of the precinct, near the Gate of Remission (*bāb ḥiṭṭa*): see Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi,* 241.

256. For the Dome of the Prophet and its Red Mihrab see n. 200 above.

257. J. Horowitz and L. Gardet, *EI2*, s.v "Kawthar." For the Prophet's Pool see also al-Ghazālī, *Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife*, 217–18.

258. Dağlı et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 234–35. The similarity with Süleyman's pool is noted by Milstein, who also refers to the place of the scales on the arcade of the southern stairway: see Milstein, "Drawings of the Ḥaram," 67. Meinecke finds it plausible that the ablution fountain known as *al-Kā's* was created by Süleyman, since it resembles the one in the sultan's Takiyya complex in Damascus: see Meinecke, "Die Erneuerung von al-Quds," 261. For the prayer offered to all the prophets under the place of the scales see Topkapı Palace Library, A. 3547, 97r–v. The nineteenth-century image of the Haram is discussed in Bernardini, "Popular and Symbolic Iconographies," 95–102 and illustrated in Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1: pl. 3.

259. The sites depicted on the Mount of Olives are the sanctuary of Jesus (*ma'bed-i 'isā*) and the graves of Rabi'a al-Adawiyya and Salman Farisi, with the tomb of Mary, in the Valley of Hell, shown on the lower left side. The Church of the Ascension, with the stone featuring the footprint of Christ, was rebuilt in the twelfth century. It resembles Ayyubid octagonal domical buildings on the Haram such as the Dome of the [Prophet's] Ascension and the Dome of Solomon: see Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*. In the 670s, the pilgrim Arculf saw the footprints of Christ in the central-plan rotunda commemorating his ascension on the Mount of Olives; known as the Imbomon, this structure had been renovated by Modestus after its destruction in 614: see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims,* 341.

260. Topkapı Palace Library, A 3547, fol. 100v; for the "place of al-ṣiraṭ" see also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 170. For the use of the term "cognitive map" with reference to visual depictions of the Tabernacle, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998), 231–37.

261. The manuscript is in the National Maritime Museum of Haifa, Inv. 4576. For the author, a detailed analysis of the manuscript, and translated exerpts from it see Milstein, "Kitāb Shawq-nāma," 275–345. In the preface of the manuscript, graciously sent to me by Rachel Milstein, the author refers to himself as *tan-i man khāk-i 'ajam jān va dilam murġ-i ḥijāz* (translated above).

262. For translated text and illustration see Milstein, "Kitāb Shawq-nāma," 283, pl. 1.

263. Ibid., 317–18, pl. 24. The reference to Abraham's sacrifice, whether of Isaac or Ishmael, on the Rock seems to appear more commonly in the texts of Persian authors: see the travel accounts of Nasir-i Khusraw and Mu'ali cited above in

nn. 63 and 205. For the horns of Abraham hanging from a chain in the Dome of the Rock in the days of ʿAbd al-Malik and the controversy about which son was to be sacrificed see nn. 90 and 166 above.

264. The raised platform is similarly identified as *takht-i rabb al-ʿālamīn* in an Ottoman painting of the sanctuary in Jerusalem in a manuscript dated 1643–44 (Jerusalem, National and University Library, Yah. Ms. Ar. 117, fol. 41r). This image, which depicts the Pool of Kawthar and the Scales, has an explicitly Sunni iconography: its trees represent the *maqām*s of the four caliphs. Reproduced in Grabar, *Dome of the Rock*, 197; Auld and Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, 1:11, pl. 4.

265. See n. 264 above for a mid-seventeenth-century image of the sanctuary. Other images datable to the second half of the sixteenth century are illustrated in Tanındı, "İslam Resminde," 421, fig. 8 (Topkapı Palace Library, A. 3547, fol. 103r); Baer, "Visual Representations," 390, fig. 7 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. cod. arab. 461, fol. 45r, datable to 1590); Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York, Oxford, 1992), 42–50, fig. 30 (Spencer, Turk ms. 2, ca. 1580).

266. Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bīcan, *Dürr-i Meknūn: Saklı İnciler*, ed. Necdet Sakaoğlu (Istanbul, 1999), 76–78.

267. On the "*faḍāʾil* discourse" and the mode of seeing and spatial mapping it promotes see Samer Akkach, "Mapping Difference: On the Islamic Concept of *faḍāʾil*," in *De-Placing Difference: Architecture, Culture and Imaginative Geography*, ed. S. Akkach (Adelaide, 2002), 9–21.

268. In addition to the critiques of Sibt b. al-Jawzi and Ibn Kathir, see critical Mamluk texts cited in n. 88 above. See also an article that compares the Ottoman exaltation of the sanctuary in Jerusalem with that of the Umayyads: Sadan, "Legal Opinion of a Muslim Jurist," 231–24.

269. For critiques in the Mamluk period, generally made by Hanbali and Shafiʿi scholars, see n. 88 above. For an Ottoman period exhortation by the Jerusalemite Shafiʿi author Abu'l-Fath al-Dajjani (d. 1660) see Perlmann, "A Seventeenth-Century Exhortation," 261–92. Al-Dajjani condemns infringements on decorum and deviations from orthodox practices, protesting against the negligence of those Ottoman authorities who have institutionalized unorthodox rituals and festivities popular among the masses. He criticizes, among other things, the *taʿrif* ritual practiced on the raised platform of the Dome of the Rock on the day of ʿArafa, during which a preacher delivers a sermon from the outdoor minbar (i.e., fig. 3[24]) and concludes by waving a kerchief, a terrible innovation (*bidʿa*) imitating the ceremony in Mecca. Other inappropriate ceremonies, at which men and women intermingle, include the festival of "Our Lady Mary" and the celebration of mid-Shaʿban.

270. Grabar characterizes the Dome of the Rock as a "visual magnet" contrasting vigorously with the "stark barrenness" of the beautiful stones of the city it dominates: "Its architecture is poised to greet the end of time and the liberation of all." Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 172–73.

EVA R. HOFFMAN

BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: THE WALL PAINTINGS OF SAMARRA AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ABBASID PRINCELY CULTURE

Be of good health, Commander of Believers, clad in
the garments of one whose hands are divinely aided,
one made victorious;

Take up a new life in the splendour of
the new palace, and its exquisite beauty…

You came to it, and alighted at the most fortunate of
halting-places;
you observed it, and saw the most beautiful prospects:

Flourish there, (enjoying) long life and blessings
whose cheerfulness will endure throughout the ages.

—al-Buhturi, celebrating the completion
of the Ja'fari palace at Samarra[1]

The inspiration for this essay is Oleg Grabar's ground-breaking *The Formation of Islamic Art*.[2] While new material has come to light since this work was published, it is a great credit to its author that his main arguments are as creative and thought provoking today as they were in 1973. The questions that he poses there continue to inspire my students to study Islamic art, much as they inspired me then. This essay will grapple with questions, first introduced in Grabar's book*,* concerning the development of the early Islamic palace and the "princely cycle."[3] In particular, it will focus on the wall paintings of the so-called *ḥarīm* in the palatine complex at Samarra, founded in 836 by the Abbasid caliph al-Mu'tasim. Previously called the Jawsaq al-Khaqani, this complex is referred to in the most recent literature as the Dar al-Khilafa (figs. 1–8, 10–11, 15–16).[4] I will not analyze the specifics of the full program of wall paintings but rather will focus on strategies for studying these paintings: first, on the position of the Samarra paintings in Abbasid art and second, on their broader implications for Abbasid art and their role in the formation of early Islamic art. As my conclusions will demonstrate, *The Formation of Islamic Art* has stood the test of time exceptionally well. Adding relevance to this tribute article is the consideration of the 1912–13 documentation of the wall painting by the renowned scholar and excavator of Samarra, Ernst Herzfeld, whom Grabar has named as a mentor in his own intellectual journey.[5] This is therefore in every sense a study of continuities.

The palatine city of Samarra has loomed large in both medieval and modern times, occupying a place between history and mythology.[6] It served as the Abbasid capital for only fifty-six years, between 836 and 892, after which the Abbasid caliphs returned to Baghdad. Despite the short-lived ascendance of Samarra, however, its ambitious size and breathtaking achievement became the yardstick by which to measure all other imperial projects undertaken in the Islamic realm and beyond. The excavation and documentation of the site, begun in earnest in 1911 and having continued for nearly a hundred years, not only inform us about Samarra itself but also suggest what the legendary palaces of Baghdad may have looked like and contained. The palaces of Samarra, furthermore, have been proposed as the visual equivalents of the mythical palaces described in *The Thousand and One Nights*.[7] Regardless of its difficult and complex excavation history and the fragmentary condition of its remains, which are widely dispersed throughout museums of the world, the site of Samarra is critical in defining Abbasid art.[8]

The art of the Abbasids in Baghdad and Samarra is widely perceived by scholars as a watershed. The familiar narrative, often repeated in the scholarship and in surveys, goes as follows: early Islamic art came into being as a convergence, in varying degrees, of the pre-Islamic visual sources of the conquered territories—Western, Greco-Roman "classical" sources on the one hand, and Eastern, "oriental" sources on the other. The art of the first Umayyad dynasty is viewed as synthesizing these traditions while always retaining its strong local Mediterranean roots. With the relocation of the Islamic imperial capital under Abbasid rule from the Umayyad Mediterranean center of Damascus to the Mesopotamian center of Baghdad, the Abbasids, according to the generally accepted view, broke with

the Western-dominated Greco-Roman visual tradition of their Umayyad predecessors and reoriented their dynastic identity toward the traditions of the East, most immediately the Persian, Sasanian heritage. The new "beveled style" of stucco ornament, the development of lusterware ceramics, and the wall paintings published in the corpus of Samarran art with photographs and colored drawings by Ernst Herzfeld have all been used to support this claim of a novel dynastic style that was then disseminated throughout the Islamic empire, establishing a distinctive Abbasid identity.[9]

In this essay, I wish to reconsider the dominance of this Eastern trajectory and, in the process, to destabilize altogether the East-West binary for the study of early Islamic art. Instead, I would suggest a more holistic approach that engages East and West through a discourse of cultural exchange and the creation of a local Iraqi style. This will require both a closer look at the specific visual evidence and the consideration of that evidence within the broader context of court art beyond the Abbasid period. In this way, a far more integrated scenario of dynamic networks of interaction and connections will emerge, linking East and West, past and present.

THE CONTEXT IN SCHOLARSHIP: DISCOURSE OF EAST AND WEST

First, it will be instructive to look back to the early twentieth century, a time of pioneering work in Islamic art and archaeology and the development of theoretical models for cultural origins that would result in the construction of the East-West divide and would subsequently place early Islamic art and the Samarra excavation in the continuum of this framework.[10] The East-versus-West binary had its genesis in the polemical debate waged at the turn of the twentieth century over the origins of late antique and medieval art.[11] More than anything else, this debate over whether or not the visual sources emanated from the "Orient" or from the "Roman" Mediterranean sphere focused the attention of scholars on the art of the period between the third and the seventh century, a period that had routinely been dismissed as a moment of artistic decline and decadence between the ancient and the medieval eras. This period was now defined by Alois Riegl as encompassing a multicultural period-style, for which he coined the designation "late antique."[12] On one side of the debate, Riegl advocated continuities with

the broadly defined Greco-Roman tradition. At the other extreme, Josef Strzygowski argued for origins in the "oriental" East, in opposition to the Mediterranean "classical" tradition.[13] Strzygowski championed an "East Aryan" art stemming from Iran, Armenia, and inner Asia Minor, which he linked to the traditions of Northern Europe. Recent historiographical studies have thoroughly exposed and deconstructed the politics of these theories and the entanglement of this debate over art-historical styles with the early-twentieth-century search for national identity and claims of ethnic purity that would eventually lead to the unimagined horrors of the Nazis.[14] Thus the vitriolic nature of debates concerning the origins, sources, and lineage of medieval art stood for much more. Art and history became sites of political contention.[15]

The debate over East versus West gained further momentum and meaning as spectacular archaeological discoveries were being made throughout the Middle East during the early twentieth century.[16] These discoveries became the testing ground for theories on stylistic origins and were offered as evidence for the truth of one position or another in this controversy. The disagreement among scholars over the dating of the monuments unearthed, ranging from the second to the ninth centuries, resulted in the exploration of Islamic art as the expanded arena in which to stage the battle between East and West and as the focus of a study of origins. In particular, the Mshatta façade, which had been installed in the late antique gallery of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1904, became the most celebrated site of controversy, with proposed origins ranging from Roman (second century), Parthian (third century), or Ghassanid (fifth–sixth century) to Umayyad (eighth century)—the latter fiercely advocated by Ernst Herzfeld and ultimately accepted.[17]

Vehemently opposed to Strzygowski's assertion of "oriental" sources, Herzfeld argued for the juxtaposition of East and West in the formation of a new Islamic style in the Mshatta façade.[18] With his subsequent excavation at Samarra, begun in 1911, followed by his work on pre-Islamic Iran, Herzfeld's own scholarly focus moved eastward. Despite this, it must be emphasized that Herzfeld never advocated for exclusively Eastern sources, nor did he dismiss the notion of a Mediterranean Greco-Roman heritage for Samarra. He linked the art of Samarra to Mshatta, which he claimed stemmed from a synthesis of pre-Islamic Greco-Roman and Lakhmid (southern Mesopotamian) sources. In this way Herzfeld recon-

ciled East and West through an elaborate theory that posited the mediation of a Roman model through a sixth-century southern Mesopotamian "Hira style."[19] In the end, he was true to his times: the quest to identify specific sources and origins stood firmly at the heart of his scholarship. This may explain why, when his theories for the sources of his proposed "Hira style" were rejected, his broader conclusions about synthesis were also not given the attention they deserved. Ironically, well after the storm of early- and mid-twentieth-century political agendas had abated, the scholarship of early Islamic art continued to be framed by the East-or-West discourse of origins. To be sure, this discourse has survived without the impassioned political agendas, but rather as a solely "stylistic" method to identify the constituent parts of the newly created Umayyad art and also to mark distinctions between Umayyad and Abbasid art.[20]

THE SAMARRA PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS IN THE EAST-WEST DISCOURSE

The Samarra wall paintings, as iconic Abbasid works, have served to carry forward the powerful narrative of the East-West discourse. While certain links to the Greco-Roman Mediterranean tradition, seen, for example, in the inhabited acanthus scrolls (figs. 1a, 1b, and 2), have been noted, the style of most of the paintings has been associated with an Eastern orientation. Scholars have suggested that they are connected to works from Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan, possibly brought to the Abbasid court by Turkish mercenaries. This Eastern orientation has been viewed as a defining characteristic of the new, authentically Islamic style, labeled the "Samarran style," which in turn has been claimed as the foundation for the development of later monumental painting in Fatimid Egypt and, by extension, even in Norman Sicily.[21]

Why has this Eastern orientation gained such a powerful hold, surviving into our own time, in defining the Samarra paintings in the scholarship? To be sure, connections with the art of the East can be made in both subject matter and style. The Abbasids had inherited local pre-Islamic Sasanian traditions in Iraq and Mesopotamia, the lands that served as the center of gravity for their empire, and they incorporated the visual traditions from the more eastern reaches of the empire as well. Furthermore, they pursued trade along eastern routes that extended to India and China, as evidenced

by imported pottery from China as well as local imitations of Chinese ware found at Samarra.[22] In particular, however, I would like to highlight a key piece of "evidence" that has been used to define and corroborate the "Samarran style" as Eastern: the extraordinary colored drawings of the Samarra wall paintings made by Herzfeld at the excavation site. Since the time of their publication, along with Herzfeld's photographs, in his volume *Malereien von Samarra*, it is the drawings—rather than, with few exceptions, the photographs—that have been reproduced and studied.[23] In what follows, I will analyze the use of these drawings, tracing both their contributions to our perception of the paintings and the limitations of their use for study.

Artists' drawings made on site during the early-twentieth-century expeditions add a fascinating layer to the history and historiography of the monuments at these sites. In general, these drawings provided important documentation, especially given the dual realities of the limited access to the monuments and the danger of their deterioration after excavation. A comparison of Herzfeld's photograph of the wall painting whose subjects are known as the "Samarra Dancers" with a more recent photograph, taken in 1995 by Bernard O'Kane, illustrates the considerable paint losses suffered in the intervening years (figs. 3 and 4). Herzfeld was a brilliant draftsman, and his meticulous, almost forensic approach is legendary. The importance of his direct recording of the paintings in situ—both of their detail, which was already fading, and of their color, which was unavailable in early-twentieth-century black-and-white photography—cannot be overstated. His arrangement of the material in *Malereien von Samarra,* with each drawing appearing on the page either preceding or following its companion photograph, allows easy reference and direct comparison between drawings and photographs. The colors and geometric and floral patterns offer a sense of the dazzling textiles that were so much a part of court life described in the texts, but that so rarely survived over time.[24] The drawings bring to life colors described in the texts as "pistachio green," "iridescent peacock," "chickpea," "wax," "tin," "pearl," and "sand."[25] Details of geometric and floral patterns still visible in the paintings at the time were reproduced by Herzfeld, probably with great accuracy.[26] The drawings also allow us to make out the forms of the figures, which appear faded in the photographs (fig. 5). A series of fragments of barechested girls, which Herzfeld reconstructed as dancers
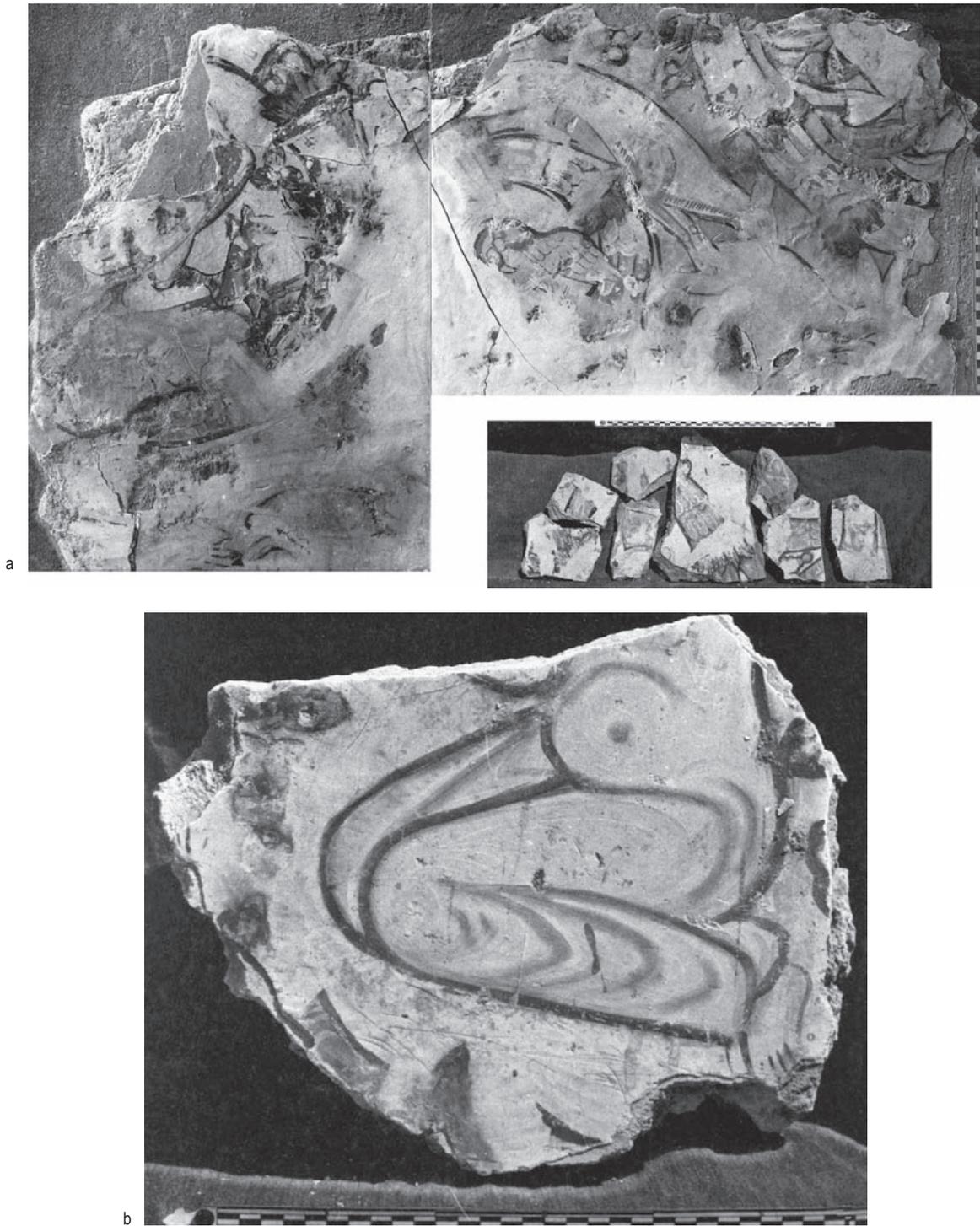
Fig. 1a. Photographs of wall-painting fragments showing acanthus scrolls. Fig. 1b. Photograph of a wall-painting fragment showing a seated figure within an acanthus scroll. Dar al-Khilafa, Samarra, ninth century. (After Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* [Berlin, 1927], pls. XI and XVI, respectively)

Fig. 2. Drawing of an acanthus scroll. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pls. XII–XIV)

(figs. 6–8), facilitates our visualization of the richness of color and design;[27] in addition, the graphic outlines of his drawings allow us to decipher the faded forms in the photographs as figures with long braids falling over their breasts and torsos that accentuate their delicate bodies and the elegant curves of their waists. Such comparisons demonstrate Herzfeld's virtuosity as an artist and his intention to reproduce the details with accuracy.[28]

Artists' drawings, however, are never exact reproductions. Two well-known cases illustrate this point. First, the drawings by the artist Alphons Mielich that were made for Alois Musil's publication of Qusayr ʿAmra were greeted with skepticism even in their own day.[29] The uncertainty was compounded by the facts that no complete set of photographs of the wall paintings was taken at the time of the expedition and that restorations undertaken in the 1970s were problematic.[30] Ironically, the panels removed from the site by Mielich, which are now in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, remain the only "original" unrestored pieces (fig. 9).[31] A second instance is the case of Sasanian palaces, information about which, as pointed out by Lionel Bier, had been based on incomplete and problematic architectural drawings made by Oscar Reuther in *A Survey of Persian Art*.[32] In the final analysis, artists' drawings simply cannot substitute for photographs. When used alone, without reference to photographs, discrepancies in both subject matter and style are unavoidable, even in the case of Herzfeld

and his scrupulous documentation practices of precisely outlined drawings made in the interests of legibility and clarity. By their very nature, drawings are interpretations, by both the artist and the viewer, of the works they copy.

I believe that scholars' continued use of Herzfeld's Samarra drawings has contributed to furthering the East-versus-West binary that characterized the debate at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although the primary motivation for using the drawings instead of the wall paintings themselves might have been for practical reasons of legibility (e.g., figs. 3 and 5), naturalization of the drawings into the scholarship has resulted in defining and illustrating an "Eastern" orientation for the Abbasid Samarra paintings, especially in contrast to Umayyad painting, which has been aligned with the opposing Mediterranean Greco-Roman tradition.

Based entirely on Herzfeld's reconstruction drawing (fig. 10), one Samarra painting, the so-called *Huntress* (fig. 11), has been described as follows:

> The main figure has often been compared with the huntress Diana, but the face has a distinctly oriental cast, with its long hooked nose and fleshy cheeks, as has the bunch of black hair at the back and the slender curl on the temple. She seems animated, as do her prey and the dog, but the movement is both petrified and exaggerated, an effect further accentuated by the expressionless gazes of both huntress and prey. The decorative spots on the animal and the patterned fall of the huntress's

Fig. 3. Photograph of the "Samarra Dancers." (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. I)

Fig 4. More recent (1995) photograph of the "Samarra Dancers." (Photo: Bernard O'Kane, courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul)

Fig 5. Drawing of the "Samarra Dancers." (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. II)

Fig. 6. Photograph of a wall-painting fragment showing a female figure. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. XXII, right)

Fig. 7. Photograph of a wall-painting fragment showing a female figure. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. XXII, left)
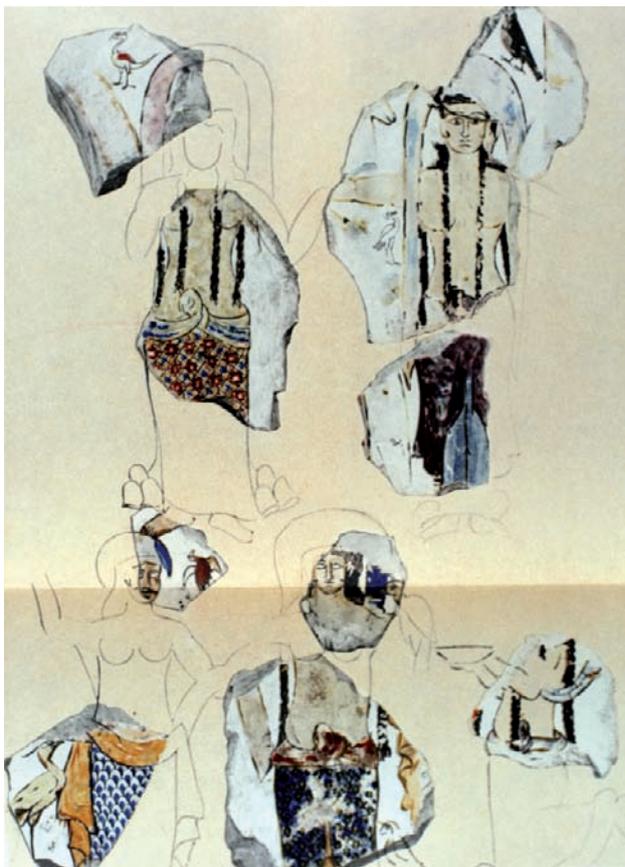
Fig. 8. Drawing of fragmentary female figures, with lower bodies covered by garments. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. XXI)

Fig. 9. Semi-clad figure in a niche. Wall-painting fragment from Qusayr ʿAmra, Umayyad, early eighth century. Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, inv. no. I 1264. (Photo: courtesy of the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

garment contribute to the unrealistic quality of this skill-fully composed work.[33]

Of all Herzfeld's drawings, that of the "Samarra Dancers" (fig. 5) has been the most widely disseminated and influential.[34] Through its comparison to figures in Umayyad paintings, the conclusion of the "Eastern" orientation for the Samarra paintings has been made even more convincingly. When compared to the ample, full-bodied Umayyad form of the equally well-known figure of the bather at Qusayr ʿAmra (fig. 12), which stands and moves naturalistically in space, the figures of the "Samarra Dancers," as mediated through Herzfeld's drawing, have been described as timeless, static, symbolic works in which volume replaces the flesh of their Umayyad counterparts. Thus character-ized, the "Samarra Dancers" have been interpreted as a manifestation both of the more formal mood of the Abbasid court and of its Eastern heritage, expressing a

linearity, symmetry, physiognomy, and iconographical trope rooted in the Sasanian royal arts.[35]

Such comparisons between Umayyad and Abbasid works, however, are not without problems. The most serious flaw stems from the use of Herzfeld's Samarra drawings rather than the original works as reflected in his photographs. When the drawings are considered alongside the photographs, it becomes immediately obvious when and where liberties have been taken. Such a comparison will tell a different story about the Samarra paintings, one that is not dominated by the East-or-West narrative but that rather presents a more integrated view of the material.

Fig. 10. Drawing of the "Huntress." (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. VI)
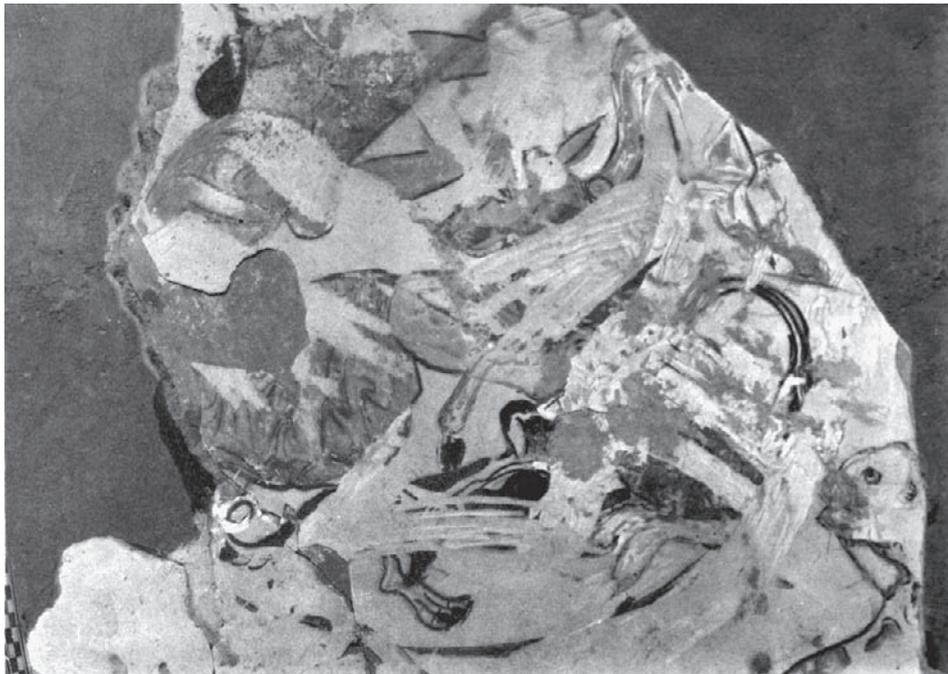
Fig. 11. Photograph of the "Huntress." (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. V)
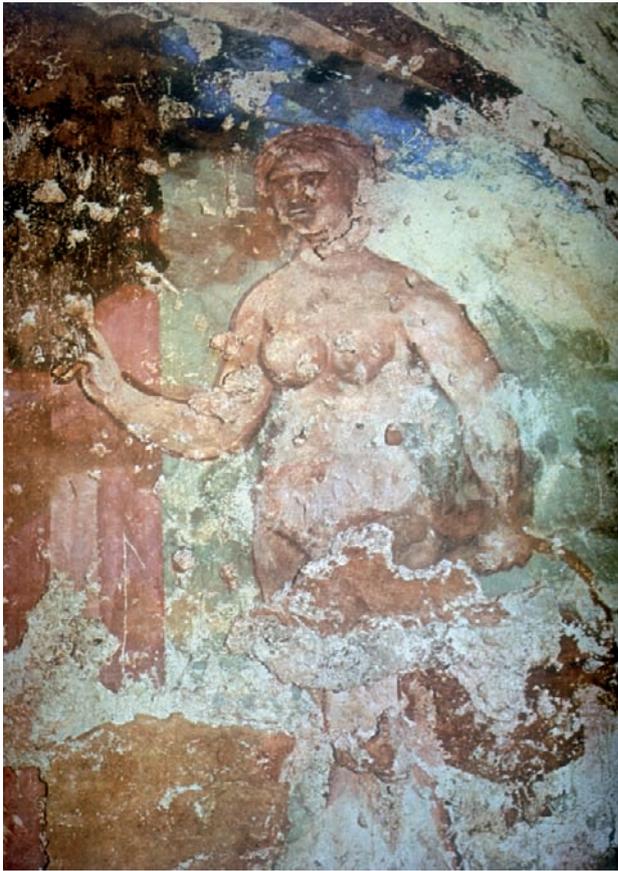
Fig. 12. Female bather, wall painting from Qusayr ʿAmra. (After Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* [Geneva, 1962], 31)

Fig. 13. Silver-gilt vase with female figures, Sasanian or post-Sasanian. Inv. no. S-35, the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (Photo: reproduced with permission of the State Hermitage Museum)

Herzfeld's drawings were by no means arbitrary reconstructions. In order to fill in missing areas of the design, he made use of surviving details in neighboring paintings—such as the "pearl border" adopted to complete the bottom of the frame on the motif of the "Samarra Dancers"—and also looked to the themes of dancers, musicians, and attendants from known precedents in Umayyad and pre-Islamic court art. His drawing of the fragmentary acanthus scroll and the animals inhabiting it (figs. 1–2) were rendered according to subjects and naturalistic styles familiar from villas in the late antique Greco-Roman world.[36] For the reconstruction drawings of human figures within the acanthus scroll (fig. 2) and the "Samarra Dancers" (fig. 5), Herzfeld summoned up a different model: he clearly had in mind parallel subjects of dancers and attendants

that had become known on luxury Sasanian silver-gilt objects (fig. 13).[37] From minimal surviving remnants of a figure within the acanthus scroll, for example, he developed the motif into a fully animated female figure holding a scarf over her head.[38] Fragmentary remains of three other figures in the acanthus scroll were fully imagined in the drawing as court entertainers—a dancer, a musician, and a figure holding a bowl of fruit. All the Samarra figures were endowed with "Eastern" physiognomies and completed with accessories based on Sasanian models. Herzfeld also transcribed and interpreted certain stylistic details, such as the rippled hems on the garments of the "Samarra Dancers" and other figures, in terms of comparable details represented in the figures on Sasanian metalwork. While his impulse to connect the Samarra works

to the nearby, local pre-Islamic Sasanian context was reasonable and may have been perfectly plausible, the relationship between the "Samarra Dancers" and Sasanian precedents is far more complex, as will be shown below. In any case, the reconstruction drawings go well beyond the surviving Samarra material and must therefore remain, to some degree, conjectural.

Even where the Samarra paintings survived more fully, there are noticeable discrepancies of style between the drawings and the paintings visible in the photographs. Herzfeld filled in missing sections of garments and elaborated on the poses of the "Samarra Dancers" to suggest the figures in motion—dancing and pouring liquid into bowls—again reminiscent of the motifs on Sasanian metalwork. In the photograph, however, the nature of their activities is far from certain (fig. 3); while the figures are symmetrically paired in action, with outer arms raised at the elbow and inner ones crossing in the center, it is unclear what objects they hold. There are no bowls to be seen, and while a knee of the figure on the right seems to be raised, no feet are visible in the photograph. The physiognomies of the figures in the wall painting have been described as "Eastern," but the linearity and elongation is further exaggerated in the drawing, resulting in an even more "Eastern" appearance. More fundamentally, however, one wonders whether this physiognomy should be defined as "Eastern" or simply as "local" (i.e., Iraqi-Mesopotamian). In addition, the natural curve of the waist of the right-hand figure, visible in the photograph, is de-emphasized in Herzfeld's drawing, where, rather than imparting any sense of the body underneath, textile folds take on a life of their own, resulting in a stiffer, more ornamental and formulaic rendition than in the more naturalistic painting. Rather than approximating the details of garment folds in the painting, the swirling folds in the drawing may be best understood as translating designs created for metalwork (e.g., fig. 14), a medium that Herzfeld certainly had in mind when he drew these figures.[39] There are also striking differences between Herzfeld's photograph (fig. 15) and his drawing (fig. 16) of another fragmentary figure: the gradations in shading and highlighting observable in the photograph are missing in the drawing, which shows a precisely outlined skirt with folds reduced to stark contrasts.[40] Similarly, the fragmentary figure seated within the acanthus scroll is schematized in the drawing, with undefined stomach and thighs and unshaded garment

Fig. 14. Silver-gilt ewer with female figures, Sasanian, sixth to seventh century. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, gift of Arthur M. Sackler, S1987.117. (Photo: courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC)

(fig. 2).[41] The photograph, on the other hand, reveals the garment to be hugging the body, showing the natural curves of the stomach, buttocks, and thighs and the feet tucked under the buttocks (fig. 1b).[42] Without the graphic mediation of the drawings, these naturalistic details fit comfortably within the figural heritage of the Greco-Roman world. Comparison between the photographs and the drawings of an enigmatic group of painted portraits on ceramic bottles found under the pavement of a room adjacent to the *harīm* shows, in almost every case, that in the drawings figural forms are more rigid and flattened (figs. 17–20).[43] Lost in the drawings is the sense of transience that the photographs reveal. Where the faces in the drawings appear frozen, the highlights and shadows visible in the photographs capture the mobility of the

Fig. 15. Photograph of a wall-painting fragment showing part of a figure covered by a garment. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. XVIII)

Fig. 16. Drawing of the fragment shown in fig. 15. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. XIX)

facial features, with their expressive and convincing gazes. Once again, these features may be associated with the visual tradition of the Greco-Roman Mediterranean world.

From the forgoing analysis, I would suggest that it is no longer possible to define the Samarra paintings in terms of an exclusively "Eastern" orientation. The Abbasids did not turn their backs on the Mediterranean heritage, nor did they sever ties to the Umayyad visual tradition. It is significant that when the photographs of the "Samarra Dancers" are compared to the ample, modeled forms of the well-known figures in the Umayyad paintings from Qusayr ʿAmra (fig. 12), the Abbasid figures do not depart nearly as dramatically from their Umayyad predecessors as they do when Herzfeld's drawings are used for comparison. Yet it would be equally wrong to swing the pendulum back, away from the East and exclusively in the direction of

the Greco-Roman tradition. While definitive conclusions regarding the Samarra paintings ultimately must await the full study of all of the extant fragments, the paintings point the way to more fluid boundaries and continuities, and any explanation of their production must be far more nuanced.[44] It is clear that there was more interplay between East and West than is usually acknowledged.

A particularly compelling and undistorted comparison may be made between the Samarra paintings of the dancers and semi-clad figures and an unrestored painting of a full-length figure in a niche from Qusayr ʿAmra (fig. 9).[45] The semi-clad Samarra figures are strongly related to the Qusayr ʿAmra figure in terms not only of motif but also of body style, which is modeled through subtle gradations of light and shadow, adopting slimmer proportions than the fleshy body type of the Qusayr ʿAmra bather. This comparison

Fig. 18. Drawing of the bottle shown in fig. 17. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. LXI)

Fig. 17. Photographic detail and full view of a painted ceramic bottle depicting a robed male figure. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. LX)

may be extended to some of the other nude and half-dressed figures at Qusayr ʿAmra.[46] Yet there were also other Umayyad stylistic variations of this shared late antique motif, such as in the well-known stucco female figures from the Umayyad palace estate of Khirbat al-Mafjar.[47] In all these cases, whether from Samarra or from Umayyad sites, there was no single model but rather a range of possibilities for shared continuities with past traditions of late antiquity, both Eastern and Western. In the final analysis, all these figures represent individual, local translations of these traditions.[48]

Indeed, Herzfeld recognized the integration of diverse cultures during the period of the early Islamic empires. By 1910 he had already proposed a model of synthesis of the pre-Islamic visual traditions under the Umayyads. He also pointed out continuities between Umayyad and Abbasid art as, for example, the link between the Umayyad palace of Mshatta and early Abbasid palaces.[49] Following his lead, scholars identi-

Fig. 19. Photograph of a fragmentary painted ceramic bottle showing the head of a figure. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. LXVIII)

Fig. 20. Drawing of the bottle fragment shown in fig. 19. (After Herzfeld, *Malereien,* pl. LXVII)

fied specific "Eastern"—Sasanian—and "Western"—Byzantine—stylistic and thematic sources in the visual programs of major Umayyad state and private monuments and have shown how these sources were used to advance the Umayyad message of imperial glory and hegemony.[50] In most of these studies, however, the discussion has been framed in terms of an East-or-West discourse. It is not my intention here to perpetuate the binary model nor to advocate for one tradition over the other. What I would like to propose instead is a model of greater interplay and interactivity between these traditions, providing for cultural intersections that are less hierarchical and more nuanced.

Well before the political unification of the Islamic empire, cultural and visual intersections were common between the Sasanian and Mediterranean realms. Whatever the specific forms of these various contacts, it is clear that these realms can no longer be discussed in monolithic terms, nor can they be considered sepa-

rate from each other. Herzfeld's impulse to connect the Samarra paintings to the local pre-Islamic Sasanian art was well founded. It is, however, the popular conception of Sasanian art as exclusively "Eastern" that must be debunked. Writing on the complexity of these cultural relations in late antiquity, Prudence Oliver Harper has observed, "Sasanian Iran and Mespotamia were never isolated culturally from the lands on the eastern and western borders, and both a receptiveness to foreign modes and a reverence for traditional imagery were important factors in the court art of the Sasanian period as they had been in more ancient Achaemenid times."[51] Notwithstanding the complex relations between the Sasanian and Mediterranean realms, visual exchange occurred across these boundaries. It has been noted, for example, that the female "dancers" on Sasanian metalwork vessels (figs. 13–14) belong to the same visual universe as the Greco-Roman female figures variously

serving as maenads from the Dionysian entourage or as allegorical representations of the hours, seasons, and months. All of these can be further related to a wide repertoire of mythological subjects.[52] Sharing a mix of ornament and figures and representing merrymaking and mythological subjects with origins in both the Greco-Roman and the Sasanian realms, the comparable late antique, third-century Sasanian mosaics at Bishapur in Fars, Iran, and those from Roman and Byzantine Antioch are excellent examples of the interaction between these realms.[53]

While the conventional and widely held view defined Sasanian art as abstract and emblematic in contrast to Roman-Byzantine naturalism, in both traditions there existed a wide range of styles with significant overlap, from abstract and hieratic to naturalistic.[54] The permeability of stylistic boundaries is aptly exemplified by a full-sized, headless painted stucco statue now in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin (fig. 21).[55] It is a Sasanian work excavated from the Christian Church of Qasr bint al-Qadi at Ctesiphon and executed in the characteristic Greco-Roman style, complete with naturalistically draped robes that could well have served as a local precedent for the garments of the Samarra paintings. The statue, identified as representing a saint, was buried face down, in the characteristic Christian fashion. This should come as no surprise, since the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia was in fact a multicultural city populated by a majority of Aramaeans, Arabs, and Syrians who spoke Aramaic and practiced Christianity and Judaism. The Persian ruling class was in the minority here. Even at the easternmost reaches of the Sasanian Empire, it is possible to note the intersection between the styles of these Sasanian and Mediterranean spheres. For example, a plate from northeastern Iran (fig. 22), while not a royal object itself, has a representation of the hunt, a theme of royal authority. Using conventions of space and composition that are generally associated with the Greco-Roman realm, the scene is set in a landscape with the action continuing beyond the rim of the plate. The hunter turns in space with his spear held behind him, and his body is built up in high relief.[56]

Archaeological discoveries attest to many other instances of geographically and historically far-reaching cultural and visual exchanges. The third-century Hellenized paintings from Miran in Chinese Turkestan represent evidence of early contact between Central Asia and the Mediterranean.[57] Through the portability of objects, the scope and networks of exchange

Fig. 21. Painted stucco figure from Qasr bint al-Qadi at Ctesiphon, Sasanian. Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, inv. no. Kt.W.292/1.7727 (Photo: courtesy of Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

were ever expanding, resulting in even more possibilities of East-West variations and intersections. It was not at all unusual for precious objects to travel far from their place of production. Sasanian objects with Greco-Roman mythological subjects have been found

Fig. 22. Silver-gilt plate depicting a figure hunting boars, Sasanian, northeastern Iran. Private collection. (Photo: courtesy of the collection)

in tombs in western China, ostensibly placed there as prized possessions of the deceased.[58] Late Roman plates have been found in Crimea, Azerbaijan, and Eastern Europe. Mixed hoards of objects of Byzantine, Sasanian, and post-Sasanian origin, dating from the sixth to the thirteenth century, have been found together in the Kama Valley above the Volga River, probably having arrived there through Central Asian trade. Other hoards found in Eastern and Central Europe contain silver of Byzantine, Sasanian, and Avar origins.[59] Yet beyond the value of these objects as specific models for adoption in their new locations is their place in the establishment, over time, of patterns of circulation and exchange of ever-familiar vocabulary that crossed the boundaries of East and West through multiple instances and layers of contact. The fluidity of exchange explains the standoff in the East-versus-West debates of the early twentieth century. Both sides were

partly right and partly wrong. Each side could make justifiable claims for East or West because elements from both East and West could be located and interwoven in the monuments under discussion. There was no cultural purity. Visual styles were neither static nor limited to any individual tradition. This does not deny the existence of local or regional styles but rather recognizes the potential for flexibility and dialogue among these regional styles.

The range and combinations of themes and styles that moved across networks of exchange between these multiple late antique pre-Islamic traditions set the stage for the Abbasid Samarra paintings. Dismantling the East-West discourse at this earlier stage helps us to refocus our study of Abbasid art away from the dissection of sources and origins and toward the appreciation of Abbasid art as a synthetic cultural mix with a plurality of continuities expressing its own distinct identity.

In no way does this suggest either an undifferentiated past or a diminished consciousness of the past on the part of the Abbasids. Instead of asking which particular stylistic or geographical traditions provided a foundation for Abbasid art, we should ask how the Abbasids perceived and negotiated these more fluid stylistic and thematic possibilities. How did they weave together dynamic new intersections? And how, visually, did they value and express their relationship to these past traditions?

A DISCOURSE OF PRINCELY CULTURE

Above all, the fluidity of style and theme to which the Abbasids were heirs speaks to an overriding discourse of princely culture, about which Oleg Grabar has observed, "the art of the princes in the early Middle Ages—and perhaps at all times—was not tied to any single culture but belonged to a fraternity of princes and transcended cultural barriers."[60] The "family of kings" collapsed boundaries of time and space, bringing together a continuum of great rulers, past and present, East and West, interweaving mythological, biblical, historical, and contemporary monarchs throughout ancient and medieval realms.[61]

The Abbasids' consciousness of their place within the broader sphere of princely culture goes a long way to explain why, as scholars have pointed out, the Dar al-Khilafa complex in Samarra relates to such a wide range of palaces. Rather than following any single typological model, this complex is related to a multiplicity of traditions.[62] The Abbasids drew on architectural models and integrated spolia from both East and West. The themes of seclusion and formality in the Dar al-Khilafa may be traced back to the palaces of the ancient Near East, well before their appearance in imperial Rome and Byzantium.[63] Al-Mansur's round city of Baghdad has been related to the late antique palatine cities of the late Roman Tetrarchy.[64] The tenth-century geographer al-Mas'udi tells us that the Abbasid caliphs made use of the Lakhmid palace of Khavarnaq, which provided a model for their construction of a new type of audience hall. The Lakhmid palace was located in Hira, a multicultural capital and center for a mix of pagan Arab, Persian, and Byzantine cultures. It was also reported that the Abbasid caliph al-Muktafi reused material from the Arch of Chosroes (Taq-i Kisra) in his tenth-century Taj Palace in Baghdad.

Exchanges of gifts and emissaries between royal courts

contributed to the creation of a shared standard for the image of royalty, court culture, and display. The frequently cited reception at the Dar al-Khilafa palace in Baghdad given in 917 by the caliph al-Muqtadir for an emissary sent by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos probably reflected similar ceremonies at the palaces of Samarra, which were repeated in Baghdad when the Abbasid court returned in 892.[65] Such receptions echoed earlier ones that were held at the Sasanian court for Byzantine and Arab envoys, and that were in turn adopted by the Umayyads in Spain and the Fatimids in Egypt.[66] Royal practices involving the staging of the ruler's appearance on a throne and the decoration of throne rooms were similarly widespread in Sasanian and Byzantine court culture alike. Raised thrones screened by curtains that effectively dramatized the appearance of the ruler while at the same time controlling and restricting his visibility were almost universally adopted among royalty and are preserved in both visual representations and literary descriptions from Umayyad through Fatimid times.[67] In addition to the sharing of these practices, specific accessories belonging to previous or rival rulers were especially prized. For example, a set of precious gold window grilles that would provide the ruler with privacy as he viewed ceremonies and processions from his throne was looted from the Abbasid palace of al-Qa'im in Baghdad and then used by the Fatimids in Cairo.[68] The spectacle of the ruler enthroned under a dome with a crown suspended over his head is repeated by Sasanian and Byzantine emperors, and its occurrence has been suggested, in an Umayyad context, at the palace of Khirbat al-Mafjar.[69] The throne in a second-story throne room of the Ja'fari Palace, north of Samarra, built by the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil, was surrounded by a painted scene of a crowned ruler flanked by attendants. This formula was later echoed at Lashkari Bazaar in Bust, the palace complex built for the Ghaznavid rulers, vassals of the Abbasids.[70]

It is in the context of the shared palace decoration of the "princely cycle," showcasing the prince enthroned or engaged in royal pastimes of prowess and pleasure, that the "Samarra Dancers" and the wider repertoire of maenads can be understood. The meaning and identity of these figures were shaped by the broader princely context as well as by the specific palaces for which they were made. In a broader context the "Samarra Dancers" resonated with the maenads in the Sasanian and Greco-Roman realms and comparable figures that populated the Umayyad palaces, including

those at Khirbat al-Mafjar and Qusayr ʿAmra. In their specific realm, they represented an Abbasid interpretation created according to the requirements of this particular palace and its users and must be studied in their own right. In both their collective and their specific identity, however, the "Samarra Dancers" represented the continuum of court art past and present, extending well beyond its dissection into mere Eastern or Western sources.

THE REPRESENTATION OF CONTINUUM

Rulers expressed their relationship to the past through the insertion of the royal image within the continuum of princely rule and through the visual representation of the continuum itself. Faithful transmission of the line of succession and display of royal prerogatives and emblems were critical in establishing authority. Thus, although the Abbasids had vanquished their immediate predecessors, the Umayyads, they viewed themselves in relation to the Umayyads and focused on establishing themselves as their legitimate heirs. After gaining control of the vast empire that had been unified under the Umayyads, they did not fail to learn from them, despite the prevalence of anti-Umayyad polemics in Abbasid written sources. The Umayyads provided the Abbasids with the most immediate and abundant models for the visual representation of the theme of dynastic succession in both public and private palace monuments. It is in the context of continuum that we may gain insight into how the past Byzantine and Sasanian visual traditions were used and what they meant both to the Umayyad rulers and to their Abbasid successors.

While scholars have taken pains to distinguish specific Sasanian and Byzantine sources for the themes and styles of the major Umayyad monuments, it is clear that the Umayyads themselves were more interested in representing an integration of diverse political and cultural traditions than in maintaining the stylistic distinctions of earlier sources. It was through the unification of these traditions that the full scope of Umayyad conquest and imperial glory could be expressed. Surely the most celebrated representation of Umayyad political triumph and legitimate succession over past rule was the depiction of jewels and crowns in the mosaics on the drum of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.[71] Significantly, these recognizable insignia of Byzantine and Sasanian imperial rule

are shown together, side by side, in a rather uniform local style and are not separated by their Sasanian and Byzantine (Greco-Roman) stylistic components (figs. 23 and 24). Similarly, in the representation of the so-called family of kings in the bathhouse of the palace of Qusayr ʿAmra, the identities of the kings are expressed primarily through dress and inscription, and not necessarily through opposing styles of representation.[72] The mosaic, painting, and sculptural decoration of the palatial monuments at Khirbat al-Mafjar and Qasr al-Hayr West have also been interpreted with reference to conquest and hegemony, expressing continuities with themes and styles from the diverse Greco-Roman and Sasanian traditions and the deliberate integration of these legacies.[73] Style contributed to these continuities, and, in some instances, specific styles may have been used to express particular ideological messages. Nevertheless, a range of variables, such as the composition of the workforce of artists and the strength of local traditions, also contributed to the choice of style. Ultimately, style must be studied on a case-by-case basis, one monument at a time.[74] Over and above the particular messages of stylistic distinction, it was the complementarity and synthesis of the so-called Greco-Roman and Sasanian themes and styles that expressed the legitimacy of Umayyad succession. It is this message that was inherited and carried forward by the Abbasids, as part of the much larger theme of royal continuum.

The scope of the continuum, its expression through visual display, the value of certain legendary royal objects, and the transmission of these objects among Islamic rulers and beyond are all well documented in the incomparable compendium *The Book of Gifts and Rarities (Kitāb al-hadāyā wa 'l-tuḥaf)* by Ibn al-Zubayr.[75] One such prized acquisition, which signified legitimate universal dominion for its possessor and could ostensibly be traced from the beginning of time to the Abbasid period, was a fragment of a mirror that, according to legend, had been God's gift to Adam. The two versions of this legend vary in the details of the fragment's transmission. In the account by al-Waqidi (d. 823), ʿAbd-Allah b. Sawwar al-ʿAbdi, the governor of Sind under the Umayyad caliph Muʿawiya, received it as tribute from the king of Qiqan:

> Learned people say that Allah—the Powerful and Glorious—sent it down to Adam when his offspring multiplied and spread over the earth. Adam would look into it to see whomever he wanted in his present condition,

Fig. 23. Vase with acanthus scroll. Detail of mosaic decoration (in the so-called Mediterranean style), Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem. (After Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 21)

Fig. 24. Foral motif. Detail of mosaic decoration (in the so-called Sasanian style), Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem. (After Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 18)

good or bad. ʿAbd-Allah b. Sawwar sent the fragment to Muʿawiyah, with whom it remained as long as he lived. Then it came into possession of the Umayyad kings and stayed in their treasury until the time of the Abbasids, who acquired it along with whatever [else] they had taken from the [Umayyad] wealth.[76]

A second version is reported by ʿUmar b. Shabbah al-Numayri (d. 875), who records that ʿIsa b. ʿAbd-Allah told him that King Solomon (*Sulaymān b. Dāwūd*) had retrieved Adam's mirror from the devil. After Solomon's death, the devils recaptured it, leaving only a fragment, which was inherited by the Jews,

until finally it reached the exilarch of the Jews (*Raʾs al-Yālūt*), who gave it as a gift to [the Umayyad ruler] Marwan b. Muhammad b. Marwan during his wars with the Abbasids. Marwan would then rub it, place it on top of another mirror, and see things that displeased him. When this had gone on for a while, he threw it away and beheaded the exilarch of the Jews. One of [Marwan's] slave girls then took it and kept it with her. When [the Abbasid] Abu Jaʿfar al-Mansur became caliph, he already knew of it, and so he inquired about it. He was informed that it was in the possession of a slave girl of Marwan. He searched for it until he found it. [Then] it remained with him where he would look into it. It remained in the caliph's treasuries for a long time; then it was lost.[77]

In this second version, the mirror is used to prove the rightful and divinely ordained victory of the Abbasids over the Umayyads. The Abbasid caliph's retrieval and restoration of the mirror after its disposal by his Umayyad predecessor can be seen as a parallel to Solomon's retrieval of it from the devil, confirming the Abbasid ruler as the new Solomon.

With each transfer of dynastic power, treasures representing and corroborating the authority and legitimacy of that power followed. "When the rule passed to the Abbasids, the Great Pearl (*durra*) of the Umayyads was also transferred to them."[78] A ruby ring stone known as *al-Jabal* (the mountain) had passed from Sasanian kings into the Abbasid treasury until the time of al-Mustaʿin.[79] Al-Maʾmun obtained "a large gold brazier studded with precious stones too numerous to be evaluated. It was said that it had belonged to the Persian [king] Yazdagird b. Shahriyar and that its value was too high to be assessed."[80] Then with the passing of power from the Abbasids to the Fatimids of Egypt, *al-Ḥāfir*, a ruby that weighed seven dirhams, and a ruby ring stone owned by Ibrahim, son the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi, were transferred to the Fatimid treasury.[81]

Particular attention is given to exemplary kings of the past, legendary and real. Possession of objects believed to belong to them lent an aura of legitimacy to the current ruler's own royal image and strengthened the chain of continuity with past traditions. From a Persian horseman who was killed in battle, the Umayyads came to possess the armor said to have belonged to Khusraw (a Sasanian king), Heraclius (a Byzantine emperor), al-Nuʿman (a Lakhmid king), the Khaqan (ruler of the Turkish tribes), and Dahir (a king of India). The swords of Khusraw and al-Nuʿman were sent to the caliph ʿUmar "for the Arabs to hear of [the matter] as they knew of these two persons." The passage continues, "… Saʿd sent Khusra[w]'s finery, his crown, and his garments to ʿUmar for the Muslims to see and the Arab [tribesmen] to learn of them."[82] The admiration of Khusraw by the Umayyads was demonstrated when ʿUmar had a man with "the best figure among the Arabs in the region of Madina" brought to him and proceeded to dress him in Khusraw's costumes, crown, and weapons in order to display Khusraw's finery.[83]

Among these exemplary rulers of the past, King Solomon and Alexander the Great enjoyed special status; hence regalia associated with these rulers were especially prized. Associations with the Temple of Solomon were obvious in the case of the Dome of the Rock.[84] Within the context of the contemporary Umayyad ruler and of Umayyad exegesis on the Qurʾanic story of Solomon, Priscilla Soucek has related the sculptural program on the façade and porch of the Umayyad bath hall at Khirbat al-Mafjar to Solomon's throne and bath.[85] References to Solomon spread as far as Iran, as demonstrated by the representation of the Solomonic legend on a post-Sasanian, eighth-to-ninth-century Iranian plate.[86] During the conquest of Andalusia, furthermore, a lavish dining table purported to have belonged to Solomon was plundered and given to the Umayyad ruler al-Walid I.[87] Later, in tenth–century Spain, the players may have changed, but the language and aura of Solomonic association were carried forward in the form of an enigmatic and ambiguous bilingual inscription on a bronze bird, dated by Grabar to 962, now in the Louvre. The inscription reads *+OPVS SALOMONIS ERAT* in Latin and *amal ʿAbd al-Malik al-Naṣrānī* in Arabic. While there are various possibilities of specific interpretation, the inscription points to a broader cross-cultural signification within the Muslim-Christian Mediterranean arena."[88] In a qasida by ʿAli b. al-Jahm celebrating al-Mutawakkil's renovation of the Haruni palace, the Abbasid caliph succeeds Solomon, and his palace outshines that of Solomon:

> You build as a proof for the Muslims
> Against their apostates and unbelievers,
>
> Marvels not seen by any Persian
> nor by Greece, in all their lives.
>
> Courts through which the eyes roam,
> Fatigued by their vast expanses;
>
> The lofty dome of a realm—as if the stars
> had conveyed to it their secrets.
>
> Embassies fall and prostrate themselves to it
> When it appears before their eyes…
>
> If Solomon had been brought,
> by his demons, some tales about it,
>
> He would have know surely that the Hashimites
> Surpass him through their eminent majesty… [89]

These themes continue in the Fatimid realm as well. There are two accounts of gifts by Byzantine emperors of saddles belonging to Alexander the Great. In one account, "three heavy saddles of enamel inlaid with

gold…from the saddles of Alexander, son of Philip the Greek" were given by the Byzantine emperor to the Egyptian Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir.[90] In the second account, one fabulous saddle had a note attached in the handwriting of the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz:

> The Byzantine Emperor offered us this saddle and the bridle after we entered Egypt. And [the minister] mentioned that it was one of six saddles that had belonged to Dhu al-Qarnayn [Alexander the Great] and were transferred from him to the Byzantine treasuries. [He added] that al-Mustansir kept it as it was, making no changes in it.[91]

The special attention given to this object by the caliphs identifies it as a marker of legitimacy and status, enabling the Fatimids to view themselves as the heirs of the imperial Greek heritage of "Alexander, son of Philip the Greek." Alicia Walker has shown that the Fatimids and Byzantines shared in the notion of the princely model of Alexander.[92] With the transfer of Alexander's saddle from the Byzantine treasuries to the Fatimid realm, however, the Fatimids could claim their place in the line of succession from Alexander the Great. Given the status of Solomon and Alexander, it seems only natural that one of the great palaces of mystery and wonder, the legendary City of Brass in *The Thousand and One Nights*, should be attributed to one or the other of these two rulers.[93] In the context of the continuum of princely identity, the discourse of an East-or-West binary loses its relevance. By maintaining visual continuities with Umayyad and pre-Islamic traditions both Eastern and Western, the Abbasids articulated their relationship to the past, authenticated their rule, and established their rightful place within the international family of princes.

AN ABBASID IDENTITY

In addition to securing the connection to the past, the integration of diverse visual traditions also launched the new Abbasid art and culture. The combinations and interplay of disparate heritages have been emphasized here as a defining characteristic of the Samarra wall paintings, and it is in this way that those paintings are emblematic of the accomplishments and originality of the early Islamic period as a whole. The integration highlighted here in the visual sphere follows the broader historical phenomenon observed by Marshall

Hodgson for the early Islamic period, between ca. 700 and 1000, in which the caliphate unified various cultural strains. As Hodgson noted with regard to the Abbasid period, "…the most prominent cultural activity is that of weaving into a new whole diverse heritages: the Hellenistic and the Christian, the Jewish, the Iranian, and the Jahiliyya Arabian."[94] The success of the early Umayyad and Abbasid empires was measured not in terms of separate regional achievements but rather in terms of the "active integration" of varied cultural strains.[95]

During this imperial period, the implications of a cumulative and continuous synthesis were far reaching, extending to all aspects of Umayyad and Abbasid cultural and intellectual formations. Beginning as early as the mid-eighth century and continuing into the ninth and tenth centuries, the Abbasid court sponsored what has been described as one of the major intellectual movements in human history—the translation into Arabic of a full range of scientific and learned works.[96] These translations from disparate sources—Persian and Sanskrit as well as Greek—lent authority to and provided the foundation for the pursuit of original studies in Arabic in science, medicine, and philosophy. Ultimately, the Arabic translations were integrated into the greater and more prolific Abbasid undertaking of generating original works in Arabic. Similarly, in the realm of literature, much pre-Islamic and non-Arabic material had been collected and absorbed into early Islamic culture. Then, during the Abbasid imperial period, Persians and non-Arabs began composing new prose and poetry in Arabic, the language that would unify the empire.[97]

As in the intellectual and literary spheres, visual identity and cultural synthesis for the Abbasid court were much more than the sum of preexisting visual traditions. The painting of the "Samarra Dancers," for example, combines the themes and styles found in the collective princely realm, East and West, but its synthesis cannot simply be broken down into its constituent parts. The work owed its success and originality to the contemporary Abbasid context for which it was made and in which it was used.

In grandeur and immensity, the Abbasid Dar al-Khilafa palace in Samarra was intended to surpass all palaces past and present. The Samarra wall paintings functioned within the context of the celebrations and pageants that would take place there.[98] Thus, while the themes of the paintings came from the wider traditional princely repertoire and preserved their link to

this recognizable repertoire, these works would also take part in actual court activities enacted there, blurring the boundaries between representation and reality. The paintings fully blended in with the sight and display of the actual enthroned ruler, crowned and robed in royal finery and surrounded by his living entertainers and entourage. Similarly, the works visually complemented the real-time poetry and musical performances described in the sources, while, fused within the festivities being enjoyed, the themes represented on the walls were further echoed by portable objects and treasures displayed on appropriate ceremonial occasions.[99] The consciousness of this merging of the natural and visual worlds is clearly expressed in literary descriptions from *The Thousand and One Nights*, as analyzed by Doris Behrens-Abouseif:[100]

> We found ourselves in a room covered with a silk carpet, under a dome that rested on a hundred pillars, at the base of each of which stood a bird or a beast dipped in gold. We sat and began to admire the carpet, which, with its gold ground and patterns of white and red roses, repeated the colors and patterns of the dome. In the room, resting on tables, there were more than a hundred trays of crystal and gold, set with all kinds of jewels. At the upper end of the room, numerous lovely couches, covered with fabrics of various colors, stood, each before an arched window that opened on a garden.[101]

In the continuation of this passage, the garden appears as if it were a floor carpeted with the same floral pattern. A natural pond is surrounded by beautifully dressed women, who play music as the birds sing.

"Active integration" finds its full expression in Abbasid art. The synthesis of traditional princely art and the display of royal treasures from the past would conjure up notions of continuity and time-honored authority, while the interactivity among the full ensemble—users, decoration, and furnishings—would convey the originality of each monument in the present. It was through the orchestration of life and art that this brilliant Abbasid synthesis was achieved, and that the palaces of Samarra and Baghdad became the exemplars of luxury and grandeur in their own time. The convergence between the real and the imagined provides insight into the contemporaneity of the palaces and also explains why these palaces and the memory of their brilliance would continue to serve as the paradigms for princely fantasy, within the Islamic realm and well beyond it.[102]

This brings us full circle to *The Formation of Islamic Art*, in which Oleg Grabar has observed:

...the greatest achievement of these centuries was the successful creation of a monumental setting for the new culture, that is, a consistent body of forms different from other contemporary ones while utilizing in large part the same elements. The attitude as well as the setting were conscious attempts at self-definition, at formulating with the terms of older cultures a language of visual forms that would serve the needs of the new culture and maintain its separate identity.[103]

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NOTES

1. As quoted by Julie Scott-Meisami, "The Palace Complex as Emblem," in *A Medieval City Reconsidered: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Samarra*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Oxford, 2001), 76.
2. Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, 1973; rev. eds. 1978, 1987). Citations henceforth are from the 1973 edition.
3. Grabar, *Formation*, 145–78.
4. Alastair Northedge, *The Historical Topography of Samarra* (London, 2005), 133–50, with full bibliography.
5. Grabar, *Formation*, 12–15.
6. Ernst Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra und seine Ornamentik* (Berlin, 1923); idem, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927). I am greatly indebted to the recent excellent scholarship on Samarra and on Ernst Herzfeld; for these see Northedge, *Historical Topography of Samarra,* 133–50; Ann C. Gunter and Stefan R. Hauser, eds., *Ernst Herzfeld and the Development of Near Eastern Studies, 1900–1950* (Boston and Leiden, 2005); Thomas Leisten, *Excavation of Samarra*, vol. 1, *Architecture: Final Report of the First Campaign 1910–1912* (Mainz am Rhein, 2003); Alastair Northedge, "The Palaces of the Abbasids at Samarra," in Robinson, *Medieval City Reconsidered*, 29–67; Alastair Northedge, "An Interpretation of the Palace of the Caliph at Samarra (Dar al-Khilafa or Jawsaq al-Khaqani)," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 143–71.
7. For the history of the archaeological excavations see Leisten, *Excavation of Samarra*, 1–32; Ann C. Gunter and Stefan R. Hauser, "Ernst Herzfeld and Near Eastern Studies 1900–1950," in Gunter and Hauser, *Ernst Herzfeld*, 3–44; Jens Kröger, "Ernst Herzfeld and Friedrich Sarre," in Gunter and Hauser, *Ernst Herzfeld*, 45–99; Alastair Northedge, "Ernst Herzfeld, Samarra, and Islamic Archaeology," in Gunter and Hauser, *Ernst Herzfeld*, 385–403. For the suggested connection to the literary tradition of *The Thousand and One Nights* see Grabar, *Formation*, 166. For the genesis of this literary work see nn. 93 and 100 below.
8. For the distribution of the Samarra material see Sheila Canby,

"Islamic Archaeology: By Accident or Design?" in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850–1950,* ed. Stephen Vernoit (London and New York, 2000), 132–35. See also the web-based project by Mariam Rosser-Owen and Christoph B. Konrad, which will assemble and catalogue all the Samarra materials from the German excavations, http://www.samarrafinds.info/ I am grateful to Mariam Rosser-Owen and Christoph B. Konrad for information about and access to this website. For a scientific analysis of the paintings see Lucia Burgio, Robin J. H. Clark, and Mariam Rosser-Owen, "Raman Analysis of Ninth-Century Iraqi Stuccoes from Samarra," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34 (2007): 756–62. I wish to thank Mariam Rosser-Owen for also sending me a copy of this paper.

9. For this narrative see, for example, Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650–1250* (New Haven, 2001); Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (London, 1999); Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art* (London, 1991), 20–32.

10. For excellent historiographical studies see Gunter and Hauser, *Ernst Herzfeld,* and Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art.*

11. For an excellent discussion with all relevant bibliography see Jás Elsner, "The Birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901," *Art History* 25, 3 (June 2002): 358–79.

12. Alois Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (Vienna, 1927), repr. from the 1901 edition. Trans. into English as *Late Roman Art Industry* by Rolf Winkes (Rome, 1985). See also Riegl's 1902 article "Spätrömisch oder Orientalisch," trans. as "Late Roman or Oriental?" in *German Essays on Art History,* ed. Gert Schiff (New York, 1988), 173–90; see also Margaret Olin, *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art* (University Park, 1992).

13. For Josef Strzygowski see Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Sterling, VA, 2000), with all relevant bibliography, and idem, "Armenian Architecture as Aryan Architecture: The Role of Indo-European Studies in the Theories of Josef Strzygowski," *Visual Resources* 13 (1997–98): 363–80. See also Annabel Jane Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem, and Ravenna* (Cambridge and New York, 1995), 10–11.

14. Elsner, "Birth of Late Antiquity," esp. 359–60 and 370ff. Also see Gunter and Hauser, "Ernst Herzfeld and Near Eastern Studies," 23–27.

15. These ideas were played out in many other periods. For example, see Madeline H. Caviness, "A Politics of Taste: An Historiography of 'Romanesque' Art in the Twentieth Century," in *Romanesque: Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century, Occasional Papers from the Index of Christian Art in Honor of Walter Cahn,* ed. Colum P. Hourihane (Princeton, in press 2007); and Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago and London, 2004), 1–104. For the most blatant use of art and history for the Nazi political agenda see Stephanie Barron et al., eds., *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles and New York, 1991).

16. An excellent survey of these activities may be found in Gunter and Hauser, "Ernst Herzfeld and Near Eastern Studies," esp. 10–19. See also Stephen Vernoit, "The Rise of Islamic Archaeology," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 1–10; Stephen Vernoit, "Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850–c. 1950," in Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art,*

1–61, esp. 32–47; Robert Hillenbrand, "Creswell and Contemporary Central European Scholarship," *Muqarnas* 8 (1991): 23–35; J. M. Rogers, "From Antiquarianism to Islamic Archaeology," *Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura per la R.A.E.* 2 (1974): 9–65.

17. Ernst Herzfeld, "Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst und das Mshatta-Problem," *Der Islam* 1 (1910): 27–63, 105–44. Trans. as "The Genesis of Islamic Art and the Problem of Mshatta" in *Early Islamic Art and Architecture,* ed. Jonathan Bloom (Aldershot, 2002), 7–86; see also Thomas Leisten, "Mshatta, Samarra, and al-Hira: Ernst Herzfeld's Theories Concerning the Development of the Hira-Style Revisited," in Gunter and Hauser, *Herzfeld,* esp. 372–76.

18. Herzfeld, "Genesis," 32 and 147; Leisten, "Mshatta, Samarra, and al-Hira," 375–76; Herzfeld's synthesis of East and West is discussed in Terry Allen, *Five Essays on Islamic Art* (Manchester, MI, 1988), 1.

19. Herzfeld, "Genesis," 105; Leisten, "Mshatta, Samarra, and al-Hira," 374.

20. The survival of this discourse for the study of Islamic art is parallel to the continued use of stylistic criteria by the generation of scholars of medieval art following Riegl and Strzygowski, as noted by Elsner in his "Birth of Late Antiquity," 374–76.

21. See n. 9 above. For the connection to Central Asia see Ernst J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, the 16th and 17th centuries* (Lugano, 1968).

22. As demonstrated in the excellent exhibition, "Iraq and China: Ceramics, Trade, and Innovation," Freer and Sackler Galleries of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Dec. 4, 2004–July 17, 2005.

23. Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927). I wish to thank Dr. Jens Kröger for providing me with access to the original blueprints of Herzfeld's book during my visit to the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, in July 2007. For the rare questions regarding the accuracy of Herzfeld's reconstruction drawings see Jean Sauvaget, "Remarques sur les monuments Omeyyades," *Journal asiatique* 231 (1939): 1–59, and Northedge, "Ernst Herzfeld, Samarra and Islamic Archaeology," 397, where the author states, "Photographs were published of the fragments, together with watercolors reconstructing the images. The reconstructions have been widely published as representative of Abbasid wall painting, although no further investigation of the accuracy of the work has taken place."

24. See Herzfeld, *Malereien,* pls. XX–XXI, LXIX, as examples. For the status and contextualization of textiles in Islamic art see Lisa Golombek, "The Draped Universe of Islam," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen,* ed. Priscilla Soucek (University Park, PA, 1988), repr. in *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean,* ed. Eva R. Hoffman (Oxford, 2007), 97–114.

25. Golombek, "Draped Universe," in Hoffman, *Late Antique,* 108; Ghada Hijjawi Qaddumi, trans. and annot., *Book of Gifts and Rarities: Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), paragraphs 159, 162–67, and passim. For the analysis conducted at the Victoria and Albert Museum of the wide range of colors in the fragments of Samarra see Burgio et

al., "Raman Analysis of Ninth-Century Iraqi Stuccoes from Samarra," 758–61.

26. Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pls. XXXVII–XLIII.

27. Herzfeld, *Malereien*: compare the photograph, pl. XXII, to the drawings, XX and XXI, and other details, XXIII–XXVII.

28. Dr. Jens Kröger of the Museum für Islamische Kunst is preparing a study on Ernst Herzfeld as an artist.

29. See Garth Fowden, *Qusayr ʿAmra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley, 2004), 12–19, and Northedge, "Ernst Herzfeld, Samarra, and Islamic Archaeology," 397. For the drawing in the original publication of the monument see Alois Musil et al., *Kusejr ʿAmra...Mit einer Karte von Arabia Petraea*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1907); also Antonin Jaussen and Raphael Savignac, *Les châteaux arabes de Qeseir ʿAmra, Haraneh et Tuba* (Paris, 1922).

30. Fowden, *Qusayr ʿAmra,* 10–19; Martín Almagro et al., *Qusayr ʿAmra: Residencia y baños omeyas en el desierto de Jordania* (Madrid, 1975).

31. Fowden, *Qusayr ʿAmra*, 12 n. 20; 28.

32. Lionel Bier, "The Sassanian Palaces and Their Influence in Early Islam," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 57 and n. 1.

33. Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture,* 59 and fig. 84.

34. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien*, pl. II.

35. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting,* 42–44, followed by Fowden, *Qusayr ʿAmra*, 306.

36. Herzfeld, *Malereien,* 22–27 and pls. XII–XIV and XXXIV.

37. Herzfeld, *Malereien,* 18–32; see 20–21, figs. 5–6 for drawings of Sasanian works known to him in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. For photographs of these works see I. Smirnov, ed., *Vostochnoe serebro: Atlas drevnei serebrianoi i zolotoi posudy vostochnogo proiskhozhdeniia, naidennoi preimushchestvenno v predelakh Rossiiskoi imperii. Izdanie Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Kommissii ko dniu piatidesiatiletiia eia deiatel'nosti* (St. Petersburg, 1909), nos. 80–81; and K. V. Trever and V. G. Lukonin, *Sasanidskoe serebro: Sobranie Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha: Khudozhestvennaia kul'tura Irana III–VIII vekov* (Moscow, 1987), nos. 18–19. See Grabar, *Formation*, fig. 99, where no. 19 is identified as post-Sasanian, Iran, 8th–10th century. For the repertoire of Sasanian silverware see Françoise Demange et al., *Les Perses sassanides: Fastes d'un empire oublié, 224–642* (Paris, 2006), 105 no. 43, and bibliography; Ann C. Gunter and Paul Jett, *Ancient Iranian Metalwork in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC, 1992), 191–201 and color pls. on 44–45, esp. no. 35, illustrated here as fig. 14, for a convincing comparison; Richard Ettinghausen, "Dionysiac Motifs," in his *From Byzantium to Sassanian Iran and the Islamic World: Three Modes of Artistic Influence* (Leiden, 1972), 3–10 (repr. in Hoffman, *Late Antique and Medieval Art*, 47–59); P. O. Harper, "Sources of Certain Female Representations in Sasanian Art," in *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1971), 503–15.

38. Herzfeld, *Malereien*, 22–27, and pls. XII–XIV.

39. While the ewer illustrated in fig. 14 above offers a striking comparison to the "Samarra Dancers," its provenance seems to be undocumented before it entered the Arthur Sackler Collection, and it does not seem to have been known to Herzfeld. I thank Dr. Ann Gunter for information on the provenance of this work.

40. Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pls. XVIII and XIX.

41. Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pls. XII–XIV.

42. Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pl. XVI.

43. Herzfeld, *Malereien*, pls. LX, LXI, LXVII, and LXVIII. On these bottles see D. S. Rice, "Deacon or Drink: Some Paintings from Samarra Re-examined," *Arabica* 5 (1958): 15–33.

44. Fatma Dahmani is currently working on a comprehensive survey and analysis of the Samarra paintings for her PhD thesis, under the direction of Dr. Alastair Northedge.

45. As previously noted, this painting was removed from the site by A. L. Mielich immediately after the excavation; it was sold to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1908 and is now displayed in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin. Musil, et al., *Kuseijr Amra*, vol. 1, 210, and vol. 2, pl. 23; O. Grabar, "Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 105, fig. 9.

46. See, for example, Grabar, "Umayyad Palaces," figs. 3, 5, and 7.

47. As illustrated, for example, in Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, fig. 57.

48. See the important article by Claus-Peter Haase, "The Development of Stucco Decoration in Northern Syria of the 8th and 9th Centuries and the Bevelled Style of Samarra," in *Facts and Artefacts: Art in the Islamic World: Festschrift for Jens Kröger on his 65th Birthday*, ed. Annette Hagedorn and Avinoam Shalem (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 430–60; see also Michael Meinecke, "Early Abbasid Stucco Decoration in Bilad ash-Sham," in *Bilād al-Shām fī 'l-ʿasr al-ʿAbbāsī*, vol. 2, *Bilad al-Sham during the Abbasid Period*, ed. M. ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt and Robert Schick (Amman, 1991), 226–67.

49. In addition to Herzfeld, "Genesis," see Robert Hillenbrand, "Islamic Art at the Crossroads: East vs. West at Mshatta," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture: In Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari (Malibu, 1981), 63–86.

50. As, for example, in Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 19–40, and Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, 19–20 and 42–51. For recent work on the Umayyad estates see Lara Tohme, "Out of Antiquity: Umayyad Baths in Context" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005).

51. Prudence O. Harper, "Silver Vessels," in Françoise Demange et al.*, Glass, Gilding, and Grand Design: Art of Sasanian Iran (224–642)* (New York, 2006), 26. The long-standing and expanded contacts between East and West, extending back to the time of Alexander the Great, when the Greco-Roman culture reached Bactria (present-day Afghanistan, southern Tajikistan, and southern Uzbekistan), and other contacts between Iran, India, and Central Asia have been discussed by P. O. Harper, most recently in *In Search of a Cultural Identity: Monuments and Artifacts of the Sasanian Near East, 3rd to 7th Century A.D.* (New York, 2006). I am grateful to Michael Chagnon for this reference. These contacts are also summarized with full bibliography in P. O. Harper, "La vaisselle précieuse," in Demange, *Perses sassanides,* 73–74, and translated and abbreviated in Demange, *Glass, Gilding, and Grand Design*, 24–28.

52. Themes from the Mediterranean world that were integrated into Sasanian metalwork include nilotic images, motifs related to Hercules triumphant over wild beasts, and representations of youths with winged horses. See Harper, "La Vaisselle précieuse," 73–74, and idem, *In Search of a Cultural Identity,* 57–96; see

also Ettinghausen, *Byzantium to Sasanian Iran*, 1–16; Harper, "Sources of Certain Female Representations in Sasanian Art," 503–15; and P. O. Harper, "The Heavenly Twins," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23 (1965): 188–95. See also the important fourth-to-fifth-century bowl with mythological subjects in the Freer Gallery of Art, 45.33, illustrated in Gunter and Jett, *Ancient Iranian Metalwork*, no. 23, 148–56, and Central Asian works discussed in Boris Marschak, *Silberschätze des Orients: Metallkunst des 3.–13. Jahrhunderts und ihre Kontinuität* (Leipzig, 1986), illus. 15–18, and in Frank Althaus and Mark Sutcliffe, eds., *The Road to Byzantium: Luxury Arts of Antiquity* (London, 2006), no. 90.

53. Françoise Demange, "Les mosaïques de Bishapur," in Demange, *Perses sassanides*, 63–67; Anna Gonosová, "Exotic Taste: The Lure of Sasanian Persia," in *Antioch: The Lost City*, ed. Christine Kondoleon (Princeton, 2000), 130–33 (repr. in Hoffman, *Late Antique and Medieval Art*, 40–46).

54. Harper, "Vaisselle précieuse," 73–74; idem, "Silver Vessels," in Demange, *Glass, Gilding, and Grand Design*, 24–28; see also Althaus and Sutcliffe, *Road to Byzantium*, 122 and 161, cat. no. 92.

55. Jens Kröger, "Die Kirche auf dem Hügel Qasr bint al-Qadi und weitere Zeugnisse christlichen Lebens im Bereich der sasanidischen Metropole Ktesiphon," in *Inkulturation des Christentums im Sasanidenreich*, ed. Arafa Mustafa, Jürgen Tubach, and G. Sophia Vashalomidze (Wiesbaden, 2007), 137–60, and Jens Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor: Ein Beitrag zum Reliefdekor aus Stuck in sasanidischer und fruhislamischer Zeit nach den Ausgrabungen von 1928/9 und 1931/2 in der sasanidischen Metropole Ktesiphon (Iraq) und unter besonderer Berucksichtigung der Stuckfunde von Taht-i Sulaiman (Iran), aus Nizamabad (Iran) sowie zahlreiche anderer Fundorte* (Mainz am Rhein, 1982), 47–48, pl. 12.3. I am grateful to Dr. Jens Kröger for the reference to his recent publication and for discussing this important work with me.

56. Harper, *In Search of a Cultural Identity*, 124 and fig. 69, where it is related to another plate found in China, made a century earlier. Also in Demange, *Perses sassanides*, 92–93, cat. no. 32. I thank Michael Chagnon for these references. For a discussion of Central Asian works with connection to Greco-Roman themes see Marschak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, illus. 15–18.

57. Mario Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia* (Geneva, 1963), with color photographs, 18, 24–25. This earlier contact may help to explain the suggestion of the ultimate descent of the Samarra paintings from Miran: see Grube, *Classical Style in Islamic Painting*.

58. Harper, *In Search of a Cultural Identity,* 127ff., and P. O. Harper, "An Iranian Silver Vessel from the Tomb of Feng Hetu," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4 (1990): 51–60.

59. Marlia Mundell Mango, "Silver in Changing Contexts," in Althaus and Sutcliffe, *Road to Byzantium*, 59–65, esp. 62–64.

60. Grabar, *Formation,* 177; also, André Grabar and Oleg Grabar, "L'essor des arts inspiré par les course princières à la fin du premier millénaire," in Oleg Grabar, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art* (London, 1976), 845–92, repr. from *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto Medioevo: 2–8 aprile 1964* (Spoleto, 1965).

61. Grabar and Grabar, "L'essor des arts." Also see the excellent analysis of the use of past imperial prototypes in the Byzantine world: Alicia Walker, "Exotic Elements in Medieval Byzantine Secular Art and Aesthetics" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2004). I am grateful to Professor Walker for sharing her thesis with me.

62. Grabar, *Formation*, 166–67; idem, "Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered," 8; and the entire issue of *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), edited by Gülru Necipoğlu, which is devoted to premodern Islamic palaces. See esp. her introduction, "An Outline of Shifting Paradigms in the Palatial Architecture of the Pre-Modern Islamic World," 3–24. For the theme of the ruined Persian palace in Arabic literature see Robert Irwin, *Night and Horses and the Desert: An Anthology of Classical Arabic Literature* (New York, 2001), 142.

63. Irene J. Winter, " 'Seat of Kingship'/ 'A Wonder to Behold': The Palace as Construct in the Ancient Near East," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 27–55.

64. For this and the information that follows on precedents for Abbasid palaces see Necipoğlu, "Outline of Shifting Paradigms," 4–5. Also, n. 6 above, especially Northedge, "Interpretation of the Palace of the Caliph at Samarra," 143–71.

65. Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts*, 148–54, paragraphs 161–62; trans. with notes in Jacob Lassner*, The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit, 1970), 86–91; also Grabar, *Formation*, 168–73, and Necipoğlu, "Outline of Shifting Paradigms," 7.

66. Necipoglu, "Outline of Shifting Paradigms," 6–12. For the Sasanian reception see Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts,* 146–47, paragraph 159. For the Umayyads in Spain see D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Arabic Poetry and Architectural Memory in al-Andalus," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 171–78; D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Mirador in Abbasid and Hispano-Umayyad Garden Typology," *Muqarnas* 7(1990): 73–82; and D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, PA, 2000). For the Fatimids see Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, 1994) and Paula Sanders, "Marāsim," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (Leiden, 1960–2004), s.v.

67. Sanders, "Marāsim," and idem, *Ritual, Politics, and the City*. For an example of an Umayyad curtained enthronement see Fowden, *Qusayr ʿAmra*, 115–41 and 128 n. 47, with comparisons to Sasanian and Roman precedents for the use of curtains.

68. Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts*, paragraph 260 for Fatimid appropriation of a gold royal Abbasid ceremonial grilled window (*shubbāk*). Noted in Necipoğlu, "Outline of Shifting Paradigms," 6–7.

69. Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts,*146–47, paragraph 159; for the crown suspended over the head of the Byzantine emperor see 197, paragraph 262. Richard Ettinghausen has suggested the presence at Khirbat al-Mafjar of a similar crown suspended from a dome over the enthroned ruler: see his "The Throne and Banquet Hall of Khirbat al-Mafjar," in Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran*, 28–34.

70. Necipoğlu, "Outline of Shifting Paradigms," 9, and references there.

71. As originally discussed in the classic article by Oleg Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62, with revised interpretation in his book, *The Shape of the Holy* (Princeton, 1996), chap. 2, 52–116, with full bibliography; see also figs. 23–49 for excellent photographs of the jewels, crowns, and vegetal motifs in the mosaics. The Sasanian/Byzantine binary is avoided here. Curiously,

however, this opposition has persisted in the scholarship.

72. Given the poor condition of the paintings of the six kings, it is difficult to evaluate distinctions between the styles of the figures. They are reproduced in Musil, *Kusejr ʿAmra*, pl. XXVI, and M. Almagro et al., *Qusayr ʿAmra* (Granada, 2002), 50, fig. 22; 135, fig. 89; and 139, fig. 92. For discussions of these paintings see Fowden, *Qusayr ʿAmra*, 197–226, and Oleg Grabar, "The Paintings of the Six Kings at Qusayr ʿAmrah," *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954): 185–87.

73. As interpreted, for example, in Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 29–39, where the focus is on the juxtaposition of the two opposing traditions to which the new Islamic rulers were now heirs: the more naturalistic "Greco-Roman" style and the abstract "Sasanian" style.

74. As suggested by Grabar in "Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered," 97–98. Where different Byzantine and Sasanian stylistic modes in the mosaic program of the Dome of the Rock do appear, they seem to relate as much to design considerations and to placement within the architectural program as they do to matching the respective styles of their pre-Islamic sources.

75. Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts*, 174–76, paragraphs 202–3.

76. Ibid., 174–75, paragraph 202.

77. Ibid., 175–76, paragraph 203.

78. Ibid., 179, paragraph 212.

79. Ibid., 183–84, paragraph 230.

80. Ibid., 186, paragraph 235.

81. Ibid., 193, paragraph 250; 182, paragraph 226.

82. Ibid., 169, paragraph 186.

83. Ibid., 172, paragraph 188.

84. See Grabar, *Shape of the Holy*, 52–116, with references.

85. Priscilla P. Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor?" *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 109–34.

86. Ibid., esp. 119–24. For the plate see 123.

87. Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts*, 177–78, paragraphs 209, 211, and 212.

88. Oleg Grabar, "About a Bronze Bird," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor, 2002), 124.

89. Julie Scott-Meisami, "The Palace Complex as Emblem," 74–75.

90. Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts*, 114, paragraph 98.

91. Ibid., 114, paragraph 99.

92. Alicia Walker, "Exotic Elements," 407, and her paper, "Islamic Art and the Middle Byzantine Image of the Emperor," delivered at the Twenty-First International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21–26 Aug. 2006.

93. See David Pinault, *Story-telling Techniques in the Arabian Nights* (Leiden and New York, 1992), 180–85; Mia I. Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-telling: A Literary Study of the Thousand and One Nights* (Leiden, 1963), 195ff. and esp. 217 and 224. I am grateful to Amira El-Zein for these references and for discussing *The Thousand and One Nights* with me.

94. Marshall Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*, ed. Edmund Burke (Cambridge and New York, 1993), 179.

95. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*, 178–81.

96. These activities were pursued in a variety of ways, from a number of different directions. In some cases the translations were made directly from the Greek texts. In others they were derived through Pahlavi and Syriac intermediaries. Translators included Christians and Persians. See Dmitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Greco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbasid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)* (London and New York, 1998). For the role of art in this phenomenon and for the development of the illustrated book see Eva R. Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Illustrated Arabic Book: An Intersection between Art and Scholarship," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 37–52, and Eva R. Hoffman, "The Emergence of Illustration in Arabic Manuscripts: Classical Legacy and Islamic Transformation" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1982).

97. Irwin, *Night and Horses and the Desert*, 70.

98. As, for example, in Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts,* 136–38, paragraph 139; 148–154, paragraphs 161–62.

99. Grabar, *Formation*, 171–72. Grabar has noted the importance of movable objects and their potential for arrangement and rearrangement to suit the occasion: "…the building was not a formal end in itself but a flexible support, a frame, like the stage or a theater, whose visible aspect could be modified to suit the need of the moment" (171). And "What unifies these monuments are not individual forms and their arrangements, nor even a body of functions, but a series of attitudes toward the very process of artistic creation" (211). See also Marcus Milwright, "Fixtures and Fittings: The Role of Decoration in Abbasid Palace Design," in Robinson, *Medieval Islamic City Reconsidered*, 105–7.

100. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Beauty in Arabic Culture* (Princeton, 1999), 47–49. While *The Thousand and One Nights* is a fourteenth-century work, it probably was based on earlier, historical works reflecting actual Abbasid settings. For this and the question of origins see Muhsin Mahdi, "From History to Fiction: The Tale Told by the King's Steward in *The Thousand and One Arabian Nights*," in *The Thousand and One Nights in Arabic Literature and Society*, ed. Richard C. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh (Cambridge and New York, 1997), 78–105, and Andre Miquel, "*The Thousand and One Nights* in Arabic Literature and Society," in the same volume, esp. 7–10.

101. *The Arabian Nights*, trans. Husain Haddawy, based on the text of the fourteenth-century Syrian manuscript edited by Muhsin Mahdi (New York, 1990), 298, quoted in Behrens-Abouseif, *Beauty in Arabic Culture*, 47–48. See similar observations in Jamel Eddine Bencheikh, "Historical and Mythical Baghdad in the Tale of ʿAli b. Bakkar and Shams al-Nahar, or the Resurgence of the Imaginary," in Hovannisian and Sabagh, *Thousand and One Nights in Arabic Literature and Society*, 15.

102. For example, the Byzantine Bryas Palace of Theophilus, built in imitation of the palace in Baghdad: see Cyril Mango, ed., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972), 160; also the fantasy palaces in *The Thousand and One Nights*: see n. 93 above.

103. Grabar, *Formation*, 211–12.

YASSER TABBAA

ANDALUSIAN ROOTS AND ABBASID HOMAGE IN THE QUBBAT AL-BARUDIYYIN IN MARRAKECH

Without any question, I was attracted to the field of Islamic architecture and archaeology through Oleg Grabar's famous article on the Dome of the Rock, which I first read in 1972 in Riyadh, while contemplating what to do with the rest of my life.[1] More specifically the article made me think about domes as the ultimate aesthetic statements of many architectural traditions and as repositories of iconography and cosmology, concepts that both Grabar and I have explored in different ways in the past few decades. This article, on a small and fragile dome in Marrakech, continues the conversation I began with Oleg long before he knew who I was.

The Qubbat al-Barudiyyin in Marrakech is an enigmatic and little-studied monument that stands at the juncture of historical, cultural, and architectural transformations (fig. 1). Although often illustrated, and even featured on the dust jacket of an important survey of Islamic architecture,[2] this monument is in fact very little known to the English-speaking scholarly world, a situation that reflects its relatively recent discovery and its location in a country long influenced by French culture. The inaccessibility of the relevant literature on the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin makes it imperative to begin this article with brief reconstructions of its urban, archaeological, and historical contexts before addressing its architectural form and ornamental and epigraphic program and investigating its function, the reasons for its construction, and its place among related medieval Islamic domes.

Like most North African architecture, the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin has generally been seen as a provincial variant of Andalusian architecture, whether in Cordoba, Seville, or Granada.[3] Although recent scholarship has occasionally conceded some originality to North African architecture, its local historical significance and links with the central Islamic world remain poorly understood.[4] Whereas this Hispanocentric perspective might apply for Moroccan architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—when many

Andalusian artisans are known to have resettled in Morocco—it seems anachronistic in dealing with periods when Andalusia itself was ruled by dynasties from Morocco, in particular the Almoravids (1061–1147) and the Almohads (1130–1260). More specifically, to view Almoravid architecture from an exclusively Cordoban perspective goes counter to the political and cultural associations of the Almoravids, who, in addi-

Fig. 1. Qubbat al-Barudiyyin in Marrakech, 1117, exterior view. (Photo: Yasser Tabbaa)

tion to their Cordoban connections, actively pursued closer links with the Abbasid caliphate, as I hope to demonstrate below.

In dealing with the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, therefore, I would like to reconsider its various formal and ornamental features from a multiple perspective that reflects the cultural orientation of the Almoravid dynasty, the first Sunni Berber state in North Africa, who saw themselves as the heirs of Cordoban glory and the propagators of Abbasid symbolic hegemony. Thus, instead of simply viewing this monument as an instance of Cordoban influence, this paper places the Qubba within a matrix of relationships that addresses the Almoravids' dedication to their capital city, Marrakech, and embodies their complex cultural identity and pursuit of legitimacy.[5] Furthermore, since the Qubba is in many respects the harbinger of many architectural changes that would soon become commonplace in North African architecture, it is also important to view it not just as a crucible of influences but as an innovative statement that challenged existing forms and even modes of decorum that had previously governed one of the architecturally most conservative regions in the Islamic world. Change in North African architecture, in my view, is always significant.

URBAN CONTEXT AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Although the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin appears today nearly submerged beneath the surrounding streets, it once stood proudly at the center of the newly founded city of Marrakech (fig. 2). Marrakech was established by Yusuf b. Tashufin in 1070, as a military garrison and tribal capital that linked the Almoravids' new empire with their ancestral home in the Atlas mountains. A simple mosque, a small market area (qaṣaba), and a mud-brick surrounding wall were built, but the city still retained the appearance of a desert settlement, with none of the normative civic aspects of Islamic cities. All this changed under Yusuf's son and successor, ʿAli, who acceded to the throne in 1106, and who wished to make Marrakech a great imperial capital along the models of Cordoba and Seville. One of his first building feats was to bring a steady water supply to the area, such that water reached all parts of the city and the surrounding gardens.[6] It is not coincidental that the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin was a celebration of this great achievement.

In addition, ʿAli b. Yusuf b. Tashufin (r. 1106–42) built several mosques, including his eponymous mosque, dated 524 (1130), which was located near the precise center of Marrakech, at an informal square where all the main roads from the city gates converged. In 1146, on the feeble pretext that it was improperly oriented, the Almohads vindictively destroyed this mosque, as they did most Almoravid buildings, leaving only a plain, square minaret, completed in 1133, which still survives.[7] On the basis of the minaret and traces of the original street pattern, it has been proposed that the mosque measured 120 x 80 meters, making it the largest such building in the entire Almoravid domain and the sole congregational mosque in Marrakech.[8] The only other survival from the mosque is its famous minbar, commonly known as the Minbar al-Kutubiyya, the subject of a recent study and conservation project conducted by a joint Moroccan and American team.[9]

Finally, ʿAli b. Yusuf built a palace, called Dar al-Hajar (Stone House), at the southwestern end of the city. This palace, too, was destroyed by the Almohads, who built on its site the al-Kutubiyya Mosque, with its famous minaret.[10] Three courtyards have been uncovered by excavation, but, other than their size, these tell us little of the original glory of this palace.[11] It is possible, as Deverdun proposes in his map, that the region between the mosque and the palace of ʿAli b. Yusuf was a "Grande Place" or even a garden, although this suggestion cannot be proven archaeologically.

Despite its location in the middle of medieval Marrakech, the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin was actually "discovered" only in 1947. Though 12 meters high from base to apex, the Qubba was literally excavated from 7 or 8 meters of parasitic structures, debris, and ashes resulting from centuries of neglect and misuse as an annex to a hammam. A preliminary study by Boris Maslow eventually led to a concentrated period of excavation and restoration by a French team of architects and archaeologists led by Henri Terrasse and Jacques Meunié.[12] In addition to thoroughly documenting the excavation process, this team also removed some later accretions and conserved the structure but abstained from overly restoring the ornament. As a result, the Qubba stands today as a remarkably well-preserved dome resting on an attenuated rectangular base, a solitary reminder of the glory of the Almoravids in their capital city.

What has completely changed is the urban context of the Qubba, as immediately signaled by the fact that the streets surrounding it have risen by about 6 meters.

Fig. 2. Map of Marrakech under the Almoravids. (After Gaston Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, 2 vols. [Rabat: Éditions Techniques Nord-Africaines, 1959–66, 1: pl. VIII)
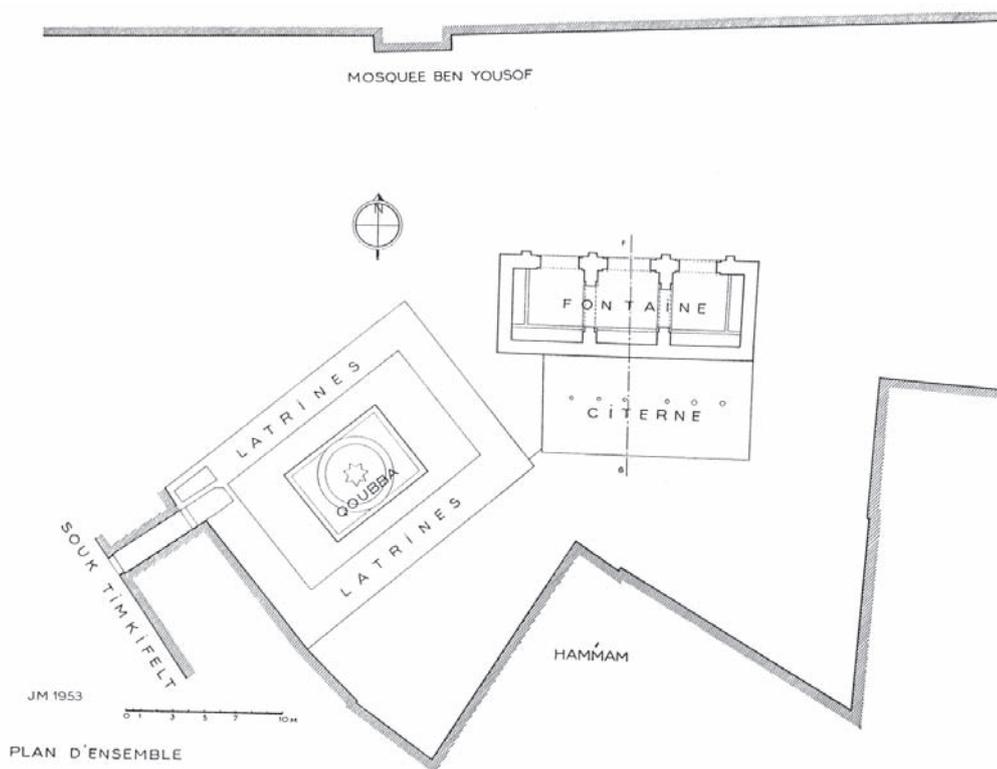
Fig. 3. Plan of the Qubba, showing location of the cistern and the mosque of ʿAli b. Yusuf. (After Jacques Meunié, Henri Terrasse, and Gaston Deverdun, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Marrakech* [Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1957], fig. 1)

This change has been so profound that not even the careful excavation of the various layers inside and around the Qubba has succeeded in recreating its original context or in definitively establishing its intended function.[13] What we do know is that the Qubba was originally located about 25 meters due south of the mihrab wall of the mosque of ʿAli b. Yusuf, a curious location to which I will return (fig. 3). Furthermore, the Qubba seems to have been connected to a cistern-and-fountain structure located about 10 meters to its northeast, as evidenced by clay pipes connecting the two structures and by the frequent and quite similar restorations undergone by both structures over several centuries. It seems likely, therefore, that the cistern and the Qubba once belonged to an Almoravid water system, and that the Qubba may have originally sheltered a fountain, a possibility further reinforced by several levels of basins and pipes found beneath it.[14]

These findings might be taken to suggest that the Qubba served as the ablution fountain for the original Almoravid mosque of ʿAli b. Yusuf.[15] But this otherwise plausible identification is contradicted by the location of the Qubba, which is too far away from the mosque and in the wrong direction. An ablution fountain is almost always located in the courtyard of a mosque, a few meters from the sanctuary façade, not 25 meters outside the mosque perimeter.[16] Such a distant location, requiring the worshipper to go through the market area before reaching the mosque, is unprecedented and highly unlikely.

Also complicating the identification of the Qubba as the ablution fountain of the mosque is its foundation date, which, as will shown below, is 1117—fifteen years before the foundation of the mosque. No such chronology comes to mind for any other mosque: ablution fountains are either contemporary with mosque foundations or much later.[17] All this suggests that whereas the Qubba may have sheltered a fountain it was not necessarily intended as the ablution fountain of the Great Mosque of ʿAli b. Yusuf.
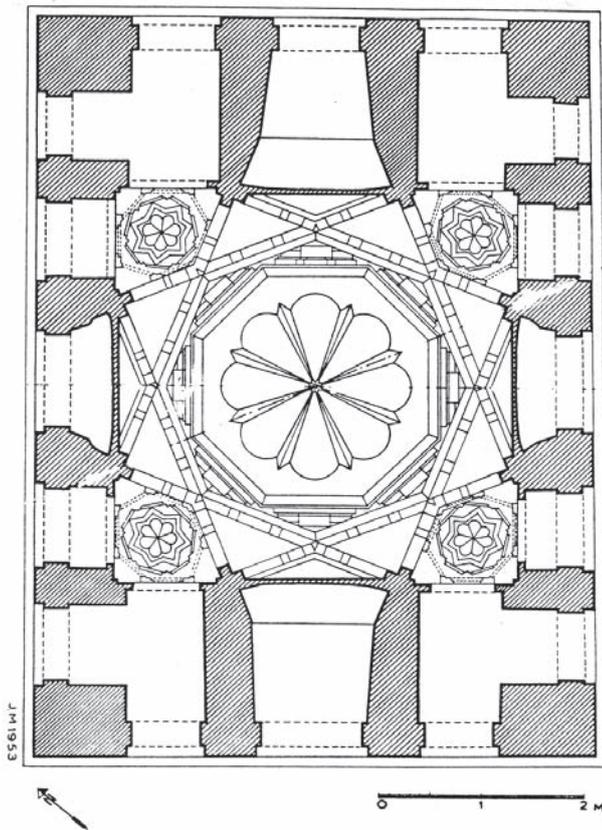
Fig. 4. Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, plan. (After Meunié, *Nouvelles recherches*, fig. 15, redrawn with changes by Lacey Grey)

Fig. 5. Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, interior view of the dome. (Photo: Yasser Tabbaa)

PHYSICAL FORM

In its present excavated and restored condition, the Qubba stands 12 meters tall and rests on a rectangular base 5.25 x 6.20 meters on its exterior. It is largely built of stone and brick, generally progressing from a stone foundation to stone-and-brick walls to purely brick arches and vaults. All supports and vaults are covered inside and out with a layer of plaster, thicker on the inner dome, where it is carved into various moldings and vegetal forms.

Although brick is not unknown in Spain before the early twelfth century, stone and wood were far more common materials, stone being used for columns, arches, and ribs and wood for roofing and pyramidal dome covers. Indeed, the earliest use of brick in a monumental structure in Spain, the mosque at Bab Mardum in Toledo, dated 390 (999 or 1000), is generally attributed to eastern influence.[18] Similarly, the

use of piers instead of columns begins sporadically in Spain only in the early eleventh century, becoming much more popular and then predominant in North Africa in the twelfth century.

The Qubba is an astonishing structure, inventively and flamboyantly decorated inside and out. The exterior is horizontally divided into three zones separated by moldings and merlons, featuring open-arched doors on the first level, arcaded galleries on the second, and a solid, lightly decorated masonry outer dome on the third, covering a highly ornamented inner shell of plaster-covered masonry. The architect took advantage of the unequal sides of the rectangle to display a varied repertory of arched doors and windows—pointed, horseshoe, trilobed, and foliate—set, in the Andalusian manner, within a recessed frame (*alfiz*). The decoration on the dome is itself divided into two zones, the lower with closely spaced interlacing arches and the upper with chevrons that surround a large seven-pointed star emanating from the center.[19]

Viewed in plan, the dome seems to rest on an octagon rotated within a larger octagon that is surrounded by an eight-pointed star made by the intersecting ribs of two rotated squares (fig. 4). But this impression vanishes when one looks up inside the Qubba or views it through its section. What appear in plan as continuous ribs are in fact four trilobed squinches and four trilobed arches in the middle of each side, which are surmounted by another level of eight shallow squinches rotated at 45 degrees (fig. 5). These are themselves

surmounted by a third level of trilobed arches with muqarnas cells that support a lobed dome. Only when the lines of the first two levels of arches, which are quite distinct in section, are flattened in plan do they appear as intersecting ribs. This is an important point and a striking difference between the Qubba, with its three layers of superimposed squinches, and the domes to which it is often compared—those at Cordoba, which indeed have continuous ribs.

The plan of the Qubba contains interesting geometric properties, based on the rotation of squares and the creation of √2 ratios (fig. 6). If we take the radius of the dome to be *a*, the various octagons and squares surrounding it progress sequentially as *a*√2 for the radius of the main octagon, 2*a* for half the side of the main square, 2*a*√2 for the distance from the center of the dome to the end of the short buttresses, and 4*a* for the distance to the long side. Plotted on a checkerboard with squares measuring *a* per side, all the important dimensions will in fact correspond to a whole number or √2 multiples of it.

Although geometric planning was undoubtedly used in the layout of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, in particular the famous additions of al-Hakam in ca. 965, all indications suggest that it only became a prominent feature of architectural practice under the Almohads of the second half of the twelfth century—for example at the 1154 mosque at Tinmal.[20] The use of harmonic proportions also help mitigate, but do not entirely resolve, the incongruity of using a rectangular base. Furthermore, it seems likely that the elevation of the dome and the relationship of its various levels to each other were also governed by a similar geometric principle, although this possibility remains to be tested.

Examined through its section, the Qubba consists of four zones separated by moldings: a long plain zone that contains the arched entrances, another long zone with two levels of superimposed arches, a short zone with eight muqarnas squinches, and an eight-lobed ribbed dome on top (fig. 7). The attenuated and projecting arches of the corner squinches partially obscure four little lobed cupolas, each resting on two layers of muqarnas cells, producing an unusual three-dimensional effect. These four tiny muqarnas cupolas create something of a starry garland around the central dome, an effect known in some eastern muqarnas domes.[21] The complexity of the layered and seemingly interlaced arches, the muqarnas corner domes,
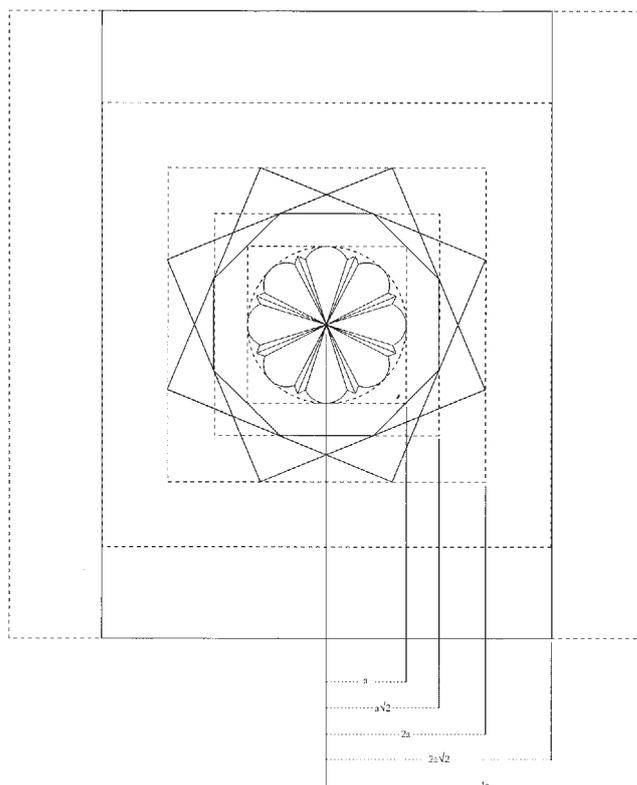
Fig. 6. Geometric proportions in the plan of Qubbat al-Barudiyyin. (Drawing: Lacey Grey)

and the richness of the vegetal ornament create an opulent and mysterious effect that has never been surpassed by other domes in North Africa (fig. 8).[22] Although the Qubba is not a muqarnas dome as such, its realization seems impossible without some knowledge of such domes. In effect, it appears as a synthesis of the ribbed domes of Cordoba and the muqarnas domes of Baghdad, a cultural duality that parallels its patron's links with al-Andalus and the Abbasid caliphate (fig. 9).

The inner, hemispherical dome rests on an octagonal zone made of eight trilobed muqarnas squinches, solidly framed on the outside—i.e., in the space between the two shells—by eight slightly pointed brick arches. The dome itself is constructed of eight ribs that enclose eight lobes between them, a form known in the domes of Cordoba and Toledo. The ribs are made of radiating brick courses resting on a foundation of wooden
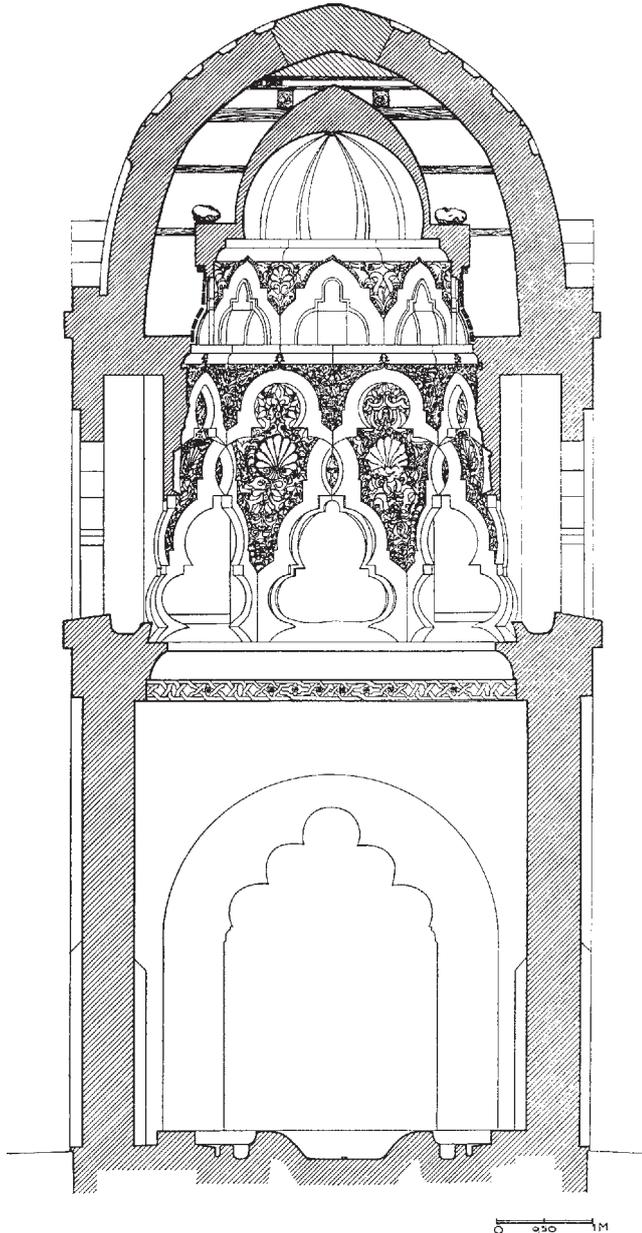
Fig. 7. Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, section. (After Meunié, *Nouvelles recherches*, fig. 14)

Fig. 8. Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, detail of an interior corner. (Photo: Yasser Tabbaa)

brackets, which are inserted in the outer masonry of the structure. More wood inserts are used at the middle of the inner dome and near its apex, linking the inner shell with the outer masonry.

Double-shell domes are quite common in southern Spain and Morocco, where the inner shell is usually a fragile muqarnas or *artesonado* dome covered externally by a sturdy pyramidal dome with a tile roof. But a double-shell masonry dome like the Qubba is completely unknown in the western Islamic world, and its use here certainly points to an eastern influence. In other words, the design of the dome, as of other parts of the Qubba, partakes of both Andalusian and eastern Islamic architecture.

ORNAMENT AND INSCRIPTIONS

The precision of the plan of the Qubba contrasts with the opulence of its decoration, which softens the angles and gives the dome a deeply organic appearance (fig. 10). The lavishly carved stucco decorating

Fig. 9. Mausoleum of Imam Dur, near Samarra, ca. 1090, interior view. (Photo: Yasser Tabbaa)

the second and third zones consists of Andalusian conch-shell motifs combined with eastern muqarnas niches and vegetal ornament. Though still displaying fairly organic leaf forms that recall Cordoba or Madinat al-Zahra', the ornament is sufficiently sinuous and interconnected in composition to resemble contemporary arabesque ornament in the eastern Islamic world. It seems likely that this stucco ornament was originally painted, although no traces of paint have survived.[23]

Geometric ornament is restricted to the intrados of the first tier of arches, of which two panels have been preserved. The one on the southwestern intrado is a simple alternation of large and small hexagonal stars. But the geometric pattern on the northeastern intrados is surprisingly complex and advanced, displaying the interlocking of six-pointed and eight-pointed stars that we commonly find later in the century. Although geometric ornament was judiciously used in Andalusian religious and secular monuments—in the window grilles of the Great Mosque of Cordoba and Madinat al-Zahra', for example—such freely executed patterns are not known there or in the Maghreb and once again point to an eastern source.[24]

The Qubba contains a single historical inscription that once ran along all four sides of the interior square, measuring 15 meters (fig. 11). Although it was deliberately defaced by the Almohads upon their takeover of Marrakech in 1147, enough of the text remained in 1957 to allow the epigraphist Gaston Deverdun to assign the Qubba to ʿAli b. Yusuf and even to tease out from the inscription an exact date of 511 (1117). Deverdun only tentatively identified the building as the ablution fountain for ʿAli b. Yusuf's mosque.[25]

Even in its fragmentary state, the inscription is noteworthy for its declamatory tone and titulature. Most historical inscriptions tend to have an even, factual tone; this one, in a rare, direct plea, calls upon God to aid ʿAli b. Yusuf in victory. A few inscriptions from the period of the Crusades contain similarly declamatory language with pleas to God for victory, which suggests that the Qubba may have served a commemorative purpose, a point to which I will return below.[26]

Just as interesting as the content, however, is the calligraphic quality of the inscription: a highly sinuous cursive script written on an arabesque background, making it the earliest monumental cursive inscription

Fig. 10. Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, view of interior ornament. (Photo: Yasser Tabbaa)
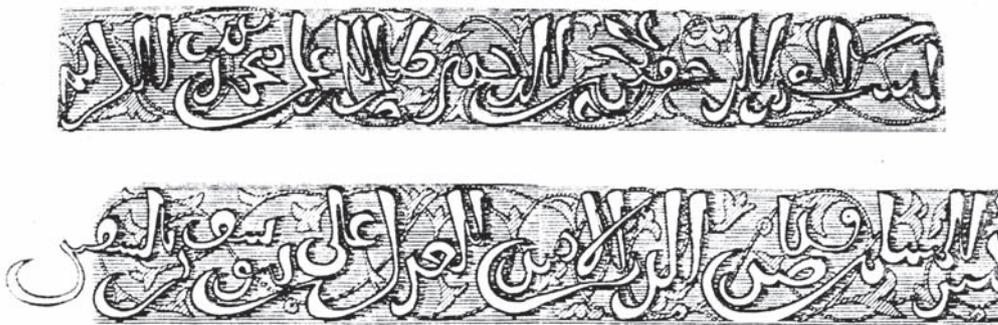
Fig. 11. Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, detail of inscription. (Drawing: Yasser Tabbaa)

in western Islam, about twenty years earlier than the cursive inscriptions at the mosques of Tlemcen and al-Qarawiyyin, both of which also date to the reign of ʿAli b. Yusuf.[27] In addition to their cursive script, which in itself suggests an eastern source, these inscriptions share several features that link them with early Seljuk and Zangid inscriptions and ultimately with the *thuluth* script of Ibn al-Bawwab, intimately associated with the city of Baghdad.[28]

THE QUBBA IN AN ABBASID CONTEXT

Returning to the Qubba's exterior, we need to account for its most unusual decoration, consisting of interlaced circular arches and a seven-pointed radiating star above them (fig. 12). Carved masonry domes are known in Cairo, but none are so early, and none contain interlaced arches. A handful of Almoravid domes—including two at the mosque al-Qarawiyyin in Fez and one at the mosque Bayn al-Qahaoui in

Sousse—have vertical zigzag decoration, but they do not approach the complexity and elegance of the Qubba. To my knowledge, this feature is not known in any other preserved dome and would be considered a complete oddity were it not for a vivid passage by Ibn Jubayr about similar domes at the Haram of Mecca.[29] In this passage, Ibn Jubayr describes four domes (*qubab*) that must have piqued his interest for their height and excessive decoration, and that he calls *qarnasa*, which may designate not actual muqarnas but simply minute and extensive decoration. These domes are the Qubba above the sacred spring of Zamzam, the Qubba al-ʿAbbasiyya, the so-called Qubba al-Yahudiyya, and the Qubba at Bab Ibrahim.[30] The description of the last dome—built by the caliph al-Muqtadir's governor in Mecca in the early tenth century—is especially noteworthy:

> Over the portal is a large dome (*qubba*), remarkable because it is almost as high as the adjacent minaret (*sawmaʿa*). Its interior is covered with marvelous plasterwork and *qarnasī* carvings that defy description. The exterior is also made of carved plaster, resembling interlaced drums.[31]

It seems clear, therefore, that one or more of these Meccan domes closely resemble the Qubba in attenuated form, rich interior stucco carving, and exterior interlaced arches. Furthermore, since these domes were built by Abbasid caliphs, they presumably reflect an architectural type that existed in Baghdad. It follows then that the Qubba, in addition to its obvious Cordoban links, also includes many architectural, ornamental, and epigraphic features that emanate from the central Islamic world, and these might have originated in the Abbasid capital. Once again our attention is directed to that city of vanished glory.

What does all this mean? Why would a newly arrived Berber dynasty thousands of kilometers away from the Abbasids have been so determined to use the Abbasids' artistic language and architectural forms? Why would an early-twelfth-century dome in Marrakech so closely resemble domes that probably existed in tenth-century Baghdad and eleventh-century muqarnas domes that most likely originated there? And, finally, why was this monument built, and why did it take on the form of a dome over a fountain?

Dynastically, the Almoravids are quite comparable to their near contemporaries the Great Seljuks: both were foreign military dynasties, staunch Sunnis, and supporters of the spiritual hegemony of the Abbasid caliphate.[32] In fact, Almoravid Sunnism had a distinctly Abbasid flavor, for their foremost theologian, Abu ʿImran al-Fasi, was directly influenced by al-Baqillani (d. 1013), the greatest Ashʿari-Shafiʿi theologian of his time and the propagator of the caliph al-Qadir's Sunni politics.[33] In the following century, al-Ghazzali himself was initially very influential, exchanging letters with Yusuf b. Tashufin before the local conservative, and apparently ignorant, scholars turned against him and burned his book, *Ihyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Revival of Religious Sciences).[34] Finally, both Yusuf and his son ʿAli exchanged letters with respective Abbasid caliphs—as many as seven letters have been recorded—that emphasize the central questions of jihad against the forces of the Reconquest, of Sunni orthodoxy, and of allegiance to the Abbasids.[35]

In return for their homage and gifts, the Almoravids received from the Abbasid caliph robes of honor, decrees of territorial possession, and the use of the title Amir al-Muslimin. This title occurs on the Qubba inscription and on the Almoravid coins struck by ʿAli and his father.[36] Interestingly, it was preferred by both the Almoravids and the Almohads over the caliphal title Amir al-Muʾminin, out of respect for the office of the caliph and perhaps also to emphasize *Islām* over *īmān* (faith) in contradistinction to the Ismaʿili Fatimids. Ismaʾilism, with its bipartite division of faith into exoteric and esoteric (*zāhir* and *bāṭin*), normally equated *Islām* with exoteric rituals and *īmān* with the deeper meanings of the faith.[37] This concept was opposed by all Sunnis, in particular the Malikis of North Africa, who privileged the exoteric dimension of Islam and rejected any esoteric reading.[38]

Seen within this artistic, courtly, and politico-theological discourse, the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin should no longer be viewed as a poor man's copy of Cordoban architecture or a pastiche of unresolved influences but must be acknowledged as an original monument that, among other things, reflected Almoravid allegiance to the Abbasids as the symbolic rulers of Islam and the safeguard of Sunnism. More than just a dome above an ablution fountain, the Qubba was intended to pay homage to the Abbasid state and perhaps to evoke the pious acts of the Abbasids at the Haram of Mecca, allusions that perfectly coincide with the Almoravids' political and religious orientation.

None of this is to deny the Qubba's obvious affiliations with Cordoban architecture. After all, the patron of the Qubba, ʿAli b. Yusuf, was born in Ceuta and raised in Seville, and the architect, according to Ter-

Fig. 12. Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, detail of upper exterior. (Photo: Yasser Tabbaa)

rasse, may have come from Cordoba.[39] Indeed, despite its many imported technical and ornamental features, the Qubba still has an overall Andalusian appearance and could not be mistaken for an Iraqi muqarnas dome, for example. This Cordoban filiation could quite likely be attributed to the architect's training and the immediate sources and models available for his design. Upon this traditional slate, a discriminating patron and an undoubtedly well-informed architect inscribed several imported features and ideas, bringing about a vividly ingenious and stridently original monument. In doing so, they deliberately created an indigenous, local synthesis marking a distinctive Almoravid visual identity.

A CEREMONIAL DOME?

Two final interrelated questions remain: why was a domed fountain chosen to serve as a commemorative

monument, and does this idea have precedents in medieval Islamic architecture? In the case of Qubbat al-Barudiyyin, it seems that the choice of a fountain should be linked to ʿAli b. Yusuf's most important accomplishment in the city of Marrakech, namely, the development and expansion of its waterworks. Using the *khettara* water-supply system, which resembles that of Iranian *qanāt*s, or subterranean canals, his engineer ʿUbaydullah b. Yunis brought water to most quarters in the city, sending the surplus to the surrounding gardens. The fountain, therefore, may have served as the celebratory focus of this important achievement, a phenomenon known in the Islamic world and elsewhere.[40]

The second part of the question, why a dome was used for this possibly commemorative or ceremonial purpose, is somewhat more difficult to answer. While most early Islamic freestanding domes were mausolea, other rare examples of ceremonial domes, including commemorative structures and palace pavilions, did

exist. Possibly the earliest of the commemorative type are the above-mentioned Abbasid domes constructed around the perimeter of the Haram at Mecca. Devoid of religious function beyond defining the borders of the Haram and marking some of its venerated sites, such as the Well of Zamzam, these domes, in particular the one at Bab Ibrahim, declared the Abbasid presence in this sacred precinct.[41]

It can be argued, however, that the Qubba in Marrakech belongs to the class of palatial domes. It seems likely that the famous dome of the Mouchroutas, built in the twelfth century adjacent to the throne room of the Byzantine imperial palace in Constantinople, as well as a few Norman palatial domes in Sicily dating from the reign of William II (1166–89), corresponds to the typology of the Qubba and ultimately to an earlier Abbasid dome type. According to contemporary descriptions, the Mouchroutas (Arabic *makhrūṭ*, cone) very likely had a conical muqarnas dome.[42] Built at a time when the Rum Seljuk prince was living in the Byzantine palace, it may have served a ceremonial function as a reception hall for visiting dignitaries. Although its exotic form and unusual function are perhaps more directly linked to Rum Seljuk ceremonial, the Mouchroutas may ultimately reflect the same Abbasid prototype that produced the Qubbat al-Barudiyyin.

The handful of domes and garden pavilions built by the Normans in Sicily also seem to belong to the same type, sharing openness to the exterior, muqarnas vaulting, and a water element beneath the dome but not the attenuated profile. Although the three remaining domes—La Zisa (1166), La Cuba (1180), and La Favara—ultimately belong to a palatial Abbasid dome type, their form was used for its broadly imperial and exotic effect rather than as an expression of homage to the Abbasids.[43]

Was the Qubbat al-Barudiyya a palatial ceremonial dome? If so, was it intended as a freestanding pavilion within a garden, like those of Norman Sicily, or did it belong to a palace? The architectural context has almost entirely vanished, and the textual references are much too vague to allow us to reconstruct an Almoravid palace. Barrucand has proposed in passing that the Qubba was part of the aforementioned Dar al-Hajar palace complex. But the three excavated courtyards apparently belonging to the Dar al-Hajar are located several hundred meters southwest of the Qubba, which therefore could not have been part of the same complex (fig. 2).

I would propose instead that the Qubba was built within a garden south of the mosque of ʿAli b. Yusuf, a garden that originally may have extended all the way to the Dar al-Hajar. As such, its primary function would have been to serve as a ceremonial station between the mosque and the other great creation of ʿAli b. Yusuf, his palace complex.[44] Within a few decades of the completion of this complex, both mosque and palace were destroyed, and with them must have vanished the garden and its associated structures. Only the solitary Qubba remained, and its survival should most likely be linked to its altered function: from a symbolic victory edifice whose dome announced the imperial grandeur and sophistication of the Almoravids to an Almohad ablution fountain surrounded by latrines. Could revenge be any sweeter?

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NOTES

1. Oleg Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62.

2. John D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1974).

3. Jacques Meunié, Henri Terrasse, and Gaston Deverdun, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Marrakech* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1957). The Qubba had previously been published in Boris Maslow, "La Qoubba Barūdiyyīn à Marrākuš," *Al-Andalus, Cronica Arqueologica* 13 (1948): 180–95. It is also briefly noted in Richard Parker, *A Practical Guide to Islamic Monuments in Morocco* (Charlottesville, VA: Baraka Press, 1981), 59, and in other guidebooks. Most recently Marianne Barrucand and Achim Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture in Andalusia* (Cologne: Taschen, 1992), 141, concluded that the Qubba was "totally within the tradition of Taifa architecture in Andalusia."

4. See in particular Jonathan Bloom, "The Minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque," 3–29, in Jonathan Bloom et al., *The Minbar from the Kutubiyya Mosque* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), esp. 23, where the author vehemently asserts the quality and originality of Almoravid art.

5. This connection has also been made by Gülru Necipoğlu, in idem, *The Topkapı Scroll, Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 101.

6. Salāmah Muḥammad Salmān al-Hirfī, *Dawlat al-Murābiṭīn fī ʿahd ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn: Dirasa siyāsiyya wa ḥaḍāriyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Nadwa al-Jadīda, 1985), 369–70.

7. For the justification of the destruction of Almoravid mosques by the Almohads see Bloom, *Minbar*, 35. The problem of mosque orientation has a very long history, both theoretical and practical. In theory, it would certainly have been pos-

sible in medieval Islam to build mosques very precisely oriented towards Mecca. In practice, such precision was almost never the case, as most mosques had to be inserted within a preexisting urban fabric. Although most legal scholars conceded considerable latitude in this matter, it was still possible for dynasts to use "incorrect" orientation as a pretext for destroying mosques.

8. The mosque was as expensive as it was large, reputedly costing 60,000 dinars: see al-Ḥirfī, *Dawlat al-Murābiṭīn*, 374.

9. See Bloom, *Minbar*. 36. Instead of destroying the minbar, the Almohads were apparently satisfied to have the names of Almoravid patrons removed from its inscriptions.

10. Bloom, *Minbar*, 35–37 and 49, discusses the circumstances that led to the destruction of this palace and the erection of the Kutubiyya Mosque, referring to the anonymous *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-Marrākushiyya: Chroniques anonymes des dynasties almoravide et almohade*, ed. I. S. Allouche (Rabat, 1936).

11. Barrucand, *Moorish Architecture*, 141.

12. See n. 3 above.

13. It is of course highly unlikely and completely incongruous that an important and elegant structure like the Qubba would originally have been surrounded by latrines as it is today.

14. Meunié, *Nouvelles recherches*, 36–41.

15. This is the conclusion reached, for example, by Bloom, *Minbar*, 27, and by most other scholars.

16. Even mosques without a courtyard, particularly from the Ottoman period, often have freestanding ablution fountains just a few meters outside the façade of the sanctuary.

17. Although many Mamluk and Ottoman mosques were built equipped with ablution fountains, most early mosques had ablution fountains added at a much later date: examples include the Great Mosques of Damascus and Aleppo and that of Ibn Tulun. In no case known to me was the ablution fountain built before the mosque.

18. Barrucand, *Moorish Architecture*, 88.

19. A seven-pointed star is extremely unusual in Islamic geometric ornament, where even numbers are far more common. See, meanwhile, the interesting but inconclusive comments made by Meunié, *Nouvelles recherches*, 35–37, where the authors acknowledge the uniqueness of this carved dome and its decoration.

20. Barrucand, *Moorish Architecture*, 154. See also Christian Ewert, *Forschungen zum almohadischen Moschee II: Die Moschee von Tinmal*, Madrider Beitrage, Bd. 10 (Mainz: P. v. Zabern, 1984).

21. For example, the muqarnas domes of the shrines of Yahya and ʿAwn al-Din in Mosul and the shrine of ʿAbd al-Samad in Natanz. All these domes postdate the Qubba by one or more centuries. Such corner domes also exist in Cordoba and Toledo, but there they are rib vaulted like the main dome. The use of muqarnas in these little domes and elsewhere in the Qubba may in fact be the earliest documented instance of this eastern feature in Moroccan architecture.

22. Gaston Deverdun, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912*, 2 vols. (Rabat: Éditions Techniques Nord-Africaines, 1959–66), states (1:136) that "Islamic art has never surpassed the splendor of this extraordinary cupola."

23. Most Islamic stucco ornament was in fact painted, usually in light blue and ocher with occasional gold highlights and black outlines. Such painting is known in Samarra, Ghazna, Madinat al-Zahraʾ, and the Alhambra.

24. See, for example, Barrucand, *Moorish Architecture*, 154–55.

25. See n. 3 above.

26. One similar plea for God's aid in victory comes to mind: the long and impassioned inscriptions on the side of the *minbar* made by Nur al-Din for the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. See, inter alia, Yasser Tabbaa, "Monuments with a Message: Propagation of Jihad under Nur al-Din," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West during the Period of the Crusades,* ed. V. Goss and C. Vézar-Bornstein (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 223–41.

27. Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (London and Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 66–67.

28. See Yasser Tabbaa, "The Transformation of Arabic Writing I: Qurʾanic Calligraphy," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 117–48; "The Transformation of Arabic Writing II: The Public Text," *Ars Orientalis* 24 (1994): 117–47.

29. This passage was first noted by Jonathan Bloom, who used it in his discussion of the late Fatimid domes and minarets of Upper Egypt. See idem, "The Introduction of Muqarnas to Egypt," *Muqarnas* 4 (1986): 21–28.

30. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1964), 66 and 77–78, where Ibn Jubayr further describes the wood and plaster *qarnasa* in these domes.

31. Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat*, 83.

32. As noted in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*, 101.

33. Al-Ḥirfī, *Dawlat al-Murābiṭīn*, 168–75.

34. Ibid., 324–28.

35. Ibid., 174–75, and Ḥusayn Muʾnis, *Sabʿ wathāʾiq jadīda ʿan Dawlat al-Murābiṭīn* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1959), 66–68.

36. According to contemporary chroniclers, the elders of his tribe proposed to Yusuf that he adopt the caliphal title Amir al-Muʾminin, but he turned it down because he felt only the Abbasids were its legitimate possessors. Instead, he accepted the title Amir al-Muslimin, which was subsequently used in his coinage and spoken during the Friday khutba.

37. On this question see Irene Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 67–70, where she presents a particularly interesting interpretation of Fatimid coinage reflecting their concept of *imān*.

38. N. Cottart, "Malikiyya," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2004), s.v.

39. Jacques Meunié, *Nouvelles recherches*: according to Henri Terrasse, 19, "It is certain that ʿAli b. Yusuf brought the best Spanish artists for the decoration of his shrines and palaces."

40. Al-Ḥirfī, *Dawlat al-Murābiṭīn*, 369–70. In fact, the same concept was applied by other patrons in the Islamic world, who often celebrated their hydraulic accomplishments by building fountains and *sabīl*s. See, in particular, Tabbaa, "Monuments with a Message," 230.

41. The attenuated and decorative character of these domes, according to Bloom, seems to have inspired similar domes in Upper Egypt; the founders of these Egyptian domes wished to emphasize their piety and sophistication by emulating domes they would have seen during the Hajj. See Bloom, "Muqarnas," passim. See also Jonathan Bloom, "The Qubbat

al-Khadraʾ and the Iconography of Height in Early Islamic Architecture," in *Premodern Islamic Palaces,* ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue of *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 135–42. Of these domes, the one at the mosque of Qus comes the closest to the Qubba in its attenuated form, its exterior and interior ornament, and even its rather indefinite function.

42. On the Mouchroutas see Tabbaa, *Transformation*, 124, 127; and more specifically Paul Magdolino, "Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978): 101–14.

43. Giuseppe Bellafiore, *La Zisa di Palermo* (Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1978); Yasser Tabbaa, "Toward an Interpretation of the Use of Water in Islamic Courtyards and Courtyard Gardens," *Journal of Garden History* 7, 3 (Mar. 1990): 202–5. See, most recently, Sibylle Mazot, "Fatimid Influences in Sicily and Southern Italy," in *Islam: Art and Architecture*, ed. Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), 159–60 and 258.

44. This relationship between the mosque and the Qubba actually recalls the association of the Masjid-i Jami in Isfahan and its north dome, which is generally seen in terms of imperial and ceremonial iconography. See Oleg Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1990), 38–41.

NASSER RABBAT

DESIGN WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IN MEDIEVAL EGYPT

Today when we think of architecture we immediately think of design, the creative act of conceptualizing a project in all its functional, spatial, structural, mechanical, and decorative components and then representing this conceptualization to all parties concerned: the client, the contractor, the builders, the users, and so on. We also expect to have a qualified individual or a group of individuals who will be responsible for carrying out this task. This individual is the designer or, more specifically, the architect, a professional with a theoretical and practical knowledge of buildings and a thorough training in modes of representation in architecture through a set of prescribed conventions: perspectival, planar, and/or sectional drawing, modeling, and, recently, computer rendering. But this notion of design is neither static nor universal. It of course has a history, which, like all other normative histories, includes certain canonized episodes and ignores other problematic or exotic ones.[1] Identifying and fleshing out the neglected chapters of design history will redress some of the biases marring the standard version of world architectural history; it will also enrich our understanding of the act of design itself as a variable that depends not only on conceptual or technological conditions in a homogenized historical trajectory but also, and perhaps to a greater extent, on cultural choices. The role of choice is at least suggested by a short remark on design in twelfth-century Egypt by an Iraqi doctor, ʿAbd al-Latif al-Baghdadi (1162–1231). This article will try to explain how and, in a more tentative vein, why al-Baghdadi's note highlights a different and uncommon definition of design that does not obtain in our regular histories. My interpretation is a tribute to Oleg Grabar, who taught generations of art and architectural historians how to allow educated speculation to inform alternative readings of the limited available historical evidence.

Designers with a combination of conceptualizing and rendering skills—with varying emphasis on one or the other depending on available technologies,

training, and sociocultural context—appear from at least as early as ancient Egypt. Imhotep, a polymath who served Pharaoh Djoser (Zoser) (r. ca. 2630–ca. 2611 BC) in many capacities, is considered the first true architect in history and credited with the stepped pyramid at Saqqara.[2] Famous architects appear in every subsequent classical and medieval culture, from Greece, Rome, and Byzantium to the Islamic world, India, and China, with celebrated paradigmatic buildings ascribed to them. But the recognition of the architect as the main intellectual and creative force behind all building projects did not become the norm anywhere until the emergence of the architect-humanist in Renaissance Italy.[3] Many Quattrocento architects became model humanists in the eyes of their contemporaries because they rediscovered the aesthetic canons of the ancients by deciphering classical texts and analyzing architectural remains in major Italian cities. Ultimately they transformed architecture into a highly distinguished and intellectually intense profession, first in Italy and soon afterward, with the spread of the Renaissance ethos, in other European countries.[4] As a result, architecture acquired a conceptual and organizational framework, and architects began to reflect on design and its epistemological parameters by publishing books, planning teaching curricula, and establishing schools that prescribed academic norms. Architecture thus became both an academic discipline and a profession.

In the medieval Islamic world, like everywhere else in that period, architecture was essentially a craft. It depended on apprenticeship rather than formal or abstract education and seems not to have generated its own literature, be it technical or theoretical, or to have inspired thinkers and authors to write about it.[5] This is evident from the dearth of architectural discussions in all genres of historical writing, but it is most revealing in the quasi-total absence of building professionals from the biographical dictionaries that constituted the main record of distinguished people

in the medieval Islamic world. In these compendia, which typically include thousands of individuals from all walks of life, builders rarely appear, and, in the exceptional instances when they are mentioned, it is only in the briefest and barest biographical accounts,[6] consisting of their names and some cursory remarks about their buildings but including practically nothing about their training, the texts they read, the skills they needed to qualify for their positions, their modes of thinking, their design concepts and ways of representation, or their professional organization and social standing. On the whole, medieval architects appear to have occupied a rather modest position in the social hierarchy, and those among them who rose up in society did so through means other than excellence in design, such as wealth or literary or theological accomplishments.[7] It was not until the sixteenth century that architecture became an organized profession with conceptual and disciplinary frameworks—first in Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire,[8] and later in Isfahan and Delhi, the capitals of the Safavid and Mughal empires respectively, before the spread of the model all over the Islamic world in the late nineteenth century, probably under direct European influence.[9]

Nor do we have definite information on the terminology of the building crafts in the medieval period, despite the preponderance of lexical works in both Arabic and Persian, including some that provided whole sections that specialized in buildings.[10] For instance, there seems to have been no single word encompassing the meaning of "designer" or "architect" as we now understand either word. The term *mi'mār,* used today in most languages of the Islamic world to mean "architect," appears in the medieval sources only in the sense of "master mason." *Muhandis* (more correctly *muhandiz,* from the Persian word *hundāz*, meaning "measurement") seems to be the closest to our "architect."[11] It is the only term that indicates a professional with the wide range of technical aptitudes and practical knowledge that we associate today with architects and civil engineers. Essentially, a *muhandis* was a surveyor with training primarily in geometry and perhaps hydrology, which he may have acquired through a combination of apprenticeship and formal education (although we know nothing about the structure of that education). In Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Egypt and elsewhere in the medieval Islamic world, a *muhandis* was mainly responsible

for the building of bridges, canals, aqueducts, and the like. His architect-like role derived from his engineering background and function. In an urban context, his expertise was called upon to check boundaries between properties, to estimate values of real estate, to assess the structural integrity of buildings, and, in a very few instances, to "design."[12]

"Design," however, seems less a description than an approximation of what a *muhandis* did in the medieval period. He apparently did both more and less than what a modern designer does, partly because he was by training a surveyor, often with hands-on experience in one or more of the actual building crafts—stone masonry, carpentry, and the like—but also because "design" was differently conceived. Though no medieval Islamic commentator notes the actual modus operandi of the *muhandis,* a valuable observation by the Iraqi physician 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi, an exceedingly sharp and perceptive resident of Cairo in the later part of the Ayyubid period (he finished writing his text in 1206), gives us an idea of the Egyptian *muhandis*'s approach to "design." [13]

'ABD AL-LATIF'S REPORT

An indefatigable inquirer and researcher, 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi dabbled in all areas of knowledge of his time. He wrote many books, in fields ranging from medicine to theology, mathematics, and history. Only a few of his writings are extant, some only as long quotes in other authors' work or in Latin translation. An extract of a huge compendium on Egypt that he composed during his intermittent residence in Cairo between 1190 and 1206 survived and was translated into Latin, German, English, and French. This short book, entitled *al-Ifāda wa 'l-i'tibār fi 'l-umūr al-mushāhada wa 'l-ḥawādith al-mu'āyana bi-arḍ Miṣr* (Benefit and Lessons from Things Observed and Events Examined in the Land of Egypt), provides a first-hand and lively account of the flora, fauna, people, and monuments of Egypt, in addition to a chronicle of the years 'Abd al-Latif spent living there. But the most exceptional aspect of this text is the elaborate terminology 'Abd al-Latif uses in describing Pharaonic statues, which reveals not only a keen sense of observation and a sophisticated artistic sensibility but also a palpable familiarity with classical aesthetic concepts. The same qualities seem to have informed his account of con-

temporary building practices. In the section describing the manners and customs of the Egyptians, for instance, 'Abd al-Latif notes,

إذا أرادوا بناء ربع أو دار ملكية أو قيسارية استحضر المهندس وفوض إليه العمل فيعمد إلى العرصة وهي تل خراب أو نحوه فيقسمها في ذهنه ويرتبها بحسب مايقترح عليه ثم يعمد إلى جزء جزء من تلك العرصة فيعمر ويكمله بحيث ينتفع به على انفراده ويسكن ثم يعمد إلى جزء آخر ولايزال كذلك حتى تكمل الجملة بكمال الأجزاء من غير خلل ولااستدراك

> Should someone want to build a *dār* [house, somewhat on the fancy side but not necessarily a palace], a caravanserai, or a *rabʿ* (tenement house), he would hire a *muhandis* who would then divide the empty lot *in his mind* and arrange the laying out of its parts as commissioned. The *muhandis* would then proceed to construct those parts one by one in a way so that he would complete each part in its entirety and deliver it to the occupants before moving on to the next part, until the whole was finished, *without distortion or revision* [of the original plan].[14]

This brief account has not attracted much attention among modern students of Islamic architecture, although 'Abd al-Latif's uniquely insightful book has been in circulation, in various languages, for many centuries. Martin S. Briggs provided an English translation of it, in addition to some perceptive comments, in his book on the Islamic architecture of Egypt and Syria but did not grasp its full significance for the notion of design as understood by a medieval observer.[15] The French scholar Albert Gayet dismissed 'Abd al-Latif's remark altogether, on the assumption that he meant it to sum up the status of design in medieval Egypt in general.[16] This evidently was not 'Abd al-Latif's intention. His list of buildings designed in this non-representational method, for instance, includes only residential and commercial types, those that in all likelihood were more or less standardized in plan and function. He says nothing about monumental or custom-designed structures such as mosques, palaces, madrasas, and the like—building types more

complicated and more innovative in design, which might have required some kind of marking out of their plans before their execution, although this supposition must remain conjectural at the present stage of our knowledge.[17] 'Abd al-Latif also says nothing about the conception of the structural system in the building or about the elaborate articulation of façades, two highly sophisticated aspects of Cairene medieval architecture that may have been planned differently and by different individuals involved in the construction, probably master masons and stone carvers with a serious training in geometry.[18]

From the tone of his statement, 'Abd al-Latif was manifestly impressed by what he saw, which was evidently different from what he was used to in his native Baghdad or other places that he visited in his travels, although he does not say what the difference was. He was particularly fascinated by three aspects of the building process he describes, which together indicate a different approach to design in medieval Egypt, an approach that might persuade us to reevaluate our received understanding of design and its historical evolution. First is the mental imagining and visualization of the architectural plan and structure without the idea being translated into some graphic or visual representation or model. Second is the sequential execution of the structure's components so that they can be completed and used autonomously as the rest of the building is still under construction, and still without a represented overall plan. This remark of course bolsters the singularity of the mental visualization as it confirms its validity in practice, at least as observed by 'Abd al-Latif. Third is the apparent efficacy of the method, with the building completed as planned and the alignment of its different components achieved without mistake. It is of course difficult to ascertain that the plan was completed as envisaged, since there is no graphic referent to check it against, but the implication is that the viewer anticipates the building's having a certain shape and the designer accomplishes this. Here we have an indication of a shared architectural expectation between the designer and the viewer/user, possibly based on their common knowledge of the basic architectural types and general forms appropriate for each major societal function (housing, trading, praying, etc.). But the most important and tantalizingly suggestive aspect of the report is its confirmation of the existence, in Egypt at least, of a design technique without representation.

Of course ʿAbd al-Latif does not mention anything about the opposite method, i.e., design *with* representation, the method that we all know and usually take for granted as universal. But in his astonishment with the Egyptian case, ʿAbd al-Latif is implying that he and, one may assume, his reader are accustomed to that other method, which may be said to have been the normative one in his days, as it is today, so that he felt no need to mention it. In fact, the way the report unfolds indicates that there existed at least two design methods, one peculiar to Egypt as observed by ʿAbd al-Latif and another, presumably representation-based, common in other places like Baghdad and elsewhere in the Abbasid cultural sphere, with which ʿAbd al-Latif, being an avid traveler, was familiar.[19] An Egyptian *muhandis* visualizes the building and then successfully completes its construction without the intermediary stage of a mode of representation for the patron and the builders. By contrast, an Iraqi or Iranian or Jeziran *muhandis*, we are led to infer, may customarily use some form of representation to communicate his design concept. Yet, though ʿAbd al-Latif does not spell it out, the difference may have been less a result of a cognitive limitation than a question of choice. That is, conceptualizing a building without representation may have been specifically used in Egypt not because the Egyptian *muhandisūn* were unaware of the other method, but because they preferred or were more comfortable with this one, or perhaps considered their use of it to be the mark of their distinction. But despite ʿAbd al-Latif's silence, they do not seem to have held on to their method exclusively; they might even have had some kind of rule for the choice of method—representation or just mental conceptualization—that depended on the type of the building projected or the patron's desire for innovation.

DESIGNING WITH REPRESENTATION

Representing a monument before constructing it was a process known throughout the medieval Islamic world. The various methods of representation used, however, seem initially to have been influenced by whatever artistic tradition prevailed in any specific region prior to the coming of the Muslims: Byzantine and Roman in the western half of the Islamic world, and Iranian or Indian in the eastern half. The earliest historic references to some form of representation come to

us from the Umayyad period, with the story about the building of the Dome of the Rock providing the most elaborate account. When ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan, the fifth Umayyad caliph (r. 683–703), decided to build the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, he asked the selected builders to provide him with the description *(sifat)* and form *(samt)* of the planned dome before he engaged in its construction. The sources say that it was marked *(kurrisat)* for him on the platform upon which the actual dome was to be built.[20] The word *kurrisat,* used in the reports to convey the way the Dome was represented to ʿAbd al-Malik, does not denote any usual act of representation, such as drawing or model making. The key verb, *k-r-s,* has several meanings, two of which could be construed as acts related to building. The first is "to stack the components of the foundation of a building," and the second is "to enclose by marking."[21] This may mean that the builders either delineated the plan of the dome on the floor of the platform, or that they built the foundation of the building for ʿAbd al-Malik to verify the location, the plan, and possibly the shape of the Dome in situ before he gave his assent.

The next well-known instance of representing a structure before its construction comes from the beginning of the Abbasid period. It is the foundation in 762 of the round city of Baghdad by the second Abbasid caliph, Abu Jaʿfar al-Mansur.[22] Having chosen the site after a careful search that took several years, al-Mansur is credited by most chroniclers with supervising the entire process of designing the round city plan and arranging its layout and internal organization following mathematical and astrological considerations. He is said to have ordered that the plan of the city be traced on the ground with ashes so that he could visualize it. When he walked through the site, he ordered cottonseed placed along the ash marks, doused with naphtha, and set aflame.[23]

Islamic written sources offer several accounts of other examples of design representation in the classical period (seventh to tenth century), but architectural representation definitely became visible in Iran and further east after the Mongol invasion of the early thirteenth century and was later exported from Central Asia south to Mongol India and west to the Ottoman Empire, where it was synthesized with Mediterranean methods and conventions. This deduction is corroborated by a series of written references in addition to actual plans of buildings, preserved on plaster slabs, parchment, and paper, that date from the

Ilkhanid period (1256–1352) and the Timurid and post-Timurid empires.[24]

From Egypt, we have a few written references from various periods but no material evidence until the nineteenth century of monuments being represented by drawings for their patrons before construction.[25] It is very difficult from these instances to estimate the extent to which this method, as opposed to the mental conceptualization method observed by ʿAbd al-Latif, was used. Nor can we establish with any certainty whether the two methods coexisted indigenously all along, or whether the representation method was introduced—or reintroduced, if we bear in mind that ancient and classical Egypt knew some form of architectural representation—into Egypt from the East. Judging by the scant evidence of the written sources, it seems to have been called for only in specific and genuinely outstanding cases such as the madrasa of Sultan Hasan, which may have been influenced by eastern traditions and perhaps even built by eastern builders.[26] In the mid-fifteenth century, the historian Khalil al-Zahiri reported that

> Sultan Hasan, when he ordered its construction, summoned all the architects (*muhandisīn*) from all the countries and asked them, "Which is the highest building in the world?" He was told, "Iwan Kisra Anushirwan [the Iwan of Khusraw, at Ctesiphon]." So he ordered that the iwan should be measured and revised (*yuharrar*) and that his madrasa should be 10 cubits higher than it, and it was thus constructed.[27]

In this anecdote, "Iwan Kisra" is clearly the model for the proposed madrasa. But what is more important for our analysis is that it was measured and the measurement transmitted—possibly as a drawing, although we cannot tell from this or any other source.

While the role of architectural representation may remain conjectural in the case of the madrasa of Sultan Hasan, one well-known report suggests that this method was indeed used for the much earlier mosque of Ibn Tulun (878). The plan of the mosque, we are told, was rendered on animal skin for Ibn Tulun to see before he committed to its innovative structural solution.[28] This was doubtless an imported practice, since the mosque of Ibn Tulun, though built in Cairo, was of an Iraqi Abbasid provenance,[29] clearly modeled after the imperial prototypes of Samarra. Moreover, to judge from the word al-Maqrizi uses to describe its designer—*naṣrānī* (Christian) rather than *qubṭī* (Copt, the designation generally used for Christian

Egyptians)—the mosque was most probably built by a Christian Iraqi architect, who may have arrived in Egypt in the entourage of Ibn Tulun, and who potentially was accustomed to representing his design to his patron as reported.[30] The mosque may have been novel and unusual to the Egyptians, as suggested by the various myths that seem to have been spun around its construction, financing, and predicted fate, although to an ex-resident of Samarra, its features would have been quite familiar and its proposed structural scheme the norm. Although probably typical of the eastern Islamic approach to design, its representational design method may likewise have been foreign to Egypt and considered worth mentioning by al-Maqrizi, either because of the medium used—animal skin—or because of its marked contrast to the customary practice of design without representation.

CONCLUSION

This is how ʿAbd al-Latif's remark acquires its full significance: if al-Maqrizi's account indirectly suggests the use of the no-representation method in Egypt, ʿAbd al-Latif's remark explicitly confirms it. Taken together, the two observations also suggest that the use of this method extended over many centuries (at least from the ninth to the twelfth), and that it was paralleled by the other method—design with representation—which was practiced outside Egypt.

Aside from enriching our knowledge of historical design methods in the Islamic world, such a tentative and admittedly overstretched conclusion warrants a few methodological observations about our current understanding of design in general. Imagining and conceptualization have always been recognized as formative stages in the process of design. But visualization and graphic or three-dimensional representation in some fashion are normally seen as necessary and inevitable steps in the transformation of design from idea to communicable visual image. Omission of the graphic phase has usually been thought to apply only to straightforward vernacular architecture that followed age-old rules of spatial organization and did not require much precision in execution. Thus it is understandable that a one-room house or hut would not require representation for its construction. But for anything more complex, the general expectation is that a design of some sort must have been produced, graphically or spatially, prior to construction. ʿAbd

al-Latif's remark shatters this easy and evidently simplistic dichotomy: vernacular/no representation versus designed/representation. A complex design based on a mental concept can apparently be communicated and executed without an intermediary stage of representation. At least this is what some architects in medieval Egypt achieved and seem to have preferred, since the method of designing with representation was known to them and even practiced among them simultaneously with the more cerebral method.

Nor would the notion of a shared typology explain the design without representation as witnessed by ʿAbd al-Latif, i.e., a building with multiple components completed incrementally and without any mistake in alignment. It is possible to imagine an architect conveying the design to the builder by referring to an already existing example and asking for a replica or an approximation. It is also possible to think the reference to be to a general type with many known examples within the shared architectural repertoire of both designer and builder (even if they were one and the same). But some representation still seems necessary if for no other reason than to establish the dimensions and proportions of the building and its various components on the ground. It is very difficult to see how a shared typological understanding could obviate the need for a proportioned representation in the case of complex structures unless what is shared is more than a type or a model.

My final speculation, therefore, is that for ʿAbd al-Latif's observation to be plausible the shared knowledge between designer and builder should be at the same time typological and arithmetical; that is, what the designer should be verbally communicating to the builder is the type of the building, which establishes the sequence of spaces and their relative relationships to each other, and the numerical dimensions of each of these spaces. The communicated dimensions need not be in any abstract measuring norm. It would be sufficient for the designer to use a modular frame of reference stemming from the construction materials themselves: the dimension of a standard brick plus the number of bricks needed for any side of a regular space could be communicated verbally and reproduced with minimal representation, not exceeding a tracing of straight lines on the ground to establish axes. Of course we know that medieval Islamic builders had at their disposal a host of measuring units such as the various types of cubit, the foot, and the finger. Dimensions using these units can likewise be

verbally communicated, although perhaps with less precision than the fixed dimension of a unit of construction such as, say, a brick, since the understanding of "cubit" and "foot" differed from one locale to another. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the design-without-representation method was used in Egypt, and for the lesser monumental types, which used brick as their essential construction material, whereas religious and palatial structures were built with stone, which would necessitate the use of measuring units. In fact, the method itself may have disappeared from the Egyptian scene with the rising dependence on cut stone as the primary building material for monuments toward the middle of the thirteenth century, not long after ʿAbd al-Latif wrote his book.

If we substitute oral communication for representation as the stage between conception and execution, then we begin to see how design can be achieved without representation. We also begin to see how the standard history of design has favored a certain trajectory over another, which of course resulted in accepting representation as a sine qua non of design, when alternative historical trajectories seem to have existed and, if we accept ʿAbd al-Latif's remark, to have worked. In fact, considering representation a necessary mode for communicating design may be seen as the outcome of the professionalization of both architecture and construction and, more important, of the separation between designer and builder. Both forms of separation are historical choices that arose in specific contexts and times and obscured other choices that existed in other contexts and times. One such choice is the Egyptian experiment in design without representation. Comparable choices may have also existed in other places and other times, but they have largely been overshadowed by the triumph of one model and the subsequent normalization of its history as the only history of design.

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NOTES

1. The most famous canonical episode in the Western tradition is the establishment of an architectural drawing convention in the Gothic period, represented by the portfolio attributed to Villard de Honnecourt and dated to ca. 1230. See Robert Branner, "Villard de Honnecourt and the Origin of Gothic Architectural Drawing," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 61

(1963): 129–46; Christof L. Frommel, "Reflections of the Early Architectural Drawings," in *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture,* ed. Henri A. Millon and Vittorio M. Lampugnani (Milan: Bompiani, 1994), 101–21. A concise overview of the evolution of architectural drawings is François Bucher, "Medieval Architectural Design Methods 800–1560," *Gesta* 11, 2 (1972): 37–51.

2.   Great Buildings online, http://www.greatbuildings.com/architects/Imhotep.html; *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Imhotep"; Adolf K. Placzek, ed., *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, 4 vols. (London: The Free Press, 1982), 2:454–64.

3.   For an argument against this commonly accepted view see Michael Lingohr, "Architectus: Considerations on a Pre- and Early Modern Age Professional Portrait," *Architectura (Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst)* 35, 1 (2005): 47–68.

4.   See Raymonde Moulin et al., *Les architectes: Métamorphose d'une profession libérale* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1973), "Ésqisse historique," 13–36; Leopold D. Ettlinger, "The Emergence of the Italian Architect during the Fifteenth Century," in *The Architect: Chapters in the Hisotry of a Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 96–123; and Catherine Wilkinson, "The New Professionalism in the Renaissance," in Kostof, *The Architect,* 124–60.

5.   See Nasser Rabbat, "Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 155–76.

6.   Leo Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* (Geneva: Skira, 1956), 20–27; Donald Wilber, "Builders and Craftsmen in Islamic Iran: The Earlier Periods," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers (AARP)* 10 (1976): 31–39; Michael Meinecke, "Zur sogenannten Anonymität der Künstler im islamischen Mittelalter," in *Künstler und Werkstatt in den orientalischen Gesellschaften*, ed. A. J. Gail (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1982), 31–45; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "*Muhandis, shād, muʿallim*: Note on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period," *Der Islam* 72, 2 (1995): 293–309.

7.   See Nasser Rabbat, "Architects and Artists in Mamluk Society: The Perspective of the Sources," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, 1 (Sept. 1998): 30–37.

8.   The centralized organization of the corps of royal architects in the early modern Ottoman Empire contributed to their high status as state officers and led to the emergence of Sinan's autobiography (which is comparable to the lives of Italian Renaissance architects) and the biography of Mehmed Aga. See the preface by Gülru Necipoğlu in Howard Crane and Esra Akın, *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), vii–xvi, and Howard Crane, *Risāle-i Miʿmāriyye* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987). For the prestigious status of Sinan and other architects, who are praised in official chronicles and commemorated by prominent tombs and their own pious endowments, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005) chaps. 4 and 5, 127–86.

9.   This is an area that still needs basic research. See Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "The Birth of an Aesthetic Discourse in Ottoman Architecture," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 8, 2 (1988): 115–22; Rifat Chadirji, "The State of Arab Architecture," *Ur* 1982, 1 (1982): 60–67. See Chadirji's personal history, *Shāriʿ Tāha wa Hammersmith: al-Baḥth fī jadaliyyat al-ʿimāra* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Abḥath al-ʿArabiyya, 1985),

which shows how modern Arab architecture absorbed most of its identity through its contact with the West.

10.   See, for example, vol. 2 of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Kitāb al-talkhīṣ fī maʿrifat asmāʾ al-ashyāʾ*, ed. ʿIzzat Ḥasan, 2 vols. (Damascus: Majmaʿ al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya, 1969–70), which devotes more than half of its pages to discussion of building and place terminology.

11.   Mayer, *Islamic Architects,* 26, and Aḥmad Taymūr, *al-Muhandisūn fī ʾl-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr lil-Tabʿ wa ʾl-Nashr, 1979), 121–22, opt for the term *muhandis,* but as we will see, a *muhandis* is the designer only in the sense of surveying and laying out the plot.

12.   Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima,* ed. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī, 4 vols. (Cairo: Lajnat al-Bayān al-ʿArabī, 1957–62), 3:935–37, explains how *muhandis* developed from being primarily a surveyor and builder to becoming a real-estate expert and arbitrator. For definitions of *muhandis* see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (1967–93), vol. 1, *Economic Foundations*, 113; vol. 4, *Daily Life,* 38–39; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "*Muhandis, shād, muʿallim*," 293–95.

13.   For the life and work of ʿAbd al-Latif al-Baghdadi see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Nizār Riḍā, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ḥayāt, 1956–57), 2:683–96; Claude Cahen, "Abdellatif al-Baghdadi, portraitiste et historien de son temps: Extraits inédits de ses mémoires," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 23 (1970): 101–28; Shawkat Toorawa, "The Educational Background of ʿAbd al-Latif al-Baghdadi," *Muslim Education Quarterly* 13, 3 (1996): 35–53; idem, "Language and Male Homosocial Desire in the Autobiography of ʿAbd al-Latif al-Baghdadi," *Edebiyat* 7, 2 (1997): *Special Issue, Arabic Autobiography*: 251–65; idem, "A Portrait of ʿAbd al-Latif al-Baghdadi's Education and Instruction," in *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi,* ed. Joseph Lowry, Devin Stewart, and Shawkat Toorawa (London: David Brown Book Co., 2005), 91–110

14.   Italics mine. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *al-Ifāda wa ʾl-iʿtibār fi ʾl-umūr al-mushāhada wa ʾl-hawādith al-muʿāyana bi-ʾarḍ Miṣr* (Cairo, 1869), 52; idem, *Relations de l'Égypte,* ed. Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 1810), 295–96.

15.   Martin S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine* (Oxford, 1924; repr., 1974), 93. His English translation is quite different from mine (perhaps because of the difference in terminology between the beginning of the twentieth century and now).

16.   Quoted in ibid., 93.

17.   This is the case in Syria and Egypt, but the use and long-distance circulation of plans on paper is attested in Ilkhanid Iran. For plans sent from Tabriz to Yazd see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll, Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Library Ms H. 1956* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 3–9.

18.   The sources in fact suggest that masons and carpenters who wished to move up in their profession might undertake the study of geometry as one way of enhancing their professional reputation: see the case of Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Karim al-Harithy *al-muhandis* (d. 1204) in Taymūr, *Muhandisūn,* 41–42. A fuller biography of al-Harithy appears in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa,

ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ, 2:190–91. For a general statement see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima,* 3:937; for the English see *The Muqaddima: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, abridged edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 321.

19. On ʿAbd al-Latif's travels see Shawkat Toorawa, "Travel in the Medieval Islamic World: The Importance of Patronage, as Illustrated by ʿAbd al-Latif al-Baghdadi (d. 629/1231) (and Other Littérateurs)," in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers (1050–1550),* ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 53–69

20. The earliest source to report the event was compiled before 1019. It is Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil al-Bayt al-Muqqadas* (Jerusalem: Dār Māghnis lil Nashr, 1979), 80–81, account no. 136. See my translation and analysis in "The Dome of the Rock Revisited: Some Remarks on al-Wasiti's Accounts," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 67–75.

21. The verb's origin has to do with the practice of demarcating the settlement of the bedouins by stacking the solidified dung of their animals. A new meaning of the verb, "to consecrate [a church]," attractive as it may be to explain the act of ʿAbd al-Malik, could not have been known at his time. See Ibn Manzūr (d. 1311), *Lisān al-ʿArab,* 15 vols., 65 pts. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955–56), pt. 26, 194–95; Ibn Sīdah (d. 1066), *al-Mukhassas,* 17 vols. in 5 (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Tijārī lil-Ṭibāʿa wa 'l Tawzīʿ wa 'l Nashr, 1965), vol. 5, pt. 1, 120–21. Neither lexicographer gives the meaning "to consecrate" to the verb.

22. Charles Wendell, "Baghdad: Imago Mundi, and Other Foundation-Lore," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, 2 (April 1971): 99–128, esp. 123, denies al-Mansur the ability to have such an aesthetic and symbolic vision and attributes the design to his Persian advisor Khalid ibn Barmak.

23. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk*, 11 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿarif, 1960–77), vol. 3, pt. 1, 277; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955–57), 1:682; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14 vols. (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿat al-Miṣriyya, 1931), 1:67.

24. Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll,* 3–9, provides a thorough collection of references to architectural drawings mentioned in Islamic sources and to actual examples dating from the Ilkhanid period on.

25. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932–40) 1:78–79, for a list. Ibn Khaldun's statement in Rosenthal's abridged translation, 320, "they try their utmost to make good plans and build tall structures with technical perfection," cited in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll,* 6, to propose that plans were drawn for monumental projects in Egypt, is misleading. The original text, though a bit convoluted, does not mention drawing plans at all, nor anything about conceptualizing buildings: see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, 3:933–34.

26. Cf. J. M. Rogers, "Seljuk Influence on the Monuments of Cairo," *Kunst des Orients* 7, 1(1971): 40–68; Michael Meinecke, "Mamluk Architecture: Regional Architectural Traditions, Evolution and Interrelations," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 163–75; Bernard O'Kane, "Monumentality in Mamluk and Mongol Art and Architecture," *Art History* 19, 4 (1996): 499–522, esp. 510.

27. Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb zubdat kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-turuq wa 'l-masālik,* ed. P. Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), 31.

28. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn,* ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīnīya, n.d.), 180–83.

29. The same might be said about the plan of the palace drawn for Muhammad ibn Taghj al-Ikhshid (935–46), who also came from Samarra and who "boasted among the Iraqis of his Egyptian palace," indicating that his audience was perhaps an Iraqi one: see al-Maqrīzī, *al Mawāʿiz wa 'l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār,* 2 vols. (Būlāq: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīriyya, 1854), 2:181.

30. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:265–67. An unpublished PhD thesis, Tarek Swelim, "The Mosque of Ibn Tulun: A New Perspective" (Harvard, 1994), discusses the foundation story of the mosque as it appears in various sources.

SHEILA S. BLAIR

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF ABU ZAYD

Abu Zayd Kashani is the most famous potter of medieval Iran: he worked in the two most expensive overglaze techniques, enamel (Persian *mīnā'ī*) and luster, and he left behind the greatest number of signed works. The appearance, acquisition, and exhibition of a hitherto-unknown but complete bowl signed by him (figs. 1–2) provide good reasons to return to his work.[1] The objects he made, especially the long inscriptions he transcribed on them, allow us to compile a short biography,[2] which in turn can help us to reassess the status and role of craftsmen in the Islamic lands during the medieval period and to understand how and why these works were appreciated in their own time. The objects themselves are an important source for such a study, as contemporary chronicles, typically written by the ulema, do not usually mention craftsmen. Such an undertaking shows what a multitalented scholar Abu Zayd was at the turn of the thirteenth century and is therefore a fitting tribute to Oleg Grabar, who has often investigated the meaning of inscriptions and decoration on the ceramics and other portable arts made in Iran and elsewhere in medieval Islamic times.[3]

The work by Abu Zayd, newly brought to light and acquired by the David Collection in Copenhagen, is a medium-sized bowl with straight, flaring sides joined to a high foot ring at a sharp angle. The vessel is about twice as wide (diameter: 19.7 cm) as it is tall (height: 9.8 cm). Like most ceramics of the period, it is made of stonepaste, in this case covered with an opaque white glaze and then painted over the glaze with coppery brown luster. The design on the interior of the well (fig. 1) shows a large medallion with two confronted figures in reserve: a male on the viewer's right, identifiable by the cap on his head and the boot on his flexed leg, and a female on the viewer's left, identifiable by her longer braids and headdress. Both wear loosely fitting robes decorated with foliate scrolls embellished with myriad tiny spirals that virtually melt into the background of vines with large dotted

Fig. 1. Interior of a luster bowl dated Jumada II 600 (February–March 1204). David Collection, Copenhagen, 45/2001. (Photo: courtesy of the David Collection)

Fig. 2. Exterior of a luster bowl dated Jumada II 600 (February–March 1204). David Collection, Copenhagen, 45/2001. (Photo: courtesy of the David Collection)

Fig. 3. Enameled bowl dated 4 Muharram 582 (27 March 1186). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 64.178.1. (Author's photo)

leaves and three flying birds. Two inscriptions ring the interior rim of the bowl. The inner one, painted in luster in a stylized Kufic script, contains a repeating text with blessings. The outer one, scratched in the luster ground, includes Persian poetry followed by the artist's signature in Arabic, saying that Abu Zayd wrote it in his own hand (*bi-khaṭṭihi*) in Jumada II 600 (February–March 1204).

The exterior of the bowl (fig. 2) has been left undecorated except for several bands. A scalloped one encircles the bowl above the carinated joint between foot and body, with thin arrows painted between the scallops. An epigraphic band encircles the rim. The text scratched through the luster consists of another Persian quatrain followed by a more complete signature of the same potter, Abu Zayd, with the same date, Jumada II 600 (February–March 1204).

The newly acquired bowl thus falls in the middle of Abu Zayd's long working life, which spanned nearly four decades and encompassed both overglaze tech-

niques of luster and enamel (see the appendix at the end of this article for a preliminary list of his works).[4] The earliest signed work by Abu Zayd is an enameled bowl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, dated 4 Muharram 582 (27 March 1186) (fig. 3).[5] The latest is a luster bowl in the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague dated 616 (1219–20).[6] But as Oliver Watson has pointed out, the thirty-four years between these dated works do not account for Abu Zayd's full career: the enameled bowl of 1186 is too accomplished to have been a first work, and Abu Zayd must have made earlier objects that we do not know about. Such a long working life may surprise us but is not without parallel in premodern Iranian society: the Safavid painter Riza ʿAbbasi, for example, left signed works that spanned almost half a century, from ca. 1585 to 1634.[7]

The decoration on the newly acquired bowl dated 600 (1204) epitomizes the so-called Kashan style of painting used on luster ceramics during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The region around

Kashan in central Iran has been a center of ceramic production since the sixth millennium BCE, probably because of the fine clays available there.[8] In one of the classic articles on the history of Islamic art, published in 1936, Richard Ettinghausen identified the style of Kashan painting popular in medieval times,[9] and Watson's comprehensive survey of lusterware, published in 1985, showed that Kashan was the one site in Iran where this expensive ware was produced.[10]

Watson's monograph also delineated the three styles of painting used to decorate Kashan lusterware.[11] A first, or "monumental," style, painted in reserve, shows fluent but sketchy drawing with details of faces, hair, hands, and dress indicated by quick, free movements of the brush. Since it is the style most indebted to works produced earlier in Egypt and Syria, it may well have been inspired by ceramicists who had fled Cairo with the crisis in the Fatimid realm in the last quarter of the eleventh century.[12]

A second, or "miniature," style of luster painting had developed in Kashan by 575 (1179–80), the year of the first dated examples: a vase in the British Museum dated Muharram 575 (June–July 1179) and a bowl in the Plotnick Collection dated to the same year.[13] In contrast to the reserve painting used in the monumental style, the miniature style shows elaborate designs—including complexly decorated garments, checkerboard trees, and dotted and hatched plants—painted on a white ground. The miniature style was clearly inspired by book painting. Many of its features are characteristic of enameled wares as well, and it is likely that the miniature style, with its rendering of detail, was developed first in polychrome enamels and then adopted for luster. Abu Zayd was a key figure in the development of the miniature style in the 1180s, as he was responsible for a group of enameled bowls dated 582 (1186) (fig. 3) and 583 (1187), as well as a fragmentary luster vase dated 587 (1191).[14]

These two styles were then replaced by the "Kashan" style, designed expressly to show off the luster technique to its best advantage and well illustrated on the new bowl. In this third style, large figures appear in reserve against a luster ground, and minutely drawn details, notably a series of loops and squiggles, are painted on the white glaze or scratched through the luster. Except for the white moon-shaped faces of the figures, decorated surfaces are densely covered. Characteristic motifs include flying ducks with dotted bodies and spotted leaves set among the swirls. Typical iconographic details of setting may include a canopy
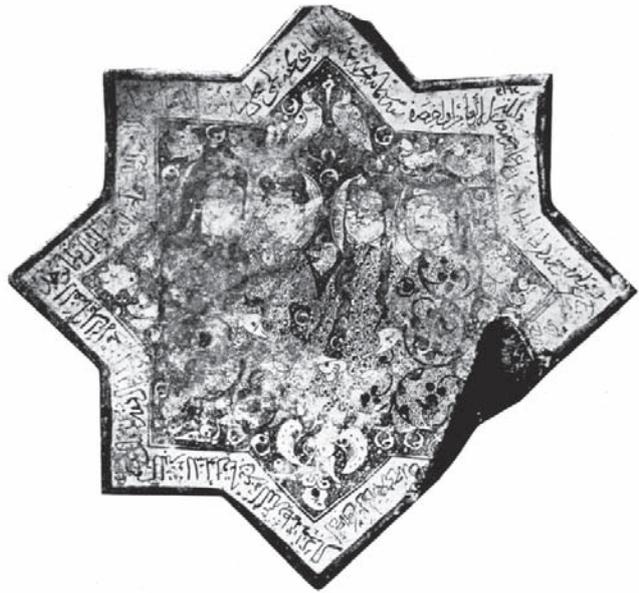
Fig. 4. Luster star tile dated Safar 600 (October 1203). Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, 3162. (After Ettinghausen, "Evidence for the Identification of Kashan Pottery," *Ars Islamica* 3 [1936], fig. 3)

over the figures' heads, a fishpond below, and flanking cypress trees, although these motifs are missing on the newly acquired bowl. The complex main scene is often set off from the white ground, as on the interior of this bowl, by a band or frieze festooned with radiating small "sprouts."

The first dated example of the Kashan style is a sherd from the rim of a dish dated Dhu 'l-Hijja 595 (September 1199).[15] From this time onwards, all dated lusterwares are in the Kashan style, including several works signed by Abu Zayd, of which the earliest is a fragmentary dish once in a private collection in Tehran, dated Rajab 598 (March–April 1202).[16] The second is a star tile with four figures, dated Safar 600 (October 1203) (fig. 4), made just four months before the newly published bowl.[17] It is the earliest dated example of a luster star tile, and Ettinghausen used details from it to delineate typical motifs of the Kashan style, such as long-legged birds, flying ducks, and leaves that are hatched and dotted or elongated and flamelike.[18]

Perhaps the most famous work in the Kashan style is a large (diameter: 35.2 cm) scalloped plate dated Jumada II 607 (December 1210), in the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 5).[19] It was the subject of another of

Fig. 5. Luster scalloped plate dated Jumada II 607 (December 1210). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Purchase, F1941.11. (Photo courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery)

Ettinghausen's groundbreaking articles, in which he and Grace Guest analyzed the unusually complex iconography of a horse and seven figures—five of them standing, one seated, and one floating in a fishpond in the lower exergue.[20] At the time they were writing, in 1961, the authors read the signature as "the work of (*mā ṣanaʿahu*) the *sayyid* Shams al-Din al-Hasani," followed by the date incorrectly written as "in the month in Jumada II" (*fī shahr fī jumādī al-akhir*). Their reading was not entirely convincing, and in 1992 Abdollah Ghouchani, an expert paleographer and epigrapher who had read many other signatures by Abu Zayd, suggested that the first two words in the date should be interpreted instead as *Abī Zayd*.[21]

Abu Zayd signed several objects in the Kashan style dated during the first two decades of the thirteenth century. Of these, his most important projects, carried out with another potter from Kashan, Muham-

mad ibn Abi Tahir, were the revetments added to the two major Shiite shrines in Iran, the tombs of Fatima at Qum and of Imam Reza at Mashhad. At Qum, the project included tiles to cover a large boxlike cenotaph.[22] The top of the cenotaph, signed by Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir, is covered with fifteen rather flatly molded panels comprising an inscription band framing several inscribed niches. The sides of the cenotaph are encircled at top and bottom by bands composed of large tiles featuring a molded inscription on a ground decorated with vines and palmettes. The text, beginning in the top northwest corner, contains the foundation inscription ending with the signature of Abu Zayd and the date of 3 Rajab 602 (13 February 1206) (fig. 6).[23] Between these two bands on the sides are five rows of star and octagonal tiles separated by bow-shaped tiles. The corners of the cenotaph have molded pilasters with the signature of Muhammad
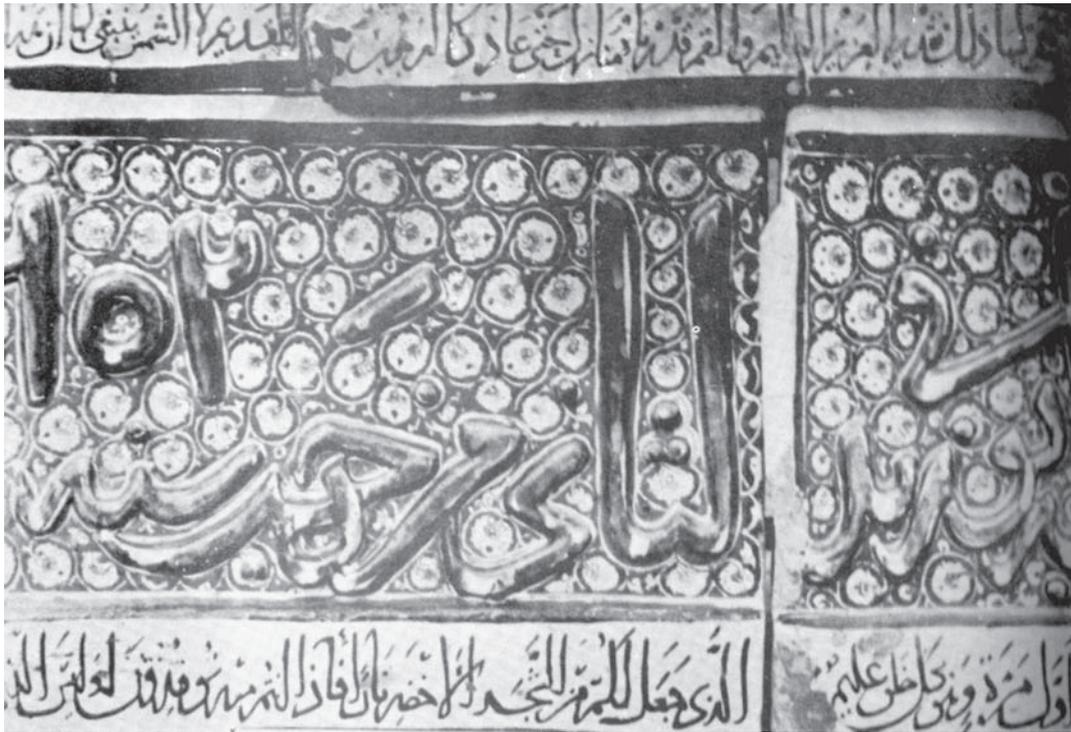
Fig. 6. Luster band from the cenotaph in the tomb of Fatima at Qum, dated 3 Rajab 602 (13 February 1206). (After Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Turbat-i Pākān*, 2 vols. [Qum, 1976], vol. 1, fig. 9)

ibn Abi Tahir's son ʿAli and were probably added a generation later.

The program at Mashhad, carried out a decade after the work at Qum by the same team of Abu Zayd and Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir, was more ambitious. The dado of the tomb chamber was revetted in luster tiles, with a large inscription frieze running along the top above five rows of tiles arranged like those around the cenotaph at Qum (star and octagonal tiles separated by bow-shaped tiles). Several of the Mashhad tiles are signed by Abu Zayd and dated 612 (1215).[24] The doorway was also framed in tiles with a band containing the foundation inscription, ending with the name of Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir and the date 1 Jumada I 612 (28 August 1215).[25] Two large mihrabs comprising inscribed niches framed by inscription bands were installed in the south wall of the chamber.[26] The one on the left is unsigned, but the other, on the right, measuring 240 meters in height, contains an invocation on the lintel asking forgiveness for him who asks forgiveness for Abu Zayd (fig. 7).[27] In 640 (1242), a third luster mihrab was installed on the opposite wall

by Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir's son ʿAli.

Abu Zayd's latest dated work—the luster bowl of 616 (1219)—was produced in the year following his participation at Mashhad.[28] He probably stopped work shortly thereafter, for production of luster vessels, if not tiles, declined precipitately following the Mongol invasions. There are, for example, no vessels dated to the thirty-five years between 1226 and 1261.

Abu Zayd's works over four decades thus include at least two dozen signed and dated objects and another half dozen that can be assigned to him because of close similarities. What can we learn from this corpus? Who was Abu Zayd? What did he do? For whom did he make his ceramics? How and why did he decorate them as he did?

Abu Zayd's signatures tell us that he came from an important family of sayyids in Kashan. The inscription on the lintel of the mihrab in Mashhad (fig. 7) gives his genealogy as Abu Zayd ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Zayd.[29] The potter thus bears the same name as his grandfather, a common pattern at the time. On the scalloped plate in the Freer Gallery (fig. 5), Abu

Fig. 7. Luster mihrab from the tomb of Imam Reza at Mash-
had, dated 612 (1215–16). (After Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*
[London and Boston, 1985], fig. 104b)

the Khalili Collection.[32] His son Muhammad, a luster
potter active in the early thirteenth century, collabo-
rated with Abu Zayd at Qum and Mashhad. Muham-
mad's son ʿAli added luster tiles to these two major
shrines as well as to two smaller *imāmzāda*s (tombs
of the Prophet's descendants) in Qum and Varamin,
both dated 663 (1264–65).

ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir, in turn, had
four sons who were active in the first four decades of
the fourteenth century. One was Yusuf, well known for
several sets of luster tiles with inscribed niches taken
from the Imamzada Yahya in Veramin and the Imam-
zada ʿAli ibn Jaʿfar at Qum. Another was Muhammad,
the owner of the lusterware factory in Kashan where
the master potter Jamal worked.[33] A third son, Jamal
al-Din Abu ʾl-Qasim ʿAbdallah, became a scribe and
accountant in the Ilkhanid bureaucracy and wrote a
history of the sultan Uljaytu and a treatise on gems
and minerals, *ʿArāʾis al-jawāhir wa nafāʾis al-aṭāʾib* (The
Glories of Gems and the Exquisite among the Most
Beautiful Things), that is one of our major sources
for the technique of lusterware.[34] A fourth son, ʿIzz al-
Din Mahmud, was a Sufi who entered the Suhrawardi
khanqah at Natanz and wrote a spiritual guide, *Miṣbāḥ
al-hidāya wa miftāḥ al- kifāya* (The Light of Divine Guid-
ance and the Key to Completeness). [35]

In the early fourteenth century a fourth-genera-
tion potter of the Abu Tahir family, Yusuf ibn ʿAli ibn
Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir, worked alongside another
family of Husayni sayyids in Kashan.[36] They traced
their lineage to Ibn Babuwayh (d. 991), a well-known
Shiite theologian. In the late twelfth century one of
their family members had been a builder in Qazvin. [37]
By the early fourteenth century at least one branch
of the family had moved to Kashan and entered the
lusterware business. The potter ʿAli ibn Ahmad ibn
ʿAli al-Husayni made several sets of luster tiles with
inscribed niches, including one dated 705 (1305) from
the Imamzada Yayha in Veramin that is also signed
by Yusuf ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir. ʿAli
al-Husayni's son Ahmad, in turn, made a set of lus-
ter tiles now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In
short, the production of overglaze ceramics in Iran
from the late twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century
was, like many prize craft traditions in the Muslim mid-
dle ages, passed down through families.[38] Indeed, it
seems to have been the monopoly of a very few fam-
ilies of prominent Shiites in Kashan.

Within this nexus of Shiite potting families in
Kashan, Abu Zayd was clearly a master, the only pot-

Zayd tells us that he was a Hasani sayyid, that is, a
descendant of the Prophet's elder grandson, Hasan.
Kashan, although a predominantly Sunni town at this
time, had a large number of Shiites, who traced their
descent to the Prophet's son ʿAli,[30] and the signatures
by Abu Zayd and others help us delineate the work of
several of the Shiite families involved in the ceram-
ics business there.

At least four generations of a family of Husayni say-
yids (descendants of the Prophet's younger grandson,
Husayn) made overglaze ceramics in Kashan over the
course of a century and a half.[31] The progenitor, Abu
Tahir, was probably responsible for an enameled bowl
in Cairo datable to the last quarter of the twelfth cen-
tury and a contemporary miniature-style luster bowl in

Fig. 8. Luster star tile dated 607 (1210–11). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 07.670. (Photograph ©2007, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

ter known to have worked on both tiles and vessels. Tiles signed by him come in a wide variety of shapes: stars, octagons, crosses, and square or rectangular tiles for friezes. Smaller versions (diameter: 22 cm) of the stars and octagons were fitted together to form the revetments at Qum and Mashhad. Abu Zayd also made larger star tiles, measuring some 30 cm. in diameter (fig. 8). Of nine such tiles dated to the first decade of the seventh century AH (1203–13), five are signed by Abu Zayd.[39] They set the prototype for later potters, who adopted this larger size. These large star tiles were probably installed as part of dados in buildings whose revetments have not been preserved intact —perhaps palaces, houses, or baths. Such tiles were used later to decorate the Ilkhanid palace at Takht-i Sulayman, and the fourteenth-century globetrotter Ibn Battuta mentioned seeing luster tiles of this type, which he called *qāshānī*, not only on the "colleges, religious houses, and convents" at Najaf but also on a bath in Isfahan.[40]

Watson has suggested that the large star tiles, known only as singletons, might have been set as the occasional highlight in a panel of plain monochrome-glazed tiles,[41] but they could also have been set with luster cross tiles. We know of one undated luster cross tile with an epigraphic border signed by Abu Zayd;[42] several others without epigraphic borders might also be his work.[43] Revetments of large star and cross tiles may have been another of Abu Zayd's innovations that were soon picked up by other potters; for example, the imamzadas in Veramin and Qum from the 1260s and the undated tomb of the shaykh Abu Saʿid ibn Abi 'l Khayr in southern Turkmenistan were revetted with dado panels of star and cross tiles decorated with a variety of vegetal and figural designs surrounded by epigraphic borders,[44] and such star-and-cross revetments became standard in later times.

Abu Zayd also collaborated on the larger molded revetments and niches used to cover cenotaphs and walls, as indicated by his signatures in the major shrines

in Iran. The ensembles at Mashhad and Qum are the largest and finest to survive from the period. The mihrab at Mashhad, for example, comprises dozens of tiles, and a mihrab dated Safar 623 (February 1226) from the Maydan Mosque in Kashan includes some seventy-five tiles.[45] Abu Zayd collaborated on these large projects with the Husayni sayyid Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir, who signed only this type of tile revetment. In contrast, Abu Zayd signed vessels as well.

Like his tiles, Abu Zayd's vessels come in a variety of forms—closed vases and open plates and bowls with either flat or rounded profiles. Some shapes are particularly noteworthy; that of the scalloped dish in the Freer (fig. 5) is so distinct that we can immediately discern that the mold used to make it was reused over a period of several years for other examples decorated in different techniques, including underglaze painting.[46] The use of the same mold shows that the same workshop, if not the same potter—Abu Zayd himself—painted in a wide range of techniques.

Abu Zayd's lengthy signatures tell us more precisely about his many skills in making these tiles and vessels. On the newly acquired luster bowl (figs. 1–2), as well as the enameled bowls (e.g., fig. 3) and the luster star tile in Cairo (fig. 4), he was careful to specify that he had both made (*ʿamila*) and decorated (*ṣanaʿa*) the work, thus distinguishing potting from painting and telling us that he did both. Abu Zayd was not the only potter to do this: his contemporary Muhammad ibn Abi Nasr al-Hasani signed a small dish dated Shawwal 611 (February 1215) using the same formula.[47] In later times, ceramicists' talents became more specialized. The inscriptions on the mihrab from the Imamzada Yahya at Varamin, dated 705 (1305), tell us that the potter Yusuf ibn ʿAli Muhammad made (*ʿamila*) it, while the potter and calligrapher ʿAli ibn Ahmad ibn ʿAli al-Husayni decorated (*ṣanaʿa*) it.[48] Abu Zayd also used the epithet *naqqāsh* (painter or decorator) following his signature on the mihrab at Mashhad. In later generations painters would turn from ceramics to paper,[49] but at the turn of the thirteenth century most artists in Iran painted on ceramics, even working out their preliminary designs on the backs of tiles.[50]

In addition to his artistic skills, Abu Zayd's signatures tell us about his literary ones, for he was not only a potter and painter but also a poet and scribe. He signed his enameled bowls with the distinctive phrase *qāʾiluhu wa kātibuhu Abū Zayd*, literally saying that its narrator (meaning the narrator of the preceding verses)

and its writer was Abu Zayd. The phrase shows that Abu Zayd both composed and transcribed the verses found on the bowls, such as a quatrain inscribed on an enameled bowl dated 583 (1187–88):

> *man mihr-i tu dar miyān-i jān āvurdam*
> *bā ū hama khurda dar miyān āvurdam*
> *ākhir z hama jahān bar āvurdam sar*
> *tā mihr-i tu bar sār-i jahān āvurdam*

> I put love of you in the midst of my soul;
> Along with it I scrutinized a very insignificant thing.
> Finally I raised my head above the world
> Until I had elevated love of you over the world.[51]

This quatrain became part of the standard repertory of Kashan potters. It is used on several other luster bowls in the Kashan style, on a contemporary luster tile with a horseman, and on several luster tiles made in the 1270s for the palace at Takht-i Sulayman.[52] Another quatrain composed by Abu Zayd appears on at least one luster tile—the first dated example, from 1203 (fig. 4).[53]

In most cases, however, Abu Zayd, like other potters working in Kashan, transcribed verses by other poets.[54] Scholars of Persian literature have identified some one hundred verses by a dozen poets on Kashan wares made at the turn of the thirteenth century. The authors range from well-known figures like Awhad al-Din Anvari (d. 1189–90) to local luminaries of the Isfahan school of panegyrists like Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Razzaq Isfahani (d. ca. 1192) and Kamal Ismaʿil-i Isfahani (d. 1237). Some were well-known mystics, including Abu Saʿid ibn Abi 'l Khayr (d. 1049), Ruzbihan al-Baqli (d. 1209), Awhad al-Din Kirmani (d. 1298), and even Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273).[55] Verses by most of these same authors also occur on the luster tiles made in the 1270s for the palace at Takht-i Sulayman, but the verses of at least two panegyric poets—Abu 'l-Faraj Runi (d. after 1099), who worked for the Ghaznavids, and ʿImadi Shahryari (d. 1177 or 1186), who worked for the Bawandids and Seljuks—are found only on tiles from the turn of the thirteenth century.

Ghouchani determined that in at least some instances the potter must have transcribed the verses while another person read them aloud from a written text. The three quatrains on the tile in Boston made by Abu Zayd in 1210–11 (fig. 8), for example, are separated by the phrase "also [by him]" (*ayḍan*). Other tiles have similar phrases meaning "and also by him," such as *wa ayḍan lahu hamūrāst*. The phrase "and in

Persian" (*wa bi 'l-fārsiyya*) is also used to separate an Arabic verse from its Persian translation. Such phrases are typically included in written anthologies to show the connection between one selection and the next, and the inclusion of these connectors shows that the texts inscribed on ceramics are derived from such anthologies. Ghouchani further pointed out that the inscribed texts incorporate a few homonyms or misspellings that would have occurred only when transcribing from an oral recitation. In short, these potters were scribes who could take dictation.

In addition to a wide range of verse, the potters were also familiar with religious texts in both Persian and Arabic. The inscriptions on some tiles, especially those made for the shrines at Qum and Mashhad and for other religious sites, include Arabic and Persian poems; excerpts from the Qur'an; hadith of the Prophet Muhammad; and sayings by his son ʿAli, his grandsons Hasan and Husayn, the Fifth Imam Muhammad Baqir, and the Eleventh Imam Hasan ʿAskari. One of Abu Zayd's star tiles for Mashhad, dated Jumada I 612 (November 1215), even has a text describing God's revelation to Moses in the Old Testament.

The potters' own religious learning is shown by the honorifics they bore, for many of them had titles ending in *dīn* (religion or faith). On the luster plate in the Freer (fig. 5), for example, Abu Zayd identifies himself as Shams al-Din (Sun of the Faith). The builder from the Ibn Babuwayh family who repaired the city walls of Qum in 1176–77 was an imam (prayer leader) who bore the title Jamal al-Din (Glory of the Faith).[56] The Kashan potter ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir was Zayn al-Din (Ornament of the Faith), and his son Muhammad was Rukn al-Din (Pillar of the Faith). Such epithets underscore how learned these craftsmen were.

As artist, scribe, and scholar, Abu Zayd bears comparison to his close contemporary, the Persian historian Najm al-Din Muhammad ibn ʿAli Rawandi.[57] Like Abu Zayd's ceramics, Rawandi's written work provides the only biographical information we have about him, in Rawandi's case a dynastic history of the Seljuks entitled *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa āyat al-surūr* (Refreshment of the Hearts' Sadness and Signal of Gladness, or, more literally, Ease for Bosoms and Marvel of Happiness). As his epithet Rawandi indicates, the historian came from a village near Kashan, a city he deemed to be the center of Arabic learning in twelfth-century Iran. Like Abu Zayd, he belonged to a scholarly family: both

his uncles were scholars and calligraphers,[58] and Rawandi himself earned a living as a calligrapher, binder, and gilder. He wrote a now-lost treatise on calligraphy, and he assisted his uncle Zayn al-Din Mahmud Kashi, tutor to the Seljuk ruler Tugril III (r. 1176–94), in preparing a magnificent Qur'an manuscript for the sultan. Rawandi boasts of Kashanis' skill in calligraphy (*khaṭṭ*), and Abu Zayd was similarly proud of his own talent, signing his wares with the distinctive phrase "in his own hand" (*bi-khaṭṭihi*).

Rawandi presumably wanted to dedicate his history of the Seljuks to a ruler in Persia, but after the Khwarazmshah conquest of Iran in 1194, the historian fled the area and sought patronage at the court of the Seljuks of Rum in Konya. Rawandi's relocation westward was typical of Iranian intellectuals and artists at the time. The painter ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Khuwayyi, whose epithet suggests that he came from Khoy in northwestern Iran, presumably also fled from Iran to Konya, where he produced the only illustrated manuscript to survive from Seljuk times: a copy of the romance of Warqa and Gulshah datable ca. 1250, whose paintings are much indebted to the style used earlier on enameled wares.[59]

Unlike the Hasani sayyid Abu Zayd, Rawandi was an ardent Sunni. He even claimed to have written a polemical text against the Shiites, his bêtes noire, whom he called *rāfiḍiyya*, meaning turncoats or deserters. But despite their differing sectarian views, Rawandi and Abu Zayd shared a common literary milieu and mode of expression. Rawandi viewed history as edification and deliberately exploited an elaborate rhetorical style, copiously fleshing out his didactic essay on exemplary kingship with numerous interpolations. As on the contemporary ceramics, they are drawn from an array of sources, ranging from the Qur'an and hadith to Arabic proverbs and poetry. Rawandi's history contains a total of 2,799 poetic snippets, including 511 by the historian himself in praise of his patron Kaykhusraw. Others are taken from well-known authors like Nizami and Firdawsi, with the selections from the *Shāhnāma* typically quoted out of context in long passages combining verses from different parts of the epic and probably drawn from an anthology like the one compiled by ʿAli ibn Ahmad in 1081–82. Also represented are a host of lesser-known poets, including Abu 'l-Faraj Runi and ʿImadi Shahryari, the same two poets whose verses are found on contemporary luster tiles but not on those made later in the century.

Rawandi's rhetorically sophisticated style can be seen as a multilayered evocation of the past designed to explain the present and to provide admonition with respect to the future. The poetic interpolations in his history, once viewed negatively as irrelevant encumbrances, have recently been reassessed positively as signs of elegance and entertainment.[60]

Both Rawandi and Abu Zayd, then, exemplify the literary culture (*adab*) of medieval Persia, in which the quotation (and occasionally composition) of short verses in both Persian and Arabic was deemed a mark of erudition. Those in Rawandi's history were inserted to display his sophisticated style in order to win the backing of secretaries and officials whose influence would gain the historian a position at court. These officials must have been well versed not only in rhetoric but also in literature. Similarly, the verses inscribed on contemporary ceramics were designed to appeal to and flatter patrons and readers.

To see this, let us examine more closely the Persian poetry on the newly discovered bowl. The inscription around the interior rim (fig. 1) includes a quatrain and a couplet before the artist's signature and date. The quatrain, rhyming in *vafā* (loyalty), laments the beloved's infidelity:

> *ay dar tu nadīda hīch kas rang-i vafā*
> *ṭabʿ-i tu nagarda hargiz āhang-i vafā*
> *chandān kas bi-har tarāzūyat bar sanjam*
> *nabūd . . . sang-i vafā*

> O you in whom no one has seen any trace of loyalty,
> Your temperament has never shown loyalty.
> If I were to place weight on your balance
> There would be no . . .[?] the weight of loyalty.

The band continues with a distich about fate that is similar to, though not identical with, one from Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma*:

> *bikhur harch dārī mana bāz pas*
> *tū ranjī chirā mānd bāyad bi-kas*

> Use all you have, keep nothing back.
> You will suffer distress, why should it be left to someone [else]? [61]

The outside of the bowl (fig. 2) is inscribed with a similar quatrain, rhyming in *jigar* (literally liver, but figuratively sympathy or heart) and lamenting the agony of love:

> *ay khaṣm-i tu khastah karda pahlū-yi jigar*
> *shud ghamza–i paykān ṣifatash sū-yi jigar*
> *bakhshā kasī chūn khūn-i lālah khūn-i dāman*
> *bī rū-yi tu sūkhtast bar rū-yi jigar*

> O you whose fury has made my heart ache,
> Whose amorous glance has pierced my heart like an arrow,
> Forgive, since like the tulip engorged with blood
> My heart is inflamed without your face.

Many other verses inscribed on these vessels and tiles by Abu Zayd and his contemporaries speak to the same theme. The text on Abu Zayd's 1210 star tile in Boston, for example, contains three quatrains by ʿImadi Shahryari of the "sorrow"(*gham)* type. The first one begins:

> *guftam bi shikasta dil ki chūn dārī kār*
> *andar shikan-i zulf-i kham andar kham-i yār*
> *dil guft ki nīkūst zi mā dast bidār*
> *mā har du shikastarā bi-ham bāz guzār*

> I asked my broken heart, "How are you doing
> In the twists and curls of the beloved's locks?"
> My heart replied, "It's fine. Let go of us.
> Put us two broken ones [i.e., the broken heart and the curly lock] back together."

Like Rawandi, potters such as Abu Zayd displayed their literary skill by combining different types of texts, often in verse and sometimes in two languages or by different authors, in the epigraphic band on a tile or ware, and then adding an expandable signature and date that could be shortened or lengthened to take up the remaining space.[62] The larger the surface, the more room for novelty and juxtaposition. The inscription around the interior of the newly acquired bowl combines a quatrain, a distich, and a signature, while that around the inside of the large plate in the Freer, whose circumference is almost twice that of the bowl, has three separate poetic texts—an ode (*qaṣīda*) with alternate lines of Persian and Arabic, a distich about achieving union with the beloved by drinking wine, and a quatrain with benedictions to the owner—before a phrase with good wishes to the owner in Persian and the date in Arabic.[63]

We know that the users or viewers of these objects were meant to read the poetry, since some benedictory inscriptions are addressed directly to the owner. Some contain generalized good wishes: on the newly acquired bowl, for example, the Kufic inscription around the interior is derived from repeated good

wishes in the form of *al-ʿizz al-dāʾim wa ʾl-iqbāl* (perpetual glory and prosperity).[64] Such stylized inscriptions in Kufic were so common that they were probably meant to be instantly recognized as much as read.[65]

Some benedictory inscriptions are more specific. For example, one distich found repeatedly on works by Abu Zayd and other potters offers God's protection to the owner:

> *nigah dār bādā jahān-āfarīn*
> *bi har jā ki bāshad khudāvand-i īn*
>
> May the creator of the world protect
> The owner of this, wherever he may be.[66]

In a few cases the inscriptions even specify what the vessel is. For example, the poetry on the luster dish in the Freer includes a quatrain invoking good luck on the owner of "this plate" (*ṭabaq*). A verse could be adapted to apply to a specific vessel, as long as the word for it fit the meter. So, on an enameled bowl probably also by Abu Zayd, the noun is changed to *qadaḥ* (bowl), and on several other bowls, including one found at Gurgan and signed by Muhammad ibn Muhamad al-Nishapuri at Kashan and others now in the Khalili Collection, it becomes *kāsa* (bowl).[67] Several scholars have shown how the words inscribed on Iranian metal wares can help us not only to compile a vocabulary of shapes and forms but also to understand the role of the craftsmen in making them.[68] Further recording the words used in the verses on luster and enameled ceramics would be of similar use. For example, the foundation inscription on the cenotaph in Qum includes the term *al-kitābat al-ṣiniyya,* showing that Persian potters used *ṣiniyya,* literally "Chinese," to refer to ceramics made from stonepaste, the indigenous substitute for porcelain.

Most of these ceramics seem to have been made for the market, but a few objects, particularly the finest ones, were created for specific individuals, whose names and titles indicate that they belonged to the top ranks of both viziers and amirs.[69] The person who commissioned the tilework at Qum in 1206, for example, came from a family of viziers.[70] He is identified as Muzaffar ibn Ahmad ibn Ismaʿil. His great-grandfather is named as the deceased (literally "martyred") vizier (*al-wazīr al-shahīd*) Muʿin al-Din Ahmad ibn Fadl ibn Mahmud, who is perhaps the same person as Mukhtass al-Mulk al-Kashi, who served as vizier for the Seljuk sultan Sanjar from 1123 to 1127, when he was arrested on the orders of disgruntled amirs.[71] The family's origin in Kashan would help to explain

their patronage of such major work by potters from that city.

After the fall of the Seljuks of Iran in 1194, viziers at the court of the Khwarazmshahs continued to commission these luxury ceramics. The dedicatory inscription around the neck of a funnel-shaped luster jug once in the Bahrami Collection gives the name of the owner as one Hasan ibn Salman, who is identified as "Grand Vizier" (*al-ṣadr al-kabīr*), "Support of the People and Faith" (*ʿimād al-milla wa ʾl-dīn*), "Crown of Islam and the Muslims" (*tāj al-Islām wa ʾl-Muslimīn*), and "Favorite of Kings and Sultans" (*ʿazīz al-mulūk wa ʾl-salāṭīn*).[72] Bahrami dated the vessel ca. 1215 on stylistic grounds and suggested that the patron was an important official working under the Khwarazmshahs. Bahrami's attribution is confirmed by the inscription on an inlaid bronze penbox dated 607 (1210–11), made for Majd al-Mulk al-Muzaffar, grand vizier to the last of the Khwarazmshahs, who bears titles virtually identical to those found on the luster jug.[73] Two bowls of approximately the same date, one signed by Abu Zayd and a fragmentary one that can be assigned to him because of its very similar style (fig. 9), are dedicated to a vizier named Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah.[74]

A fourth object with a specific owner who was probably a vizier is an enameled bowl decorated almost entirely with gold.[75] The inscription around the rim offers good wishes to one Najib al-Din, whose epithets, "Success of Islam" (*saʿd al-Islām*) and "the Most Capable of Capable Men" (*akfā al-kufāt*), connect him to the administration. That the Najib al-Din named on the enameled bowl should be identified with the pious Najib al-Din ʿAli Buzghash (d. 1279), as suggested in the catalogue of the Khalili Collection, is, however, most unlikely. The latter Najib al-Din was a famous Shirazi Sufi who initiated ʿAbd al-Samad in the Suhrawardiyya line.[76] His title was *shakyh*, and to judge from dated enameled wares, he was many decades too young. A more likely candidate is the Khwarazmshah vizier Najib al-Din, whose son Bahaʾ al-Mulk replaced Majd al-Mulk as vizier to the last of the Khwarazmshahs.[77]

Patronage of fine ceramics at the turn of the thirteenth century was not limited to men of the pen; men of the sword commissioned them as well. The scalloped plate in the Freer bears the titles of one such amir. His personal names have been obliterated, but he is identified as a marshal *(isfahsālār)* who carried the titles "Sword of Kings and the Faith" (*sayf al-mulūk wa ʾl-dīn*) and "Scimitar of the Commander

a

b

Fig. 9, a and b. Fragment from a luster bowl, interior and exterior. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Madina Collection of Islamic Art, gift of Camilla Chandler Frost, M.2002.1.187. (Photograph © 2007, Museum Associates/LACMA)

of the Faithful" (*husām amīr al-muʾminīn*). Similarly, an enameled bowl depicting an elephant and howdah bears good wishes to the amir Abu Nasr Kirmanshah.[78] The 1179–80 luster bowl in the Plotnick Collection, one of the two earliest such vessels known, contains a quatrain about the amir of Mawaraʾ al-Nahr (Transoxiana) and the city of Marv.[79] Like the bureaucrats, the amirs are typically lauded as learned (*ʿālim*); learning (as well as good taste) seems to be one of the threads that connect these high-ranking patrons.

But how are we to understand the meaning of the poetry on these ceramics? Why did Abu Zayd and his contemporaries inscribe these verses, sometimes disparaged as doggerel, on wares made for such literati? Comparing Abu Zayd's work to that of his contemporary Rawandi may help us better understand the function of this poetry, for Rawandi's work has been subjected to more formal literary analysis. Julie Meisami has proposed that Rawandi's frequent interpolations served a range of purposes, from general sentential or homiletic to narrative.[80] The medieval historian, she argued, played games with the traditional convention of *tamaththul* (imitation or representation) by rearranging verses, anachronistically putting them in the mouths of earlier historical figures, occasionally changing their speakers' gender, and transforming their original meaning. Rawandi did so, she suggests, for deliberate rhetorical effect, as he expected his audience to know the originals and hence appreciate his departures from them, whether manipulative, ironic, or subtle.

In a parallel way, I imagine that a contemporary audience looking at these ceramic tiles and vessels was meant to recognize the sources of the texts, most of whose authors are not mentioned by name.[81] It was a mark of erudition to distinguish a verse by Runi or Shahryari from one by Anvari or Nizami. Reading and reciting the inscriptions, written in a clear but not particularly calligraphic script, and then identifying the author would have been an intellectual game, a sort of Scrabble or Trivial Pursuit for medieval literati.

One may argue the same sort of intellectual entertainment had held true for the inscriptions painted on slip-covered earthenwares made in eastern Iran and Transoxania under the Samanids in the tenth century, a subject of long-standing interest to Oleg Grabar. These ceramics, mostly bowls and plates, are beautifully painted, in brown or blackish slip over white, with inscriptions containing good wishes to the

Fig. 10. Slip-painted bowl, probably tenth century, Eastern Iran or Transoxania. David Collection, Copenhagen, 22/1974. (Photo courtesy of the David Collection)

owner and a variety of aphorisms or proverbs drawn from a wide range of sources.[82] Oya Pancaroğlu has shown that the aphorisms reflect three themes—generosity, virtuous conduct, and knowledge—and has connected them to contemporary interest in correct deportment and moral behavior, as exemplified by the *Kitāb al-muwashshāʾ*, the work of belles lettres by the Baghdadi literateur Abu ʾl-Tayyib Muhammad al-Washshaʾ (d. 936).[83] What remains unexplained is why these aphorisms are inscribed in such a complex and convoluted style, a hard-to-read angular script adorned with numerous knots, plaits, and flourishes that render the short texts difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to decipher.

Again, decipherment seems to have been a game. The inscriptions on Samanid slipwares are typically written to face inward, so that when the plate or bowl was full, only the bottoms of the letters were visible. As the food was consumed, the bodies of the letters and eventually the stems would appear. Only when the diner had finished could he pick up the empty vessel and turn it around to decipher the complicated text, which often admonished the improvement of the diner's behavior. In the case of a bowl in the David Collection (fig. 10), for example, whoever managed

to read the inscription was advised, "He who believes in recompense [from God] is generous with gifts."[84] In other words, the satisfied diner should reward the host or server.

Two and a half centuries later in central Iran, Abu Zayd and his contemporaries played the same sort of literary games, though the content of the text they inscribed changed from moral aphorisms to love poetry. The first lusterwares in the monumental style, like their precursors in Egypt and Syria, are generally anepigraphic, typically decorated with large single figures, but potters in Iran soon added words to the pictures. Lusterwares in the large-scale miniature style, like the contemporary enameled bowls, are inscribed with texts that encircle the bowl facing inward, as on the Samanid slipwares, or are set in a band below the image (fig. 3). The layout and direction of the writing immediately connect text to image. Inscriptions play a still more prominent role on lusterwares in the Kashan style. Multiple bands are often juxtaposed, the technique and style of writing change, and the inscription—whether written in luster or scratched through the glaze—is typically flipped so that the text faces outward around the rim, with the center of the composition filled with vegetal or figural designs.

The choice of text and ornament on tiles seems deliberately coordinated to setting. The tiles installed in the Shiite shrines at Qum and Mashhad, for example, are decorated with vegetal designs surrounded with pious texts, and at least one tile at Mashhad specifically describes the virtues of ʿAli, whose descendant is buried there.[85] Similarly, in the tomb of Abu Saʿid, the star tiles are inscribed with Qurʾanic verses, and the crosses contain Persian legends about the acts and actions of Abu Saʿid himself, taken from the *Asrār al-tawḥīd* (Secrets of Unity), a hagiography compiled in the late twelfth century by the shaykh's descendant Muhammad ibn Nur al-Din Munawwar.[86] The use of tiles with vegetal imagery surrounded by specific pious texts chosen for the site suggests a similar connection between figural imagery and the surrounding poetry on individual vessels. Although the poetry is usually disparaged as irrelevant, I suspect rather that there exists a connection that we do not appreciate today. In the same way, David Roxburgh's recent research has shown that the pages in albums compiled under the Timurids and Safavids, although they may not be ordered in what we now consider logical sequence, were deliberately arranged to fit contemporary methods of preserving and displaying art.[87]

Various interpretations have been put forward to explain the complex imagery on individual stonepaste ceramics, mainly bowls and plates. In at least one case—the very early bowl in the Plotnick Collection— it is possible to see a direct link.[88] The quatrain mentions the amir of Transoxiana and a brimming goblet, while the scene above shows three figures: an enthroned prince on the right, next to a servant offering a goblet to a third, bearded, figure seated on the left. The scene thus illustrates the poetry below it. Firouz Bagherzadeh has explained similar scenes of an enthroned prince with courtiers on three enameled bowls dated in the month of Muharram of the year 582 (1186) or 583 (1187) as depicting ceremonies associated with *taʿziyya*, the commemoration of the deaths of Husayn and ʿAli during the first days of Muharram, notably the bestowal of a robe of honor to the *naqīb*, or head of the Shiites.[89] His explanation, while possible, is not totally convincing, for it fails to show why other bowls of the same shape dated to the same month and year show a totally different iconography. For example, one of Abu Zayd's enameled bowls made in Muharram 583 (March 1187), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (64.1782), depicts a horseman. Bagherzadeh's explanation also neglects to account for the love poetry, whether on the outside of the bowl or inscribed directly beneath the figural scene.

In other cases, it is possible to suggest a direct connection between the love poetry and the accompanying figural imagery. The two figures on the newly acquired bowl and on the star tile in Boston, subtly distinguished as a couple by details of hair and dress, can be connected to the verses about the beloved's infidelity inscribed around them. Like the poetry, they can be interpreted either as a pair of earthbound lovers or as the endless search for the eternal beloved. But what about the scenes of enthroned or mounted figures that Abu Zayd painted on luster and enameled bowls inscribed with similar verses?

Guest and Ettinghausen's analysis of the scene on the scalloped plate (fig. 5) was more complex.[90] While they discounted the poetry as irrelevant to the subject matter, they proposed a sophisticated interpretation of the scene on the front as reflecting a combination of themes. They first reviewed the traditional interpretation of Khusraw espying Shirin bathing as told by the poet Nizami, a story that would have been familiar to readers. Rawandi, for example, drew most of his 249 interpolations of Nizami from this one story. Because

of the extraneous figures in the scene, Guest and Ettinghausen rejected this interpretation, suggesting instead that the scene might combine royal and narrative themes, such as a sleeping groom dreaming of a water sprite, with mystical ones, in which the fish in the exergue, for example, represented the gnostic, the mystic, or the Prophet and the water divine grace.

Guest and Ettinghausen were correct in drawing attention to the symbolic nature of the imagery and the willful combination of elements, for I believe that explicating both text and image was meant as an entertainment for the user, who was expected to read and parse the various quotations of poetry, identify their sources from lyric and epic poets, and appreciate the subtle variations. In the same way, the user was supposed to read the iconography, which was likewise drawn from a range of sources. The point was the juxtaposition of familiar elements to produce the unfamiliar. Just as classical Persian poetry revels in the refinement of existing conventions, combining standard topoi in different ways, so the scenes on these ceramics combined standard components in slightly different ways. Some figures were stereotypes, such as the miserable, suffering, and unrequited lover and his aloof, unconcerned, and inapproachable beloved. Others could evoke literary topoi. The scene on the enameled bowl in Chicago attributed to Abu Zayd, which depicts a figure seated on a bull leading a half-naked prisoner, recalls but does not exactly replicate Firdawsi's tale of Faridun and Zahhak.[91] The boys and girls in a schoolroom on a large luster dish in Copenhagen call to mind Nizami's story of Layla and Majnun, a less-favored choice of Rawandi.[92] Similarly, some elements of the scene on the scalloped luster plate could evoke Nizami's tale of Khusraw and Shirin. Readers of both verbal and visual imagery were expected to know the repertory of a tradition that was cumulative, building upon itself.

The poet Nizami 'Arudi of Samarkand, writing ca. 1155 in his *Chahār maqāla* (Four Discourses), described the function of contemporary verse:

> Poetry is a craft by means of which the poet arranges in order premises that produce an image in the mind and knits together arguments that lead to a conclusion in such a way that he makes the meaning of an insignificant thing significant and the meaning of a significant thing insignificant, and he displays a beautiful thing in a hideous robe and an ugly thing in a gorgeous raiment. By means of such ambiguousness he stirs up the irascible

and concupiscent faculties so that people experience contractive and expansive moods and thereby cause great affairs in the order of the world.[93]

The word that Nizami 'Arudi used for the craft of poetry was *ṣinā'at*, the noun derived from the same root that Abu Zayd used to refer to painting on ceramics. Both poets and painters in medieval Iran, then, were supposed to mix metaphors, both verbal and visual, to evoke and provoke beauty in the minds of the beholders. We sometimes envision medieval craftsmen as anonymous, impoverished, and illiterate laborers. The case of Abu Zayd shows us that they were anything but. As a potter, poet, scholar, and scribe, he created works of art that were designed to appeal to his contemporaries, who were as visually and literarily sophisticated as he was. Literary historians are beginning to decode the multilevel metaphors of medieval Persian poetry and prose, and art historians must do the same for the visual arts.

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APPENDIX: PRELIMINARY LIST OF WORKS BY ABU ZAYD

(including, respectively, date, description, provenance and/or present location, published references, and comments)

1.
4 Muharam 582 (27 March 1186)
Enameled bowl with two figures seated on a throne
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 64.178.1
RCEA 3414bis (no Arabic); Watson, "Documentary Mīnā'ī," no. 2 and pls. 161–62
A key piece in distinguishing Abu Zayd's signatures on enameled wares.

2.
Shawwal 582 (December 1186–January 1187)
Fragment of an enameled bowl
Ex-Bahrami Collection
Watson, "Documentary Mīnā'ī," no. 3 and pl. 160
Distinctive form of signature, but without the name Abu Zayd.

3.
Muharram 583 (March–April 1187)
Enameled bowl with horseman
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 64.178.2
RCEA 3429; Watson, "Documentary Mīnāʾī," no. 4 and pls. 163–64
Distinctive form of signature, but without the name Abu Zayd.

4.
Muharram 583 (March–April 1187)
Enameled bowl with single figure seated on a throne
British Museum, London, 1945.10-17.261
Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 688 (exterior and interior); Watson, "Documentary Mīnāʾī," no. 5 and pl. 165
Distinctive form of signature, but without the name Abu Zayd; much restored.

5.
[5]83 (March 1187–March 1188)
Enameled bowl with three figures seated on a throne
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.45.3.16
Watson, "Documentary Mīnāʾī," no. 6 and pls. 166–67
Distinctive form of signature, but without the name Abu Zayd.

6.
Muharram 583 (March–April 1187)
Enameled bowl
Ex-Injoudian Collection; current whereabouts unknown
Watson, "Documentary Mīnāʾī," no. 7 and pl. 168
Same style as other enameled bowls, but simpler.

7.
582–83 (March 1186–March 1188)
Enameled bowl with figure on bull, leading prisoner
Ex-Crosier Collection, Geneva; Plotnik Collection, Chicago
Treasures of Islam, ed. Toby Falk (London, 1985), no. 231; Watson, "Documentary Mīnāʾī," no. 8; Jean Mouliérac, *Céramiques du monde musulmane: Collections de l'Institut du monde arabe et de J. P. et F. Croisier* (Paris, 1999), 119; Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory*, no. 70
Same style of writing and drawing as on other enameled bowls.

8.
Safar 587 (February–March 1191)
Large luster bowl
Art Institute of Chicago 1927.414
Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, pl. 638; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 38
Illegible signature contains Abu Zayd's characteristic phrase *bi-khaṭṭihi* ("in his own hand"), and painting in the miniature style resembles that on the fragment of a luster vase dated the same year (see 9 below).

9.
587 (January 1191–January 1192)
Fragment of a luster vase
Ex-Bahrami Collection; present whereabouts unknown
Bahrami, *Gurgan Faiences*, pl. 9b, where misdated to 604; Watson, "Persian Lustre-Painted Pottery," pl. 10B; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 53
Miniature style.

10.
Rabiʿ II [58]9 or [5]9[0] (April 1193 or 1194)
Sherd from the rim of a luster bowl
British Institute, Tehran
Watson, "Persian Lustre-Painted Pottery," pl. 12a–b
Large-scale miniature style.

11.
Rajab 598 (March–April 1202)
Fragment of a scalloped luster plate
Private collection, Tehran
Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 16a; Bahrami, "Problème des ateliers," figs. 1–2
First piece in Kashan style; center repaired but rim with signature and date preserved; dated in numerals.

12.
4 Safar 600 (11 October 1203)
Luster star tile with four seated figures
Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, 3162
RCEA 3587; Ettinghausen, "Identification of Kashan Pottery," fig. 3; Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 16b; Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, fig. 1
Earliest dated luster tile.

13.
Jumada II 600 (February–March 1204)
Luster bowl with seated couple

David Collection, Copenhagen, 45/2001
Blair and Bloom, *Cosmophilia*, no. 118

14.
Rajab 602 (February–March 1206)
Luster tiles for a cenotaph
Shrine of Fatima, Qum
Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Turbat-i Pākān*, 1:49–56; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 103

15.
604 (July 1207–July 1208)
Scalloped luster plate
Ex-Reitlinger Collection; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, EA 1978.2320
Watson, "Masjid-i ʿAlī, Quhrūd," 74 no. 4; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 198
Much damaged; repaired in the center, like the scalloped luster plate once in the Bahrami Collection (no. 11), with a fragment showing a horseman, probably from a luster tile also made by Abu Zayd; inscription on the plate's cavetto says that Abu Zayd wrote it after he made (*ʿamila*) and decorated (*ṣanaʿa*) it in the months of the year 604.

16.
Safar 607 (July–August 1210)
Fragment of a luster star tile with figure in a garden
Museum für islamische Kunst, Berlin, 487
Bahrami, "Problème des ateliers," pl. 56b
Distinctive signature, but without the name Abu Zayd; dated in numerals.

17.
Jumada II 607 (November–December 1210)
Scalloped luster plate with five standing figures, horse, and groom
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, 41.11
Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 708; Guest and Ettinghausen, "Iconography of a Kashan Luster Plate"; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 63

18.
607 (June 1210–June 1211)
Luster star tile with conversing couple
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 07.670
Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 722E; Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," fig. 16b; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 107; Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, fig. 28

19.
Rabiʿ II 608 (September–October 1211)
Luster star tile with cavalier
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 07. 903
Pope and Ackerman, *Survey*, pl. 722; Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 17a; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 106; V. Porter, *Islamic Tiles*, fig. 33

20.
Shawwal 609 (February–March 1213)
Luster bowl with four seated figures and exterior with inscription in relief on a blue ground
Ex-Bahrami Collection
Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 17b

21.
Ca. 609 (June 1212–June 1213)
Luster bowl with exterior inscription in relief on a blue ground
Sold at Sotheby's New York, 23 June 1989, lot 214
Similar in shape and exterior decoration to the bowl dated Shawwal 609 (see 20 above); inscription contains the name of the vizier Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah and the phrase *katabahu Abū Zayd* ("Abu Zayd wrote it").

22.
Ca. 609 (June 1212–June 1213)
Fragments of a luster bowl with several figures on the interior and an inscription in relief on a blue ground
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2002.1.187
Similar in shape and exterior decoration to the bowl dated Shawwal 609 (see 20 above); inscription contains the name of Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah, who is entitled *muʾayyad al-wuzarāʾ* ("Assister of Viziers").

23.
Ca. 609 (June 1212–June 1213)
Luster cross tile
Gemeentemuseum, The Hague
Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, fig. 31
Same style of birds, leaves and vine as on bowl dated Shawwal 609 (see 20 above).

24.
First ten days of Dhu 'l-Qaʿda 609 (1 March–23 April 1213)
Star tile with figure in a garden
Ex-Pusgul Collection; Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo
Wiet, *Exposition persane de 1931*, pl. XIX; Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 16c

25.

Safar 612 (June 1215)

Octagonal luster tile with quatrelobed flower

North wall of the shrine of Imam Reza at Mashhad

Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 19a

26.

612 (May 1215–April 1216)

Large luster mihrab

Shrine of Imam Reza, Mashhad

Left mihrab on south wall, signed by Abu Zayd.

Donaldson, "Significant Miḥrābs," 126

27.

Ca. 612 (May 1215–April 1216)

Octagonal luster tile

Shrine of Imam Riza, Mashhad

Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 19b

28.

Ca. 612 (May 1215–April 1216)

Octagonal luster tile with verses in praise of Imam Riza

Shrine of Imam Riza, Mashhad

Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," no. 13

29.

Jumada I 612 (August–September 1215)

Luster star tile with floral design

East wall of the shrine of Imam Riza, Mashhad

Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 18b; Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, fig. 20

30.

Jumada I 612 (August–September 1215)

Octagonal luster tile with quatrelobed flower

Shrine of Imam Riza, Mashhad

Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, fig. 16

31.

616 (March 1219–March 1220)

Luster bowl with six figures

Gemeentenmuseum, The Hague, OC(1) 55-1932

Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 707; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, fig. 67

NOTES

1. The bowl was offered by sale in 2001 by Sara Kuehn and is featured in her catalogue, *Central Asian & Islamic Textiles and Works of Art* (London, 2001), no. 13 (no provenance given). It was acquired by the David Collection in Copenhagen (45/2001) and exhibited by Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom: see their exhibition catalogue *Cosmophilia: Islamic Art from the David Collection, Copenhagen* (Chestnut Hill, MA, 2006), no. 118.

2. The first and major study of Abu Zayd was compiled more than a half century ago by Mehdi Bahrami, "A Master-Potter of Kashan," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 20 (1944): 35–40. Since then, short articles have appeared: Oliver Watson, "Abū Zayd Kāšānī," and "Abū Zayd b. Moḥammad b. Abī Zayd Kāšānī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London and New York, 1985), s.v., and Sheila Blair, "Abu Zayd," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (London, 1996), s.v.

3. See, for example, his studies "Notes on the Decorative Composition of a Bowl from Northeastern Iran," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen (New York, 1972), 91–97, and "Les art mineurs de l'Orient musulman à partir du milieu du XIIe siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 12, 2 (1968): 181–90, repr. as VI and XI in his *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art* (London, 1976), as well as his essay "The Visual Arts 1050–1350," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), 626–58.

4. Oliver Watson, "Documentary *Mīnāʾī* and Abū Zaid's Bowls," in *The Art of the Seljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Costa Mesa, CA, 1994), 170–80, showed that the Abu Zayd who signed enameled wares was the same person as the Abu Zayd who signed lusterwares.

5. The fullest discussion of this bowl is Watson, "Documentary *Mīnāʾī* and Abū Zaid's Bowls."

6. OC[1]-1932; A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (repr. Tehran, 1977), pl. 707A; Oliver Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware* (London, 1985), pl. 67.

7. Sheila R. Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi ʿAbbasi of Isfahan* (London, 1997).

8. Just southwest of modern Kashan, the site of Tepe Sialk, excavated by Roman Ghirshman in the 1930s, has yielded one of the major ceramic sequences from Neolithic times. See Robert C. Henrickson, "Sialk, Tepe," in Turner, *The Dictionary of Art*. s.v.

9. Richard Ettinghausen, "Evidence for the Identification of Kāshān Pottery," *Ars Islamica* 3 (1936): 44–70.

10. Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*. Scholars from Central Asia dispute this point, arguing for a separate source of production there. Luster tiles have long been known from Nisa and Merv in modern Turkmenistan (once part of the province of Khurasan), and in 2004 restoration of the mausoleum of Abu Saʿid in the southern part of the country revealed an extensive interior revetment of star- and cross-shaped luster tiles: see Mukhammed Mamedov, "Richesse des panneaux céramiques du mausolée d'Abou Saïd," *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 317 (Oct. 2006): 73–75, a reference I owe to Sara Kuehn. To judge from their size (31 cm diameter), iconography, and style, all of which are comparable to tiles from the Imamzada Yahya at

Varamin dated in the 660s (1260s), they were probably made later in the thirteenth century. Until we have evidence of kiln sites, published inscriptions with the names of other potters or places of production, or a different style, however, we must stick with Watson's hypothesis of Kashan as the sole place of production of lusterware in the medieval Iranian lands.

11. These three stages are generally accepted in the literature. See, for example, Peter Morgan's essay in Ernst J. Grube, *Cobalt and Lustre: The First Centuries of Islamic Pottery*, ed. Julian Raby, The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (London, 1994), 155–69, especially 162–68, where he renames and subdivides the groups further but does not challenge the three basic phases.

12. For the evolution of lusterware in Fatimid Egypt and the decline of patronage there see Jonathan M. Bloom, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt* (London, 2007): 93–96 and 167–70.

13. The vase in the British Museum is 1920, 2-260: Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 37. The bowl in the Plotnick Collection has recently been published in Oya Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory: Medieval Islamic Ceramics from the Harvey B. Plotnick Collection* (Chicago, 2007), no. 89.

14. The enameled bowls were the subject of Watson's article, "Documentary *Mīnā'ī* and Abū Zaid's Bowls"; the luster vase, once in the Bahrami collection, is illustrated in Watson's *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 53. In the collection of the British Institute of Tehran, Watson also discovered another fragmentary rim from a luster bowl in the miniature style signed by Abu Zayd; its date is only partly preserved and begins with Rabiʿ II of a year that might be read as 590 (1193–94): Oliver Watson, "Persian Lustre-Painted Pottery: The Rayy and Kashan Styles," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 40 (1973), pl. 12. Abu Zayd might also be responsible for the large bowl in the Art Institute of Chicago (1927.414) dated Safar 587 (March 1191) (Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 38), for the partly jumbled signature before the date contains the word *bi-khaṭṭihi* (in his hand), a phrase characteristic of Abu Zayd's signatures, and the painting and script are also in his style. I thank the conservators there, Suzie Schnepp and Barbara Hall, for so willingly letting me examine the bowl and for photographing the signature for me.

15. The unsigned sherd in the collection of the British Institute of Persian Studies in Tehran is illustrated in Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 55.

16. The bowl is illustrated in Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pl. 16a. Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, p. 109 n. 12, points out that although the center of the bowl has been replaced, the double row of inscriptions, one scratched through the luster and the other painted in luster, and the cluster of commas scratched through the ground in the main field show it to exemplify the Kashan style.

17. The star tile in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (3162) was published by Gaston Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933), pl. 19; Ettinghausen, "Evidence," fig. 3; Abdollah Ghouchani, *Ashʿār-i Fārsī-i kāshīhā-i Takht-i Sulaymān* (Persian Poetry on the Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman), henceforth cited as *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*) (Tehran, 1992), fig. 1.

18. Ettinghausen, "Evidence," fig. 2a–d.

19. The dish (F1941.11) is illustrated in color in Esin Atıl, *Ceramics from the World of Islam* (Washington, DC, 1973), no. 28.

20. Grace D. Guest and Richard Ettinghausen, "The Iconography of a Kashan Luster Plate," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 25–64. Before it entered the Freer collection in 1941, the plate was photographed by Antoine Sevruguin, official photographer of the Imperial Court of Iran, whose commercial photography studio was one of the most successful in Tehran from the late 1870s to about 1934; the negative is now part of his collection in the Freer Gallery of Art (35.2); see their website http://www.asia.si.edu/archives/finding_aids/sevruguin.html (accessed Oct. 1, 2008). The museum has accepted Ghouchani's reading of Abu Zayd: see the entry for the plate on their website http://explorasia.org/collections/zoomObject.cfm?Objectid=10319 (accessed Oct. 1, 2008).

21. Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, 5. The style of the inscription certainly accords with Abu Zayd's other signatures, as does the style of painting on the plate. Nevertheless, some questions remain. A name like Abu Zayd usually precedes a *nisba* like al-Hasani, and grammatically the name should be in the nominative (Abu Zayd). These problems would be solved if there were an intermediary word such as "known as" (*maʿrūf bi-*) or "nicknamed" (*mulaqqab bi-*), but these words are too long to fit here. Ghouchani's reading is the most convincing explanation to date, and we know that Abu Zayd made at least two other scalloped plates, one of which, dated Rajab 598 (March–April 1202), is now in a private collection in Tehran: see Bahrami, "Master-Potter," pl. 16a, and "Problème des ateliers," figs. 1–2; and a second, dated 604 (1207–8), is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, EA1978.2320: see Oliver Watson, "The Masjid-i ʿAlī, Quhrūd: An Architectural and Epigraphic Survey," *Iran* 13 (1975), no. 4, and Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 198 no. 14.

22. The best study of Qum is Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Turbat-i Pākān*, 2 vols. (Qum, 1976), 1:45–71.

23. Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 124, is wrong here when he says that it contains a Qurʾanic quotation.

24. Several are illustrated in Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pls. 18b and 19a–c, and Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, figs. 16 and 20.

25. Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (henceforth *RCEA*) (Cairo, 1931), no. 3784.

26. Dwight M. Donaldson, "Significant Miḥrābs in the Ḥaram at Mashhad," *Ars Islamica* 3 (1935): 118–27.

27. Illustrated in Bahrami, "Master-Potter of Kashan," pls. 20–21, and Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 104a, b.

28. See n. 6 above.

29. Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 180, wondered whether Abu Zayd had a brother ʿAli, for A. U. Pope had reported that an octagonal tile at Mashhad was signed by ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Zayd. This is possible but so far unproven. Several tiles there are signed by ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Saʿid (Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, figs. 18–19), and it is possible that the two names were confused.

30. For a brief history of Kashan see Jean Calmard, "Kāshān," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition (*henceforth *EI2)*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. (Leiden, 1960–2004), s.v.

31. Oliver Watson, "Abū Ṭaher," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, and Sheila Blair, "Abu Tahir," in *Dictionary of Art*. Further details of

their work are given in Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 178–79.

32. Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 178; Grube, *Cobalt and Lustre*, no. 258.

33. Muhammad's name is mentioned on a tile dated 738 (1337), from the same Imamzada ʿAli ibn Jaʾfar and now in the shrine museum at Qum: Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, fig. 12. Watson knew the tile and the luster potter Jamal, but did not realize that the owner Muhammad ibn ʿAli, who bears the epithet *al-ghaḍḍāʾirī* (potter) was also the son of ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir.

34. The treatise on gems and minerals, published in Persian in 1967 by Iraj Afshar, was partly translated into English: James Allan, "Abū ʾl-Qāsim's Treatise on Ceramics," *Iran* 11 (1973): 111–20. An earlier treatise on the same subject has recently come to light: Muhammad ibn Abī ʾl Barakat Jawharī Nīshāpūri, *Javāhirnāma-i Niẓāmī*, an edited edition of which was published by Iraj Afshar in 2003 in Tehran; see also Yves Porter, "Les techniques du lustre métallique d'après le Jowhar-nâme-ye Nezâmî (A.D. 1196)," *VIIe Congrès international sur la céramique médiévale en Méditerranée*, ed. C. Bakirtzis (Athens, 2003), 427–36, and Ziva Vesel, *La science dans le monde iranien a l'époque islamique* (Tehran, 2004), 165–89.

35. On the activities of these brothers see Sheila S. Blair, "A Medieval Persian Builder," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45 (1986): 394–95.

36. Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 179–80, calls them the "al-Husaini family." Blair, "Medieval Builder" fleshes out their family history.

37. Blair, "Medieval Builder."

38. The Damghani family, for example, comprised a father and two sons active in the fourteenth century: see Sheila Blair, "Dāmğānī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. On signatures and families in general in Islamic art see also Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "Signatures on Works of Islamic Art and Architecture," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 11 (1999): 49–66.

39. Stefano Carboni and Tomoko Masuya, *Persian Tiles* (New York, 1993), no. 7. They mention there that four are signed by Abu Zayd, but the fragmentary tile in Berlin dated Safar 607 (July–August 1210) bears the characteristic formula that he used when signing enameled wares and should be attributed to his hand.

40. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1325–1354*, ed. and trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 5 vols. (repr. New Delhi, 1993), 1:256 and 2:296. The bath built by the Safavid governor of Kirman, Ganj ʿAli Khan, still bears traces of tile revetment on the interior.

41. Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 130.

42. It is in Gemeentesmuseum in The Hague: mentioned in Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 180, and illustrated in Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, fig. 31.

43. Carboni and Masuya, *Persian Tiles*, no. 8.

44. Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. K and fig. 110; Mamedov, "Richesse des panneaux céramiques." The shaykh was one of the most famous Iranian mystics and was thought to have been the first to record ten basic rules for residents in a convent: see the biography by G. Böwering in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Abū Saʿīd Fażlallāh b. Abī ʾl-Kayr." The shaykh's tomb was said to have been destroyed in 1154 during the devastation of Khurasan by the Ghuzz, but the destruction must

45. have been partial and the tomb rebuilt in the thirteenth century.

45. The mihrab, the key to Ettinghausen's delineation of the Kashan style, is now in the Museum für islamische Kunst in Berlin (5366). For a brief description and the number of tiles see Volkmar Enderlein et al., *Museum für islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Mainz, 2001), 48–49.

46. See Ettinghausen, "Evidence," 62 and n. 35; Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, 104. The mold for the dish with twenty-nine scallops is different from that with twenty scallops used for the fragmentary dish in the Ashmolean Museum.

47. The bowl, illustrated in Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, pl. 74, is now in the Museum of Islamic Arts in Qatar (PO 285): see Sabiha al Khemir, *De Cordoue à Samarcande* (Paris, 2006), 58–63.

48. *RCEA* 5195.

49. Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, 2001).

50. Venetia Porter, *Islamic Tiles* (New York, 1995), pls. 37–38, illustrates the preliminary sketches of an archer and a seated figure on the back of two luster tiles, one dated 663 (1265).

51. The poem is cited in Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, no. 86, where he notes that it is found on an enameled bowl dated 583 (1187–88) whose whereabouts are unknown; perhaps it is the one in LACMA.

52. The bowls are in the Khalili Collection (Grube, *Cobalt and Lustre*, no. 275) and the Sabah Collection (Oliver Watson, *Ceramics from Islamic Lands* [London, 2004], cat. O.17). The star tile is in the Plotnick collection: see Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory*, no. 92. For the tiles from Takht-i Sulayman see Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, no. 86.

53. The text is not completely readable. See Mehdi Bahrami, "Le problème des ateliers d'étoiles de faïence lustrée," *Ars Asiatiques* 10, 4 (1936): 182; Abdollah Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, 1, has read the beginning and end as:

    ān chihra nigar ki bar qamar mīkhandad . . . ki bar gawhar mīkhandad

    Look at the face that mocks the moon . . . which mocks jewels.

54. Tomoko Masuya, "The Ilkhanid Phase of Takht-i Sulayman" (PhD diss., New York University, 1997), 392–93, summarizes several articles of Ghouchani's that were not available to me.

55. Ghouchani pointed out that the attribution to Rumi is impossible since he was not born until 604 (1207).

56. Blair, "Medieval Builder," 391 and n. 5.

57. For a brief biography see Carole Hillenbrand in *EI*2, s.v. "Rāwandī." His treatise, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa āyat al-surūr*, ed. Muhammad Iqbal (Cambridge, 1921), was also summarized by Edward G. Browne, "Account of a Rare, if not Unique, Manuscript History of the Seljúqs in the Schefer Collection Lately Acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1902): 567–610 and 849–87.

58. His uncle Zayn al-Din compiled an anthology of poetry for the sultan Tughril; it was illustrated with pictures of poets by Jamal Isfahani. This is one of our few references to illustrated books made for the Seljuks.

59. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, H. 841: see A. S. Melikian-

Chirvani, "Le Roman de Varqe et Golšâh," *Arts Asiatiques* 22 (1970); Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed., expanded, and trans. J. M. Rogers (Boston, 1986), nos. 21–24.

60. See the thoughtful reevaluations of Rawandi's history, often dismissed as derivative and unreliable, by Julie Scott Meisami: "Rāvandī's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*: History or Hybrid?" *Edebiyāt* 5 (1994): 183–215; *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh, 1999), 237–56; and "The Historian and the Poet: Ravandi, Nizami, and the Rhetoric of History," in *The Poetry of Nizami Ganjavi: Knowledge, Love, and Rhetoric*, ed. Kamran Talattof and Jerome W. Clinton (New York, 2000), 97–128.

61. A similar verse from the book of Farrukhzad in the *Shāhnāma* is found on a tile in Tehran: see Masuya, "Takht-i Sulayman," 704–5, verse J. A variant with the same opening and same idea is found on a luster bowl in the Khalili Collection (Grube, *Cobalt and Lustre*, no. 280).

62. The date, for example, can include the specific day or month of the year, which can be written in words or, if space runs out, in figures. Hence, the fact that certain bowls were dated while other similar ones were not may have been more a matter of space left after the poetry than of intent or function.

63. Guest and Ettinghausen, "Iconography of a Plate," 29.

64. Although the text is described in the auction catalog as a "carefully balanced Kufic inscription...exquisitely rendered with tall slender *hastae* repeating good wishes in Arabic," scrutiny shows that it does not repeat exactly and is a sort of pseudo-script.

65. Hence the title of Pancaroğlu's fine new study of the medieval Islamic ceramics in the Plotnick Collection, *Perpetual Glory*.

66. The verse is no. 87 in Ghouchani's list of verses on the tiles from Takht-i Sulayman: Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*. It also occurs on the outside of Abu Zayd's luster plate in the Freer (Guest and Ettinghausen, "Iconography of a Plate," 30) and on several contemporary bowls, both underglaze and overglaze luster-painted, in the Khalili Collection (Grube, *Cobalt and Lustre*, nos. 214, 219, 261, 266, 272, 275, 277, and 281) and the Plotnick Collection (Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory*, nos. 57, 59, 60, 75, 76, 79, 91, 93, and 94). The same phrase is found on unglazed molded wares, lusterwares, and other types of ceramics made from the twelfth to the fourteenth century: Masuya, "Takht-i Sulayman," 394 and n. 92.

67. The bowl in the Plotnick Collection is catalogued in Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory*, no. 70. The one found at Gurgan is discussed in Mehdi Bahrami, *Gurgan Faiences* (repr. Costa Mesa, 1988), 121, inscription no. 13; the bowl is illustrated in pl. 69 and in color as pl. G in Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*. Bahrami says that the quatrain is also inscribed on a bottle in the Ades Collection (his pl. 84), but it is hard to imagine that the same word *kāsa* (bowl) would have been used, and the inscription is not visible in the illustration. The bowls in the Khalili Collection are illustrated in Grube, *Cobalt and Lustre*, nos. 261, 272, and 283.

68. Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World, 8–18th Centuries* (London, 1982) was the first to do so. His work has been followed up by other scholars, including Linda Komaroff, *The Golden Disk of Heaven: Metalwork of Timurid Iran* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1992). Her article "A

Thousand Designs for the Sake of the Bowl: A Tinned Copper Wine Vessel with Persian Inscriptions at LACMA," *Artibus Asiae* 67, 1, pt. 2 (2007): 25–38, shows how the poem (*ghazāl*) on it tells us not only about the type of vessel (*ṭās*, wine bowl) but also about the metalsmith's role in preparing the designs on it.

69. Oleg Grabar called attention to the bourgeois patronage of this period in his chapter, "The Visual Arts 1050–1350" (see n. 3 above). See also the review by Richard Ettinghausen, "Some Comments on Medieval Iranian Art," *Artibus Asiae* 31 (1969): 276–300, and further comments in his lengthy article, "The Flowering of Saljuk Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970): 111–31.

70. As with craftsmen's specialties, the position of vizier often ran in families in this period. The most famous example is that of Nizam al-Mulk, all twelve of whose sons were said to have held some office or other: Rāvandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 133.

71. Carla L. Klausner, *The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055–1194* (Cambridge, MA, 1973), passim.

72. Bahrami, *Gurgan Faiences*, 134 and pl. II on 117.

73. The pen box is in the Freer Gallery of Art, 36.7; Esin Atıl, W. T. Chase, and Paul Jett, *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC, 1985), no. 14. Ernst Herzfeld, "A Bronze Pen-Case," *Ars Islamica* 3 (1936): 35–43, was the first to identify Majd al-Mulk, in an article in the issue of *Ars Islamica* in which Ettinghausen defined the Kashan style.

74. I thank Linda Komaroff for this information. One bowl was sold at Sotheby's on June 23, 1989, lot 214; Oliver Watson first noted that it bears the name of the vizier Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah, as is recorded in the files from the Madina Collection at LACMA. Abdallah Ghouchani read the signature of Abu Zayd on the Sotheby's bowl (personal communication to Linda Komaroff on March 20, 2007) as *katabahu Abū Zayd*. The other bowl (LACMA M.2002.1.187) is fragmentary, but its inscription preserves the following: *muʾayyid al-wuzarā' Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh aʿazza Allāh anṣārahu* (assister of viziers, Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah, many God increase his victories)—a reading refined by Abdullah Ghouchani.

75. Grube, *Cobalt and Lustre*, no. 240.

76. Blair, *Shrine at Natanz*, 5.

77. ʿAtā-Malik Juvaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. John Andrew Boyle, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1958), 1:153. Juvayni gives Najib al-Din the epithet *qiṣṣa-dār*, referring to the person in charge of receiving petitions, and Boyle notes that Nasawi, secretary and biographer of the Khwarazmshah ruler, identified Najib al-Din as the vizier of Jand, a town at the mouth of the Syr Darya.

78. Freer Gallery of Art, 27.3; Atıl, *Ceramics from the World of Islam*, no. 39.

79. As in note 13.

80. As in note 60.

81. The one exception is the bowl in the Plotnick Collection (Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory*, no. 89) with a quatrain whose author is identified as Ashraf Tabari. The bowl is remarkable in many ways: it is one of the two earliest dated lusterwares, it is the only one on which the author of the poetry is named, and it is the only one where there is a clear connection between text and imagery.

82. A. Ghouchani, *Inscriptions on Nishabur Pottery* (Tehran, 1986),

has been a leading figure in the identification of the sources for these aphorisms, though his attribution of all these ceramics to Nishapur is debatable.

83. Oya Pancaroğlu, "Serving Wisdom: The Contents of Samanid Epigraphic Pottery," *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 58–75.

84. See Blair and Bloom, *Cosmophilia*, no. 29, where we make this suggestion of an after-dinner parlor game.

85. Ghouchani, *Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman*, 18.

86. Mamedov, "Richesse des panneaux céramiques," 73. This is not to say that figural tiles with poetry could not be installed in mosques: see, for example, those analyzed by Oliver Watson, "The Masjid-i ʿAlī, Quhrūd.

87. David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven, 2005). In a similar fashion, Paul Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1998), has argued that appreciating Safavid poetry of imitation and replication depends on knowledge of the original.

88. Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory*, no. 89.

89. Firouz Bagherzadeh, "Iconographie iranienne: Deux illustrations de Xelʾat de l'année 583 H./1187 apr. J.-C.," in *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, ed. L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck, 2 vols. (Ghent, 1989), 2:1007–28.

90. Guest and Ettinghausen, "Iconography of a Plate."

91. Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory*, no. 70. The prisoner, for example, does not have snakes springing from his shoulders, as Zahhak did in the *Shāhnāma*. For a general discussion of this imagery on contemporary objects in several media see M. S. Simpson, "Narrative Allusion and Metaphor in the Decoration of Medieval Islamic Objects," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. H. L. Kessler and M. S. Simpson, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 16 (Washington, DC, 1985), 131–49.

92. The luster dish (David Collection, 50.1966) was recently published in Blair and Bloom, *Cosmophilia*, no. 2. Rawandi drew only five interpolations from that poem.

93. The translation is by Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Millennium of Classical Persian Poetry: A Guide to the Reading & Understanding of Persian Poetry from the Tenth to the Twentieth Century* (Bethesda, MD, 1994), ix. I am indebted to him for most of the little I know about Persian poetry and for his unending help in translation.

SCOTT REDFORD

A NEWLY READ INSCRIPTION ON THE WALLS
OF ANTALYA, TURKEY

In this paper, I employ a Seljuk inscription from the walls of Antalya, Turkey, which I have deciphered, in order to examine one instance of what Oleg Grabar has described as "…the continuity of a relationship between writing and the formal expression of government and of power…"[1] An inscription on the walls of a city recently reconquered by an Islamic monarch from a rebellious Christian populace seems particularly well suited to an analysis of the nexus of form, content, and context implicit in the continuity proposed by Professor Grabar.

In the 1920s and 1940s two Turkish scholars published a now-lost inscription from the first and topographically highest tower of the citadel wall of Antalya.[2] This was a building inscription of an amir of the Seljuk sultan ʿIzz al-Din Kaykaʾus (r. 1211–20), who had recently retaken the city, several years after it had revolted and overthrown Seljuk rule sometime in the year 1212. By combining the two scholars' accounts and comparable building inscriptions, the following reconstruction of this lost inscription can be proposed:

(1) *Lā ilāha illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*
(2) *al-naṣr wa ʾl-ẓafar min Allāh al-sulṭān*
(3) *al-ghālib ʿIzz al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn Abī*
(4) *al-Fatḥ Kaykāʾūs bin Kaykhusraw*
(5) [*bin Qilij Arslān burhān*] *amīr al-muʾminīn*
(6) [*ʿalā yad al ʿabd*] *al-ẓaʿīf al-muḥtāj*
(7) [*ilā raḥmat Allāh* + name of amir and date]

(1) There is no god but God and Muhammad is the messenger of God.
(2) Support and victory [come] from God. The sultan,
(3) the victorious, ʿIzz al-Dunya wa ʾl-Din, Father
(4) of Victory, Kaykaʾus son of Kaykhusraw
(5) son of Qilij Arslan, Proof of the Commander of the Faithful.

(6) By the hand of the poor servant needy
(7) of the grace of God + name of amir and date.

Aside from the Qurʾanic formulae at its beginning, this lost inscription typifies the inscriptions that the Seljuks of Rum placed on military fortifications. In these, the name and (some) titles of the ruling sultan are given. Subsequent to this is added the name of the amir who paid for this section of the fortification and the date of construction. The religious formulae, the first expressing the profession of the faith and the second attributing victory to God, link this inscription with the recently completed Islamic conquest of the city.

One of the Turkish authors mentions another inscription on the adjacent tower of the citadel wall but does not translate or give other information about it. Two recent publications reproduce photographs of this second inscription but also do not translate it. It is located on what was once the second tower of the citadel wall as it descended towards the harbor from the land walls of Antalya. (The first tower, along with its inscription, disappeared sometime in the early-to-mid-twentieth century.) Inserted high on the tower wall, the inscription is flanked and framed by three pieces of Byzantine spolia (fig. 1).

Its script (fig. 2) is a fine, stacked *thuluth*. The writing is identical to that found on several pieces of the contemporaneous *fathnāma* (victory screed) inscription that Sultan ʿIzz al-Din inserted into stretches of the citadel wall and tower further downhill, next to the citadel gate, at the juncture with the harbor walls.

Many features of the inscription indicate that it was written by an accomplished scribe, presumably high in the Rum Seljuk chancery (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*), who was more accustomed to writing on paper than to designing lapidary inscriptions. Instead of inserting ruled lines between the text, as are often found on lapidary inscriptions from this time, he used con-

Fig. 1. (Photo: Tufan Karasu)

Fig. 2. Detail of Fig. 1.

temporary scribal practice, building each line of the text from right to left, progressively stacking words and letters, without ruling. At the same time, he elongated certain letters to provide dramatic emphasis and even visual continuity between lines.

The hastae are pointed and of unequal length, being shorter on the first line due to lack of space, and taller thereafter. There are several flourishes that add a dramatic touch: the long *rā’* of *Kaykhusraw* and the long *lām-alif* of *al-amīr* jut and splay respectively, while the *ḥā’* of *fatḥ* slices at an acute angle. There are also irregularities consistent with chancery scribal practice. Although it is usually written with "teeth," the "toothless" *sīn* is used four times for words that the scribe was evidently accustomed to writing (and therefore wrote more quickly): *Kaykhusraw*, *sulṭān*, *sana* (year), and *sitta mi’a* (six hundred). A similar shortcut was employed for the word *mu’minīn*, which is actually spelled *mu’min*—the space between the second *mīm* and the *nūn* consisting of a long, dramatic swoosh at the end of the line, eliminating two letters. In addition, true to the fluidity of the writing, many dots are missing throughout the inscription.

The scribe twice mixed the proper order of letters to artistic effect: the *wāw* of *maḥrūsa* is actually placed between the *alif* and the *nūn* of *Anṭālīya* (which it par-

tially underlies), and the *alif-lām-mīm* at the beginning of *al-mū'ayyad* is actually written *alif-mīm-lām*. The usual inscriptional problem of spacing is generally avoided here, although there is more crowding on the last line than on the first, where the scribe used an unnecessary dot, a *sukūn*, and two curved, *v*-shaped space fillers to rhythmic effect at the end of the line.

At present, weeds shade the inscription, and two stripes of mortar run across it—remnants of a roof that once obscured it entirely. Its upper and lower parts have been burned, and the middle section, as well as the spolia around it, has been whitewashed. In my reconstruction and translation, the inscription runs and reads as follows :

(1) *Fataḥa Allāh ta'ālā maḥrū[sat] Anṭālīya 'alā [yad] 'abdihi*

(2) *al-ghālib bi amrihi al-mu'ayyad bi naṣrihi sulṭān al-baḥrayn 'Izz al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*

(3) *abī 'l-fatḥ Kaykā'ūs bin Qilij Arslān bur[hā]n amīr al-mu'minīn 'azza naṣrahu*

(4) *fa amara 'abdahu al-amīr al-kabīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Sūbāshī Bak Yūsuf*

(5) *bi 'imārat hadha al-burj fī awākhir dhī 'l-ḥijja sana ithnā 'ashara wa sitta mī'a*

1) God Almighty conquered Antalya the protected by [the hand of] his servant,

2) the victorious by his command and the supported by his victory, the sultan of the two seas, 'Izz al-Dunya wa 'l-Din

3) Father of Victory, Kayka'us son of Qilij Arslan, Proof of the Commander of the Faithful, may his victory be glorious!

4) And he ordered his servant the great amir Husam al-Din Subashi Bak Yusuf

5) to build this tower at the end of Dhu 'l Hijja in the year 612 [mid- to late April 1216].

Together with the lost inscription that was found on the adjacent tower, this inscription pertains to the reconstruction of the walls of Antalya after the one-month Seljuk siege, in late 1215 and early 1216, that resulted in the capture of the city. In the *fatḥnāma* inserted into the same stretch of wall, the sultan boasts that he had completed the building of the "two fortifications" (*qal'atayn*) of Antalya in two months after the conquest, a direct reference to the rebuilding of the citadel wall, which, along with the city walls, would have constituted the two fortifications.

COMMENTARY

Line 1

As in the *fatḥnāma* inscription, God is given direct responsibility for many actions in the Seljuk victory. The use of the term *maḥrūsa* before the name of a city is paralleled by two inscriptions, completed the previous year, from the walls of Sinop, also built or repaired by the Seljuks.[3] Although the word *yad* cannot be seen in the photograph, due to erosion and to encrustations on the inscription, it is fitting that there should be another word included above the sweeping curve of the *alif ṭawīla* of *'alā*, a common practice on the *fatḥnāma* inscription here. The (probable) employment of *yad* here is duplicated later in the inscription, which is filled with other instances of parallelism. This is the first dated writing of the name *Anṭālīya* in Arabic script, and differs from some later orthographies.

Line 2

The titulature mirrors that of the Antalya *fatḥnāma* inscription and the walls of Sinop, although it is abbreviated here. Most notable is the prominence of *sulṭān al-baḥrayn* ("sultan of the two seas"—i.e., the Black Sea and the Mediterranean), a title assumed by the sultan due to his sequential conquest of the seaports of Sinop and Antalya, the first Seljuk outlets to these two bodies of water. It is significant that this title is employed in full here, and not abbreviated or omitted as are other titles. It is first used here and in the *fatḥnāma* inscription, and the sultan seems to have been proud or fond of it.

Line 3

Here, as in the inscription that originally was located on the adjacent tower, the grammatically correct genitive *Abī 'l-Fatḥ* is used instead of *Abū 'l-Fatḥ*. Although two letters are missing, I have reconstructed the caliphal title *burhān amīr al-mu'minīn*, which is found on other inscriptions of Sultan 'Izz al-Din, including one at the end of the Antalya citadel walls that has traditionally been considered part of the *fatḥnāma* inscription.[4]

Line 4

There is parallelism between the ordering (*amr*) of the sultan by God and of the amir by the sultan. Husam al-Din Yusuf is mentioned in Ibn Bibi's chronicle as the governor of Malatya. In his principal inscription

on the walls of Sinop, he is called *al-sulṭānī*, implying that he was of slave origin. Howard Crane and others have noted the Rum Seljuk habit of employing titles of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish origin interchangeably. Here, the equivalent terms of *amīr* (of Arabic origin) and *bak* (beg, or bey, of Turkish origin) are used together in the same inscription.

Husam al-Din is here called *sūbāshī*, a title that Crane translates as commander of a garrison or army commander, whereas in the inscription on the walls of Sinop, dating from the previous year, he is identified as *al-īsfahsālār*, a term that denotes commander-in-chief of the army. Only in Antalya is Husam al-Din termed *al-amīr al-kabīr*. Although no other amirial building inscriptions from this place and date survive, making comparison impossible, it is possible that the lofty title "Great Amir" reflects Husam al-Din's role in the Seljuk victory, while the Sinop inscription is indicative of his promotion in rank. Alternatively, *al-amīr al-kabīr* could be seen as a variant on *amīr al-umarāʾ*, which was used by the Seljuks as the equivalent of *al-isfahsālār*. Given his close association with Sultan ʿIzz al-Din, it is likely that these titles are all equivalent to commander-in-chief of the army. Since one of Husam al-Din's duties seems to have been as jailer of ʿIzz al-Din's brother and successor as sultan, ʿAlaʾ al-Din Kaykubadh, who was imprisoned by ʿIzz al-Din in or near Malatya when it was under Husam al-Din's command, it is not surprising that Husam al-Din's career seems not to have survived the death of ʿIzz al-Din in 1220.[5]

The fluidity of titulature as well as the constantly changing names of amirs on Rum Seljuk inscriptions from the reigns of ʿIzz al-Din and his successor ʿAlaʾ al-Din (along with the use of Persian on another Sinop building inscription, in which Husam al-Din Yusuf also figures, and even of Arabic and Greek together in a bilingual inscription, again in Sinop) reminds us of two things. First, although the Rum Seljuks employed Ayyubid Syrian titles, architects, and craftsmen and tried on several occasions at this time to conquer Ayyubid Syria, the variety in even the most stock inscriptional types, even from this era of Seljuk prosperity, connotes a lack of organization and standardization incommensurate with the ambitions of the dynasty to imitate, and possibly rule, the central Islamic lands—most notably those of the Ayyubids, who then reigned in northern Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Second, the employment of Persian and Greek in building inscriptions on military architecture, how-

ever rare, points to sources and constituencies other than the mainstream Sunni ones exemplified by the Ayyubid imitations mentioned above and the caliphal titles solicited from Baghdad.

Line 5

The date given here, the end of Dhu'l Hijja 612 (mid-to-late April 1216), fits within the two-month period noted for the reconstruction of the walls of the city in the *fatḥnāma* inscription. There, the conquest date is given as the last day of Ramadan 612 (January 22, 1216), after which, the inscription claims, the sultan ordered the building of "the two fortifications" (the citadel and city walls) in two months, with completion coming in the month of Muharram 613 (April 20–May 20, 1216).

Crane and others have noted that Rum Seljuk sultans made their amirs pay the lion's share of military fortification costs, to the extent that unhappiness with this practice sparked discontent in their ranks, with a potential revolt suppressed by the execution of two amirs in 1223. The example furnished by this inscription seems to fit the model of amirial sponsorship of military architecture, as do the inscriptions of Husam al-Din and other amirs on the walls of Sinop and, subsequently, of Alanya, and on other walls of Antalya built under Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din Kaykubadh in the 1220s.

Be this as it may, the direct involvement of the sultan in ordering the reconstruction of the "two fortifications" of Antalya is recorded in the *fatḥnāma* inscription, and the three towers and surrounding stretches of curtain wall where this text is or was located bear no amirial names, implying a direct sultanic sponsorship. What is more, the full arsenal of sultanic titles is rolled out not once but twice—at both the beginning and the end of the *fatḥnāma*.[6] The sultan could and indeed did become directly involved in the construction of, and presumably payment for, military architecture. The notably higher quality of the epigraphy in these inscriptions, in my opinion, indicates involvement in this project at the highest, sultanic, level—in contrast to the inscriptions on the walls of Sinop, accomplished the year before those of Antalya but without the direct participation of the sultan. (Such involvement of nameless notables [*umarāʾ wa akābir*] along with named amirs in the building of the walls of Sinop also points to a patronage system in flux.)

Fig. 3. (Photo: Tufan Karasu)

Spolia

The April 1216 inscription is flanked by two panels from a templon of eleventh-century date. The edges of these panels next to the inscription bear a knot pattern. Another piece of a moulding or cornice with acanthus decoration surmounts the inscription. It is presently obscured by weeds (see fig. 1).[8] Obviously, the prominent employment of recognizably Christian architectural sculpture can be described as symbolizing the victory of one religion over another, especially in the context of the suppression of a long-lived revolt against an Islamic power and an inscription that begins by mentioning this victory.

And yet there is one clue to other, more syncretistic, reasons for the particular placement of a knot pattern bracketing the inscription. This clue comes from a tower built on another stretch of walls of Antalya constructed in 1225 by ʿIzz al-Din's brother and successor, ʿAlaʾ al-Din Kaykubadh (fig. 3). This, too, is a building inscription, recording the name and titles of the sultan and of the amir, one Sunqur, who paid for the tower. Here, again, two pieces of Middle Byzantine ecclesiastical relief sculpture flank the inscription, which is suggestively framed within a mihrab form. These spolia are even more obviously Christian than the ones flanking the 1216 inscription on

Fig. 4. Detail of Fig. 3.

account of their prominently featured decoration of Maltese crosses. The resemblance between the two inscriptions does not end there. This inscription, too, is surrounded by a knot pattern: however, the knot pattern does not occur on a piece of Byzantine spolia but rather as part of the Seljuk inscription (fig. 4). It duplicates the Byzantine knot pattern but animates it, ending the interlace in opposing dragon heads. The heads frame the quotation *al-minna lillāh* (grace belongs to God [alone]) at the top of the inscription. This phrase is repeated on other inscriptions of Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din here and elsewhere, and may have been his *tawqīʿ*, the pious phrase that often served as the ruler's signature in the medieval Islamic period.[9] Above the dragon heads themselves is the Islamic profession of faith. The (re)use of this knot pattern demonstrates a syncretic fusion with elements of Byzantine art, even as they are displayed like trophies. As such, they mediate between ruler and ruled—serving to frame as well as to express the epigraphic proclamation of the power of the Seljuk state that is erecting the impressive walls of its principal port on the Mediterranean.

The high Islamic pretensions of the dynasty are manifested in the use of the Arabic language and finely executed cursive *thuluth* in a chancery hand to record the titles of the sultan and of his amir: formal expressions both of writing and of government. The power of this system to defeat a Christian foe is conveyed by the rebuilt walls themselves and by the display of spoliated pieces of the architecture of the religion of the defeated. Knotwork and writing, the potent mixture of which formed the Seljuk sultanic signature, the *tughra*, are here presented separately, appropriated and juxtaposed, and in the 1225 inscription are animated by mythic beasts that feature prominently in the art of both the Christian and the Muslim communities of medieval Anatolia. The care expended on the harmonious juxtaposition of curvilinear forms in the inscription proper spreads beyond the written text and is reflected in its frame.

The walls of Anatolian cities rebuilt by the Seljuks in the first half of the thirteenth century feature many experiments combining displays of writing with expressions of government and power, in accordance with Oleg Grabar's statement quoted at the beginning of this paper. I have suggested elsewhere that the walls of Konya, built after those of Antalya, were patterned after the mirror of princes genre of wisdom literature

so popular with medieval Islamic monarchs. We have noted the presence of Seljuk inscriptions in Persian and Greek as well as standard Arabic building inscriptions on the walls of Sinop. And here in Antalya, a *fathnāma* written on spoliated architectural members shares the citadel wall with building inscriptions that, like the one presented above, both proclaim victory and formally delineate the military power structure behind this victory.[16]

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NOTES

1. O. Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 78.
2. A. Tevhid, "Antalya Surları Kitabeleri," *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* 16 (1926): 165; S. F. Erten, *Antalya Tarihi* (Istanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1940), 49.
3. Erten, *Antalya Tarihi*.
4. L. Yılmaz, *Antalya (16. Yüyılın Sonuna Kadar)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), pls. 340–41; H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2004), vol. 3, ill. 76.
5. *RCEA* 3757, 109–12. All references here to this work are to E. Combe et al., eds., *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, vol. 11 (Cairo: IFAO, 1939). The text of the inscription given in the *RCEA* is almost identical with that published by Tevhid. Gary Leiser and I will be publishing a revised version of *fathnāma* text.
6. For the Rum Seljuk chancery see C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1968), 226–27.
7. S. Redford, "Documentation of the 613 H. Inscription on the City Walls of Antalya, Turkey," *Bulletin of the Max van Berchem Foundation* 19 (2005): 1.
8. See *RCEA* 3764, 115, for an inscription from the walls of Sinop dated equivalent to August 1215 in which an amir is called *Ṣāḥib maḥrūsat Khūnus* (Khonas), and *RCEA* 3768, 119, also from 1215, in which the amir in question is called *Ṣāḥib maḥrūsat Tūqīt* (Tokat).
9. For a discussion of the assumption of caliphal titles by Rum Seljuk sultans, including this one by ʿIzz al-Din, see S. Lloyd and D. S. Rice, *Alanya (ʿAlāʾiyya)* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1958), 52–54. See *RCEA* 3757, 111, l. 29, for this title. This line actually constitutes a separate inscription, carved on a separate, round stone and inserted in the middle of the last tower of the citadel wall before its intersection with the harbor wall. It is contempo-

raneous with the *fathnāma* inscription that runs above it but is separate from it.

10. H. Crane, "Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36 (1993): 14 (for titles), 39 (for Husam al-Din). Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 228, cites *amīr kabīr* as a possible equivalent to *isfahsālār* based on his reading of unnamed twelfth-century Greek texts. He also (238), gives *sūbāshī* as equivalent to Persian *sar-lashkar*, both meaning army commander. *RCEA* 3767, 118, the main inscription of Sinop, mentions Husam al-Din Yusuf as *al-sulṭānī* and also associates him with Malatya by mentioning the amirs and notables from Malatya (*al-umarā' wa 'l-akābir min Malaṭīya*) as builders/sponsors of this section of the tower and curtain wall. See H. Duda, ed. and trans., *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959), 55, for 'Izz al-Din's granting him the governorship of Malatya in 1211 after the former became sultan. The governorship of Malatya had been given to 'Izz al-Din by his father, so the association of Husam al-Din with the sultan must have been long and close. For the Persian inscription mentioning Husam al-Din Yusuf in the context of the conquest of Sinop, see M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, "Sinop'ta Selçukiler Zamanına Ait Tarihi Eserler," *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 5 (1949): 124.

11. For the bilingual inscription on the walls of Sinop see E. Blochet, "Note sur quatre inscriptions arabes d'Asie Mineure et sur quatre inscriptions du Sultan mamlouk Kait-bey," *Revue semitique* 6 (1898): 75; M. Behçet, "Sinop Kitabeleri (1)," *Türk Tarihi Encümeni Mecmuası* 1 (1930): 44; and

N. Bees, *Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Kodex Sinaiticus Graecus 508 (976) und die Maria-Spilaotissa-Klosterkirche bei Sille (Lykaonien)* (Berlin-Wilmersdorf: Verlag der "Byzantinisch-neugriechischen Jahrbücher," 1922), 54–55.

12. Of this inscription Crane, "Notes on Saldjuq Architectural Patronage," 41, writes the following: " The term *qalʿa* as used in *RCEA* 3757 must not be understood as referring to the entire fortress, which we know from epigrahy to have been the work of a large number of amirial patrons, but to refer—albeit with princely immodesty—to a limited portion of that structure." The newly read portions of this inscription make it clear that the sultan was directly involved in the construction of the citadel wall, even if he did parcel out some of the job to certain amirs. There are no other inscriptions of Sultan 'Izz al-Din from elsewhere on the walls of Antalya.

13. Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, subtitle their photograph of this inscription: " …mittelbyzantinische Schranken als Zierspolien in seldschukischem Turm der zweiten Innenmauer." I am grateful to Robert Ousterhout for his help in dating and identifying these pieces of architectural sculpture.

14. *RCEA* no. 3938, 230.

15. For this issue see S. Redford, "A Grammar of Rum Seljuk Ornament," *Mésogeios* 25–26 (2005): 298ff.

16. See S. Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 148–56, and *idem*, "Words, Books, and Buildings in Seljuk Anatolia," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13 (2007): 7–16, for discussions of texts and sculpture displayed on the city and citadel walls of Konya, Sinop, Alanya, and Manavgat.

CYNTHIA ROBINSON

MARGINAL ORNAMENT: POETICS, MIMESIS, AND DEVOTION IN THE PALACE OF THE LIONS

Although Oleg Grabar himself has frequently been heard to disparage the importance of his 1978 study of the Alhambra,[1] claiming that al-Andalus really isn't "his area," this work has inspired research for several generations. Following its publication, both American and Spanish scholars began to look past the endless repetitions of ornamental compositions in the pattern books of Owen Jones and to peer beneath the exotic veil woven by Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra*, to discover—thanks to Grabar's study—a complex of palaces that was a key component in the historical trajectory of a category of architecture that scholarship has agreed to designate "Islamic." Particularly compelling were Grabar's "iconographic" readings of both the Palace of Comares and the Palace of the Lions. Though some of the most recent scholarship on the Alhambra has called certain of these readings into question,[2] I believe, as I will argue in the pages to follow, that it is precisely Grabar's concept of an "iconography"—a set of images, both architectural and ornamental, to which both patrons and public attached significance, and which were always understood through the interpretive lens offered by the verses inscribed on the walls—that serves to unlock the multiple layers of meaning in these buildings.

The reflection of the Comares Tower of the Alhambra's Palace of the Myrtles[3] in the still, rectangular pool before it creates a majestic sense of hushed stasis (fig. 1). A visitor is not so much inclined to circumambulate the pool—although the walkways that border it would permit such an action—as to stand in rapt contemplation, both of the imposing square tower and of its shimmering watery image. This sense of stasis is echoed inside the Hall of Comares, the principal throne room for both the initial patron of the palace, Yusuf I (r. 1333–54), and his successor, Muhammad V (r. 1354–91). The walls of the cubical but spacious and lofty hall are "draped" in horizontal swathes of ornamental motifs (fig. 2), each clearly distinguished from the others but all strikingly reminiscent

of the patterns of silk textiles woven in Nasrid workshops.[4] From his throne, placed at the exact center of this space, the sovereign enjoyed an unobstructed view of the pool and garden, situated in perfectly per-
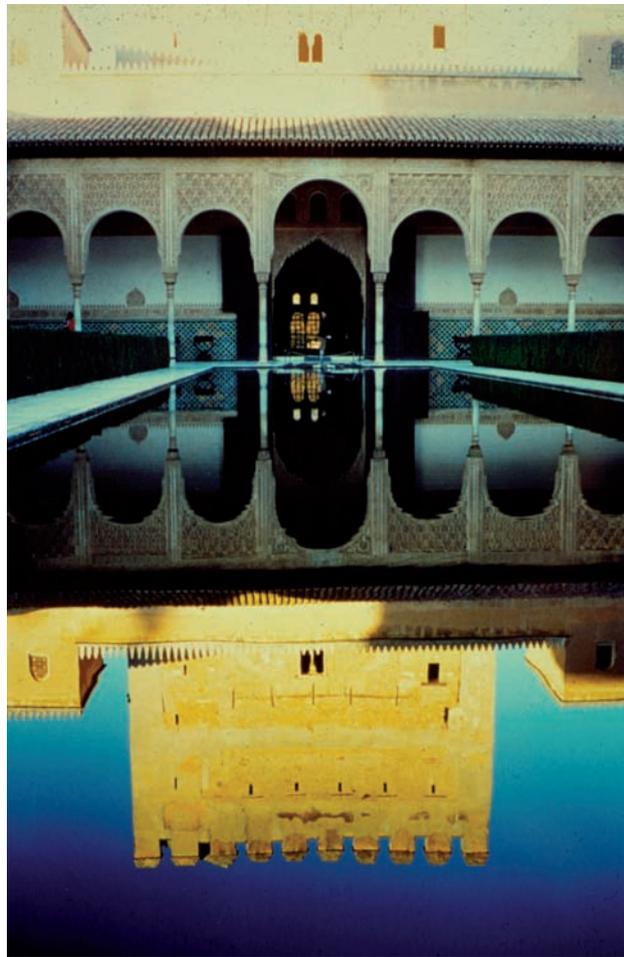
Fig. 1. Reflection of the Tower of Comares in the pool of the Patio of the Myrtles. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)
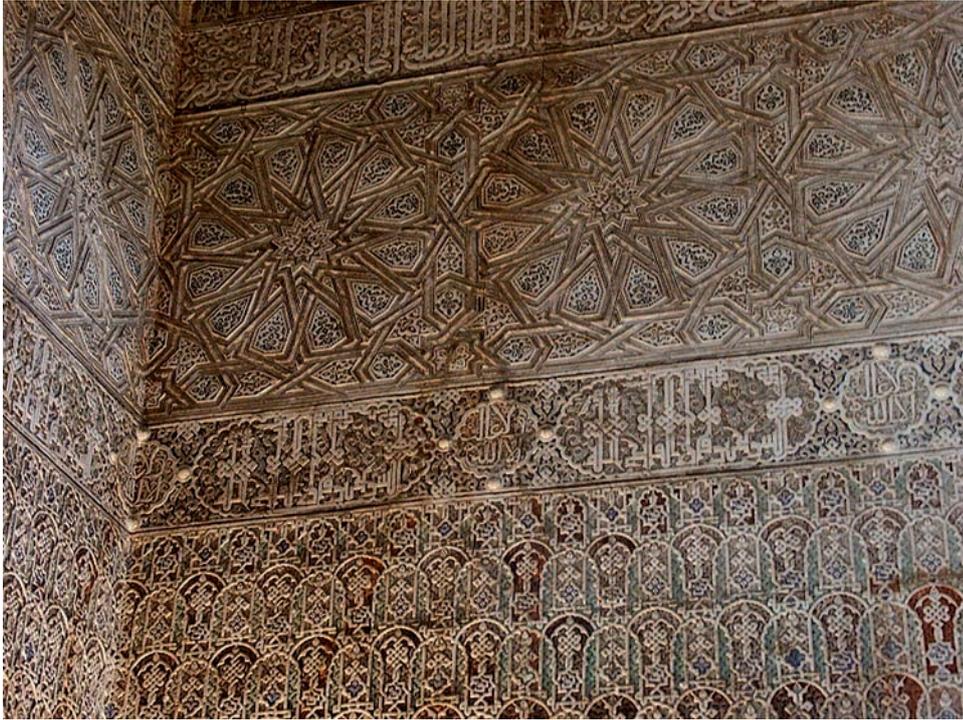
Fig. 2. Hall of Comares, interior (detail). (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)


Fig. 3. Hall of Comares, ceiling (detail). (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

pendicular juxtaposition to the room he occupied. Through repeated use of celestial imagery and references to the seven heavens, the Qurʾanic and poetic content of the inscriptions surrounding him invoked a perfectly ordered cosmos, with Granada's ruler at its center. Above his head, a representation of the starry heavens—among whose celestial bodies, according to Darío Cabanelas, appears the Qurʾanic tree upon which Allah's throne rests—assured both continuity and a proper degree of separation between the earthly and heavenly realms of creation (fig. 3).[5]

A visitor to the adjacent Palace of the Lions enters an entirely different world. Its orientation exists in direct contradiction to that of the Palace of the Myrtles (fig. 4); movement, moreover, is not only suggested but practically imposed by the rhythms of the slender, graceful columns placed in groups of two, three, and four around its entire perimeter (fig. 5). On the long sides of the rectangular patio, one glimpses the shaded

interiors of two large, square, heavily ornamented rooms of uncertain purpose.[6] On the short sides, two pavilions jut forward toward a central fountain surrounded by a ring of crouching lions, from which the palace takes its modern name; the ornamental stucco screens that compose the pavilions, consisting primarily of architectural and vegetal motifs, are delicate in appearance, perforated to allow the spaces they both delimit and link to those around them to be dappled by the light of sun or moon. Numerous scholars have observed that, in the Palace of the Lions, the interpenetration between interior and exterior spaces—often considered a characteristic of Islamic palatine and domestic architecture in general and believed by many to be particularly pronounced in the architecture of al-Andalus—reaches such heights that the distinction between the two is almost entirely blurred.[7]

The central patio would have been either occupied by a quadripartite, sunken garden, emphasiz-

THE ROYAL PALACE

[Figures in brackets indicate plate illustrations in the text]

Public entrance

1. Small entrance square
2. First court
3. Ruins of mosque
4. Court of Machuca [16]
5. Oratory [17]
6. Mexuar [18]
7. Court of the Cuarto Dorado [19, 20]
8. Cuarto Dorado [99]
9. Court of the Myrtles [21-7, 114]
10. Sala de la Barca [28]
11. Hall of the Ambassadors [29-35, 116]
12. Bath [36, 37, 102]
13. Tower of the Peinador de la Reina [9]
14. Daraxa
15. Court of the Lions [38-42, 82, 83, 97, 98, 108, 109]

16. Sala de los Mocárabes
17. Hall of the Kings [43-8]
18. Hall of the Two Sisters [49, 50, 92, 107]
19. Mirador de la Daraxa [51, 61, 115]
20. Hall of the Abencerrajes [52, 53]
21. *Rawdah*
22. Chapel of the Palace of Charles V

Fig. 4. Plan of the Alhambra (After Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* [London: Alan Lane, 1978], endpaper, used with author's permission)
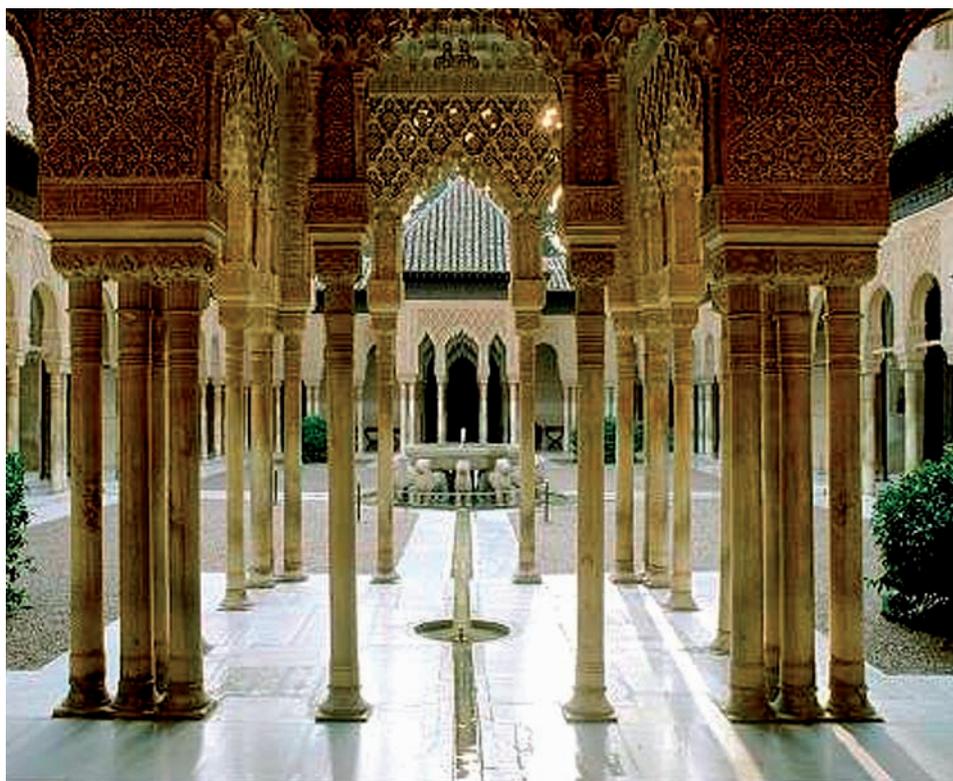
Fig. 5. Palace of the Lions, patio. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

ing the four cardinal directions,[8] or paved with white marble,[9] calling to mind, through invocations of the Qurʾanic parable concerning the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon (Qurʾan: 27: 44), its likeness to a shimmering sea.[10] All scholars agree on the splendid beauty and stunning originality of this place, whether they attribute the principal inspiration for the structure to Islamic precedents with roots in the classical past—as does Grabar[11]—or to a combination of interactions of the Nasrid court with that of Pedro "el Cruel" of Castile[12] and impressions formed during visits made by Muhammad V and his minister, Ibn al-Khatib, to Maghrebi madrasas—as does Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa.[13]

METHODS AND MEANINGS

Interpretations of the "Palace of the Lions" vary from the "pleasure palace" of the Orientalist tradition to "new throne-room" to Hall of Justice to Sufi madrasa.[14]

Indeed, despite the vast number of publications that the Nasrid palace has inspired, we still know surprisingly little about how its buildings were used, what they meant to those who used them, and how their messages were communicated. As observed by Ruiz, this is perhaps because we scholars, much like the ever-growing number of tourists who flock to Granada, prefer to catch disjointed glimpses of the palace's wondrous beauty from beneath the semi-transparent veil of orientalized Romanticism in which it has traditionally been draped;[15] this, according to Ruiz, has resulted in a mistaken perception of the uniqueness of the palace and a general failure to think of it comparatively.[16] The Alhambra is "different" because it reigned over a kingdom that (so the story goes) somehow knew its Islamic days to be numbered. This ability of modern scholars to look forward into history—something, of course, that the Nasrids could not do—has led both to the palace's reification (indeed, one could argue that it has been thoroughly fetishized) and to its marginalization within the larger context of Islamic art. It

has also fostered assumptions, even among the most innovative and forward-looking members of our field, concerning the backward-looking nature of the vegetal emphasis of its ornament.[17] A sort of lethargic nostalgia is generally presumed to permeate all of Nasrid cultural production. In the words of Robert Irwin, for instance, "Scholars in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Granada were conscious of belonging to a backwoods culture on the perimeter of Islam…";[18] the author likewise evidences a somewhat disturbing penchant for the gruesome folklore surrounding the Hall of the Abencerrajes.[19]

Yet Irwin also—somewhat contradictorily—appears to be both surprised and frustrated by the interpretive impasse at which scholarship on the Alhambra has arrived, observing that, after all, "the Alhambra was a palace built by and for intellectuals with mystical leanings."[20] Indeed, primary sources from Nasrid Granada—the study and analysis of which, particularly as relates to the literary and aesthetic aspects of culture, is still in its relative infancy[21]—indicate that we should assume high levels of literacy, cosmopolitan cultural sophistication, and poetic proficiency for the Nasrids and their courtiers. It will be the object of the present study to take Irwin at his word, and to offer an interpretation of the Palace of the Lions as a building that both provided the setting for and embodied the principal elements of Nasrid dynastic self-representation in all of its religious, political, cultural, literary, and intellectual components. Several recent studies of other key medieval Islamic buildings and their contexts have offered illuminating readings of these monuments within the cultural framework intended by patrons for very specific publics;[22] I will adopt similar methodologies in this essay in order to argue, based on an analysis of the poetic and holy texts inscribed into the palace's densely ornamented walls, as well as texts *about* these texts (principally, the writings of Hazim al-Qartajanni (d. 1285)[23] and Ibn al-Khatib (d. 1375),[24] that Nasrid literary culture was deeply and principally interested in issues of allegory, mimesis, and representation. The spaces and ornament of the Palace of the Lions are embodiments of these concerns and likewise contribute significantly to their formulation, articulation, and communication.

I will suggest that the palace, in its combined architectural, spatial, horticultural, ornamental, and textual elements, constitutes a representation—much in the same way that the Hall of Comares constitutes a cosmological representation, as established by Grabar[25]

—of a Paradise-garden cosmos composed of a group of four smaller gardens, which exist in allegorical relationship both to one another and to the larger, cosmological concept. In other words, this essay, revisiting the iconographic approach adopted by Grabar and the utopian reading offered by Puerta,[26] reclaims both the representative[27] and the paradisiac[28] qualities of the palace disputed in much recent scholarship. I abandon, however, the previously prevalent universalizing approach employed to attribute these qualities to the Palace of the Lions[29] and seek instead to highlight the specifics of the paradisiac claims made by the Nasrid palace, as well as their relevance to a specifically Nasrid public.

As has probably already become apparent, my interpretation owes much to the work of two Spanish scholars, José Miguel Puerta Vílchez and Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa.[30] Puerta's close readings and penetrating analysis of the verses of Ibn al-Khatib and Ibn Zamrak have resulted in the reconstruction of a Nasrid poetics based in an aesthetic of light and mirroring, with roots in both Sufism and Islamic interpretations of Aristotelian thought. The products of this aesthetic, often touted by the verses themselves as deceptions or optical illusions, were intended to amaze and even stupefy (or, as Ibn al-Khatib would have it, "bewitch"; see below) the senses of their audience. These, in turn, are all qualities and abilities that the frequently personified architecture itself[31]—the subject, as Puerta has shown, of most of the compositions inscribed into its walls[32]—claims to possess in equal measure. In spite of the tendency of past generations of students of Nasrid poetry to characterize it as an encyclopedic compendium of all that has gone before it in the way of Andalusi poetics—as precious, cumbersome, or even pedantic and moribund[33]—it is clear that Nasrid poetry distinguished itself quite definitely from, for example, the poetics of the Taifa period.[34]

Juan Carlos Ruiz's recent essay in *Al-Qantara*[35] represents an attempt to go beyond a formalistic "history of style" in order to determine the function of the Palace of the Lions. Ruiz has proposed that the structure was originally intended to serve as a madrasa, conceived, among other purposes, for the teaching of Sufism (classified as a science at Granada's somewhat earlier, more public madrasa),[36] a *zāwiya*, and a burial place for Muhammad V. While the idea of the Hall of the Abencerrajes as a mausoleum for Muhammad V must remain in the realm of conjecture unless further proof comes to light, I accept—with only minimal

reservations concerning our understanding of the institution of the madrasa both in the Maghreb and in al-Andalus, and particularly in Granada[37]—Ruiz's reading of the palace's plan as strongly impacted by Maghrebi madrasas such as Bou Inaniya, in Fez, and the Dar al-Makhzan, which Muhammad V most certainly would have seen during his exile; one thinks also of the Sufi shrine to Abu Madyan at Tlemcen.[38] During their period of exile in North Africa, both Muhammad V and his minister, Ibn al-Khatib, himself a practicing Sufi and an authority on the subject,[39] certainly visited such establishments constructed under Marinid royal patronage. While Ruiz's theory may be revisited and refined through further research and discussion over the coming years, it sheds new and often quite convincing light on a number of the physical features in the Palace of the Lions that have puzzled archaeologists and scholars for decades.[40] If it is difficult for some to accept the palace's identification as an "official" madrasa, I propose that we at least entertain the possibility of its having been intended to function as a sort of *bayt al-ḥikma*—a space, or series of spaces, meant to serve (perhaps among other functions) as a setting for education, contemplation, and intellectual and cultural activities, certainly with an audience conceived primarily as an exclusively royal and noble one. Such an interpretation is not necessarily at odds with the readings of those who wish to emphasize the statements of dynasty and power made by the building: as has been made clear in work by Fierro, Wolper, and others,[41] Sufism was intimately connected to the upper echelons of dynastic power throughout the Islamic world during the period in question, and thus the construction of a building or complex to house an institution in which its teachings were propagated would constitute an emphatic statement of royal authority. It is in light of this explanation that the following suggestions are offered.

THE GARDEN OF DELIGHTS

One of the most prevalent popular (and, indeed, scholarly) commonplaces concerning the Palace of the Lions is that it is in some way meant to be "Paradise on earth." As observed above, in recent years several scholars have attempted to replace "Paradise" with "power," preferring a secularizing reading of the space and its ornament as an expression of Nasrid hegemonic

ambitions.[42] Although this current of interpretation represents a justified reaction against the Orientalist tendency to apply a universalizing "Paradise" reading to almost any Islamic palace or garden, Puerta has recently reminded us of the name by which the structure was known to its original public: *al-Riyāḍ al-saʿīd*, or "Garden of Delights," a phrase with clear implications for the next life as well as this one.[43] Indeed, the poem that surrounds the so-called Hall of the Two Sisters, in which the sovereign sat and gazed out over the patio, declares:

> I am the garden that noble beauty adorns—
> Oh, how many delights does it offer to our gazes!
> The desires and pleasures of the noble are continually
>   renewed here...[44]

an affirmation echoed by the inscriptions surrounding the niches at the entrance to the hall—"I am not alone: my garden has worked such wonders that no eye before has ever seen its likeness";[45] by the frame around the windows that give onto the "Lindaraja," or "ʿAisha's Garden"—"I am the fresh eye of this garden, and its pupil, most certainly, is the sultan Muhammad...";[46] as well as by the fountain at the center of the patio: "Are there not wonders and marvels in this garden?..."[47] Likewise, the poem surrounding the "Hall of the Two Sisters" closes with another assertion that the palace embodies a lush, green garden: "Never did we see such a pleasingly verdant garden, of sweeter harvest or perfume..."[48] In short, there can be little doubt that this palace intends for its public to perceive it as a garden, and in Islam, of course, Paradise is a flowering, verdant, well-watered, fruit-laden garden.[49]

The Paradise-garden identifications that characterize the Riyad al-Saʿid and differentiate it from the Palace of Comares are established by its ornamental program, by the content and intertextual associations of the verses inscribed on its walls, and by the unique disposition of its plan (see fig. 4), all understood through the lens of a poetics of mimesis and allegory. Verses throughout the palace are by three principal poets, Ibn al-Jayyan, Ibn Zamrak, and Ibn al-Khatib, all demonstrably important to the Nasrid court at the moment of the Riyad al-Saʿid's construction; Ibn al-Khatib was the pupil of Ibn al-Jayyan and the teacher of Ibn Zamrak, who betrayed him and, many believe, occasioned his execution.[50] I will employ excerpts from these verses in order to posit the aesthetic preference of Nasrid culture for description

Fig. 6. Aljafería, Northern Salon. (Photo: María Judith Feliciano)

through the establishment of differences between things and their categorization.

This stands in contrast to the penchant for likeness, homology, and analogy based in transformative metaphor that characterized Andalusi poetics at the courts of the Taifa kings during the eleventh century, as I have explored in detail in an earlier study.[51] An effect of fusion and sameness dominates the various elements that compose the ornamental program at Zaragoza's late-eleventh-century Aljafería Palace (figs. 6 and 7), just as metaphor, in a composition performed there, transformed union with the beloved into a Garden of Paradise and the boon-companion's hands into a halo—creating, in essence, a fusion between the subject and the object of the comparison: "But union with you, if you come, is like the Garden of Paradise...It is as though a full moon carries the wine and breezes, and the two hands of the drinker are a halo…"[52] The Aljafería's ornamental aesthetic may likewise be compared to the clearly distin-

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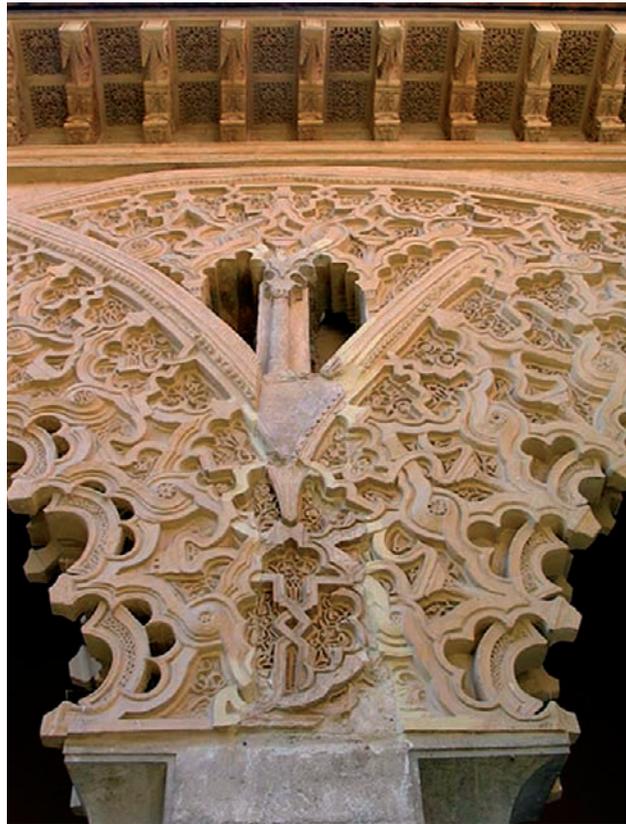
Fig. 7. Aljafería, Southern Salon, screen (detail). (Photo: María Judith Feliciano)
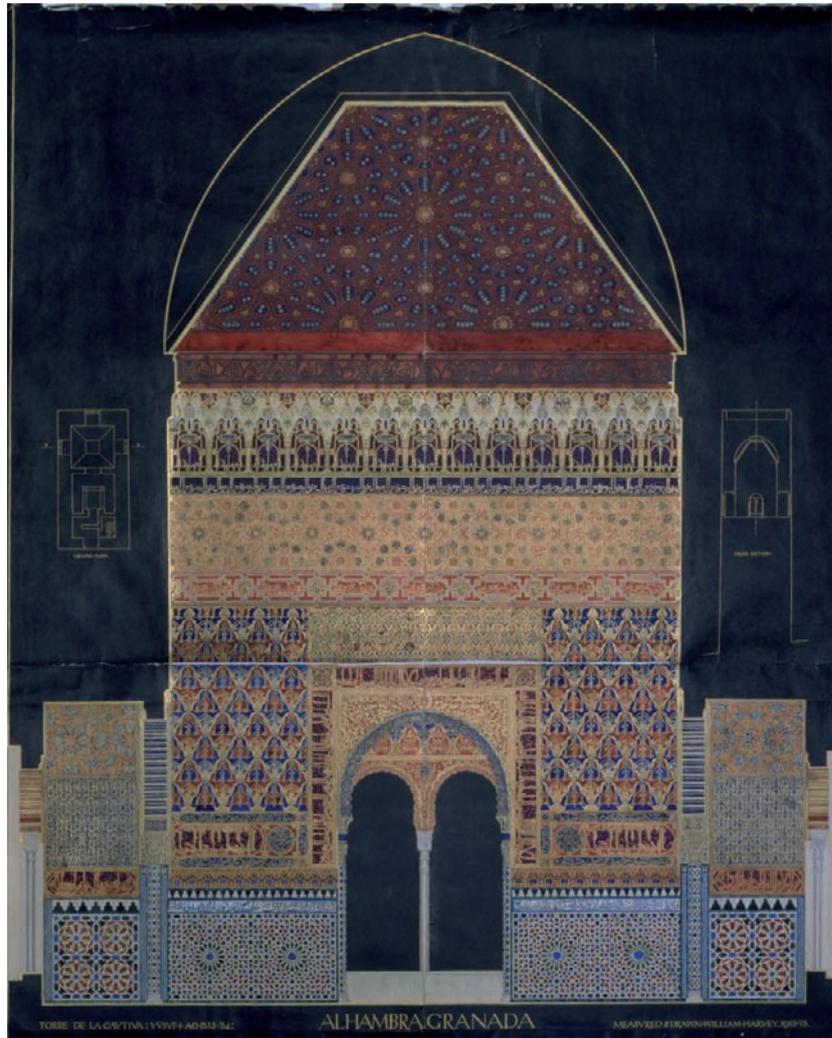
Fig. 8. William Harvey, drawing of the "Tower of the Captive" in the Alhambra. Pen and ink, india ink, watercolor, and pencil. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. E.1274-1963. (Photo: courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

guished cartouches and textile-like bands into which different motifs of parietal ornament are separated at the Alhambra (see fig. 3).

One of the earliest instantiations of the aesthetic principles of differentiation and categorization at the Nasrid palace is found in a series of couplets by Ibn al-Jayyab originally inscribed on the walls of the early-fourteenth-century "Tower of the Captive" (fig. 8):

> Her beauties are evenly distributed among her four walls, her ceiling, and her floor.
> Marvels and wonders she holds in stucco and tile; more astonishing still is her beautiful wooden dome...

Just as in *badīʿ*,[53] there is paronomasia (*mujannas*, from *jins/ajnās*, variety, sort)
Classifications (*muṭabbaq*), caesura (*mughaṣṣan*), and interlace (*muraṣṣaʿ*)...[54]

Correspondences between the ornamental aesthetic exhibited there and the significations of the words *muṭabbaq* (composed or arranged in levels), *mujannas* (classifications, correspondences, puns or the use of one word or element to communicate various meanings), *mughaṣṣan*, evoking a disposition or arrangement similar to the branches of a tree, and *muraṣṣaʿ* (gem- or stone-studded; heavily ornamented)[55] are

striking. Although these terms usually refer to poetic concepts (note the phrase, "just as in *badī*"), here they are explicitly related to the differentiation and organization of the various ornamental themes, materials, and techniques of the "Tower of the Captive," allowing the establishment and exploration of *mujannas*, or classifications and correspondences. Two bands of stylized and highly abstracted arch motifs intertwined with vegetation and bordered by cartouches filled with inscriptions are juxtaposed with interlaced, geometric star forms (again strikingly reminiscent of patterns commonly found in textiles produced in Nasrid workshops);[56] viewers, I suggest, were intended to appreciate and savor these differences—indeed, to perform a sort of exercise in "compare and contrast."

Nasrid literary theory further articulates these aesthetic principles. The primary preoccupation of the Andalusi émigré to Tunisia Hazim al-Qartajanni, the late-thirteenth-century author of a *poetica* entitled *Minhāj al-bulaghāʾ wa sirāj al-udabāʾ* (Method of the Eloquent and Lamp of the Literary),[57] was that poetry should serve not to articulate similarities between the subject and object of a metaphoric comparison in order that their identities be melded and fused, as had been the case at the Taifa courts of the eleventh century, but rather to clarify the characteristics and essence of the things it describes—the *aḥwāl al-ashyāʾ*—in the most beautiful poetic image (*aḥsan al-ṣūra*) possible.[58] The term *taṣāwīr* (sing. *taṣwīr*) is also employed to refer to the specific poetic vehicles that were to communicate these images to listeners; among its possible translations are "representations," "depictions," "illustrations," and even "paintings," "drawings," and "photographs."

Al-Qartajanni, in other words, in disagreement with his Taifa forebears, was of the opinion that poetry should create not comparisons or metaphors but images. The use of the words *ṣūra* and *taṣāwīr* is certainly deliberate: earlier critics of poetry had preferred much more abstract language, based on the idea that comprehension should be assisted by comparison rather than straight description, and that the further apart their object and subject and the more abstruse their meanings (sing. *maʿna*), the more noble such comparisons would be.[59] Al-Qartajanni also believed that the most felicitous objects of extended description for the poet—those that would best display his *imitative* capacities—included images (*taṣāwīr*) of the glittering of "stars, candles, and incandescent lamps on the pure, still surfaces of the waters of brooks, rivers,

canals, and small bays or coves." Similarly appropriate were full, leafy trees laden with fruits, and particularly their reflections, "for the union achieved between a stream's banks and the leaves reflected in its crystalline water is among the most marvelous (*aʿjab*) and pleasurable (*abhaj*) sights to behold."[60]

The Nasrid palace clearly manifests al-Qartajanni's preference for images (to be interpreted in the most literal way possible) of light, water, and gardens. Likewise, it embodies the aesthetic principle of sustained auto-articulation and description in the subject matter and the self-referential nature of the verses inscribed on its walls, niches, and fountains: reference throughout each composition is exclusively to the subject itself. Ruggles notes the importance—and, indeed, the uniqueness—of the use of personification in the Alhambra's poems;[61] though there are Islamic precedents for this technique in verses applied both to precious objects and to architecture, the insistence on the device throughout the Alhambra's poetic corpus is significant. Indeed, I propose that the repeated and extended use of personification in the palace's project of communication is entirely consistent with the poetics preferred by al-Qartajanni: what better way to communicate the "essence" of an object through poetic images than to allow this object to speak on its own behalf?

Just as the verses allow the individual components or elements of the building to describe their singular beauties in the first person, the palace's architectural and ornamental programs, rather than hiding or blurring the identity of their individual elements through overlapping or inverting, as at the Aljafería in Zaragoza,[62] affirm and declare these identities. Columns are doubled and ornamented with colonnettes, so that viewers, while recognizing them as part of a larger architectural structure, fully realize their identity as elements. Similarly, walls are visually identified as walls, affirming themselves to be—as I have already observed—draped with the woven silks for which Nasrid workshops were famous throughout the Mediterranean; domes are clearly just that, and are often visually "supported" by diminutive columns that serve to underline their separate identities and functions (figs. 9, 10, and 11).

Through both its texts and its "images," then, the palace affirms its identity as a palace. Thus, the Riyad al-Saʿid's is a poetics, both verbal and visual, of the sort of sustained self-description advocated by al-Qartajanni, which leads, as affirmed by the first line of

Fig. 9. "Hall of the Two Sisters," squinch. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

Fig. 10. Palace of the Lions, columns (detail). (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)
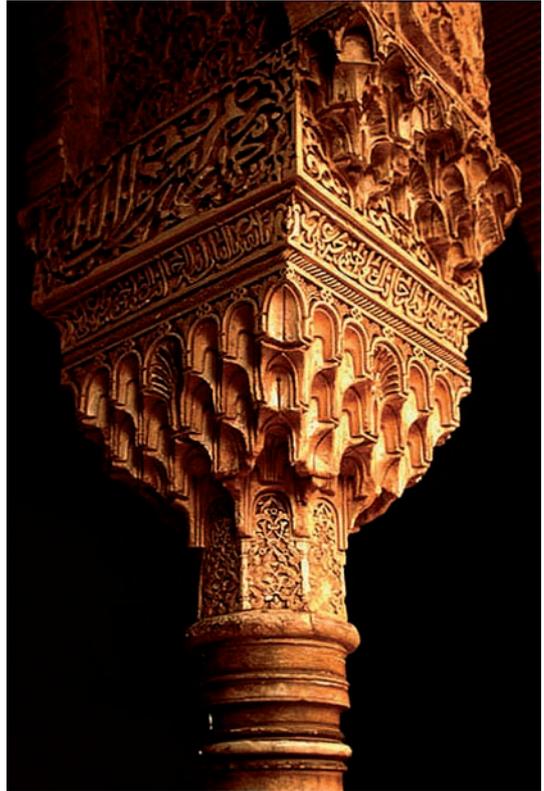
Fig. 11. Palace of the Lions, capital. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

the verses from the Fountain of Lindaraja, to a comprehension of the building's "essence." Indeed, the Riyad al-Saʿid's articulation of al-Qartajanni's aesthetics would appear to be self-conscious even in its most minute details. Puerta has noted a mirroring aesthetic that dominates the disposition of ornamental elements at the Alhambra, and this is particularly apparent in the Riyad al-Saʿid. Intricate compositions placed within the dense "tapestries" of parietal ornament are frequently revealed, upon close examination, to be short, emblematic inscriptions, symmetrically mirrored and "woven" into the fabric of the walls.[63] These aesthetic decisions were almost certainly made in response to the preferences articulated by al-Qartajanni for the above-mentioned phrases that "imitate" the reflections of light and leafy branches in water. As we shall see, Irwin's qualification of this palace as a building constructed by intellectuals for intellectuals is extremely à propos, and this is not the last time we will witness a literary trope or device being pushed to its furthest visual limits within the Riyad al-Saʿid's confines.

By the second half of the fourteenth century a new element has been added to al-Qartajanni's theory of poetic mimesis. In a treatise entitled *al-Siḥr wa 'l shiʿr* ("Magic and Poetry," or "Witchcraft and Poetry"),[64] Ibn al-Khatib declares that description, while faithfully reproducing the qualities of its object, should do this in poetic terms so wondrous as to also result in the "enchantment" or "bewitchment" of the senses—an aesthetic experience that propels the reader or listener beyond the "real" or the "natural" or their mimetic evocation. This experience is predicated on the cultivation of amazement and surprise, which in turn produce pleasure and delight—experiences of perception that had been relegated to the lower rungs of the aesthetic ladder during the Taifa period, when astonishment was for women, children, and the not-so-intelligent.[65]

It seems that the palace's designers paid equally close heed to Ibn al-Khatib's suggestions: the first-person statements and commands of the verses ("I am a garden"; "Contemplate my beauty") may appear to stake claims to the mimetic, but these same verses simultaneously push their own interpretation, and that of the surfaces and structures they adorn, toward bewitchment, or *siḥr*. Puerta has catalogued the numerous evocations of the startling, wondrous, marvelous, and even illusionistic qualities of the palace present in the verses inscribed into its walls, niches, and fountains.[66] As noted above, the "Hall of the Two Sisters" repeat-

Fig. 12. Palace of the Lions, "Hall of Justice." (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

edly affirms the palace's identity as a garden, but it also makes clear that this is a wondrous garden, one composed of silks from Yemen, of arches and columns, of marble smooth and diaphanous as pearls:

> Oh, what raiment of embroidered stuff have you thrown about it! It makes one forget the tulle of Yemen!...
> Her columns are so beautiful in every aspect that word of their fame has reached far and wide!
> Her smooth, diaphanous marble brightens the farthest corners darkened by shadow...[67]

Once they are examined closely, the elements of the Riyad al-Saʿid's ornamental program make similar, seemingly conflicting claims, proposing the identification of trunks with columns (see figs. 5 and 10), leafy boughs with arcades (fig. 12), and flowering plants with domes (fig. 13).

I suggest that this practice of extended elucidation, both mimetic and "bewitching," of the thing and its qualities was intended by the designers of the palace to precede the establishment between them of correspondences (*mujannas*), and that these correspondences, in their turn, predicate the establishment of relationships not metaphorical but allegorical. Allegory, as is well known, is similar but not identical to analogy, which is principally concerned with specific similarities inherent in two things, or in certain of their

Fig. 13. Palace of the Lions, Hall of the Abencerrajes, muqarnas dome. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

characteristics; in the case of allegory, however, correspondences between things are established through saying one thing, or telling one story, by means of another. In the preceding paragraphs, the centrality to the Alhambra, and particularly to the Riyad al-Saʿid, of a visual and verbal aesthetic of representation, imitation, and mimesis was argued on the basis of intertextuality between the compositions inscribed on its walls and the poetics articulated by Hazim Qartajanni. We may now note the presence of the Arabic word for "allegory"—*mithāl*—in the earliest corpus of writings that articulate the function of the Alhambra's verses. It appears in the introductory comments with which the Nasrid sultan and poet Yusuf III (r. 1408–17), grandson of Muhammad V, precedes his rendition of the verses of a qasida by Ibn Zamrak chosen to ornament the border of the basin of the Fountain of the

Lions. Yusuf asserts that the verses were placed there as an "allegory" (*mithāl*) of the "bravery" *(baʾs)* and "generosity" *(jūd)* of its patron.[68] In addition to "allegory," possible translations of *mithāl* include "equal," "similar," "simile," "parable," "example," "standard," "model," "image," and "picture." The concept, therefore, was clearly current among the analytical parlance that educated and literary members of the Nasrid court would be inclined to apply to poetic compositions. The term also contains numerous possible meanings that resonate richly with the aesthetics of mimesis and representation articulated by al-Qartajanni, and an aesthetic that, as I have argued, is likewise dominant in both the verbal and the visual components of the Riyad al-Saʿid.

In other words, the designers of the Riyad al-Saʿid intended it, as a cosmos-garden whole and as four component gardens, to be comprehended in its various essences in the fashion advocated by al-Qartajanni and then compared and contemplated allegorically in the manner suggested by the possible meanings of the term *mithāl*. Likewise, as I will suggest below, individual architectural and ornamental elements—through the mimetic qualities "conceded" to them by their interpretation in conformity with al-Qartajanni's theories, through the ability to astound and bewitch accorded them by Ibn al-Khatib's, through their juxtaposition with the verses, and, finally, through a Nasrid public's understanding of all of these principles—become elements that "represent" gardens in different keys or idioms that viewers are encouraged to understand and study, one in terms of the others—in short, to allegorize. When taken together, these elements compose, as Ibn al-Khatib states in the rhymed-prose introduction to his treatise on poetry and bewitchment, a "world garden," which he also associates with the creation of poetry.[69]

The first and third of the Riyad al-Saʿid's four gardens, disposed along the shorter of the two intersecting axes of the patio (see fig. 4), are "real" ones consisting of green plants and fountains, flowers and water. These are the Rawda, to the south of the palace (figs. 14 and 15), where the Nasrid sovereigns were buried, and the small garden onto which opens the window, or *mirador*, of Lindaraja (fig. 16). The axis marked by these two gardens is a metaphysical one, embodying such concepts as divinely granted sovereignty and the afterlife. While it is true that from his vantage point in the Mirador de Lindaraja the sultan looked out toward the medina of Granada, as Rug-

Fig. 14. Rawda, or Nasrid burial garden. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

Fig. 15. Rawda. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

Fig. 16. Garden of the Lindaraja, fountain. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

gles has observed,[70] I believe that it is just as significant that he did so across the "garden (or *dār*, place, dwelling) of ʿAʾisha," as the etymology of "Lindaraja" indicates. This may constitute an allusion to Muhammad V's namesake, the Prophet, whose favorite wife was named ʿAʾisha.[71] It also links the Rawda, to the palace's south, to well-known hadiths of the Prophet that ʿAʾisha herself transmitted, which are analyzed by Puerta.[72] One such hadith states, "What is between my dwelling [some versions have "chamber" rather than "dwelling"] and my pulpit is one of the gardens of Paradise."[73] Rather than *rawḍ* or *rawḍa*, the word for "garden" that appears in the hadith is *ḥawḍ*, defined as a place where water flows and vegetation grows. As Puerta observes, the root clearly exists in close lexical

association with *rawḍ*, adding to it rich semantic dimensions that those who conceived the palace knew how to exploit creatively. In medieval lexical texts, *ḥawḍ* is associated with an indentation, basin, or receptacle and with the variety of plants that compose an irrigated garden.[74] It also carries the meaning of "sepulcher." One hadith speaks specifically of the sepulcher as being "…one of the gardens of Paradise, or one of the abysses of Hell."[75] The chamber referred to here, situated immediately behind the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, belonged to ʿAʾisha and served as the Prophet's burial place. As observed by Puerta, similarities between the spatial disposition of the Prophet's tomb and mosque in Medina and that of the Nasrid palace and the Rawda, originally situated between the Riyad al-Saʿid and the Alhambra Mosque built by Muhammad III around 1305, can hardly be accidental.[76]

The Riyad al-Saʿid's claims to such a lofty and highly charged lineage are made even stronger when recent research by Maribel Fierro into frequent uses in al-Andalus of the *nisba* "al-Ansari" is taken into account.[77] The *nisba* was common in al-Andalus as early as the caliphal period and may initially have referred to the actual *anṣār* (helpers) of the Prophet—members of the southern Yemeni tribes of the Aws and the Khazraj, who traveled with him from Mecca to Medina and settled there, providing him with valuable assistance. For this they were rewarded with the *nisba*, which distinguished them from the northern tribe of the Quraysh. "Al-Ansari" could also be adopted by or applied to those who assisted the Prophet at any moment in history.[78] In addition, it was commonly linked to Sufism, which "probably added to its appeal at a time when Sufis had become a crucial factor in the legitimization of political power."[79] The Nasrids' deployment of the prestigious *nisba*, however, appears to have been particularly deliberate. Fierro states that they "not only abundantly used the root *n-ṣ-r* in inscriptions, coins, and poetry"[80] but also specifically claimed an Ansari lineage, presenting themselves as descendants of Saʿd b. ʿUbada al-Khazrajsari.[81] Indeed, direct allusion to this lineage is made in line 24 of the composition by Ibn Zamrak that surrounds the "Hall of the Two Sisters," and the stucco "textiles" in which the palace is draped, mentioned in line 13 of the same composition, are explicitly identified as Yemeni. The Ansar are specifically praised in Qurʾan 9:100: "And the outstrippers...the first of the emigrants and the helpers (*al-anṣār*), and those who followed them in good

deeds—God will be well pleased with them and they are well pleased with Him; and He has prepared for them gardens underneath which rivers flow, therein to dwell forever and ever; that is the mighty triumph."[82] The Nasrids would appear to have taken this verse particularly to heart.

Just as the first and third gardens are located outside the actual architectural confines of the Riyad al-Saʿid, their referents are primarily found, as we have seen, not in the verses of Nasrid poets, but in the Qurʾan and Hadith. They might thus be conceived as a frame of reference for the second garden, constituted by the patio at the center of the palace and its surrounding pavilions and columns. One of the feminized niches describes the patio before it:

> I am not alone: my garden has worked such wonders,
> That no eye before has ever seen its likeness:
> A pavement all of crystal (ṣarḥ zujāj), such that he who sees it
> Believes it the formidable sea, and is overwhelmed by it![83]

As has been noted, several scholars believe that the patio was originally covered by a white marble pavement,[84] an allusion to the famous shimmering crystal floors of King Solomon's court (Qurʾan 27:44), capable of deceiving—or, as Ibn al-Khatib would doubtless have put it, "bewitching"—the Queen of Sheba into believing she was seeing a smooth pond, and consequently lifting her skirts so as not to soak them as she crossed it. Even if the patio was originally occupied by a quadripartite garden, as the opposing school of thought would have it, the verses urge the viewer toward the realm of astonishment and optical illusion, suggesting that what is perceived to be there—regardless of what actually is there—is a pavement of crystal that quickly transforms itself, before the viewer's astonished gaze, into a boundless sea.

The Qurʾanic associations of this "sea of crystal" suggest comparison with those embodied by the gardens along the north–south axis: while those associations encouraged meditation on the hereafter, these appear to grant license to the "bewitching" power of poetic language by establishing Qurʾanic precedent. The "crystal" (or white marble) patio is thus "enabled" by the poem surrounding the "Hall of the Two Sisters" and the Qurʾanic "licensing" of its powers to represent a garden—or, alternatively, the quadripartite garden is "licensed" to represent a crystal pavement.

Whichever was the case, both palace and verses play on the idea of the classic Andalusi quadripartite[85] patio divided into sunken gardens with a fountain or pavilion at the center, a typology that, as we now know, was central to late-thirteenth- and fourteenth-century palace architecture, and that may owe much to the inventiveness of Christian architects who adopted and adapted Islamic models.

The fourth garden is found along the east–west axis of the Riyad al-Saʿid, in the so-called Hall of Justice or Hall of the Kings (see figs. 4 and 12). It is the garden, or embodiment, of earthly knowledge: Ruiz, to whose interpretation of this structure as a madrasa I largely subscribe, has determined that this area of the palace was composed of small rooms for private study; he has also identified spaces that would originally have housed shelves for book storage.[86] Among the principal referents of this interpretation are the many medieval Islamic texts whose titles, and sometimes contents, equate gardens with knowledge. These texts are too numerous to list here, but one of the most relevant is Ibn al-Khatib's *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf biʾl-ḥubb al-sharīf* (Garden of Knowledge of Noble Love), which was certainly known to most if not all of those who frequented the Riyad al-Saʿid.[87]

In addition to its literary and devotional connotations, this area of the palace, in fact, introduces other visual representations certainly intended to be perceived as both images (taṣāwīr) and allegories (mithāl) of gardens. The first are the famous "Gothic" or "Western-looking" paintings on leather found atop two of the three alcoves that constitute this wing of the palace (figs. 17, a–c and 18, a and b).[88] Against a lush backdrop of tree-filled gardens and white palaces appear scenes of trysts, chess, hunting, jousting, and tribute, featuring a blonde lady in a white dress who fends off the advances of a "Wild Man" while a placid lion on a leash naps peacefully at her feet (fig. 18b). Visual manifestations of poetic tropes culled from the repertoire of verses (stars, fountains, crouching lions, palaces, ladies, etc.), alluded to in a much more abstract visual language elsewhere in the palace's ornamental program, are present in these "gardens on the ceiling." It appears that these images—and, indeed, the entire Riyad al-Saʿid—consciously play with concepts of mimesis and representation.

At the center of the second scene (fig. 17c), for example, is a marble fountain adorned with sculpted (and quite lifelike) figures of nude women, who sustain the upper basin with their raised arms. It pres-

Fig. 17a. "Gothic-style" painting on northern alcove ceiling of the "Hall of Justice," Palace of the Lions. Tempera on leather. (After Jesús Bermúdez Pareja, *Pinturas sobre piel en la Alhambra de Granada* [Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1987], 74, pl. 6)

Fig. 17b. "Hall of Justice," northern alcove ceiling painting (detail of fig. 17a).

ents a striking and deliberate contrast both to the fountain at the center of the patio, adorned by much more abstract lions (see fig. 5), and to that of the Dar ʿAʾisha, (onto which one can look from the Mirador de Lindaraja), from which figural sculpture, whether animal or human, lifelike or abstract, is altogether absent (see fig. 16). Though it might easily be assumed that such sculptures as those that adorn the fountain in the painting belonged to the "Western" aesthetic most scholars have chosen to see represented in these images, it would seem that they have a long tradition in the ornamentation of Andalusi gardens. They are, however, associated with the distinctly earthly (and certainly at times earthy) pleasures afforded to patrons and their poets or boon companions in the setting of

a *majlis al-uns* (a social gathering often accompanied by drinking and other forms of pleasure) rather than with the lofty themes articulated along the opposing axis of the Riyad al-Saʿid.

In an anecdote from the late twelfth century recorded by al-Maqqari, the poet Abu Jaʿfar ibn Saʿid met in a *majlis* with three of his friends, also poets, in one of the gardens of La Zubia, near Granada.[89] Abu Jaʿfar was the first to display his poetic dexterity by engaging in the improvised description, or *wasf*, of a fountain placed beside a pond in the midst of the garden's lush greenery. It featured a sculpture of a dancer, who twirled in the spurting jets of water that, thanks to a marble plate or disk above her head, formed a sort of tent around her.
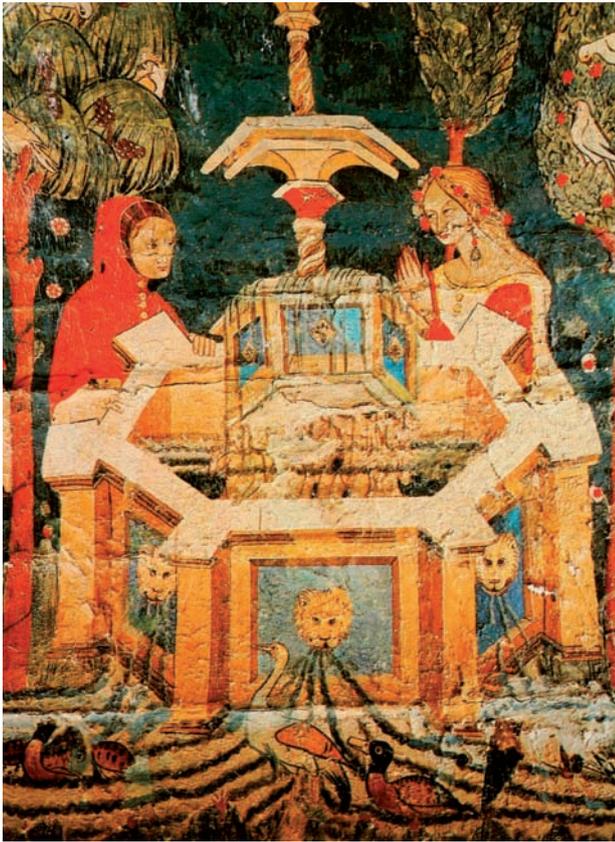
Fig. 17c. "Hall of Justice," northern alcove ceiling painting (detail showing fountain). (After Bermúdez Pareja, *Pinturas sobre piel en la Alhambra*, 75, pl. 7)

The movements and actions of the dancer amid the jets of water shot forth by the fountain, characterized first as unsheathed swords, then as abundant rain, are described with great precision.[90] The result is an exercise in poetic mimesis or representation that constitutes a clear predecessor to the sort of description advocated some decades later by al-Qartajanni. It is a far cry from the metaphorical blurring of qualities and identities prized by Taifa poets and patrons, but it evokes an image strikingly similar to the fountain depicted on the ceiling of the "Hall of Justice": though the surface of the pool is rendered as still, should water be pumped through the upper fountain it would form a crystalline, ceaselessly moving tent around the seductive caryatid figures, just as around Abu Jaʿfar's dancer. Indeed, rather than representing something foreign and visually incomprehensible to a Nasrid audience, these paintings quite

probably contain portrait-like representations of elements of Nasrid gardens—strikingly realistic visual manifestations of poetic likenesses communicated, as al-Qartajanni would put it, in the "most beautiful image" (*aḥsan al-ṣūra*) possible.

In the "Hall of Justice," these painted ceiling portraits of gardens are alternated—and, if we understand them in terms of the verses from the Tower of the Captive, also juxtaposed, so that correspondences may be established—with muqarnas-vaulted areas, all framed, in the preceding hall-like passageway, by arcades ornamented with naturalistic vegetation (fig. 19, and see fig. 12). This juxtaposition of muqarnas and unmistakably mimetic images participates in the dialogue between the abstract north–south axis and the decidedly more earthy east–west axis.

The strikingly realistic and literal depictions of gardens found on the ceilings of two of the three alcoves of the "Hall of Justice" are also, I would argue, intended to be juxtaposed with other garden representations, also found on ceilings and located along the highly charged north–south axis of the Riyad al-Saʿid. These are the stunning muqarnas domes topping the "Hall of the Two Sisters" (fig. 20) and the Hall of the Abencerrajes (see fig. 13). While the identification of the subjects of the paintings on leather above the "Hall of Justice" as "gardens on the ceiling" is unmistakable, I realize some may find it difficult to accept that Nasrid poets, kings, and courtiers would actually have seen gardens reflected in muqarnas domes.

They would not have been the first to do so, however. The metaphorical equation of gardens with skies and domes has a long tradition in Andalusi poetry, beginning at least as early as the eleventh century. There is mention, in a mid-eleventh-century *poetica* composed by the Sevillan poet al-Himyari, of an especially dexterous metaphorical comparison that resulted in the "lending" (*istiʾāra*) to the sky of the colors of the garden.[91] Shortly thereafter, in a composition of praise to the ruler of Bougie, in North Africa, by the eleventh-century poet Ibn Hamdis, the suggestion of such a possibility is carried even further, and viewers are assured that as they look upward into the dome of the patron's palace they "see" trees and birds:

> When you gaze at the wonders of its celestial roof,
> You will see a verdant garden.
> You will be astonished by the golden birds that adorn it,
> Circling about, eager to build their nests.[92]

Fig. 18a. "Gothic-style" painting on the southern alcove ceiling of the "Hall of Justice." Tempera on leather. (After Bermúdez Pareja, *Pinturas sobre piel en la Alhambra*, 80, pl. 13)

Fig. 18b. "Hall of Justice," southern alcove ceiling painting (detail showing the Lady with the Lion). (After Bermúdez Pareja, *Pinturas sobre piel en la Alhambra*, 81, pl. 15)

While celestial themes have dominated the scholarly readings of these structures,[93] it should be pointed out that diminutive flowers and plants are represented on each of the thousands of facets that compose the domes above the Riyad al-Saʿid's two principal chambers, hinting at their representative—indeed, their mimetic—potential. As will be remembered, Hazim al-Qartajanni privileged the reflections of both vegetation and starlight in the smooth surface of a body of water as the sights most pleasurable to human eyes,

Fig. 19. Muqarnas covering of the area between alcoves, "Hall of Justice." (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)
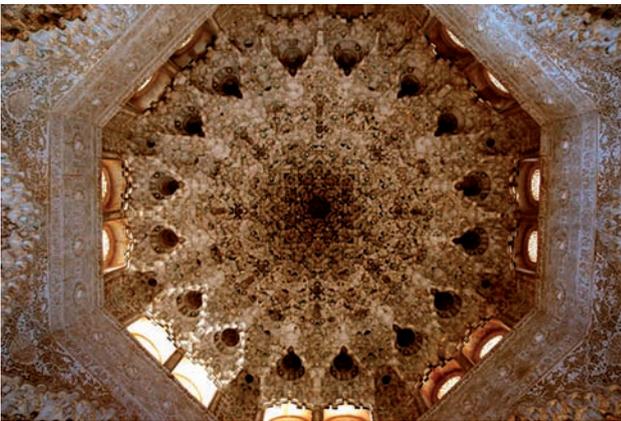
Fig. 20. Muqarnas dome, "Hall of the Two Sisters," Palace of the Lions. (Photo: courtesy of Juan Carlos Ruiz Sousa)

paintings follow al-Qartajanni's dictates, manifesting the concept of a garden in the "most beautiful image" (*aḥsan al-ṣūra*) possible; the muqarnas domes, on the other hand, like the pavement of crystal described in the niche just below them, would require a dose of Ibn al-Khatib's *ṣiḥr* for full achievement of perception. In each of these images of "gardens on the ceiling," this trope is pushed to its furthest possible extent, with both images claiming the mimetic privilege offered by the verses *Ana rawḍun…* "I am a garden…"

To accept this reading, of course, we must assume a great deal of literary knowledge on the part of Nasrid patrons, poets, and members of the public, and I believe that such an assumption is not misplaced. In addition to the striking correspondences between al-Qartajanni's and Ibn al-Khatib's theories of poetics and the visual and textual components of the Riyad al-Saʿid explored thus far, the historical nature of the literary consciousness of Nasrid poets is clearly exemplified by Ibn al-Khatib's reference, in the erudite introduction to his treatise "Witchcraft and Poetry," to al-Fath ibn al-Khaqan's twelfth-century compilation of verse, the *Qalāʾid al-ʿiqyān* (Necklaces of Purest Gold).[94] Indeed, Ibn al-Khatib states that this compilation of verse was held in the highest esteem in fourteenth-century Granada. Thus, Nasrid literatis' awareness of the trope used by al-Himyari and embellished upon by Ibn Hamdis is practically assured. Likewise, the juxtaposition proposed by these two representations of "gardens on the ceiling" invites viewers to consider the larger question of abstract and literal images or representations (*tasāwīr*).

SCHOOL OF ETHICS

and it is not a far step from this coupling to their conflation. This would certainly have appealed to the consummate poetic sensibilities of such an audience as the Nasrid court.

Just as the distinct and differentiated bands of ornament that drape the walls of the "Tower of the Captive" demand comparison, the viewer is here urged to compare and consider the relationships between two or even three *ajnās* of visual languages used to represent "gardens on the ceiling." The allegorical juxtaposition of these two manifestations or images—one astonishingly literal and the other abstract and legible only through the lens of poetic convention—suggests that both embody a single poetic trope. The "Gothic"

One of Muhammad V's most important allies was King Pedro I "el Cruel" of Castile, who was a frequent visitor to the Nasrid court. Muhammad V, during his political troubles, had also spent time at the Christian king's court in Seville.[95] It is likely that both sovereigns were members of the "Orden de la Banda," or Order of the Band,[96] founded by Pedro's father, Alfonso XI of Castile (d. 1351). This was a chivalric order to which, in its earliest days, only Alfonso's closest noble companions were admitted. According to surviving versions of its statutes, the order attempted to instill in its members the precepts and principles of chivalry—military prowess, expert horsemanship, proper treatment of ladies, generosity, humility, etc. Therefore, we might pose

the question: how much of the signification of the Palace of the Lions would the Nasrid's Christian allies have understood? Not all of it, certainly, but, as I have argued elsewhere, they would have grasped the "Hall of Justice" paintings perfectly.[97] Though medievalists have dismissed these paintings as incomprehensible and hopelessly confused misreadings of "French" Arthurian narratives,[98] while Islamic art historians have deemed them completely irrelevant to the palace's ornamental program because of their "Christian" style,[99] I consider them central to that program.

Two stories drive the narrative of these "gardens on the ceiling": the Castilian versions of *Floire et Blanchefleur* (*Flores y Blancaflor*) and *Tristan and Isolde* (*Tristán de Leonís*).[100] An ornate golden cup is shown perched atop the roof of the palace that serves as the setting for what I have identified as the first scene of these narratives (fig. 17, a and b). In exchange for this object, poor Blanchefleur, the daughter of a captive Christian countess, will be sold into slavery by her beloved's father, the king of Almería, in order to prevent his son from marrying her. The young male protagonist holds a twig that he will drop into the burbling brook at his feet so that his beloved will tryst with him beneath a tree in her husband's garden (a tryst shown on the opposite side of the ceiling), signaling that we may also identify him as Tristán.

On the second ceiling, however, these tales are given endings consonant with their importation into the Nasrid court and adaptation to the tastes of their new patrons (see fig. 18, a and b). Flores (already Muslim) rescues the Christian Blancaflor from the sultan of Egypt but, according to the Castilian version of the tale, is pardoned by the sultan because of the frontier alliance that binds the two men together: Flores has once rescued the sultan from the clutches of his enemies, and this brave deed is not forgotten. In the final scene, a Muslim Tristán triumphs over the "infidel" (in this case, Christian) knight Palomades (as opposed to the more usual French and English spelling of his name, "Palomedes.") Palomades's shield (fig. 21) is thus decorated with three doves (*palomas*), an identifying device also used in contemporary Castilian illustrations of the story (fig. 22). Tristán then rescues Isolde from the tower where the "pagan" Palomades, victim of his own lovesickness and uncontrollable desire, has sequestered her. Even though the Muslims clearly "win," the paintings also address themes of equal interest to the Nasrids and their Christian allies.

Chivalry, horsemanship, and courtly ethics were all written about by Nasrid literati such as Ibn Hudhayl (ca. 1329–99), as well as by Christian writers including Ramon Llull (d. 1315), Alfonso X (b. 1221, r. 1252–84), and Don Juan Manuel (1282–1348).[101] In the series of dense green gardens that form the backdrop to the romances, these themes serve as allegories of frontier alliances between potential enemies and of triumphant if earthly love. Through the telling and retelling of these themes, Nasrid princes and courtiers, and perhaps their allies, might be educated in topics of frontier ethics and courtliness. In addition, these images may be read as manifestations of the first stages of initiation into the Sufi concept of *futuwwa* (chivalry), strikingly similar to the chivalric code to which the Nasrids' Christian allies aspired to adhere.[102] In a treatise on Sufi brotherhoods, al-Suhrawardi[103] lists the virtues expected to characterize their members: mercy, tolerance, putting the interests of others first, humanity, and artistic sensibility. Practicing these virtues, al-Suhrawardi writes, will aid the Sufi in girding his soul for battle against the forces of evil. Sayyid Hossein Nasr notes that initiation into these fraternities took place in stages, with the first phase (known as *muruwwa*) placing great emphasis on the postulant's demonstration of the qualities of repentance, humility, generosity, love of peace, truthfulness, wisdom, ability to give and honor wise counsel, and loyalty.[142] The initiation ceremony involved the ritual dressing of all postulants in belts, and it is to be noted that all figures represented in the ceiling paintings—even the "Wild Man"—wear identical belts.[105] Further bolstering this interpretation, Jennifer Borland, in a forthcoming essay, posits Sufi significance in many of the animals that occupy the paintings' vegetation, suggesting that for both Christians and Muslims these creatures comment on such basic tenets of chivalry as chastity.[106]

Christian articulations of these themes may also have affected their representation on the Nasrid ceilings. Very similar guidelines for the practice of chivalry—identified as the seven Christian virtues—are given by Ramon Llull, who opines that the *cabellero*'s belt represents his chastity; Llull is seconded by Alfonso X and Don Juan Manuel, all of whose writings would have been known to the Nasrids' Castilian Christian allies.[107] Similar but not identical discussions of the chivalric meaning of the noble's hunting and jousting attire and of the caparison of his horse are undertaken by the Nasrid courtier Ibn Hudhayl.[108]
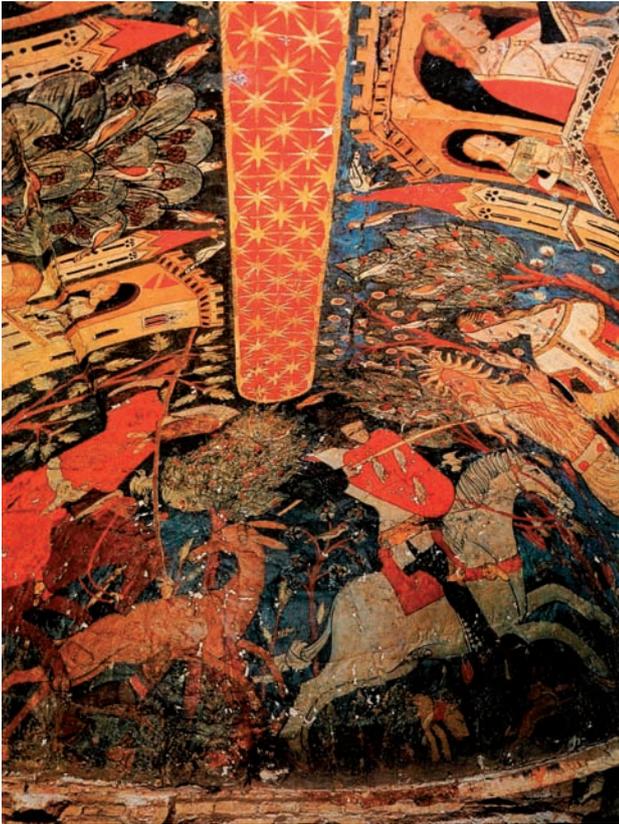
Fig. 21. "Hall of Justice," southern alcove ceiling painting (detail showing Palomades besting the "Wild Man"). (After Bermúdez Pareja, *Pinturas sobre piel en la Alhambra*, 82, pl. 16)

Fig. 22. Depiction of Palomades, from a fragmentary copy of *Tristán de Leonís*, fifteenth century. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms. 22.644, fols. 353–54, 1, XII. (Photo: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid)

The mimetic "gardens on the ceiling," then, tell stories that would have given the Nasrids and their allies much to discuss and debate in the way of courtly and frontier propriety and etiquette. (Indeed, just such a discussion would appear to be taking place among the group of assembled nobles depicted in the central ceiling painting in the "Hall of Justice.")[109] These images also contain representations of tribute, hunting, man-and-beast combat, and jousting that, according to both Llull and the Castilian version of the Tristan legend, represent the successive honing of the hero's prowess along his path to chivalric and courtly perfection.[110] Functioning as both "representations" (*taṣāwīr*) of well-known personages and scenes from familiar courtly narratives and "allegories" (*mithāl*) of chivalric virtues, the paintings would have been meaningful on a number of levels to all members of the Order of the Scarf, regardless of confessional persuasion. Like-

wise, in light of Ruiz' suggestions concerning the use for which these spaces were intended, they would have served to indoctrinate younger courtiers in the basic tenets of *cortesía* or *muruwwa*.

THE FEMININE DIVINE?

One of the least studied and most poorly understood aspects of Nasrid culture is its devotional life.[111] We know that the Nasrids were supporters of the Maliki school of law and interpretation, and that they were assiduous patrons of Sufism, sponsoring large public

celebrations featuring performances of dhikr by local mystics on the *mawlid*, or day of the Prophet's birth.[112] But we do not know what schools of Sufi thought were most popular, what sermons were preached, what books were owned, or what prayers were prayed, nor are we able to say in specific terms how these might have been similar to or different from those preferred by the Marinids of Morocco, the Hafsunids of Tunisia, the Mamluks of Egypt, the principalities of Anatolia, or the Ilkhanids of Iran.

One thing that can be affirmed with a fair amount of certainty, however, is that if mimesis was an intellectual game in the secular realm of Nasrid culture (one that Ibn al-Khatib and other court poets clearly enjoyed playing), it was something else entirely in the religious one, for reasons that had everything to do with the close and continuous contact with Christians and Christianity in which the Nasrids, and Ibn al-Khatib, existed.[113] Key for this discussion is Ibn al-Khatib's often-mentioned but little-studied *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf*, an encyclopedic and didactic treatise on Sufism. Composed around 1362,[114] it was presented to the Nasrid court during the years that coincided with or immediately preceded the construction of the Riyad al-Saʿid and prior to its author's falling out of favor with Muhammad V and leaving Granada definitively for the Marinid court in 1371. Ibn al-Khatib was proud of his treatise and shared a copy of it with his friend Ibn Khaldun. Though its purported "heresy" later formed a cornerstone of the case against him, most scholars agree that the work presents very little affront to Muslim orthodoxy, and that the charges of heretical content were probably trumped up by Ibn al-Khatib's enemies in order to secure his conviction.[115]

A full analysis of all that Ibn al-Khatib's treatise has to tell us about Sufism in Granada in the fourteenth century is still pending;[116] of particular importance here is his attitude toward images, both poetic and visual. The *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf* is centered on an ascent by the mystic's soul to the topmost branches of the *shajarat al-ḥubb* (Tree of Love). This tree is based in the Qurʾanic concept[117] of the Universal Tree (*shajarat al-kawn*) and is thus inverted, its roots spreading up into the sky (*Rawḍat al-taʿrīf*, 1:90).[118] Ibn al-Khatib's tree must sprout from a seed planted in the fertile soil of the devotee's soul (1:42), where it will flourish and grow if its owner is among those who love God (1:101); here the author cites key Qurʾanic suras referencing the Virgin (1:102). The soul's voyage is also presented as a journey to both the interior and the top of the tree (1:116–17), for which it must be transformed into a bird (1:44).[119] Like the turtledove perched on the branch of a banyan tree in a well-known poem by the earlier Andalusi mystic Ibn ʿArabi (1165–1240),[120] Ibn al-Khatib's birds "teach men's souls how to love" (1:365). Individual branches of the tree contain spiritual exercises represented by the harvesting of the tree's fruit (2:454–55, 457), or verses of love poetry filled with lost hearts, burning entrails, and swollen, burning eyelids.[121] Leaves with names like the Leaf of Fear and Reverence (2:652) are likened to the stations or places (*maqām*, *maqāmāt*) that lovers of God must visit as they undertake their voyage toward union with Him (1:153).[122]

The image of the Tree of Love is also important to the process of attaining union proposed by Ibn al-Khatib. In the introductory pages of the treatise he suggests that readers make of this tree a mental *tashbīh*, or similitude (1:101), and the original manuscript was accompanied by sketches of it, probably drawn by Ibn al-Khatib himself.[123] At a later, more advanced stage of the process, however, he admonishes his readers to divest themselves of any attachment to images (*ṣuwār*) in order to pass through the station (*maqām*) of darkness, after which Allah, the Divine Beloved, will be their *jalīs* (boon companion) at a paradisiac soirée of wine and song in a garden shaded by trees (2:500).

For Ibn al-Khatib, in other words, lovers of God, in order to be in His presence, must renounce any visible manifestation of Him and, indeed, all images. At first glance, this might not appear worthy of much comment, but two thirteenth-century Andalusi mystics and poets, Ibn ʿArabi and al-Shushtari, expressed considerable ambivalence concerning the issue. Both Puerta and ʿAbd el-Wahab Meddeb have explored Ibn ʿArabi's discussion of the desired creation by the mystic of a mental image designed to serve as a devotional one.[124] Such an image oscillates between likeness (*tashbīh*) and abstraction (*tanzīh*); in the context of an extended analysis of the much-discussed Qurʾanic passage, "...there is nothing like Him" / "...nothing is like Him," (Qurʾan 42:11), Ibn ʿArabi cautions against adhering too firmly to either immanence or transcendence. He recognizes and respects the importance of images to Christians but firmly advocates this more interiorized, private process of image use in Muslim devotions.[125] Al-Shushtari appears to demonstrate a similarly ambivalent attitude toward representations or images, warning against believing

"everything you see" and counseling would-be lovers of God to beware the deceptive powers of images; nonetheless, both men ultimately affirm the joy brought to the lover's soul by the sight of the Divine Beloved's face, when the beloved chooses to manifest Himself in the Garden of Love.

Ibn ʿArabi also composed a "tree treatise," entitled *Shajarat al-kawn* (The Tree of Creation), based, like Ibn al-Khatib's, in the Qurʾanic topos of the Universal Tree.[126] While Ibn al-Khatib scrupulously skirts the issue of the tree as a potential incarnation of the divine, Ibn ʿArabi confronts it directly: his tree functions as a sort of palimpsest, placed within and over the body of the Prophet Muhammad, whose generation from the Universal Tree's roots represents the seminal moment in the creation of the universe. Muhammad is the *insān al-kāmil*, the perfect man, and the universe takes on the form of his body, which is at the same time that of a beautiful and perfect tree. As observed earlier, Cabanelas has linked Ibn ʿArabi's tree to the visual evocations of the theme that he has identified in the wooden ceiling of the Hall of Comares.[127]

Putatively linked to the Iberian "tree texts" discussed above is the cult formed in Nasrid Granada during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries around a shrine dedicated to the tenth-century Sufi martyr, Hallaj.[128] Because of his daring poems and exclamations celebrating the ecstatic union he had achieved through mutual love with his beloved, Allah, Hallaj was mutilated and then hung on a gibbet in Baghdad. Tradition has it that he was crucified; his cross is often referred to as a *jidhʿ*, or stump. In striking contrast to contemporary Persian culture, however,[129] Nasrid Granada did not to my knowledge produce a single image, whether devotional or narrative, of Hallaj or his martyrdom.

While, as I have noted, most of the primary-source research concerning Nasrid devotional life has yet to be done, it seems that the "tree focus" (also shared by Ibn ʿArabi) is particularly noticeable in al-Andalus. Al-Maqqari, a sixteenth-century historian of the Maghreb, certainly thought so: he describes Ibn al-Khatib's treatise as "curious" and "unique." The treatise does, however, have a great deal in common with late medieval Iberian devotional texts and images, both Christian and Jewish, produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; these are characterized by the consistent importance of tree and garden motifs, with the trees frequently functioning as embodiments or stand-ins for divine concepts or personages.[130] For Castilian Christians, as well as for Iberian Muslims and Jews, the figure of the crucified Christ was an intensely problematic one, even if his body was subsumed into the symbolic tree-discourse of holy texts.[131]

The figure of the Virgin, on the other hand, was a much more conciliatory one, at least for Muslims, and the idea of Christ's mother as a potentially successful conversion tool dates back at least as far as the reign of Alfonso X.[132] This is certainly due at least in part to the inclusion of Jesus among the most revered prophets of Islam and the veneration accorded his mother.[133] Nonetheless, it does seem that the Virgin's place in the devotional lives of Andalusi Muslims was a particular one. For Ibn ʿArabi, the Divine Beloved might well choose to represent, or embody, Himself as a female guardian of a woodland sanctuary. Also present among Ibn ʿArabi's sacred love lyrics is a female bishop (*usqafa*), as are references to "the pure virgin" (*al-adhrāʾ, al-batūl*) in a composition thickly sprinkled with words derived from the root *m-s-ḥ*, from which is also derived the Arabic word for "Messiah," *masīḥ*.[134] It seems to me that Iberian Christianity and Islam engaged, throughout the late medieval period, in continuous dialogue concerning feminine manifestations of the divine.

Neither of the courtly stories I believe to be represented in the paintings on the ceilings of the Riyad al-Saʿid's so-called Hall of Justice fully accounts for the scale and prominence of the Lady, who in the final image clearly has full dominion over the lion at the end of the tether she holds (fig. 18b). Indeed, it is she who might almost be seen as defending the lion, rather than the reverse, from the base and lustful urges of the "Wild Man." She is representative (or, to state it another way, she is a *mithāl*, or allegory) of something so good and noble that the Nasrid sultans and their courtiers, embodied in the lion (as is made clear by one of the verses inscribed around the basin of the Fountain of the Lions), are content to lie napping gratefully and blissfully at her feet.

Ibn ʿArabi would have had no trouble whatsoever with this: he equated his Nizam, the Muslim counterpart to Dante's slightly later Beatrice, with divine light, divine love (from which he does not appear to have exiled the physical), and—as implied by her name— the very order of the universe. Indeed, the *shaykh al-akbar* of Murcia advocated the contemplation by mystics of Woman, given that she represents the most perfect

of all God's creations and is therefore the closest of all of them to divinity:

> ...And His true witness in Woman is the most perfect and the most complete, for in her is witness to His truth both active (*fāʿil*) and passive (*munfaʿil*)...the fullness of contemplation of the truth in her, for the truth is not visible in simple, naked material...the vision of Him found in Woman is the most perfect perception that the human being may have of Him...[135]

Ibn ʿArabi claimed, moreover, to have experienced a theophany (*tajallī*) in feminine form.[136] I would suggest that the Lady with the Lion is both a *taṣwīr*, or representation, of a courtly heroine (perhaps Blancaflor or Isolde, or perhaps known to the Nasrids by some other name) and a *mithāl*, or allegory, of the sum total of the courtly virtues whose cultivation is advocated by the ceiling paintings. Their possession, through her taming of the lion, is attributed to the Nasrid dynasty. Her insistent association with palaces, likewise, may represent yet another way of proclaiming Nasrid nobility, given their frequent feminization in Arabic poetry and particularly in the poetic corpus inscribed on the walls, fountains, and niches of the Alhambra.[137] I believe that she is also a *taṣwīr* of, as Ibn ʿArabi would have worded it, "the vision of Him found in Woman...the most perfect perception that the human being may have of Him." It is logical that her mimetic representation is confined to the mundane, east–west axis of the Riyad al-Saʿid, and to an image system connected, not to the highest stations, or *maqāmāt*, of Sufi enlightenment (the attainment of which required, as Ibn al-Khatib stipulated, that all images must be abandoned and the state of darkness traversed), but to its earliest phases of initiation.

If the fourteenth century is problematic with regard to the specifics of Nasrid religious preferences and practices, the fifteenth century is even more of an unknown. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that it was impacted by the devotional life of the Christian kingdom of Castile, which, until the monastic reforms carried out by Queen Isabel (r. 1474–1504) and such formidable ecclesiastical counselors as Cardinal Cisneros (d. 1517), was heavily weighted toward the Virgin in her most regal aspects and reticent before the image of her suffering son.[138] Even when more "traditional" Passion devotions began, in the final quarter of the fifteenth century, to make their way into the lives of Castilian Christians, it was always through the eyes of the Virgin that devotees approached these themes,

and the triumph of the Resurrection—or of the Virgin's crowning—often overshadowed the suffering. It can be no accident that mass-produced plaster statues of the standing Virgin, crowned as the Queen of Heaven and holding her infant son in her arms, were destined, in the early sixteenth century, for all of the parishes of Granada's Albaicín, a formerly Muslim *barrio* now full of recent or potential converts to Christianity.[139] Just such an image would have occupied the niche on the upper part of the façade of the Alhambra's post-conquest church, dedicated to the Virgin. Ecclesiastics appear to have had great confidence in the efficacy of these standing Virgins, as opposed to images of Christ, which did not serve them well as conversionary tools. Indeed, the son and daughter of the last Muslim sultan of Granada, favorite protégées of Queen Isabel once their father had been deposed and they had been converted to Christianity, chose the Capilla Mayor of the Jeronymite convent church of Santa María del Prado (Holy Mary of the Fields), in Valladolid, as their final resting place, where they would sleep for all eternity in the protection of a miraculous image of the Virgin housed in the monastery.[140] One wonders if the *taṣwīr* of the regal Lady with the Lion might have had something to do with this.

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NOTES

1. Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).
2. See below, nn. 26–28.
3. The Palace of the Myrtles was built during the first decades of the fourteenth century, while the Palace of the Lions was constructed between 1365 and 1390. In the interest of saving space, I will not be rehearsing the basic history of the Alhambra, given that it has been succinctly summarized, in English, in Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978; rev. ed. Sabastopol, CA: Solipsist Press, 1992), and, in Spanish, in José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, *Los códigos de utopía de la Alhambra de Granada* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1990). I will often be referring to the Spanish translation of Grabar's book, *La Alhambra: Iconografía, formas y valores*, trans. José Luís López Muñoz (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1980; 7th repr., 1996). As almost all of the authors I will be citing have observed, the names currently used to refer to the various spaces that

make up the Alhambra complex originated in the nineteenth century, rather than in the thirteenth or fourteenth; I make use of some of them here merely for convenience.

4. Indeed, the textile industry was closely linked to Nasrid royal identity and agenda; it is logical that it should be incorporated into an architectural statement about dynastic power: see Carmen Trillo San José, "Las actividades económicas y las estructuras sociales," in *Historia del Reino de Granada*, ed. Rafael G. Peinado Santaella, 3 vols. (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002), 1:323–30.

5. A cosmological reading has been proposed for this space, based in what most see as a representation of the seven heavens found on the ceiling. Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 118–19; idem, *La Alhambra*, 142–43), cites Bargebuhr and Nykl as predecessors for the idea that the sura *al-Mulk* (Qur'an 67) is integral to the inscription program of the Hall of Comares. Darío Cabanelas, *El techo del Salón de Comares en la Alhambra: Decoración, policromía, simbolismo y etimología* (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1988), identifies, among the celestial bodies represented on the Comares ceiling, the Qur'anic Lotus Tree of the Boundary (Qur'an 53:14), from beneath which flow the four rivers of Paradise. Valérie Gonzales has vigorously challenged the "representational" qualities that previous scholars have seen in this ceiling; see her *Beauty and Islam: Aesthetics in Islamic Art and Architecture* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), esp. 45–50. I am in agreement with the interpretations of both Grabar and Cabanelas and believe that Gonzales's difficulties with these theories lie principally in her implicitly Western understanding of terms such as "image," "representation," and "likeness." As I will elucidate below, the Arabic equivalents of these terms (*ṣūra, taṣwīr, taṣawwur* and *mithāl*) are precisely those that educated members of the Alhambra's public during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would have used when discussing the poems inscribed on the palaces walls. It is my contention that they would have considered these terms applicable to the visual realm of analysis as well. See also my review of Gonzales's book in *Ars Orientalis* 32 (2003), 266–70.

6. These rooms have received a dizzying variety of interpretations of their intended function: see Grabar, *The Alhambra*; Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: ¿Madrasa, zawiya y tumba de Muhammad V? Estudio para un debate," *Al-Qantara* 22, 1 (2001): 77–120; Robert Irwin, *The Alhambra* (London: Profile, 2004).

7. Grabar, *The Alhambra*; D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Eye of Sovereignty: Poetry and Vision in the Alhambra's Lindaraja Mirador," *Gesta* 36, 2 (1997): 180–89.

8. Ruggles, "Eye of Sovreignty," 180–81, citing Manuel Gómez Moreno, as reported by James Dickie, "The Islamic Garden in Spain," in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. E. MacDougall and R. Ettinghausen (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979), 100.

9. This possibility is revisited—convincingly, in my opinion—by Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones," citing Enrique Nuere Matauco, "Sobre el pavimento del Patio de los Leones," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 22 (1986): 87–93.

10. Indeed, this association might have been made regardless of the original appearance of the central patio. As José Miguel Puerta has observed (José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, "El vocabulario estético de los poemas de la Alhambra," in *Pensar la Alhambra*, ed. J. A. González Alcantud and A. Malpica Cuello [Granada, 2001], 69–87), the verses inscribed in the niches that precede the Mirador de Lindaraja include direct reference to Solomon's wondrous crystal palace (*ṣarh al-zujāj*). Puerta notes that the same observation was made in 1859 by Lafuente Alcantara.

11. Grabar, *La Alhambra*, 159–66.

12. The Nasrids were in close and continued interaction with this court. See Rachel Arié, *El reino nasrí de Granada (1232–1492)*, trans. Jesús Cantero (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), 44–45, and María Jesús Viguera Molins, *El reino nazarí de Granada (1232–1492)*: *Historia de España* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2000), 50–55.

13. Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones"; Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Patio del Vergel del Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas y la Alhambra de Granada: Reflexiones para su estudio," *Al-Qantara* 20 (1998): 61–81.

14. Both Irwin, *Alhambra*, and Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones," give comprehensive historical and historiographical summaries with bibliography.

15. Much interesting work has been done on this issue in the relatively recent past. See, among many possibilities, Tonia Raquejo, *El palacio encantado* (Madrid: Taurus Humanidades, 1989); Delfín Rodríguez Ruiz, *La memoria fragil: Jose de Hermosilla y "Las antigüedades árabes de España"* (Madrid: Fundación Cultural COAM and Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1992); and John Sweetman, "Introduction," in Girault de Prangey, *Impressions of Granada and the Alhambra* (Reading, UK: Garnet Publishing Limited, 1996); many thanks to Anne-Marie Hallal for sharing these citations with me.

16. Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones," 77–79; see also my review of Irwin, *Alhambra*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 125, 3 (2005): 457–60.

17. See, for example, comments made by Gülru Necipoğlu in *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 102, 172. I do not mean to single out Necipoğlu here; similar comments are made by other scholars too numerous to mention. I merely wish to draw attention to the striking contrast between the general tenor of her publication—interdisciplinary, questioning, probing, thoughtful—and the seemingly automatic characterization of the Alhambra as irrelevant to the cutting edge of Islamic aesthetics and culture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which, in my opinion, exemplifies such assumptions in our field.

18. Irwin, *Alhambra*, 71.

19. Irwin, *Alhambra*, chap. 2, "Poisoned Paradise," 69–99.

20. Irwin, *Alhambra*, 99.

21. For monographic works on the poems inscribed on the palace's walls see Emilio García Gómez, *Poemas árabes en los muros y fuentes de la Alhambra* (Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid, 1985; 2nd ed., 1996); Emilio García Gómez, *Foco de antigua luz sobre la Alhambra*: *Desde*

un texto de Ibn el-Jatīb en 1362 (Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid, 1988); María Jesús Rubiera Mata, *Ibn al-Jayyāb, el otro poeta de la Alhambra* (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de cultura y medio ambiente: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1984); María Jesús Rubiera Mata, "Los poemas epigráficos en Ibn Yayyāb en la Alhambra," *Al-Andalus* 25 (1970): 453–73; María Jesús Rubiera Mata, "De nuevo sobre los poemas epigráficos de la Alhambra," *Al-Andalus* 41 (1976): 207–11. On literature at the Nasrid court see Celia del Moral, "La literatura en el periodo nazarí," in *Estudios Nazaríes*, ed. Concepción Castillo Castillo (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1997), 29–83, an extremely useful overview and the starting point for further research into the theme. A slightly more interpretive approach is adopted in Rubiera Mata, *Ibn al-Jayyāb.* See also Jorge Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb," in *Diccionario de autores y obras andalusíes*, ed. J. Lirola Delgado and J. M. Puerta Vílchez (Granada: El Legado Andalusí, 2002), 643–98, for an exhaustive discussion of the career and literary production of that prolific minister, poet, historian, and Sufi. Only a tiny percentage of Ibn al-Khatīb's oeuvre has been translated into any European language; what translations do exist are almost all in Spanish. Puerta is by far the most prolific author in terms of careful analysis of these themes; he is, however, primarily a literary historian rather than an art historian. See Puerta, *Los códigos de utopía*; José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, *Historia del pensamiento estético árabe: Al-Andalus y la estética árabe clásica* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1997); José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, "La cultura y la creación artística," in *Historia del Reino de Granada*, 1:349–413; Puerta, "El vocabulario estético."

22. This issue was brought to the forefront of the discourse on Islamic art by Oleg Grabar in *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), where Grabar's discomfort with the idea of an association between specific ornamental motifs and specific referents was apparent. Nevertheless, concern with context and cultural factors in the interpretation of Islamic ornamental languages characterizes such subsequent works as Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll,* and Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); the introductory chapters of both Necipoğlu's and Tabbaa's studies offer concise and incisive observations on the historiography of the problem. On the other hand, Gonzalez, in *Beauty and Islam*, takes a universalizing approach emblematic of much earlier scholarship: written sources are taken into account, but their criteria of selection do not include a demonstrable relevance to cultural life at the Nasrid court during the mid-fourteenth century. Also key to any discussion of aesthetics in medieval Islamic culture in al-Andalus is Puerta, *Historia del pensmiento estético árabe*. Finally, Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1135 A.D.* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), offers an extensive contextual interpretation of the ornamental program of Zaragoza's Aljafería as it existed under the Banu Hud.

23. Ḥāzim ibn Muḥammad al-Qartajānnī, *Minhāj al-bulaghāʾ wa sirāj al-udabāʾ*, ed. Ibn al-Jūja (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1986).

24. Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf bi'l-hubb al-sharīf*, 2 vols., ed. M. Kattānī (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1970);

idem, *al-Siḥr wa 'l-shiʿr*, ed. Muḥammad Kamāl Chabana and Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Ḥasan Jamāl (Cairo: Dār al-Faḍīla, 1999); see also Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb."

25. Grabar, *La Alhambra*, 142–44.

26. Puerta, *Los códigos de utopía*.

27. Principally disputed by Gonzales, *Beauty and Islam*, 49–60; Gonzales also discounts the importance of the actual content of the verses inscribed on the palace's walls, an importance clearly demonstrated by Puerta: see esp. his *Los códigos de utopía*; *Historia del pensamiento estetico árabe*; and "El vocabulario estético."

28. Such allusions are present in most scholarship on the palace prior to the publications of Ruggles (*Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*; "Eye of Sovreignty") and are reclaimed by Puerta in primarily literary terms in "El vocabulario estético."

29. See Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on an Unwieldy Field," *Art Bulletin* 85, 1 (2003): 152–84, and Tabbaa, *Sunni Revival*, introduction.

30. Puerta, *Los códigos de utopía*; *Historia del pensamiento estético árabe*; "La cultura"; and "El vocabulario estético"; Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones."

31. On personification see also Ruggles, "Eye of Sovreignty."

32. Puerta, *Los códigos de utopía*.

33. Such negative "quality judgments" are frequent, for example, in the short introductory remarks with which García Gómez precedes his edition and Spanish translation of each of the Alhambra's poems: see García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*.

34. On Taifa poetics see Robinson, *In Praise of Song*. It is a bit more difficult to compare Nasrid poetics to those that typified the Almoravid and Almohad periods, given the lack of interpretive studies on their literature carried out to date.

35. Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones."

36. On the importance of Sufism in Nasrid culture see Puerta, *Historia del pensamiento estético árabe*, 720–37 and 744–806, and idem, "La cultura." See also Maribel Fierro, "Opposition to Sufism in al-Andalus," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999), 174–206, esp. 197–205; and idem, "The Ansārīs, Nasr al-Dīn and the Naṣrids in al-Andalus," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 31 (2006): 232–49.

37. On this issue see Darío Cabanelas, "La Madraza árabe de Granada y su suerte en época cristiana," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 24 (1988): 29–54; idem, *Universidad y ciudad: La universidad en la historia y la cultura de Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994); Virgilio Martínez Enamorado, *Epigrafía y Poder: Inscripciones árabes de la Madrasa al-Yadīda de Ceuta* (Ceuta: Museo de Ceuta, 1998); George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981); Luis Seco de Lucena Paredes, "El hayib Ridwan, la madraza de Granada y las murillas de Albayzin," *Al-Andalus* 21 (1956): 285–96.

38. Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones," 86–89, esp. 87; on the shrine of Abu Madyan see Sheila S. Blair, "Sufi Saints and Shrine Architecture in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 35–49. Ruiz's arguments are principally formal, suggesting that the Maghrebi madrasas he mentions served as *physical* prototypes (and, possibly, of course, as inspiration

in the larger sense) for the Palace of the Lions, also noting the extensive and numerous opportunities that Muhammad V and his minister Ibn al-Khatib would have had, during the period they spent as guests of or refugees at the Marinid court, to visit such structures.

39. Earlier scholarship did its best to downplay this aspect of the minister's personality. See Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb," and also Emilio García Gómez, *Foco de antigua luz*, and Santiago Simón, *El polígrafo granadino*. Lirola and Santiago Simón offer extensive further bibliography on the debate over Ibn al-Khatib's "sincerity" as a Sufi.

40. Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones."

41. See Fierro, "The Ansārīs," and idem, "Opposition to Sufism"; see also Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

42. Argued particularly by Ruggles in "Eye of Sovereignty" and *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision*.

43. Puerta, "El vocabulario estético," 8 n. 12. The title was used by Yusuf III in his diwan of Ibn Zamrak; see Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Ibn Zamrak, *Dīwān Ibn Zamrak al-Andalusī*, ed. Muhammad Tawfīq Nayfar (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997), 124 (citation from Puerta, "El vocabulario estético"). Puerta also notes that the term *rawḍa* was used interchangeably with its plural, *riyāḍ*, in al-Andalus and particularly in Granada: see García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*, 51 (citation in Puerta, "El vocabulario estético").

44. García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*, no. 14, 115–19; my English translation, with consultation of García Gómez's and Puerta's Spanish translations. This also applies to all other translations here, unless otherwise noted.

45. García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*, no. 17, 124ff.

46. Ibid.

47. García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*, no. 13, 111–13.

48. García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*, no. 14, 115–19.

49. The Qurʾanic evocations of Paradise as a garden are numerous. Among them are Qurʾan 9:81, 26:85, 56:11, 56:89, 70:36, and 76:20. Puerta ("El vocabulario estetico," 8 n. 11) also notes that Qurʾan 36:34 appears in the northwest corner of the Generalife's Patio de la Acequia.

50. Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb."

51. Robinson, *In Praise of Song*.

52. Ibn Ḥasday, late eleventh century, in al-Fatḥ b. Muḥammad Ibn Khāqān, *Qalāʾid al-ʿiqyān wa maḥāsin al-aʿyān*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Ibn ʿĀshūr (Tunis: al-Dār al Tūnisiyya lil-Nashr bi ʾl-taʿāwun maʿa Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa ʾl-Iʿlām, 1990), 442; translation in Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, 173–74.

53. *Badī* refers to a particular poetics based in metaphor that was coined in Baghdad during the late Abbasid period; for its initial reception in al-Andalus see Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, pt. 1, where ample bibliography is offered. The use of the term here might refer specifically to the poetics or, more generally, to metaphor.

54. García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*, no. 24, 141–42.

55. Originally, of course, the stucco ornament would have been painted and its jewellike qualities therefore heightened.

56. On Nasrid textiles see Jerrilyn Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: Metropolitain Museum of Art, 1992), nos. 99 and 100, 338–41; Florence Lewis May, *Silk Textiles of Spain: Eighth to Fifteenth Century* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1957); Cristina Partearroyo Lacaba, *La seda en España: Leyenda, poder y realidad* (Tarrasa: Museo Textil de Tarrasa, 1991); Cristina Partearroyo Lacaba, "Spanish-Moslem Textile," *Bulletin de liaison du Centre international d'étude des textiles anciens* 45, 1(1977): 78–85; Anne E. Wardwell, "*Panni tartarici*: Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries)," *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–89): 95–173; Anne E. Wardwell, "A Fifteenth-Century Silk Curtain from Muslim Spain," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70, 2 (1983): 58–72.

57. Hāzim b. Muhammad al-Qarṭājannī, *Minhāj al-bulaghāʾ wa sirāj al-udabāʾ* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1986).

58. Puerta, *Historia del pensmiento estético árabe*, 360–406, esp. 396, dedicates an extremely useful chapter to al-Qartajanni; he revisits the theme in "El vocabulario estético," 77.

59. See Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, 146–66.

60. *Minhāj al-bulaghāʿ*, 127–28; citation in Puerta, "El vocabulario estético," 77.

61. Ruggles, "Eye of Sovereignty."

62. Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, 48–53; 64–87; 176–226.

63. Personal communication with José Miguel Puerta Vílchez.

64. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Siḥr wa ʾl-shiʿr*, 49–55.

65. Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, 53–64.

66. Puerta, "El vocabulario estético," 70–72; 74.

67. García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*, no. 14, 115–19.

68. Puerta, "El vocabulario estético," 71 n. 3, citing Ibn Zamrak, *Dīwān,* 129.

69. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Siḥr wa ʾl-shiʿr*, 49–55.

70. Ruggles, "Eye of Sovreignty."

71 The comparison is further cemented by lines from a qasida by Ibn Zamrak originally inscribed on the walls of the southern complex bordering the central pool in the Palace of the Myrtles (but now lost, due to the significant alterations in the structure over the centuries): "This dwelling is a garden of immortality, where we find, joined to such delights / an array of moist foliage amidst shade, along with springs of sweet, fresh water" (Ibn Zumruk, *Dīwān,* 156; verses 1 and 2, cited in Puerta, "El vocabulario estético," 78); and "Here is the garden of delight, radiant with splendor that no host would leave / My arabesques mirror the roses of my garden, and my whiteness matches the countenance of dawn" (Ibn Zumruk, *Dīwān,* 157; verses 1 and 2, cited in Puerta, "El vocabulario estético," 78).

72. Puerta, "El vocabulario estético," 78–80.

73. Muslim b. al-Hajjāj, *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, 2 vols. in 4 (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl; Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, n.d.), 4:123, s.v. *al-hayy*; citation in Puerta, "El vocabulario estético," 80–81.

74. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 6 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1981), s.v. *rwḍ*.

75. Muhammad b. ʿĪsā Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, in *Mawsūʿat al-Hadīth al-sharīf: al-Kutub al-tisʿa* (2nd version) (Kuwait, Cairo, Riyad: Sajr, 1991–97), no. 2384; "My throne stands near one of the gates of Paradise, and what lies between my throne and my chamber is one of the gardens of Paradise": Aḥmad Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, in *Mawsūʿat al-Hadīth*, no. 8970.

76. Interestingly, a similar interpretation of the Great Mosque of Cordoba during the tenth century has been offered; thus,

the concept and desire for such associations would already have been present in al-Andalus. See Nuha N. Khoury, "The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 80–98.

77. Fierro, "The Anṣārīs, Naṣr al-Dīn and the Naṣrids"; I would like to thank Professor Fierro for sharing an offprint of her article with me.

78. Ibid., 241.

79. Ibid., 247, and Fierro, "Opposition to Sufism," 197–205.

80. Ibid., 245 and n. 61.

81. Ibid. and nn. 59 and 62.

82. Ibid., 237 and n. 32.

83. García Gómez, *Poemas árabes*, no. 16, 122–23.

84. See above, n. 7.

85. On the quadripartite garden in al-Andalus see Antonio Almagro Gorbea, "El Patio del Crucero de los Reales Alcázares de Sevilla," *Al-Qantara* 20, 2 (1999): 331–76; he also posits the importance of Castilian Christian, or Mudejar, prototypes in its development: idem, "Los Palacios de tradición andalusí en la Corona de Castilla," in *Actas del Simposio Internacional "El Legado de al-Andalus: El arte andalusí en los reinos de León y Castilla durante la Edad Media,"* coord. and ed. Manuel Valdés Fernández (Valladolid: Fundación del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, 2007), 243–82.

86. Ruiz, "El Palacio de los Leones."

87. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rawḍat*; Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb."

88. On these paintings see Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "Paintings in the Sala de Justicia of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology," *The Art Bulletin* 61 (June 1979): 186–97; Gonzales, *Beauty and Islam*, 47; Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 80–83; and Cynthia Robinson, "Narrative and Nasrid Courtly Self-Fashioning in the *Sala de Justicia* Ceiling Paintings," in *Arthur in the Alhambra*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet, special edition of *Medieval Encounters* 14, 2–3 (Nov.–Dec. 2008: 175–98).

89. This anecdote was brought to my attention in a presentation entitled "Jardines y fuentes a través de la poesía andalusí," given by Celia del Moral as part of "La Ciudad en el Occidente Islámico Medieval: Nuevas aportaciones de la arqueología y relectura de fuentes," in the conference "Jardines de al-Andalus," held in Granada April 27–30, 2005, and directed by Julio Navarro Palazón. The anecdote is found in Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghusn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed., Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 3:497–99, and is translated into Spanish in Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Saʿīd, *Abū Yaʿfar ibn Saʿīd: Un poeta granadino del siglo XII,* ed. Celia del Moral (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1997), 40–41.

90. Ibid.

91. Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, 97.

92. Ibid., 200–202 for translation; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967), 1:322–23.

93. See Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 144–54.

94. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Siḥr wa 'l-shiʿr*, 65–66.

95. See Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb."

96. See the essay by Ana Echevarria, "Muhammad V, Peter I and the Order of the Scarf," in Robinson and Pinet, *Arthur in the Alhambra*. According to this author's recent findings, in "Painting Politics in the Alhambra," *Medieval Encounters* 14,

2–3: 199–218, "Orden de la Banda" should be translated as "Order of the Band."

97. Robinson, "Narrative and Nasrid Courtly Self-Fashioning."

98. Dodds, "Paintings in the Sala de Justicia."

99. Gonzalez, *Beauty and Islam*, 47.

100. The following paragraph is a summary of some of the arguments developed in much greater detail in Robinson, "Narrative and Nasrid Courtly Self-Fashioning."

101. ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Hudhayl , *Maqālāt al-udabāʾ wa munāzarāt al-nujabāʾ* ed. Muḥammad Adīb al-Jādir (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2002); idem, *Tuḥfat al-anfus wa shiʾār sukkān al-Andalus = La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux [par] ʿAly ben ʿAbderrahman ben Hodeïl el Andalusy. Traduction française précédée d'une étude sur les sources des hippiatres arabes et accompagnée d'appendices critiques sur l'histoire du pur-sang, de l'équitation et des sports hippiques arabes, en Maghreb et en Orient, par Louis Mercier* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1924); idem, *Tuḥfat al-anfus wa shiʾār sukkān al-Andalus*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad Nabhān, Muḥammad Fātiḥ Ṣāliḥ Zaghal (Al-ʿAyn: Markaz Zāyid lil-Turāth wa 'l-Tārīkh, 2004); idem, *Ḥilyat al-fursān wa shiʾār al-shujʾān*; comp. and ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif lil-Ṭibāʿa wa 'l-Nashr, 1951); Ramon Llull, *Libro de la orden de caballería, nota preliminar y traducción de Luis Alberto de Cuenca* (Madrid: Alianza, 2000); Luís Alberto de Cuenca, ed., *Floresta Española de varia caballería: Raimondo Lulio, Alfonso X, Don Juan Manuel* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975).

102. This idea was first suggested to me by Jessica Streit in a seminar paper titled "Knights, Ladies, and Mystics: The Paintings in the Alhambra's *Sala de Justicia*," written for a class I taught at the University of New Mexico in the spring semester of 2003. I am grateful to her for allowing me to cite it here.

103. Excerpts from Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad Suhrawardī, "Treatise on *Futuwwat*," in *Windows on the House of Islam: Muslim Sources on Spirituality and Religious Life*, ed. John Renard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), esp. 235–40. While Ibn al-Khatib, fearing for the orthodoxy of his treatise, did not specifically cite al-Suhrawardi in the *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf*, numerous scholars have identified al-Suhrawardi's writings as among its most likely sources. See Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb," 688.

104. Sayyid Hossein Nasr, ed., *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations* (New York: Crossword, 1991), 309.

105. Again, I am grateful to Jessica Streit for this observation.

106. See Jennifer Borland, "Marginal Realms, Peripheral Visions: The "Outer Space" of the Alhambra Ceilings," in Pinet and Robinson, *Arthur in the Alhambra*, 303–40.

107. Llull, *Libro de la orden de caballería*; Luís Alberto de Cuenca, *Floresta Española de varia caballería*.

108. Ibn Hudhayl, *Tuḥfat al-anfus wa-shiʾār sukkān al-Andalus = La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux.*

109. These figures have frequently (albeit incorrectly, I believe) been interpreted as a Nasrid dynastic group portrait: see Pinet and Robinson, *Arthur in the Alhambra*, 175–98.

110. See Robinson, "Arthur in the Alhambra? Narrative and Nasrid Courtly Self-Fashioning."

111. Virtually no mention is made of the Nasrid kingdom's religious life, for example, by Rachel Arié, *España musulmana (sig-*

los VIII–XV), 1st ed., 16th printing (Barcelona: Labor, 1994); Cabanelas, El techo del Salón de Comares; Darío Cabanelas, Literatura, arte y religión en los palacios de la Alhambra (Granada: Acádemia Universo de Granada, 1984); Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb"; Angus Mackay, "Religion, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier Societies," in Medieval Frontier Societies, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Puerta, Historia del pensamiento estético árabe; or Puerta, "La cultura"; a comprehensive study on the subject is still lacking.

112. García Gómez, Foco de antigua luz, introduction.

113. Cynthia Robinson, "Trees of Love, Trees of Knowledge: Toward the Definition of a Cross-Confessional Current in Late Medieval Iberian Spirituality," in Interrogating Iberian Frontiers: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach to Mudéjar History, Religion, Art and Literature, ed. María Feliciano, Cynthia Robinson, and Leyla Rouhi, special edition of Medieval Encounters 12, 3 (Dec. 2006): 388–435.

114. Lirola, "Ibn al-Jaṭīb," 652.

115. Ibid., 654,

116. In the meantime, consult M. Kattani's introduction to Rawḍat al-taʿrīf; Cynthia Robinson, "Les Lieux de la Lyrique: L'incarnationisme dans la lyrique mystique andalouse," in L'Éspace lyrique méditerranéen au Moyen Age: Nouvelles approches, ed. Dominique Billy, François Clément, and Annie Combes (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2006), 157–86; Robinson, "Trees of Love"; and Santiago Simón, El polígrafo granadino.

117. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Rawḍat, 1:125; further specific citations in this section will be given in parentheses in the main text, with volume number preceding page number.

118. Its branches, however, also reach and fill the sky.

119. This concept finds numerous resonances in contemporary Jewish and Christian devotional images and thought: see Robinson, "Trees of Love."

120. For example, Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī, Tarjumān al-ashwāq (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1998), 171.

121. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, El polígrafo granadino, for a thorough discussion of the treatise's organization; see Robinson, "Lieux de la Lyrique," for a discussion of some of the verses.

122. 2:662; leaves are placed along branches such as the one called "From Knowledge to the Manifestation of the Beloved."

123. The drawings of a "sacred tree" are mentioned in M. Kattani's introduction to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Rawḍat, as being present in manuscript copies of the Rawḍat housed today in Istanbul; I have not yet been able to view them.

124. Puerta, Historia del pensamiento estético árabe, 744–805, esp. 797–99; ʿAbdelwahab Meddeb, "La imagen y lo invisible: Ibn ʿArabī, Estéticas," in Los dos horizontes: Textos sobre Ibn al-ʿArabi (Murcia: Editora Regional, 1992), 259–69.

125. For some of Ibn ʿArabi's views on the question of images in a Christian context see Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī, al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya, 4 vols., ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1999), 1:337–43.

126. Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī, Shajarat al-kawn = L'arbre du monde, ed. and trans. M. Gloton (Paris: Les Deux Océans, 1998).

127. Cabanelas, Salón de Comares, and above, nn. 5, 37, and 111.

128. For Hallaj in general see Herbert Mason, "Hallaj: A Martyr for Truth," Boston University Journal 21, 3 (1971); Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, Akhbâr al-Hallâj: Recueil d'oraisons et d'exhortations du martyr mystique de l'Islam, annot. and trans. Louis Massignon, 3rd ed. (Paris: Libr. philosophique Vrin, 1957); Louis Massignon, La Passion de Husayn ibn Mansur Hallâj: Martyre mystique de l'Islam, exécuté à Bagdad le 26 mars 922: Étude d'histoire religieuse, 4 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Samah Selim, "Mansur al-Hallaj and the Poetry of Ecstasy," Journal of Arabic Literature 21, 1 (1990): 26–42. For the cult of Hallaj in Granada and in al-Andalus in general see Massignon, La Passion de Hallâj, 2:324–52; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, El polígrafo granadino, esp. 24–32. He is mentioned and quoted on several occasions in Ibn al-Khatib's Rawḍat, as well as numerous times by Ibn ʿArabi throughout his oeuvre.

129. See Massignon, La Passion de Hallâj, 1: pls. XIIIa and XIIIb for representations of Hallaj's martyrdom in manuscripts of Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqiyya, in Edinburgh University Library (ms. OR 161, dated 707 [1307], fol. 113r), and in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (ms. arabe 1489, dated to the seventeenth century, fol. 113r).

130. Robinson, "Les Lieux de la Lyrique"; idem, "Trees of Love"; idem, "Mudéjar Revisited: A Prologomena to the Reconstruction of Perception, Devotion, and Experience at the Mudéjar Convent of Clarisas, Tordesillas, Spain (Fourteenth Century A.D.)," RES 43 (2003): 51–77.

131. Robinson, "Trees of Love," and idem, "Preaching to the Converted: Valladolid's 'Cristianos Nuevos' and the 'Retablo de Don Sancho de Rojas' (1415 A.D.)," Speculum 83, 1 (2008): 112–63.

132. This has been shown by Francisco Prado-Vilar, "The Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others," in Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Iberia, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 66–100.

133. On the Virgin as well as themes of female sanctity in Islam consult M. Chodkiewicz, "La sainteté féminine dans l'hagiographie islamique," in Denise Aigle, ed., Saints Orientaux (Paris: De Boccard, 1995), 99–115; Fernando de la Granja, "Fiestas cristianas en al-Andalus (Materiales para su estudio), II," Al-Andalus 35 (1970): 119–42; Louis Massignon, La mubâhala de Médine et l'hyperdulie de Fatima (Paris: Librairie orientale et américaine, 1955); Jane I. Smith, "The Virgin Mary in Islamic Tradition," The Muslim World 79 (1989): 161–87; Neal Robinson, "Jesus and Mary in the Qurʾan: Some Neglected Affinities," in The Qurʾan: Style and Contents, ed. Andrew Rippin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 21–36; Aliah Schleifer, Mary, Blessed Virgin of Islam (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 1997); Denise A. Spellberg, Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past: The Legacy of ʿAʾisha bint Abu Bakr (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), esp. chap. 5; A. M. Turki, "Femmes privilégiées et privilèges féminins dans le système théologique et judirique d'Ibn Hazm," Studia Islamica 47 (1978): 25–82. Maribel Fierro, "Women as Prophets in Islam," in Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab sources, ed. Manuela Marín and Randi Deguilhem (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 183–99, specifically discusses the controversy among Muslim exegetes concerning Mary's possible status as a prophet. Though Fierro notes that after the thirteenth century this was certainly minority opinion, it was frequently espoused by Sufis, including Ibn ʿArabi. It is interesting, therefore, to note that Mary is accorded prophet-like sta-

tus by the early-fifteenth-century Valencian Françesc Eiximenis, whose writings concerning the life of Christ were translated into Castilian by the 1430s, if not earlier, and had widespread repercussions in Castilian devotional life through the end of the fifteenth century and beyond. See Robinson, "Preaching to the Converted" and Cynthia Robinson, *Imag(in)ing the Passion in a Multi-Confessional Castile: The Virgin, Christ, Devotions and Images in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (monograph in preparation).

134. Ibn ʿArabī, *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, 9.

135. Muhyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom), ed. ʿAbd Allāh ʿAfīf (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1980), 217; cited in Puerta, *Historia del pensamiento estético árabe*, 760–61.

136. Fierro, "Women as Prophets," 186; Fierro cites Chodkiewicz, "La sainteté féminine," 109 and 111.

137. This association is also characteristic of Castilian frontier ballads, and the concept may therefore have been comprehensible to the Nasrids' Christian allies: see Angus Mackay, "The Ballad and the Frontier in Late Medieval Spain," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 53 (1976), 15–33.

138. See Cynthia Robinson, "El Retablo de Miraflores *romanzado*, o ¿qué significa ser un Van der Weyden en Castilla?" in *Gótico y frontera: En busca de nuevos paradigmas para el estudio del gótico hispano*, ed. Rocío Sánchez Ameijeira (Murcia: Nausícaa, col. Medievalia, Murcia, forthcoming 2009), and Robinson, *Imag(in)ing the Passion*.

139. As reconstructed by Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007).

140. On Santa María del Prado see Luis Fernández, *La Real Imprenta del Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Prado (1481–1835)* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1992); Luis Resines, *Hernando de Talavera, prior del Monasterio de Prado* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1993); Eloisa Wattenberg García, A. García Simón, and Melquiades Andrés Martín, *El Monasterio de Nuestra Señora del Prado* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1995).

HOWAYDA AL-HARITHY

WEAVING HISTORICAL NARRATIVES:
BEIRUT'S LAST MAMLUK MONUMENT

Throughout history, monuments have been built or inserted into existing urban contexts to celebrate historical events, commemorate individuals, or convey ideologies. And throughout history, monuments have been appropriated or have become associated with new events or figures of significance. The Dome of the Rock is an excellent example of the complexity of meanings that can be attached to a single monument, as Oleg Grabar has shown in several studies devoted to the building and its immediate context of al-Haram al-Sharif. These studies are interpretations of the Dome of the Rock that address its Umayyad builders' intended meaning, religious associations with the ascension of the Prophet acquired in later centuries, and contemporary references to religious piety or political claims.[1]

The process of meaning construction is equally complex. Only rarely is it instantaneous, and only rarely are multiple narratives born from a single event or process. In this paper I will investigate the recovery of a monument, rather than its making, and the multiple narratives that were constructed by different authors almost simultaneously, within the short time span of four years. The building at the center of this investigation is the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq, dating to the year 1517. It is located at the southern edge of the souks of Beirut, more specifically the southern end of Souk al-Tawileh. It will be investigated as an architectural sign employed in the construction of multiple historical narratives during the process of the postwar reconstruction of the Beirut Central District. "Architectural sign," as used here, is not a static sign with a single fixed signifier, as in the Saussurian model, but one that is dynamic, as in the Derridan model.[2] In *The Truth in Painting*, Derrida argues that

> a sign is not the conjunction between a signifier and its single, univocal signified, but the movement from one signifier to another, the motion between them. As motion, visual signification is therefore incompatible with boundary, threshold, frame; it is a passepartout.[3]

The process of meaning construction addressed in this paper is the postwar reconstruction of Beirut's Central District began after the Taʾif agreement of 1989 and the end of the civil war in Lebanon. In December 1991, Law 117 was passed, giving "… the municipal administration the authority to create real estate companies in war-damaged areas, and to entrust them with implementation of the urban plan and promotion, marketing, and sale of properties to individuals or corporate developers."[4] After the late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri took office, in 1992, the Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of the Beirut Central District—a private real estate company known as Solidere[5]—was formed. It took charge of the postwar reconstruction of the district, following the proposed master plan of 1991.[6] The grand vision behind this master plan—to take a tabula rasa approach in rebuilding the city center—led to the demolition of a large number of buildings and the clearing of many sites, including the area of the souks.

During this process of reconstruction, a small domed structure, the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq (fig. 1), was revealed and stirred public reaction,[7] becoming "subject to all the vicissitudes of reception"[8] and "encounter[ing] from that moment on the ineradicable fact of semiotic play."[9] The architectural sign was entered into multiple narratives woven by different viewers whose spectatorship or text I will attempt to reconstruct in light of the notion that "the text or artwork cannot exist outside the circumstances in which the reader reads the text or the viewer views the image, and that the work cannot fix in advance the outcome of any of its encounters with contextual plurality."[10]

THE FIRST NARRATIVE

Immediately upon the recovery of the structure, in April 1992, a group of Shiites rushed to the site and

Fig. 1. The zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq emerges during the demolition of the souks. (Photo: *Al-Nahār* archives)

immediately laid claim to the building, declaring it a sacred site that should not be touched or demolished. News coverage gave the discovery considerable exposure, though no one remembered the building or had even known of its existence, since it had not been visible in the souk area, nor had it functioned as a religious building in the prewar years. The structure was identified as the qubba of Ibn ʿIraq, also known as the zawiya of Muhammad Khidr al-ʿIraqi.[11] Soon after that, it was celebrated as a tomb of a holy Shiʿi sheikh known as Ibn ʿIraq al-Dimashqi. Upon consultation of the primary sources, the name was later corrected to Ibn ʿArraq.

The domed structure quickly became the subject of popular accounts from which mythical stories were fabricated. It was reported that

> …the old unknown qubba in Souk al-Tawileh in the commercial souks, known as Qubbat Ibn ʿIraq, turned suddenly to a *mazār* [shrine], visited daily by hundreds of men and women seeking its blessings [fig. 2]. Within

three days, this small, deserted dome became a *maqām* [holy place] towards which people rushed, of which they spoke, and about which they told stories. Different sources were sought regarding the genealogy of Ibn ʿIraq and his affiliation. On the qubba were hung pictures of Imam Khomeini and al-Sayyid ʿAli Khamenei, black flags, and a poster declaring the *maqām* as that of his holiness Ayatollah Muhammad bin ʿAli al-ʿIraqi al-Dimashqi, who died in 933 [1526]. Speakers were installed [for the reading of the Qurʾan], and spaces, some for the visits of men and others for women, were designated [fig. 3].[12]

People approached the structure, peeked inside into a coffin covered by a green flag, and threw money at a man who was cutting small pieces of the green cloth to sell to those seeking its *baraka*.[13] It was even claimed that a fountain of orange-blossom water burst forth and filled the place with its aroma.[14]

Stories were exchanged of miracles that ruptured the chain of the bulldozer, broke its blade, or paralyzed the hand of its driver; the most amazing tale claimed
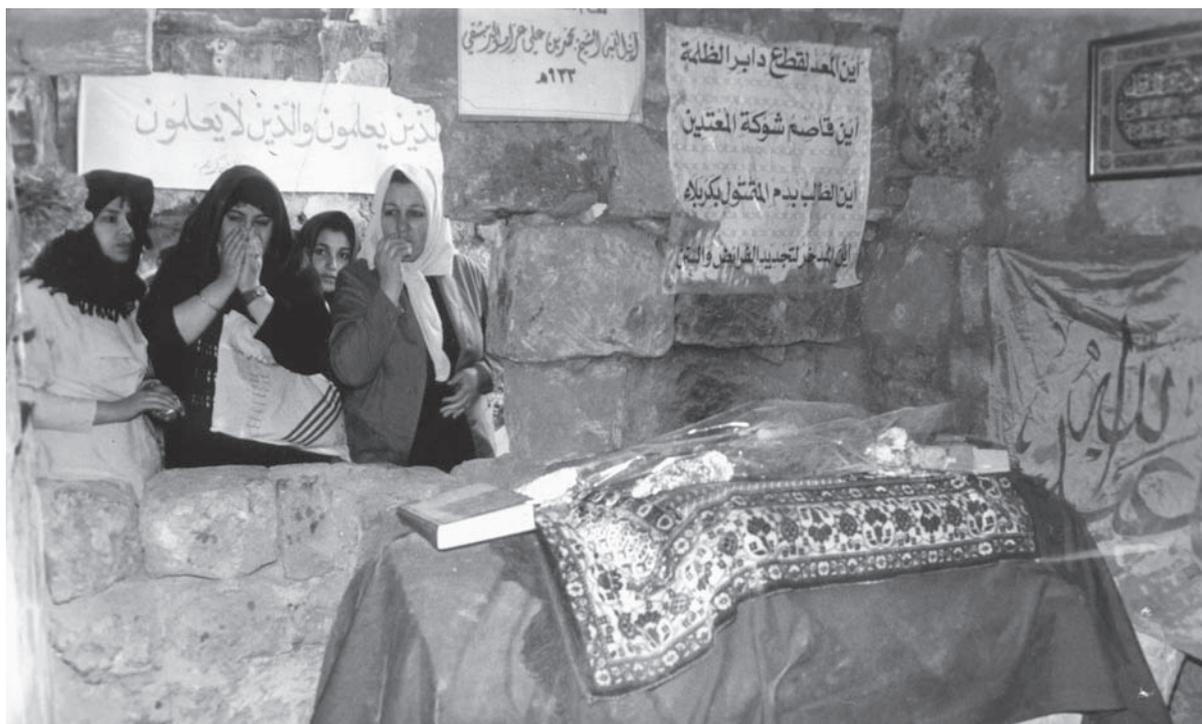
Fig. 2. The zawiya becomes a *mazār*. (Photo: *Al-Nahār* archives)

Fig. 3. People gather around the zawiya. (Photo: *Al-Nahār* archives)

that the holy man came out of his tomb to tell the workers, "Don't harm me, and I won't harm you."[15] One journalist actually reported that "a woman wearing a white scarf told of the shaykh appearing to the driver of the bulldozer of the CDR, forbidding him to touch the mausoleum," and quoted her as saying "the first bulldozer stopped functioning as well as the second. The engineer on site touched the wall of the structure and his hands got stiff."[16] Merchants of all kinds gathered around the domed structure to profit from the situation by selling their goods. To add to the rumors and increase their profits, they too claimed to have been on the site when the bulldozer was miraculously stopped.[17]

The Shiite Hezbollah-affiliated group who took charge of the *mazār* was composed of temporary residents of the Wadi Abou Jmeil neighborhood of Beirut's Central District, where they had taken refuge during the war years.[18] In support of their claim, they stressed, in their identification of the holy man, that he was not only *al-Dimashqī* (the Damascene) but also *al-ʿIrāqī*, in reference to Iraqi Shiism.[19] Originally from the South of Lebanon and historically without a religious locus in the Central District, this group, through their identification of the holy man as a Shiʿi shaykh or even imam and through their appropriation of the building as his own tomb, sought to make permanent their status and to claim a piece of the future in the city under construction.

Their claim did not go uncontested, however. On May 18, 1992, the Faculty of Legal Islamic Studies in Beirut, upon researching the Islamic sources and retracing the genealogy of the holy figure, issued the statement, "The zawiya that was found is that of Muhammad bin ʿAli ʿAbd al-Rahman bin ʿArraq, Shams al-Din Abu ʿAli al-Kanʿani al-Dimashqi, known as Shaykh al-Islam, and that noble great scholar is of the Shafiʿi jurists,"[20] thus reclaiming him as a Sunni shaykh. The statement was accompanied by Ibn ʿArraq's biography, excerpted from al-Zarkali's *al-Aʿlām*. This led to a quick response from the Shiite group, discrediting the claim:

> We cannot say for sure that Ibn ʿArraq was affiliated with the Shafiʿi rite, because history books do not refer to his rite. Even if al-Zarkali (volume 6, page 290)[21] and Kahala (volume 11, page 21)[22] have pointed to his Shafiʿi affiliation, they are only contemporary sources, which are not dependable in such critical matters, especially when older sources are available. Islamic history books from the Mamluk period used to refer to the Imami Shiʿi ulama with the Shafiʿi label…[23]

Citing examples from al-Ghazzi's *Kawākib*,[24] they further argued that there was no reference to his Shafiʿi affiliation in Ibn ʿArraq's own books, and accordingly they could permit themselves to assign him to the Shiʿite sect because of his tutors and followers, who come from places in Jabal ʿAmil and Jabal al-ʿAlawi such as Sarafand, Bazouniyya, and Saqba.[25]

Eventually the dispute came to an end. On May 22, 1992, the building was handed over by Hezbollah to a delegation of the General Directorate for the Islamic Waqfs of Dar al-Fatwa,[26] and under this body's supervision a committee of experts was formed and charged with its restoration and management.[27] The *mazār* was encircled with barbed wire and a wall constructed around it, guarded by police.[28]

In this first and short-lived narrative, the small domed structure was claimed by the Shiite group as the tomb of their holy imam, Ibn ʿIraq. They entered the architectural sign into their writing of a religious-historical narrative against their socio-political framing of the reconstruction project as an economically and religiously alienating process. Represented by the low-income squatters who had settled in the downtown area, and who saw in this an opportunity to lay a more permanent claim to the heart of the city, they were in a sense inscribing a text of resistance to a reconstruction project that was perceived as class oriented, thus alienating a major sector of society. This was a scenario of a socially operated sign, intertextualized and turned into an icon, standing for a holy figure and projected through the discourse of lineage to represent the Hezbollah-affiliated Shiites.

WHO WAS IBN ʿARRAQ?

The figure at the center of this dispute, a Sufi scholar, is in actuality not buried in his zawiya in Beirut. His name is Shams al-Din Muhammad b. ʿAli b. ʿAbd al-Rahman b. ʿArraq. According to medieval biographical accounts from the tenth and eleventh centuries,[29] he was born to a wealthy Circassian Mamluk amir in Damascus in 1473, spent his life in Damascus and Beirut, and died in Mecca in 1526, at the age of fifty-four. The domed structure could not have been his tomb, because the sources confirm that he was buried in the cemetery at the Bab al-Maʿla in Mecca.[30]

He first visited Beirut in 1490, at the age of seventeen, after his father's death.[31] According to al-Ghazzi,

who provides us with the most elaborate biography of Ibn ʿArraq, he went to Beirut to regain control of his father's *iqṭāʿ* (land granted to army officials), where he is said to have led a life of luxury. In Beirut, he sought guidance from Shaykh Muhammad al-Rayiq, who directed him to different shaykhs in Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon. Upon his return to Damascus, however, he went back to a feudal lifestyle, occupying himself with the *iqṭāʿ* and with horseback riding, archery, hunting, chess, and other pleasures.[32] In Damascus five years later, in 1495, he encountered Shaykh Ibrahim al-Naji, who persuaded him to abandon these hobbies, taking him under his wing and initiating him to Sufism. From then onward, Ibn ʿArraq devoted himself to the study of *tafsīr* (scriptural interpretation), Hadith, and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).

His second visit to Beirut was in 1499, this time for the purpose of jihad. He participated in defending the city against what the sources describe as "Frankish attacks." It was the custom for Sufis to go to both Sidon and Beirut to take part in defending the towns, first against such attacks and later, in the time of Ibn ʿArraq, against the pirates who constantly threatened the Syrian coast of the Mediterranean trade routes.[33] In 1499, Ibn ʿArraq was visited by Shaykh ʿAli b. Maymun al-Maghribi, who remained his principal tutor until the shaykh's death in 1511.[34] From Beirut Ibn ʿArraq traveled to Egypt to pursue further study under the shaykhs of Cairo and Dimyat. In 1500 he returned to Beirut, where he stayed for about five years, during which he went on his first pilgrimage to Mecca (in 1500), married a second time (in 1501), and instructed students. He returned to Damascus with his family in 1505 and in 1506 joined ʿAli b. Maymun in Hama for four months of tutoring, after which he returned to Beirut and spent two years, through 1507, teaching and writing a number of books. He then returned to Hama to receive further guidance from Ibn Maymun for the next four years.[35]

His last visit to Beirut was in 1517, again for the purpose of jihad. This sojourn lasted only a few months, after which he departed for the hajj to Mecca in 1518. He lived the last decade of his life in Mecca and Medina and died in Mecca in 1526.[36] It was during this last visit to Beirut that he built a house for his family and a *ribāṭ*, or zawiya, for his followers there. He was by then a very pious and learned member of the ulama as well as a popular Sufi scholar sought by many who followed his *ṭarīqa* (Sufi order).[37]

THE ZAWIYA

Ibn ʿArraq built his house and zawiya outside the city proper and near the the oldest of Beirut's zawiyas, that of al-Imam al-Awzaʿi.[38] Given their shared function and proximity, the two zawiyas are often confused.[39] Al-Awzaʿi, who was born in Baalbek in 707 and died in Beirut in 774,[40] instructed his students and followers in the zawiya named after him, which at that time was situated outside the city proper, where the Ottoman souks were later built. Thus it came to occupy the southern end of Souk al-Tawileh, to the west of the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq. Though al-Awzaʿi's zawiya was demolished and replaced by a warehouse in the nineteenth century, a prayer room constructed on top of the warehouse became known as the mosque of al-Imam al-Awzaʿi. The zawiya was provided with a *sabīl* (charity fountain), which was built adjacent to it in 1529,[41] and whose inscription refers to both zawiyas, which may have contributed to the confusion.[42] Neither the mosque of al-Awzaʿi nor the fountain survived the demolition of Solidere's reconstruction project for Beirut's Central District.

Today only the domed chamber from the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq is extant (fig. 4). Given the medieval custom of attaching domed chambers to religious foundations such as madrasas, khanqahs, and zawiyas, and given the common typology of religious Mamluk foundations, the domed chamber was most likely part of an iwan plan, connected to a vaulted iwan that opened onto a courtyard around which living cells were organized. Surviving examples of Sufi foundations from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Egypt and Syria, such as the zawiya of Zayn al-Din Yusuf (1298–1336),[43] the khanqah of Sitt Urdukin (1317) (fig. 5),[44] and the more contemporary tekiyya of Muhi al-Din Ibn al-ʿArabi in Damascus (1516),[45] illustrate the type and are comparable to the zawiya in terms of plan and scale. Archaeological excavations from 1994 to 1995 of the souks in the center of Beirut, in the site "BEY 006," confirm this supposition. The report states that

> …the features associated with the construction of the shrine [of Ibn ʿArraq] and contemporary with it are limited to the basin and associated plaster floor. Since they form part of the north–south extension of the building, their character suggests that they were located within an internal courtyard. Traces of a wall…to the west of the plaster floor provide a western limit to these features.[46]
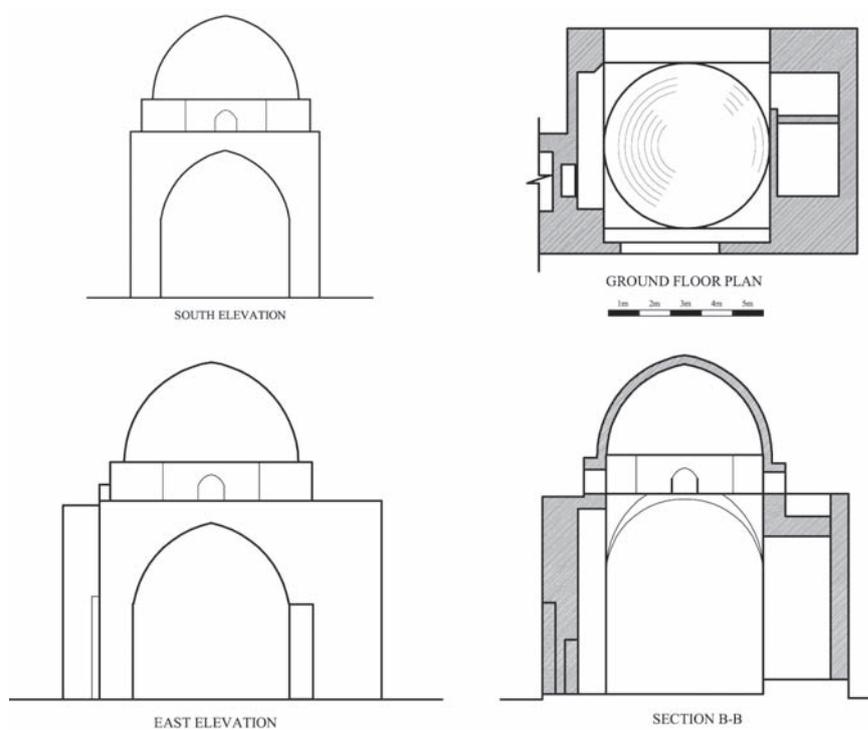
Fig. 4. The zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq. (Plans and elevations: Howayda Al-Harithy, based on Solidere's documents)

Fig. 5. The khanqah of Sitt Urdukin, Cairo, 1317 (Photo: Howayda Al-Harithy)

The zawiya has a history of its own relative to its changing context, which was not fully urbanized until the second half of the nineteenth century, when the Ottomans built the souks. Ibn ʿArraq built it in an open area north of the medieval city,[47] on the edge of an industrial zone[48] and surrounded by mulberry plantations.[49] The 1994–95 archaeological excavation reports provide insight into the historical evolution of the area: "It seems that this area witnessed only sporadic building and was for a large part of its history—between the late seventh and early nineteenth century—an open space."[50] As the reports further note, the 1994 excavations revealed that the Mamluk building stood on Beirut's main east–west street, in an artisans' quarter that served the medieval town to the south and was also connected to the harbor by another street leading straight north,[51] probably through a green space.[52]

After Ibn ʿArraq's death and burial in Mecca in 1526, the Ottoman rulers in Beirut took charge of his zawiya. Under the Ottomans, the zawiya took on a funerary function when it became the resting place for the Ottoman rulers of Beirut, beginning with Muhammad Pasha al-Arnaʾuti, who was buried there in the second half of the seventeenth century.[53] The zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq continued to be a significant religious foundation throughout the Ottoman period, despite the diminishment of Sufi practices. British plans of Beirut from 1831[54] and 1841[55] record the urban condition around the zawiya during the first half of the nineteenth century (fig. 6), at which time the area northwest of the city was still not developed and remained largely covered with mulberry plantations. These plans also show the long path that crossed the area and connected it to Bab al-Santiyya and the port.[56] Along the southern part of the path, an area that later became Souk al-Tawileh, appears a small group of buildings, including the zawiyas of Ibn ʿArraq and Imam al-Awzaʿi.

During the second half of the nineteenth century the whole area was developed into an urban commercial center as the Ottoman souks were gradually constructed along the path connecting the core of the medieval city to the port. In 1864 the first paved souk, Souk Ayyas, was constructed, followed in 1894 by Souk al-Tawileh (fig. 7).[57] The zawiya was integrated into the souks and continued to function until the late nineteenth century,[58] when the Ottomans, as part of their modernization process, closed it down along with many other zawiyas in Beirut.[59] Its function was then reduced: "At the beginning of the twentieth century,

this zawiya was transformed into a religious school for teaching the sons of Beirut the blessed Qurʾan, the Prophet's tradition, and basic knowledge of Arabic and arithmetic. Its shaykh and director was Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghani Bundaq,"[60] who was also buried in the zawiya,[61] as confirmed by the report issued by Dar al-Fatwa, which states: "The tomb within the zawiya is dedicated to one of Ibn ʿArraq's students from the Bundaq family who lived during the late Ottoman period in Beirut."[62]

Eventually the zawiya, now a religious school, gave in to the socio-economic transformations Beirut was experiencing—the aggressive expansion of the souks and the shift in the educational system toward secular and foreign models. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it ceased to function as a religious foundation and was subdivided into shops.[63] A 1963 source notes that most of the zawiya had been transformed into a shop managed by the family of Baylaryan,[64] and another source from three decades later reports that the zawiya contained three shops, behind which lay the burial area.[65]

It becomes obvious, in tracing the history of this building, that it had a narrative of its own: built as a zawiya, it became a burial chamber, then a religious school, and finally shops within the souks. It regenerated itself as a text within a changing urban context, demonstrating the post-structuralist notion "that 'context' is in fact unable to arrest the fundamental mobility of semiosis for the reason that it harbors the same principle of interminability within itself."[66] But the surviving fragment of the building, the domed chamber, was reduced from an open text to an architectural sign, which was in turn entered into the narratives formed as the postwar reconstruction project unfolded.

THE SECOND NARRATIVE

The second narrative, constructed by Solidere, creates yet another interesting condition within this complex text-context production. Since the context of the souks was completely erased by Solidere, I will follow Culler's suggestion and investigate the "framing" of signs rather than "context." Culler poses the following question: "How are signs constituted (framed) by various discursive practices, institutional arrangements, systems of value, semiotic mechanisms?"[67] I will, in this case, take design as the operating discursive practice.
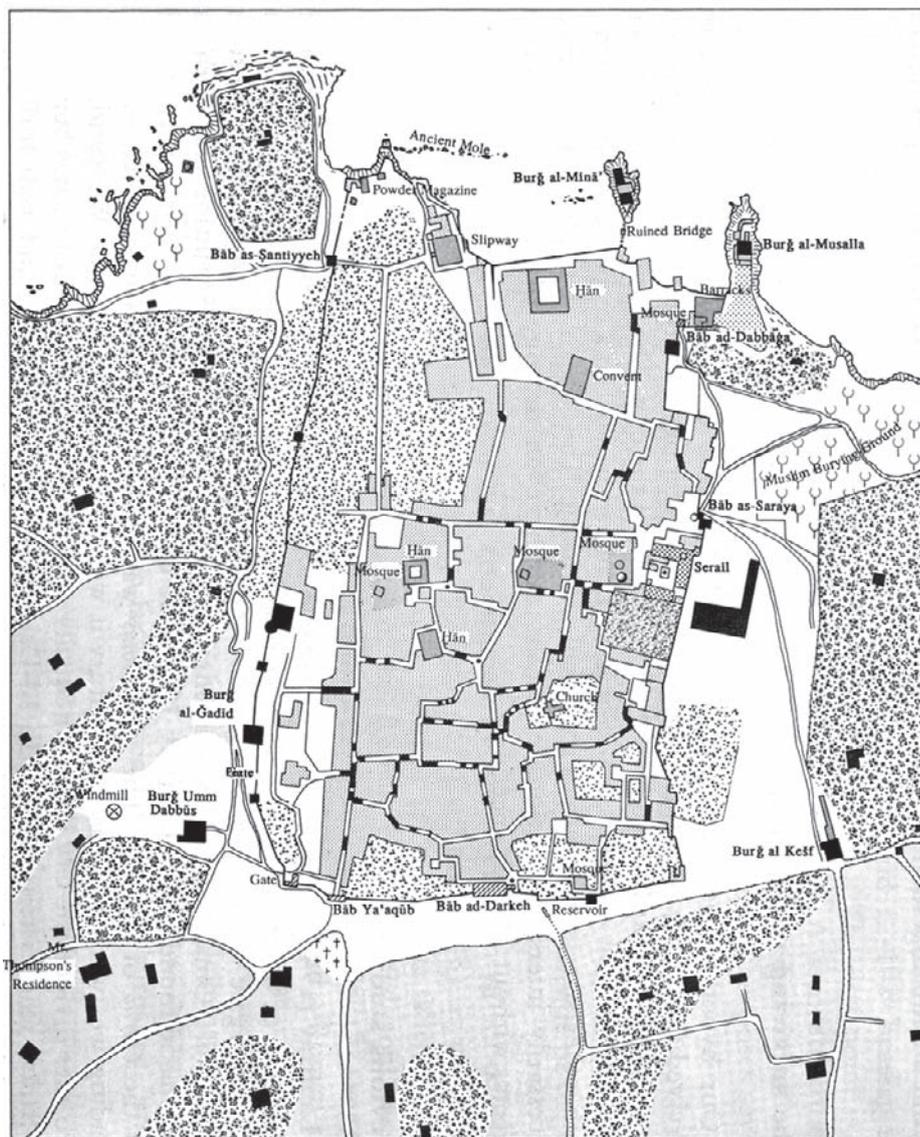
Fig. 6. Plan of Beirut, 1841. (Plan: Michael F. Davie)

At the same time as the dispute over the identity of Ibn ʿArraq was taking place another narrative was being woven with regard to the whole Central District. During the demolition and digging phase of the reconstruction project, many other archaeological sites were also revealed, capturing the attention of the Department of Antiquity, archaeologists, and activists alike. They campaigned to pressure Solidere to protect the archaeological finds and to integrate them into the project. Archaeologist Helen Sader of the American University of Beirut stated that "the reconstruction operation launched a destruction frenzy in the city center and an army of bulldozers threatened both modern and ancient remains."[68] She further added, "A Department of Antiquity official summed up the situation by openly asking whether the outcome of the forthcoming reconstruction project would simply be 'une destruction de l'histoire.'"[69]
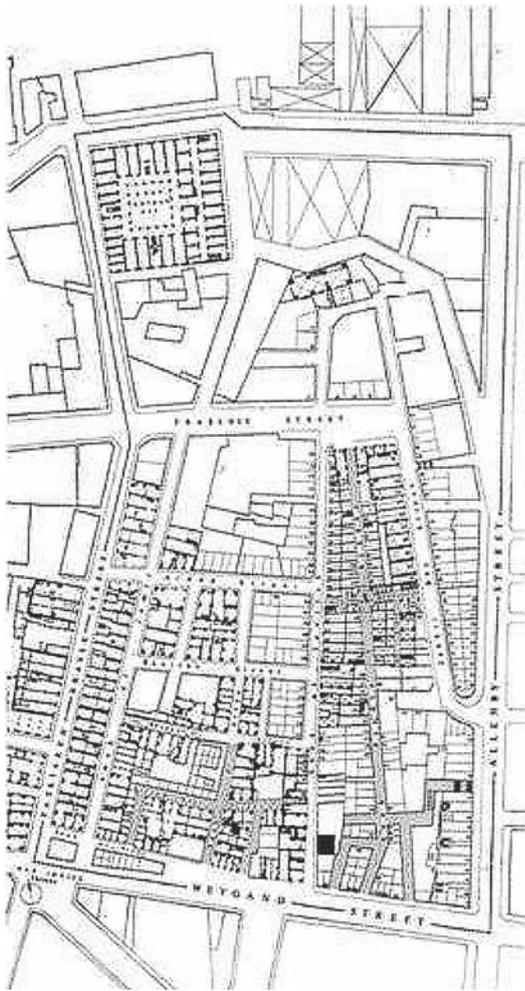
Fig. 7. Site plan for the old souks. (Plan: Solidere)

The new developments on the ground forced a major shift in Solidere's planning strategy:

> During the process, the grand-plan, tabula-rasa manner of the early master plans gave way to a more contextual approach that valued the preexisting, visual townscape and the topographic features of the city; substantially increased the number of salvaged buildings;[70] and placed greater emphasis on the archaeological heritage of central Beirut, locus of ancient settlement and a site continuously inhabited for more than 5000 years.[71]

As historic buildings and archaeological finds became a factor, the conceptual frame for the design also changed. Two design concepts emerged as dominant: "memory" and "layers." In the words of Angus Gavin of Solidere's planning team,

Historical or "city" memory became a fundamental concept of the master plan. Beirut is an ancient, "layered" city containing the surviving features of some twelve distinct civilizations, with the earliest substantial remains dating from the Bronze Age.[72] …Fragments of each influential era and successive patterns survive to the present day. We need to respect and preserve the continuum and allow such a pattern of layering to survive and evolve into the future.[73]

It was then that the motto "Beirut: Ancient City for the Future" was coined by Solidere.

These concepts were spatially translated into "a series of heritage trails meant to carry the message of 'city memory' through different layers of the city's past,"[74] as well as "a system of open spaces and promenades intended to preserve the city's memory."[75] Though the statements reiterated by Solidere's planning and design team stress preservation and suggest a Ruskinian conception of memory that perceives architecture as "society's primary harbor of memory,"[76] Solidere's actual practice as reflected in the master plan and the treatment of the historic and archaeological artifacts in actuality invokes Alois Riegl's conception of memory and produces what Riegel termed the "Modern Cult of Monuments." Riegl had argued that the memory we care to construct defines what we identify as a monument; that memory is a product of the present rather than the past.[77] This clearly applies to Solidere's selective process of identifying buildings, archaeological finds, and historic periods to be integrated into the narrative that is "city memory": "Findings from the Bronze, Phoenician, Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk, and Ottoman eras have been discovered in numerous locations in the city center," said Oussama Kabbani of Solidere's urban design team, adding, "These glimpses of the past can be seen as traces, alongside restored buildings as well as fragments of spaces, that collectively establish a sophisticated interpretation of the past rather than a literal recollection."[78]

But what constitutes Beirut's Mamluk layer? The medieval city did not witness much building during the Mamluk period: no major buildings or fortifications of that time survive, nor is there any archaeological evidence of extensive construction; rather, it was the Crusaders who rebuilt the fortifications of the medieval city.[79] According to Helen Sader,

No substantial evidence related to the city's urban planning and extension during that period was yielded by the recent excavations. The center of the medieval city seems to have focused on the main Crusader Cathedral of St.

John, later transformed into Beirut's Great Mosque by the Mamluks. Worth mentioning is the discovery of an industrial zone in the souks area where pottery kilns and a pottery dump have been found together with evidence of a glass industry. No new buildings have been discovered, and with the exception of Ibn Iraq's partly preserved ribat at the entrance of Souk al-Tawileh, the Mamluks do not seem to have attempted rebuilding the city.[80]

As a matter of fact, very little survives from the whole of the Islamic medieval period:

> Apart from a small number of finds of Abbasid and Fatimid date, which although of interest in their own right were not found in association with any contemporary remains, there was little structural evidence of occupation between the 7th and 12th centuries in the souks area. The site apparently remained an open ruin throughout this period, and many of the late Roman floors were directly covered by finds of Mameluk date. It seems more likely that streets such as Souk Tawileh could be reestablished over the line of an ancient road because the ancient ruins were still visible, rather than because of any continuity of occupation along its line.[81]

In the narrative of "city memory," the zawiya of Ibn 'Arraq became an extremely precious fragment for Solidere's project (fig. 8). It is not only the last surviving fragment of the Mamluk layer, dating to the last year of the Mamluk era, but also of the whole Islamic medieval era. A graphic illustration of the notion of the layers of "city memory"[82] indicates seven layers: Phoenician, Roman, Medieval, Ottoman, French Mandate, Wartime, and Reconstruction. The zawiya is employed as the architectural sign making the reference to an important period in the layers of the "city memory" narrative. It seems that what Solidere has engaged in is "a case in which the sequence (from context to text) is actually inferred from its endpoint, leading to the kind of metalepsis that Nietzsche calls 'chronological reversal.'"[83] Unwilling to address the present with its most recent social memory, that of the war, nor able to start anew, Solidere gives us "the city of collective memory, with its quasi-archaeological presentations and staging, as well as restored buildings."[84] As Christine Boyer, writing on the place of history and memory in the contemporary city, observes, "Engulfed and enframed by a set of new constraints forged in contemporary times, these fragments from the past appear denigrated by nostalgic sentiments that fuel their preservation or reconstruction, while our collective memory of public places seems undermined by historic reconstructions."[85]

Fig. 8. View of the zawiya during the construction of the parking garage under the souks. (Photo: Howayda Al-Harithy

The two narratives are distinctly different in their discursive practice of framing the architectural sign and in the objectives of their authors. The first narrative, authored by the Shiite Hezbollah group, is a religious one, constructed through the practice of rituals. The architectural sign is framed to signify the holy man. The narrative is woven to serve socio-political ends and is authenticated by the notion of lineage in which the patron of the building is the operative agent. The second narrative, that of Solidere, is archaeological, constructed through the practice of design, and the architectural sign is framed to signify the Mamluk layer. The narrative is woven to serve economic ends and is authenticated by the notion of time—five thousand years of history—in which the age of the building is the operative factor.

THE THIRD NARRATIVE

The third narrative is an architectural one, in which the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq is framed to signify a traditional architectural style. Like the second narrative, it is woven through the discursive practice of design—in particular, Rafael Moneo's design of the souks. A different manner of referencing history is found in this scheme, however. While in the second narrative, the text is "city memory" and history is commodified, in this narrative the text is the "old souks" and tradition is invented.

The decision to restore the domed structure of Ibn ʿArraq's zawiya meant that it was to be incorporated into the the souks, the master scheme of which was designed by the architect Jad Tabet and approved in 1999.[86] This scheme retains the street patterns and orientation of the pre-war souks and accommodates the concepts of the more encompassing master plan for the entire Central District by providing open spaces and integrating the archaeological finds within the souks.[87] In 1996, the architect Rafael Moneo took charge of translating the master scheme of the souks into an architectural design of the buildings and open spaces. One central concept occupied him: "The charge for the project concerning the souks of Beirut entailed finding an architectural solution that revitalizes the familiar character of a souk while accommodating the contemporary needs of shopping and retail."[88]

While preserving the street patterns dictated by Jad Tabet's master scheme, Moneo attempted to meet the charge both formally and spatially. Formally, elements were borrowed from the buildings left standing on the site of the souks—the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq and the façade of the jewelry souk—into the design of the façades of the new buildings. Spatially, in Moneo's words,

> The general urban layout reinforces the relationship of the souks with the surrounding context by connecting the roads with the souks. As such, the souks retain the prewar openness of the city's pedestrian traffic, a quality that has always distinguished the Beirut souks from the self-contained character of other souks such as those of Aleppo and Istanbul.[89]

The success of Moneo's planned attempt at openness and continuity is questionable, however, since the souks are in reality raised on a 2500-car parking garage, and their main means of approach and departure is from within. The character of the old souks is fur-

Fig. 9. The scheme of the souks by Rafael Moneo. (Drawing: Solidere)

ther compromised by the distribution of his scheme's components, with department stores dominating the primary souks (fig. 9):

> The project consists of three main programmatic elements. They are: retail, housing [at the eastern and western edges], and offices [confined to a five-story building on Weygand Street]. The retail section is the largest and is laid out in a traditional manner. The major souks, al-Tawileh, al-Jamil and al-Arwam, are lined with larger shops that satisfy modern retail criteria [department stores] whereas the smaller souks, Ayyas, Sayyour, Boustros, Arwad, and the al-Franj, maintain the scale of retail in traditional manner.[90]

One can argue that retaining the old street patterns does not ensure maintaining the spatial social practices that animate the souks, especially if elements on the site and beyond are not interdependent in their programmatic distribution, access, and circulation.

In this scheme, Souk al-Tawileh remains a major spatial feature, a spine 8.5 meters wide and over 200 meters long that stretches from Weygand Street to Trablous Street. Its northern end is marked by ʿAjami Square and its southern end by Ibn ʿArraq Square.[91] "Ibn Iraq [ʿArraq] Square," Moneo states, "acts as the main entrance from Weygand Street to the over-

Fig. 10. Model showing the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq within the scheme of the souks. (Model: Solidere; photo: Howayda Al-Harithy)

all area of the souks."[92] The published design documents[93] and the model of the souks[94] show the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq restored only as a domed cube and articulated as a freestanding building in the open space (fig. 10), as if it were a fountain, playing the role of a landmark at the entrance of the souks (fig. 11). In this design process, the building has been desanctified. Though the burial area adjacent to the domed area proper survived the demolition, it has gradually disappeared from the proposed scheme for the souks; that the pavement pattern for the square is to be integrated with that of the domed chamber indicates the intention of opening it to the public, pedestrian realm of the project.

In this third narrative, unlike the previous two, the domed structure is stripped of all of its self-referential systems, denied reference to its age, patron, or function. It is reduced to a visual sign whose style and formal presence suggest the "old" that is to be emulated by the façades of the surrounding buildings in an attempt to reconstruct the past. Its presence authen-

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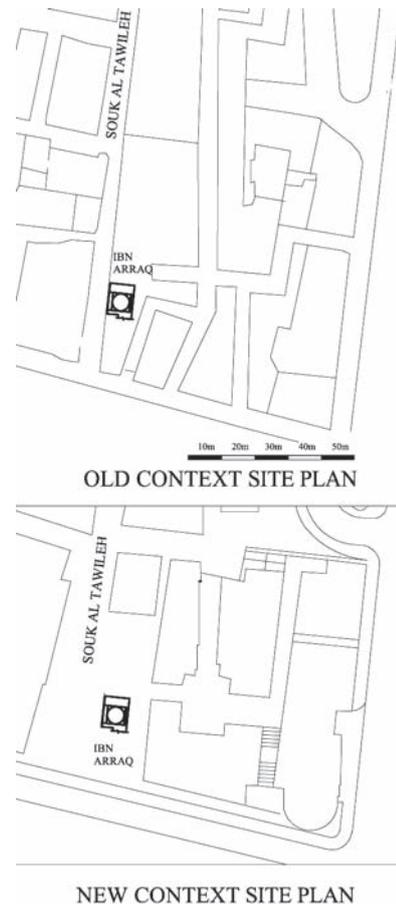
Fig. 11. Urban context of the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq. (Plans: Howayda Al-Harithy)

OLD CONTEXT SITE PLAN

NEW CONTEXT SITE PLAN

Fig. 12. The zawiya awaiting restoration. (Photo: Howayda Al-Harithy)

ticates the process of recreating the old; it consti-
tutes the "old frame" onto which the new is clinging.
The zawiya plays a dual role in signifying both the
medieval layer of Beirut and the style of the "old" or
"traditional" character of the souks, though in real-
ity its Mamluk architectural language differs from the
late Ottoman language of the old souks. The duality
that serves both the second and the third narrative is
clearly reflected in the following statement:

> The small Mamluk monument and sanctuary on Beirut's
> main east–west thoroughfare will stand in the city of the
> future as a tangible witness to Beirut 500 years ago. Even
> in its post-war state it reminds us of the intimate and
> functional composition of Islamic architecture based on
> infinite variations of arches and domes, enclosing shady
> courtyards with fountains and birds, and interlaced with

gardens, public or planted spaces where trees rose high
above the domes and terraced roofs.[95]

In his attempt to keep to the notions advanced by
the Jad Tabet master plan, Moneo used the domed
chamber as a trace of "a past" to be recreated, the
"traditional" souks.[96] He thus gives us an illustration
of Eric Hobsbawm's invented traditions, "which seek
to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by
repetition, which automatically implies continuity with
the past."[97] Hobsbawm further describes invented tradi-
tions as "responses to novel situations which take the
form of reference to old situations, or which establish
their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition."[98] Thus
the narrative here is one of traditional architecture
that plays on the nostalgia for the past and in which
the past is invented. A major difference among the

three narratives lies in the manner in which they reference history—through the notions of lineage, layers, and, finally, style.

Today, the fate of the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq, within the project of the postwar reconstruction, is being decided. Solidere hired the architect Youssef Haidar for the restoration of the zawiya but restricted him to the urban design guidelines articulated in the scheme for the souks, leaving it as a freestanding structure in the open square. According to Haidar, the domed structure will be treated as an archaeological object on display.[99] It will not be assigned any particular function and will be open on three sides, with its floor integrated into the paved area of the urban space (fig. 12). The semiotic play will most certainly continue, and the next narrative will eventually be written by the users of the space and the structure as they claim, gaze upon, dwell within, or in other ways reframe the monument.

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NOTES

1. These studies include the following: Oleg Grabar "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 33–62; *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven and London, 1978); "The Meaning of the Dome of the Rock," *Medieval Studies at Minnesota* 3 (1988): 1–10; *The Shape of the Holy* (Princeton, NJ, 1996); and *The Dome of the Rock* (with Saïd Nuseibeh) (New York, 1996).

2. For a detailed discussion on signs see Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 123, 2 (1991): 174–208.

3. Ibid.

4. Assem Salam, "The Role of Government in Shaping the Built Environment," in *Projecting Beirut: Episodes in the Construction and Reconstruction of a Modern City,* ed. Peter and Hashim Sarkis (Munich and New York, 1998), 131.

5. Solidere was officially founded in May 1994. For a detailed account and review of the process see Saree Makdisi, "Laying Claim to Beirut: Urban Narrative and Spatial Identity in the Age of Solidere," *Critical Inquiry* 23 (Spring 1997): 661–705.

6. The master plan was proposed by Dar al-Handasah (Shair & Partners). For details on the evolution of the master plan see Angus Gavin and Ramez Maluf, *Beirut Reborn: The Restoration and Development of the Central District* (London, 1996), and Jad Tabet, "Towards a Master Plan for Post-War Lebanon," in *Recovering Beirut: Urban Design and Post-War Reconstruction*, ed. Samir Khalaf and Philip S. Khoury (Leiden, 1993), 81–100.

7. Ḥassān Ḥallāk, "Zāwiyya Ibn al-ʿArrāq fi ʾl-aswāq tazall atharan lan yuḥdam," *Al-Nahār* (Beirut), Apr. 30, 1992, 14.

8. Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," 179.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ḥallāk, "Zāwiyya Ibn al-ʿArrāq fi ʾl-aswāq tazall atharan lan yuḥdam," 21.

12. "Qubbat Ibn ʿArrāq taḥawalat mazaran," *Al-Nahār* (Beirut) May 19, 1992, 5.

13. Nabil Beyhum, "Ne me tuez pas une seconde fois!" in *Beyrouth: Regards croisés,* ed. Michael Davie (Tours, 1995), 353.

14. Ibid.

15. Muna al-Dasūqī, "al-Walī fi ʾl-aswāq: Ibn ʿArrāq al-shāghil," *Al-Nahār* (Beirut), May 23, 1992, 14.

16. Rolla Beydoun, "La legende du mausolée d'Ibn Arrak," *L'Orient Le Jour* (Beirut), May 23, 1992, 15.

17. Ibid.

18. Beyhum, "Ne me tuez pas une seconde fois!" 353.

19. Ibid.

20. "Qubbat Ibn ʿArrāq taḥawalat mazāran," 5.

21. This is in reference to Khayr al-Dīn al-Zarkalī, *al-Aʿlām* (Beirut, 1986).

22. This is in reference to ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥāla, *Muʿjam al-Muʿalifīn* (Damascus, 1961).

23. Ḥasan Ṣāliḥ, "Dufina fī Makka wa-huwa Shāfiʿī aw ʿImāmī," *Al-Nahār* (Beirut), May 21, 1992, 12.

24. In reference to the medieval biographical work, Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira* (see n. 29 below).

25. Ṣāliḥ, "Dufina fī Makka wa-huwa Shāfiʿī aw ʿImāmī," 12.

26. "Zāwiyat Ibn ʿArrāq tasalamatha al-awqaf," *Al-Nahār* (Beirut), May 23, 1992, 4.

27. Ibid.

28. Beyhum, "Ne me tuez pas une seconde fois!" 353.

29. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir ʿan akhbār al-qarn al-ʿāshir* (Baghdad, 1934), 192–98; Ṭāshkubrī-zāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʿmāniyya* (Beirut, 1975), 212–13; Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira* (Beirut: American Press, 1945), 59–68; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Dhakhāʾir al-qaṣr fī tarājim nubalāʾ al-ʿaṣr,* manuscript, Jafet Library, American University of Beirut.

30. Except for Tashkubri-zada, who maintains that Ibn ʿArraq died in Medina, all biographers record that he died in Mecca and was buried there. Ibn Tulun further states that his funeral was attended by the sultan of Mecca, Abu Numay Barakat. See al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir ʿan akhbār al-qarn al-ʿāshir*, 192–98; Ṭāshkubrī-zāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʿmāniyya*, 212–13; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, 59–68; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Dhakhāʾir al-qaṣr fī tarājim nubalāʾ al-ʿaṣr.*

31. According to al-Ghazzī, this was also the year of his first marriage. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, 59.

32. Ibid.

33. Taha Thalji Tarawneh, *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamluk Period (784/1382–922/1516)* (Karak, Jordan: Deanship of Research and Graduate Studies, Muʾtah University, 1987), 180.

34. al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, 60.

35. According to the sources he wrote twenty-four books that were critically reviewed and corrected by his tutor, Ibn Maymoun al-Maghribi, during this period. See al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, 62.

36. al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir ʿan akhbār al-qarn al-ʿāshir*, 192.

37. al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, 63.

38. For more details on the zawiya of al-Awzaʿi and the zawiyas of Beirut see Shafīq Ṭabbāra, *al-Imām al-Awzāʿī* (Beirut, 1965), 269.

39. This is the case in an undated report commissioned by Solidere to determine the status of the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq (lot no. 90) and submitted by the architect ʿAbd al-Wahid Shihab, and a letter dated Feb. 16, 1983, by Mahmud Hatab, General Director of Antiquities, requesting that the zawiya of Ibn ʿArraq be listed as a historic monument (document no. 450, General Directorate of Antiquity). The zawiya of al-Awzaʿi is clearly identified with lot no. 72 in ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Ḥūt, *al-Jawāmiʿ wa ʾl-masājid al-sharīfa fī Bayrūt* (Beirut, 1966), 19.

40. Dāwūd Kanʿān, *Bayrūt fī ʾl-tārīkh* (Beirut, 1963), 19.

41. Ibid., 20, and Ṭabbāra, *al-Imām al-Awzāʿī*, 270.

42. For the full text of the inscription see Kanʿān, *Bayrūt fī ʾl-tārīkh*, 20.

43. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Brill, 1989), 111–12, and Caroline Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo: The Practical Guide* (Cairo, 2002), 121–22.

44. Howayda Al-Harithy, "Turbat al-Sitt: An Identification," in *The Cairo Heritage: Papers in Honor of Layla Ibrahim*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 113–31.

45. Abdul Qader Rihawi, *Arabic Islamic Architecture in Syria* (Damascus, 1979), 225.

46. S. Masri, H. Younes, and M. Saadeh, "15-Meter Strip, Area South of the Ribat of Ibn Arraq: Excavation Report" (unpub. report, American University of Beirut, Sept. 28, 1995), 3.

47. According to Helen Sader this is where the Roman and Byzantine economic center was found, and the site had no evidence of building during the medieval period or later, until the nineteenth century. See Helen Sader, "Ancient Beirut: Urban Growth in the Light of Recent Excavations," in Rowe and Sarkis, *Projecting Beirut*, 36.

48. The 1994 archaeological excavations in the area of the souks yielded evidence of sixteenth-century glass manufacturing near the zawiya. See *Urban Archaeology '94: Excavations of the Souk Area, Beirut* (Beirut: Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, Directorate General of Antiquities, AUB-Leverhulme Team, Solidere, 1995), 17.

49. The 1841 British map shows the mulberry plantation. The mulberry plantations may date to the period during the seventeenth century when al-Amir Fakhr al-Din al-Maʿni revived the silk industry. See *Urban Archaeology '94*, 15.

50. Helga Seeden and Reuben Thorpe, "Beirut from Ottoman Sea Walls and Landfills to a Twelfth Century BC Burial: Interim Report on the Archaeological Excavations of the Souks' Northern Area (BEY 007)," *Berytus* 43 (1997–98): 231.

51. This path became later the main spine of the souks, Souk al-Tawileh.

52. *Urban Archaeology '94*, 19.

53. Ḥassān Ḥallāk, "Zawiyya Ibn ʿArrāq al-Bayrutiyya: Haqāʾiq didd al-taʾwīl," *Al-Nahār* (Beirut), May 21, 1992, 12.

54. "Beirut, the Ancient Berytus, by H. A. Ormsby, 1831": See Nina Jidejian, *Beirut through the Ages* (Beirut, 1973), 199.

55. "Plan of Beyrout, the Ancient Berytus by British Major C. Rochfort Scott": See Michael F. Davie, "Maps and the Historical Topography of Beirut," *Berytus* 35 (1987): 149.

56. Fouad Debbas, *Beyrouth notre mémoire: Promenade guideé à travers la collection de cartes postales* (Beirut, 1986), 41.

57. Hussam Awwad, "The Beirut Excavations, 1994–95: Archaeological Evidence from BEY 006 Site 1 and Issues of Heritage Management in Beirut" (PhD diss., American University of Beirut, 1997), 26.

58. Ibid.

59. Professor Suleiman Mourad, interview, Mar. 2000.

60. Ḥallāk, "Zāwiyya Ibn al-ʿArrāq fi ʾl-aswāq taẓall atharan lan yuhdam," 14. Also see Taha al-Walī, *Bayrūt fī ʾl-tārīkh wa ʾl-ḥaḍāra wa ʾl ʿumrān* (Beirut, 1993), 152.

61. Ḥallāk, "Zawiyat Ibn al-ʿArrāq fī ʾl aswāq taẓal," 14.

62. al-Dasūqī, "al-Walī fi ʾl-aswāq: Ibn ʿArrāq al-shāghil," 14.

63. Awwad, "The Beirut Excavations 1994–95," 26; Ḥallāk, "Zawiyat Ibn al-ʿArrāq," 14.

64. Kanʿān, *Bayrūt fī ʾl-tārīkh*, 20.

65. al-Walī, *Bayrūt fī ʾl-tārīkh wa ʾl-ḥaḍāra wa ʾl ʿumrān*, 179.

66. Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," 177.

67. Jonathan Culler, *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions* (Norman, OK, 1988), 14.

68. Sader, "Ancient Beirut," 23.

69. Ibid.

70. According to Gavin 291 of the 800 buildings surveyed were saved. See Angus Gavin, "Heart of Beirut: Making the Master Plan for the Renewal of the Central District," in Rowe and Sarkis, *Projecting Beirut*, 222.

71. Gavin, "Heart of Beirut," 222.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., 223.

74. Ibid.

75. Oussama Kabbani, "Public Spaces as Infrastructure: The Case of the Postwar Reconstruction of Beirut," in Rowe and Sarkis, *Projecting Beirut*, 253–54.

76. Stanford Anderson, "Memory in Architecture" = "Erinnerung in der Architektur," *Daidalos* 58 (Dec. 1995): 27.

77. For a full discussion on the distinction between the two concepts of memory see ibid., 22–37.

78. Kabbani, "Public Spaces as Infrastructure," 257.

79. According to Helen Sader these survived till the end of the nineteenth century, when they were demolished by the Ottomans in their expansion of the harbor. See Sader, "Ancient Beirut," 35.

80. Ibid.

81. D. Perring, H. Seeden Bey, P. Sheehan, and T. Williams, "Bey 006, 1994–1995: The Souks Area Interim Report of the

AUB Project," *Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises* 1 (1996): 199.

82. See Gavin, "Heart of Beirut," 224.

83. Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," 178.

84. M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 6.

85. Ibid., 1.

86. Solidere, *Annual Report* (Beirut, 1999), 32.

87. Rafael Moneo, "The Souks of Beirut," in Rowe and Sarkis, *Projecting Beirut*, 263.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., 263–64.

90. Ibid., 266.

91. Ibid., 270.

92. Ibid., 271.

93. See Solidere, "Annual Report" (Beirut, 1999), 32–34; Moneo, "The Souks of Beirut," 263–73.

94. On display at the headquarters of Solidere in downtown Beirut.

95. *Urban Archaeology '94*, 19.

96. This notion of recreating traditional forms recurs in different formulas at Solidere, a most revealing example being the Saifi Village project within the Solidere area.

97. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983), 1–2.

98. Ibid.

99. Youssef Haidar, interview, Apr. 2007.

JONATHAN M. BLOOM

THE "FATIMID" DOORS OF THE FAKAHANI MOSQUE IN CAIRO

In 1969, soon after he had arrived at Harvard's Fine Arts Department, Oleg Grabar presented a paper at the international colloquium celebrating the millennium of Cairo in which he proposed a new and provocative explanation for the prominence of figural iconography in Fatimid art.[1] Following the publication of the article three years later, in the fall of 1975 he conducted a graduate seminar on the art of the Fatimids and two years after that published a reassessment of Fatimid art.[2] Several of the students in that seminar, myself included, went on to work further on the subject of Fatimid art and architecture, and five years later, after extensive travel around the Mediterranean, I presented a dissertation on early Fatimid art in North Africa and Egypt.[3] Its scope (I covered only the years before 400 AH) was limited principally by Professor Grabar's insistence that I finish writing quickly and get my degree. Otherwise, he feared my project might continue for many more years, if not decades. In the following years I published several articles on various aspects of Fatimid art, some of them extracted from chapters in my dissertation and some of them representing new work, but I never felt that the dissertation itself was worthy of publication.[4]

Professor Grabar himself returned occasionally to the subject of Fatimid art and dealt with it somewhat uneasily in the revised edition of *Islamic Art and Architecture: 600–1250*, the Pelican History of Art volume he had coauthored with Richard Ettinghausen and revised with Marilyn Jenkins-Madina.[5] The authors had a problem with Fatimid architecture and art, which straddles almost all the categories they had established for early Islamic art (i.e., architecture/decorative art, early/late, east/west). They placed most but not all of it under the rubric "Medieval Islamic Art of the Central Islamic Lands," noting in their preface,

> To these organizational divisions we made one partial exception. The rich and brilliant period of the Fatimids (909–1171) could not, we felt, be cut into separate temporal or regional components in order to fit into our broad order of Islamic history. It belongs to the Muslim west as well as to the area of the central lands and it flourished during a period covered by both of our broad categories. We ended by putting most of its art in the Medieval Islamic section and in the central lands for reasons that will be explained in due course, but some early Fatimid objects are discussed under western Islamic lands in the earlier period. This is, no doubt, a shaky accommodation to a reluctant history.[6]

I myself, after many years exploring other aspects of Islamic art, have recently returned to the art and architecture of the Fatimids in a book that attempts to finish what I had begun several decades earlier.[7] One of my conclusions is that the medium of fine woodwork, which scholars have often overlooked, is remarkably important throughout the Fatimid period, with literally dozens of dated or datable examples that document the evolution of styles of writing, carving, and decoration in religious and secular milieux. (A notable exception to the overall scholarly inattention to this medium is the survey by Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, who discuss and illustrate several examples of Fatimid woodwork.[8]) Just when I had nearly finished the typescript of my book, I was asked by the Nederlands-Vlaams Instituut in Cairo (NVIC) to consult on a Getty Foundation-funded project concerning the advisability of restoring the al-Fakahani ("Fruitsellers'") Mosque. This apparently Ottoman-era mosque has two pairs of Fatimid-style wooden doors, presumably dating from an earlier Fatimid mosque on the site. These had already been noted by such scholars as Max van Berchem and K. A. C. Creswell.[9] Over a century ago van Berchem declared that the building was "entièrement restaurée à l'époque turque et n'offre d'autre intérêt archéologique que la date de sa fondation,"[10] while Creswell reported that the two sets of doors were "decorated with good crisp Arabesque carving of the Fâṭimide period, and may well be the original ones."[11] A close reexamination of the doors sheds surprising light not only on a lost

Fig. 1. Fakahani Mosque, general view from the street. (Photo: author)
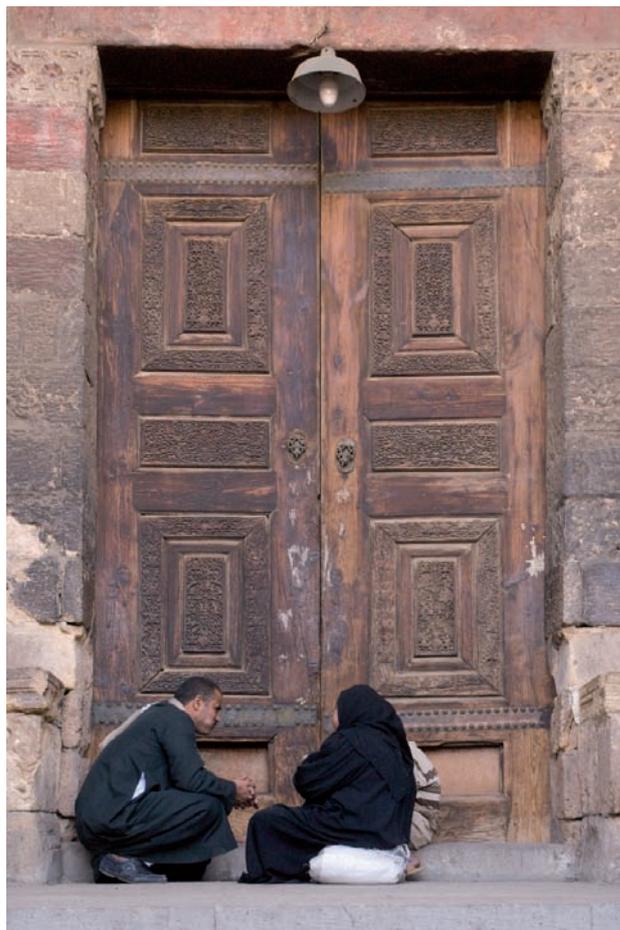
Fig. 2. Fakahani Mosque, main (west) door. (Photo: author)

mosque of the Fatimid period but also on issues of historicism and reception, matters that few of us writing in the 1970s and 1980s had even thought about, let alone made the focus of our research.[12]

The Fakahani Mosque (Registered Monument no. 109) stands on the east side of Shariʿ al-Muʿizz li-Din Allah/Shariʿ al-Ghuriyya, about 125 meters north of the mosque of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh (fig. 1). Built of stone and measuring approximately 30 x 37 meters, the mosque has flights of steps in the middle of the northwest and northeast sides (hereafter simply "west" and "north") that lead from the street up to the entrances, each of which is closed by a fine pair of wooden doors (figs. 2 and 3). The entrance on the main façade is set within a deep porch flanked by shops on the street level and by subsidiary rooms or halls at the level

of the mosque. To the left (north) of the principal entrance but set well back from the street is the base of the mosque's minaret, a cylindrical tower that rises from the roof of the mosque to its conical top. The north corner of the mosque is occupied by a water-dispensary (*sabīl*), with several rooms above it—presumably once a *kuttāb*, or elementary school—and a relatively modern ablution complex (*miḍaʿa*) extends north from the mosque to the east of the secondary entrance. The interior of the mosque (fig. 4) is raised on a high plinth, which contains shops and a cistern in the center, and comprises a slightly trapezoidal hypostyle hall measuring 23 x 30 meters, with an area approximately 10 meters to a side in the center that is open to the sky and serves as a small internal courtyard. The flat wooden roof of the mosque

Fig. 3. Fakahani Mosque, side (north) door. (Photo: author)

is supported on sixteen reused antique columns, with equally reused capitals and bases. Some of the bases were covered up when the floor was raised a few centimeters from an earlier level. Four of the columns, although not those at the four corners of the present court, are significantly larger than the others and are made of granite; the rest appear to be of marble.[13]

According to the Mamluk historian al-Maqrizi (1364–1442), the first mosque on the site was founded by the Fatimid caliph al-Zafir (r. 1149–54) as *al-jāmiʿ al-afkhar* ("the Most Glorious Mosque") in 543 (1148–49). It was built on the site of a cattle pen (*zarība*) known as the House of Rams (*dār al-kibāsh*).[14] Although

both al-Maqrizi and his contemporary al-Qalqashandi (1355–1418) quote an anecdote about the origins of the mosque by the historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir (1223–92), who was extremely knowledgeable about the Fatimid period, they neglected to realize that al-Zafir could not have built the mosque in 543, since he had not yet begun to rule.[15] His father, al-Hafiz, died in early Jumada II 544 (October 1149), and the prince did not ascend the throne as al-Zafir until 5 Jumada II 544 (10 October 1149). Therefore, either the date or the patron cited by al-Maqrizi may be correct, but not both.

Other medieval sources indicate that the mosque was damaged in the great earthquake of 702 (1302) but was restored in the same year by a Mamluk amir, although we have no idea of what he actually did. By al-Maqrizi's time the mosque was known as *jāmiʿ al-fakkāhīn* (Mosque of the Fruit Sellers), from which its present name derives. (Sources do not discuss whether a fruit market actually existed nearby, or whether the name is a bastardization of its original name, *al-afkhar*.) In 1440 the great scholar al-Jalal Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Mahalli (d. 1459) ordered the construction of an ablution basin (*mīḍaʿa*) in the mosque, and in the second half of the fifteenth century Yashbak min Mahdi, the powerful amir of the reigning sultan, Qaytbay, ordered the destruction of several buildings that concealed its façade. At around the same time, Yashbak also ordered that the façade of the nearby Fatimid-era mosque of al-Salih Talaʾiʿ be cleared.[16]

Archaeological investigation of the building for the NVIC project has revealed that the Ottoman-style minaret was erected in the sixteenth century, after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, and that its base and zone of transition, quite apart from the shaft, would have been visible from the street. (The need to build a minaret base at that time indicates that there was no earlier one to reuse, a fact suggesting that the Fatimid and Mamluk mosques on the site did not have a tower.) The mosque was again rebuilt in 1736, when the amir Ahmad Katkhuda Mustahfizan al-Kharbutli, a sort of under-vizier from Kharput in Anatolia, who was in charge of an Ottoman regiment in Cairo, renewed the building and constructed a *sabīl*, or public dispensary for drinking-water, surmounted by a *kuttāb*.[17] It has been said that the original mosque was built on a high basement (*muʿallaq*, "suspended"), but this cannot have been true, since the archaeological investigation of the early Ottoman

Fig. 4. Fakahani Mosque, interior. (Photo: author)

minaret indicates that it was originally entered by a door from the mosque's floor, then approximately three meters below its current level. Al-Kharbutli therefore raised the building and projected its façade to its present position in order to incorporate shops on the street level. Of the original Fatimid building, al-Kharbutli is said to have preserved only the leaves of the north and west doors.[18]

Four inscriptions decorate the exterior of the mosque. Two rectangular plaques on either side of the *mashrabiyya* window over the main portal (fig. 5) state that "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his Messenger." They are carved in a rather ungainly variant of an angular Kufic script with wedge-shaped terminals, a type of script popular during the Fatimid period. The final phrase is uneasily compressed, however, a fact that indicates that these plaques are not of the highest quality, in contrast to the inscription on the façade of the al-Aqmar mosque of 1125.[19] Three other inscriptions of four lines in an Ottoman *naskh* are prominently placed over the main and subsidiary

doors, as well as over the *sabīl*. The two inscriptions over the doors state, following the *basmala* and the profession of faith, that "the poor [servant of] God, may He be exalted, the *ḥajjī*, Ahmad, lieutenant-colonel of the Janissaries (*katkhuda mustahfizan*) from Kharput, renewed (*jadada*) the mosque in Ramadan 1148 [January 1736]."[20] The inscription on the *sabīl* states that that the same individual "renewed (*jadada*) this blessed fountain. And the [legal] cession of this blessed place occurred in the month of Ramadan 1148 [January 1736]."[21]

From this textual and epigraphic information one can extract at least seven stages in construction:

1. The Fatimid mosque, which was apparently "suspended" or raised on a high basement.
2. Reconstruction following the earthquake of 1302.
3. Addition of the ablution basin of 1440.
4. Clearing of the building by Yashbak min Mahdi (d. 1481).
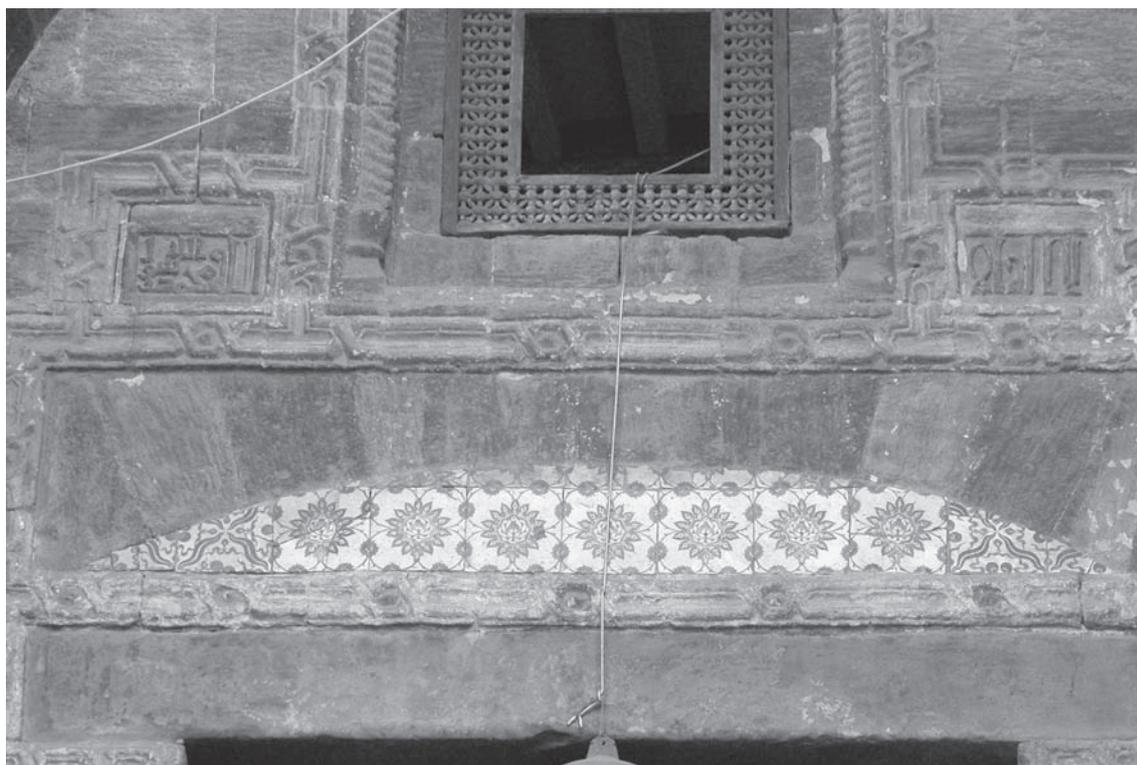
Fig. 5. Fakahani Mosque, Fatimid inscription and Ottoman tiles above the west portal. (Photo: author)

5. Erection of the minaret in the early Ottoman period.
6. Building of the sabil and reconstruction of the building by the amir Ahmad Katkhuda Mustahfazan al-Kharbutli in 1736.[22]
7. Registration of the doors in 1908 as Historical Monument no. 109 by the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe.

The Comité registered the doors when they decided to concentrate their efforts on cleaning them, expressing the view that the "finely carved ornament represents all that has survived from the mosque's ruin and reconstruction."[23] The remainder of the building, including the *sabīl-kuttāb*, was registered in 1937, when Ottoman-era buildings were finally deemed worthy of classification as historical monuments.[24] It is still unknown whether the Comité did any work on the doors during the two and a half decades between 1881, when it was organized, and 1908, when the doors were first registered.

The two sets of doors are the most notable feature of the mosque. Each set consists of two leaves, and each of these consists of a mortised wooden frame of vertical stiles and horizontal rails on which sit five carved panels, alternately horizontal and vertical. The main doors on the west measure 4.14 m in height; each leaf is 1.22 m wide and 11 cm thick. The doors on the north are smaller—only 3.81 m high, .96 m wide, and 9.5 cm thick. The lower panels of the main door are now missing, but they were in situ in 1978 when I first visited the mosque (fig. 6); I have just learned that the two lower panels on the north doors have also been removed. Each pair of doors would have had six horizontal panels and four vertical ones. The horizontal panels on the main door measure 64 x 26 cm and the vertical panels 21.5 x 50.5 cm; those on the north door measure 49 x 27.5 and 16.5 x 41 cm respectively. Each vertical panel is enclosed within a carved and mitered frame (12 or 10 cm broad, respectively), which serves to make the entire unit (i.e., vertical panel and frame) the same width as the horizontal

Fig. 6. Fakahani Mosque, main (west) door in 1978. (Photo: author)

Fig. 7. Portable wooden mihrab made for the shrine of Sayyida Ruqayya, detail. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art. (After B. O'Kane, ed., *Treasures of Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo* [Cairo, 2006], 57, used with permission)

panels above and below it. The individual panels are delicately carved with an arabesque design of a central vase from which issue curving stems and leaves that terminate in larger blossoms.

Although exposure to the elements has obscured many of their finer details, the panels exhibit a style of carving quite similar to that found on some of the panels decorating the portable wooden mihrab made ca. 1154–60 for the Mausoleum of Sayyida Ruqayya (fig. 7), now in Cairo's Museum of Islamic Art. Despite the similarities, the Fakahani panels are rather conservative in style, demonstrating no interest in the new geometric style of decoration that had been introduced to Fatimid Egyptian woodwork, presumably by Syrian craftsmen, at the end of the eleventh century. This

geometric style can be seen on the main face of the Ruqayya mihrab as well as on a virtually contemporary minbar ordered by the vizier al-Salih Talaʾiʿ in 1155–56 for the al-ʿAmri Mosque at Qus in Upper Egypt (fig. 8).[25]

The frames around the vertical panels on the Fakahani doors consist of a plain inner and a carved outer band. The pieces forming the outer band exhibit a meandering stem that is regularly punctuated with large leaves or blossoms; the interstices are filled with smaller leaves and tendrils. The vertical sections of frame have their blossoms oriented parallel to the length of the strip, while the blossoms on the horizontal elements are arranged perpendicular to the length. The horizontal bands are largely symmetrical, with the axis coin-

Fig. 8. Drawing of a detail of the minbar ordered by al-Salih Talaʾiʿ in 1155–56 for the ʿAmri Mosque at Qus in Upper Egypt. (After Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire* [Paris, 1877], pl. 77)

ciding with the central axis of the vertical panel. This type of decoration, featuring large blossoms arranged on a scrolling stem, is more typical of the type of carving on the wooden tie beams between the columns of Fatimid mosques (e.g., the mosque of al-Salih Talaʾiʿ, fig. 9) than of the frames on fine Fatimid woodwork. For example, the portable wooden mihrab made for al-Azhar in 1125–26 has beveled-style carving on the frame, while the mihrab made for the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa between 1138 and 1145 is framed with grooved strapwork. The carving of the Fakahani frames is somewhat coarser than on the panels, but this may be an artifact of the uneven state of preservation. Indeed, the wear on the panels varies remarkably from place to place, even in the same frame, indicating that the elements of the frame were assembled *after* the initial

wear occurred (fig. 10). All the frame elements have similar, but not identical, designs.

The general arrangement of alternating horizontal and vertical panels is similar to but not exactly like that found on other doors of the Fatimid period, the earliest known examples of which are a set ordered for al-Azhar in 1010 by the caliph al-Hakim (fig. 11). Standing 3.29 m high, each leaf, which measures 1.01 m broad, has a mortised frame enclosing alternately horizontal and vertical panels, but the vertical panels are arranged in pairs and not enclosed within carved and mitered frames as at the Fakahani Mosque. In addition, the horizontal panels are as broad as the vertical panels are tall, while on the Fakahani doors the horizontal panels are broader than the vertical panels are tall. This same arrangement of a single horizontal panel alternating with two vertical panels is still found in 1160 on the interior face of a door to the mosque of al-Salih Talaʾiʿ in the Museum of Islamic Art (fig. 12), although the decoration of the individual panels is quite different in style, and still later on the door to the mausoleum of Imam al-Shafiʿ (ca. 1200).

One might also compare the Fakahani doors to other interior doors of the Fatimid period, such as the closet doors at the al-Aqmar mosque (1125) (fig. 13), the doors to the mausoleum of Sayyida Nafisa (1145), or the massive doors from Mar Girgis in Old Cairo (fig. 14).[26] While the carving of the individual panels is comparable to that found on the Fakahani doors, on all the interior doors multiple vertical panels of the same size are arranged in vertical rows within plain mortised frames. In short, while the carving of the Fakahani panels is comparable to other carving on contemporary Fatimid woodwork, the arrangement of the decorative panels on the exterior of the doors is anomalous in both organization and placement. Furthermore, to judge from the doors from the mosque of al-Salih, the fragile carved and decorated panels were normally placed on the interior, the exposed exterior surface of the doors being faced with metal plates. The Fakahani doors are therefore unlike either typical exterior doors of the period 1000–1200, with one horizontal panel alternating with two vertical ones on the interior side of the door, or typical interior doors, with only vertical panels, arranged in rows.

In contrast, the interior faces of both sets of doors from the Fakahani mosque show the expected and typical arrangement of single horizontal panels alternating with two vertical ones, although the panels themselves are quite devoid of decoration (fig. 15).

Fig. 9. Mosque of al-Salih Tala'i', wooden tie beams in the prayer hall. (Photo: author)

Fig. 10. Fakahani Mosque, main (west) door, detail of woodwork. (Photo: author)

Fig. 11. Doors ordered by al-Hakim for al-Azhar in 1010. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art. (After K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1952–59], 1: pl. 33a)

Fig. 12. Mosque of al-Salih Tala'i', wooden door. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art. (After K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1: pl. 102)

Indeed, the interior of the right leaf of the main door is missing one of its lower vertical panels, revealing the makeshift way in which the decorated panels have been attached to the exterior. Close examination of the decorated panels on the exterior shows that each has a projecting tongue along the exterior edge that was intended to fit into a corresponding groove carved into the rails and stiles of the door frame (see fig. 10). These grooves now serve no purpose, as the panels are simply affixed to, rather than made part of, the underlying structure.

The interiors of the Fakahani doors also reveal how long and narrow the vertical panels would have had to be had they been made to fit the present scheme.

To my knowledge, such long and narrow panels were never used on Fatimid-era doors; the present doors, although they may be decorated with Fatimid panels, do not have the proportions appropriate to Fatimid doors, which would have been shorter and broader. One may conclude, therefore, that the present doors are not the original Fatimid ones, but the product of a later campaign using decorated wooden panels and strips retrieved from the Fatimid woodwork in the mosque. The original Fatimid doors would have been shorter, with their panels arranged in the traditional way on the interior faces of the doors, for the exterior was too exposed to the elements for such delicate carving. It seems likely that any Fatimid exterior doors would have been plated with metal sheets on the exterior.

The Fakahani doors are then not works of Fatimid art, but rather pastiches assembled from genuine

Fig. 13. al-Aqmar Mosque, closet doors in the interior (restored). (Photo: author)

Fig. 14. Mar Girgis, wooden doors. (Photo: author)

Fatimid elements. When might this assembly have been done? Today, when scholars are constantly discovering how much of what we imagine to be "medieval" Cairo is actually an artifact of nineteenth-century restoration, it is very tempting to imagine that the Comité was responsible for creating them in the late nineteenth century.[27] This supposition seems quite unlikely, however, for although the Comité may have repaired the doors (new pieces of wood have been scarfed into the frames near the pivots), the doors

must have been made to fit the entrances, which date from 1736, when Ahmad Katkhuda Mustahfizan al-Kharbutli ordered the restoration of the mosque and the construction of the *sabīl-kuttāb* adjacent to it. If this is true, then we may imagine that al-Karbutli's workmen discovered two sets of Fatimid-era doors as well as some other wooden pieces in the remains of the mosque they were in the process of reconstructing. The Fatimid doors were undoubtedly too short to fit the openings of the Ottoman-era mosque, so

the old mosque. In this way, these lovely doors shed as much light on eighteenth-century Cairo as they do on Fatimid art.

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Fig. 15. Fakahani mosque, main (west) door from the interior. (Photo: author)

the decorated panels on their inner faces were saved and reused to good advantage, along with the Kufic inscription on stone and several rather good Iznik tiles (see fig. 5), which were placed in positions of honor around and in the mihrab hood and in the lunettes over the doors. Instead of being hidden from view, the beautifully carved wooden panels were now visible to anyone walking down the street, testimony to the venerable history of the mosque. Only someone extremely familiar with and attuned to the peculiarities of old doors would have ever noticed their slight incongruities, which make them not genuine Fatimid doors but good Ottoman-era fakes. Unlike forgeries, which are intended to deceive, these fake Fatimid doors were probably assembled in the eighteenth century from some genuine Fatimid carvings, with the purpose of creatively reusing and preserving vestiges of

NOTES

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6. Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, *IAA 650–1250*, viii.

7. Jonathan M. Bloom, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

8. Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins-Madina, *IAA 650–1250*, 200–203 and figs. 313–16.

9. The project, efficiently administered by the NVIC, was generously supported by the Getty Foundation. I thank Kim Duistermat, director of the NVIC, for permission to publish some of my findings here. Agnieszka Dobrowolska, project director, not only invited me to participate in this project but also kept me abreast of the latest findings of the team, which also included Peter Sheehan, archaeologist, and Husam Mahdi, archival researcher. In addition Agnieszka read and commented on an earlier draft of this paper and kept me from making some very serious errors of interpretation.

10. Max van Berchem, "Notes d'archéologie arabe II: Monuments et inscriptions fatimites," *Journal Asiatique,* 8ème sér., 18 (1891): 58–60.

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12. For the new approach to the reception of Fatimid art see, for example, Nezar AlSayyad, Irene A. Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat, *Making Cairo Medieval* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005; Paula Sanders, Creating Medieval Cairo: *Empire, Religion, and Architectural Preservation in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008).

13. Nicholas Warner, *The Monuments of Historic Cairo: A Map and Descriptive Catalogue* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 105 no. 109.

14. The existence of such a utilitarian structure within the walls of the Fatimid city of Cairo is yet another piece of evidence that the Fatimid city was not, contrary to received opinion, a restricted royal enclosure for the caliphs and their court. For further exploration of this question see Bloom, *Arts of the City Victorious*, chap. 3.

15. Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiz wa 'l-iʿtibār fī-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār* (Exhortations and Instructions on the Districts and Antiquities), 4 vols., 4th vol. in 2, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2002–3), 4:1:164–66; Abī al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā*, 14 vols. ([Cairo]: al-Muʾassa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Taʾlīf wa 'l-Tarjama wa 'l-Nashr, n.d. [1964]), 3:361.

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18. Ayman Fuʾad Sayyid, *La Capitale de l'Égypte jusquʾà l'époque fatimide: al-Qāhira et al-Fusṭāṭ, essai de reconstitution topographique* (Beirut: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1998), 544–47; *Bulletin de la Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* (1882): 19.

19. This inscription is mentioned by Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum I: Egypte 1* (henceforth *MCIA Egypt 1*) (Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1894–1903), 622. For the al-Aqmar inscription see K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (henceforth *MAE*) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952–59), pls. 82, 83.

20. Van Berchem, *MCIA Egypt I*, no. 439.

21. Van Berchem, "Notes d'Archéologie Arabe II," 174–75.

22. Fuʾad Sayyid gives the incorrect Hijri date in *Capitale de l'Égypte*, 547.

23. *Bulletin de la Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* (1908): 18–19.

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25. For all these examples see Jonathan M. Bloom, "Woodwork in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt During the 12th and 13th Centuries," in *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (London: Melisende, forthcoming).

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27. Warner, *Monuments of Historic Cairo*, introduction.

LISA GOLOMBEK

FROM TIMUR TO TIVOLI: REFLECTIONS
ON *IL GIARDINO ALL'ITALIANA*

Paradise themes have always permeated the thoughts, lectures, and writings of Oleg Grabar, whether the reference was to Sasanian princely hunting grounds in the guise of Umayyad estates—Qasr al-Khayr or the wall paintings of Qusayr ʿAmra—the exotic gardens in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock, or the actual quadripartite gardens of the Alhambra. His interpretation of garden symbolism fluctuates between religious (heavenly Paradise) and secular (expressions of power). As he has demonstrated throughout, the roots of both form and signification go back to the Late Antique in the Mediterranean and Iranian worlds, and this essay will continue the discourse, exploring the implications of the elements from the "Islamic" garden that appear in the Renaissance gardens of Italy.

At a symposium focusing on the gardens of the early modern Muslim empires, organized in 1994 at MIT by Attilio Petruciolli, several papers dealt with contemporary European gardens. Speaking about the Italian garden and cultural identity, the garden historian Claudia Lazzaro noted that a particular style of garden came to be designated as *il giardino all'italiana*, an expression first used in the eighteenth century to distinguish the English garden from the "Italian formal, or in their terms, 'regular'" garden. This formal garden was one element within a larger scheme that could be transplanted anywhere (for example, Versailles) for centuries to come. It is curious that it became known as the "Italian" garden, because it is the one element in the Renaissance garden that has no precedent in classical landscape architecture—a point already made by Eugenio Battisti in 1971. Speaking of the formal Italian garden, Battisti says: "Its geometrical arrangement of arbors, grass, and walks seems to follow the prevailing taste for symmetry in Florence. Nevertheless, this type of garden is not Italian at all."[1] Similar questions had also been raised by Elizabeth MacDougall.[2] At the 1994 symposium, in her paper on Ottoman gardens, Gülru Necipoğlu observed a striking anomaly: Renaissance gardens owed more to an Islamic prototype than did most Ottoman gardens, because the Italian gardens adhered to a formal organization, probably based on Islamic models from Spain and Sicily.[3]

My own acquaintance with garden history began with studies on the gardens of the Timurids, who ruled in Central Asia and Iran from ca. 1370 to 1501.[4] At the time of the symposium I had not yet looked closely at the Italian garden, but the meeting stimulated my interest in pursuing possible linkages between Islamic and Renaissance gardens.[5] During the decade following the symposium considerable progress has been made on the question of the reception of Islamic culture in Renaissance Italy.[6] New evidence has also come to light clarifying the origin and evolution of the Islamic garden in the Mediterranean, where contacts with Italy were strongest.[7] I shall try to synthesize the relevant facts drawn from this information and my own investigations of the Islamic garden to determine the present state of our knowledge about the origins of *il giardino all'italiana*. The first step is to identify those elements of the Renaissance garden that could not have derived from indigenous traditions in Italy, and the second is to speculate how they arrived and why they were adopted.

The gardens that best preserve the features I will discuss are the Villa d'Este at Tivoli (1563)[8] and the Villa Lante at Bagnaia (1568).[9] Not discussed will be those characteristics that ornament the Renaissance garden and have no links to the Islamic world: sculpture, topiary, and grottoes. The first relevant feature, and one that has already attracted scholarly attention, is the ornamental use of running water, particularly as it flows down the stone channels carved in bannisters and steps descending a slope. At Tivoli the most remarkable instance is the grand staircase, known as the "Bubbling Staircase," with stepped bannisters combining fountains and running water. Each step of the balustrade consists of an oval basin plus a stack. The

internal works of the stack involve the separation of the water flowing from the basin above into at least three ducts—one supplying the jet spurting above, one feeding the mouth of the spout pouring into the basin below, and a third exiting through a second spout into the basin. The drama is repeated on a less monumental scale in the lateral staircase ascending the slope. In a tour of the gardens we are thus always accompanied by the sound and sight of rushing water. Climbing the central Bubbling Staircase, we confront the "Dragon Fountain." While much has been written about the reasons for the construction of this fountain, the recurrence of the watery bannister here has scarcely been noticed. We again find the motif of cascading waters, or what might be called the "water chain." The bannisters are carved with sea creatures, forming a series of steps over which the water flows, like the Bubbling Staircase balustrades. As we ascend the circular stairway, we watch this movement of water, filling one bowl and pouring out into the next below. At the Fountain of the Emperors nearby, there is yet another watery bannister, a feature that seems to have elicited far less interest among scholars than the identification of the emperors themselves (fig. 1).

An even stranger metamorphosis of the water chain occurred at the Villa Lante. Also built on a sloping terrain but more modest in scale, the gardens terminate above in a channel of water assuming the form of a crustacean (the insignia of the patron, Cardinal Gambera), from whose mouth the water eventually pours out (fig. 2). Other examples of the water chain can be found in the gardens of Pratolino, north of Florence.

The general view among scholars is that the water chain idea came from Spain via the eyewitness account of the Venetian envoy to Charles V, Andrea Navagero. In 1526 Navagero visited the early-fourteenth-century Generalife gardens at the Alhambra of Granada and described the marvelous staircase:

> At the highest part of the site in a garden, there is a lovely wide staircase...the stair is made of masonry and every few steps has a landing with a hollow to hold water. The parapets on each side of the stair have hollowed stones on the top, like channels. The valves at the top of the stairs are arranged so that water can run either in the channels or in the landing hollows or both. The volume can be increased so that the water overflows and inundates the steps and drenches anyone there...[10]
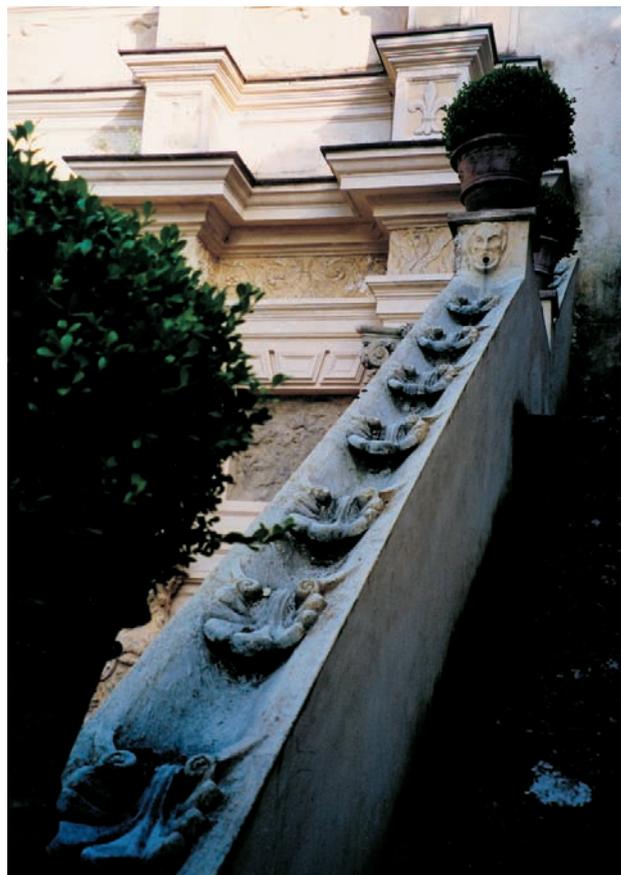
Fig. 1. Villa d'Este, Tivoli. Water chain in bannister of the Fountain of the Emperors. (Photo: L. Golombek)

The letter emphasizes the making of practical jokes:[11]

> One stairway had water channels in which the amount of water could be controlled, so that if they want to increase the amount of water, they increase it so much that it does not go in its place, it overflows, and floods all the levels, and bathes everyone it finds, making a thousand jokes of this sort.[12]

It is to be noted that when Timur (see below) wished to create such fantasies in his Bagh-i Naw (New Garden) in Samarqand in the early fifteenth century, he brought in fountain experts from Syria,[13] where the knowledge of Greek mechanics (specifically the work of Hero of Alexandria) had been preserved. Indeed the water organ at Tivoli is considered to have been based on Hero's treatise on hydraulics,[14] but the inspiration for the water chains is most likely to have come from Navagero's enthusiastic descriptions of Spain.

of Sicily, which also had complex hydraulic devices.

While the introduction of water chains may not seem to implicate the Islamic garden in a major way, it relates to a more basic issue (and this is really the heart of the matter)—the plan of the garden as a whole. Water falling down a slope belongs to the greater network of channels conducted throughout the garden, whether on a slope or over flat terrain. The Islamic garden, which originated in pre-Islamic Iran and spread throughout the Islamic world, was built around the intersection of two major canals. In Persian this quadripartite plan is called a *chahārbāgh*, meaning "four (part) garden." The earliest archaeological evidence of this garden type was found at the sixth-century palace and garden of Cyrus at Pasargadae in Iran.[17] Although a cross-axial plan has never been confirmed, the ornamental marble channels and basins strongly suggest an orthogonal grid of running water (fig. 3). This grid evolved out of the indigenous irrigation system, which required bringing in water through underground channels (*qanāt*) from an elevated water table. Reaching the garden, the water is conducted through raised channels and released into the sunken planting beds as needed. I have seen this system still in operation in Gabes, Tunisia, and in Morocco, as well as in Kirman, Iran. What archaeologists found at Pasargadae must be seen as the transformation of a utilitiarian device into an artifice.[18]

How this design crossed the Islamic world is yet another story and is not our primary concern. We find it in Spain in the Umayyad palace at Madinat al-Zahra, in three courtyards of the Alcazar of Seville (twelfth to thirteenth century) (fig. 4), and in the Patio of the Generalife and the Court of the Lions of the Alhambra (fourteenth century).[19] In Islamic Iran the earliest extant gardens date from the Safavid period, but texts fill other gaps, and archaeological excavations in Afghanistan have revealed quadripartite gardens of the twelfth century.[20] The best surviving examples are the grand gardens of the Mughals at Lahore and the tomb gardens of the Mughal emperors in Delhi and Agra (the Taj Mahal) from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[21]

Known only from texts, Timur's gardens around Samarqand all appear to have been quadripartite in plan.[22] At the center was a pavilion, sometimes crowning a hill. Each garden had a walled enclosure, monumental gates, and, often, corner towers. Some gardens had attached orchards. The Spanish envoy to Timur, Clavijo, wrote extensive descriptions of Timur's

Fig. 2. Villa Lante, Bagnaia. Crustacean water chain. (Photo: L. Golombek)

Christopher Pastore has shown how influential Navagero was on his group of friends who built gardens in the Veneto. Even though his letters were not published until 1556, their content would have circulated among his acquaintances. Perhaps these letters also stimulated travel to Spain by individuals wanting to see for themselves the wonders of this "late Roman" world. Cammy Brothers makes the point that Renaissance humanists perceived Islamic architecture in terms of their own background, seeing traces of Roman architecture in both Spain and Sicily.[15] Pastore explains the receptivity of Islamic content by the humanists as their willingness to view it as part of the "expanded Antique."[16] Although Spain may have provided the immediate stimulus and model for the water chains of Renaissance gardens, we should not rule out the impact of travel to the former Islamic palaces

Fig. 3. Pasargad (Iran), garden of Cyrus the Great. Ornamental pool and stone water channel. (Photo: L. Golombek)

buildings and gardens in the memoirs of his sojourn in Samarqand from 1403 to 1406.[23] I am not aware of any research into the question of whether his work was read in sixteenth-century Italy, but Venetians did travel to Tabriz in the late fifteenth century. There they saw the gardens of the Turkman rulers, which were based on Timurid models. The prosperity of the Turkman derived from their command of the strategic overland caravan route, particularly the trade in silk. A Venetian merchant residing at Tabriz between 1511 and 1520 described the magnificent palace of the ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), known as Hasht Bihisht (Eight Heavens).[24] This building plan derives its name from the layout, which is a geometrical scheme with a central dome, four axial rooms or iwans (vaulted rooms open to the exterior), and four rooms in the corners, making eight rooms (not including the central one).[25] The cosmic connotations of the plan and its moniker resonated with the paradise imagery associated with the garden in Islam. On the exterior the building was octagonal, two stories high, and raised on a platform standing in the center of a quadripartite garden. Adjoining the walled garden was a *maydān* (large square) or hippodrome, which the sultan could view from a gallery on the periphery. In an adjacent pool, boats were manipulated to imitate a naval battle. The park had "a thousand fountains, a thousand rills, a thousand rivulets." The recounting of this tale back home in Italy would surely not have fallen on deaf ears. Perhaps the account was accompanied by sketches. It would not have been difficult, in any case, to convey the general sense of symmetry and grandeur witnessed in the Persian garden. The prestige of the wealthy Turkman court would have made this model worthy of attention.

The likelihood that drawings were the medium of transmission is very strong. Indeed, some of the buildings appearing in Filarete's proposal for an ideal Renaissance city (1461–64), especially the "first temple of Plusiapolis" (book XIV, fol. 108r), look as if they came from the Timurid repertory.[26] The ground plan of the temple seems to follow the typical Timurid-Turkman "Hasht Bihisht" design, except that its proportional system is arithmetical rather than irrational (based on square roots). The Persian architect would have used an octagon inscribed in a square to provide the dimensions of the spaces, and often the rooms themselves would be octagonal. In Filarete's drawing the introduction of octagonal rooms without any arithmetical rationale suggests that he may have been copying Persian drawings without fully understanding how they were derived. The Timurid architects created such drawings to aid in the construction of geometrically generated architecture,[27] although none have yet been discovered in Italy. The elevation of the temple as drawn by Filarete does not resemble a Persian pavilion, but normally the Persian architect's scroll did not include elevations. Filarete could use the ground plan but had to resort to his imagination to draw the elevation.

Garden plans from the Islamic world have not survived but did exist, probably on paper or board, as suggested by the well-known double frontispiece to a manuscript of the *Bāburnāma* dating to the end of the sixteenth century. This painting has often been

Fig. 4. Alcazar of Seville, Patio de las Doncellas, showing the recently recovered "sunken" garden in the courtyard. Remnants of brick wall suggests its quadripartite division. (Photo: L. Golombek)

reproduced in order to show the quadripartite plan of Babur's garden, with the planting beds enclosed in high walls and channels in the center of the intersecting walkways,[28] but it is also important for suggesting ways in which the Persian *chahārbāgh* and the accompanying garden pavilion may have reached Italy. It shows the Mughal emperor Babur in the Bagh-i Wafa, discussing the construction with the architect, who holds a drawing of a grid of squares, presumably the plan of the garden, which would have been glued to a rigid support, such as cardboard, or drawn directly on the support itself. If architectural plans traveled, why not also garden plans?

By the end of the fifteenth century, garden design had come into its own as a field of specialization within Islamic architecture. A treatise on agriculture written in 1515 reflects the practice of Herat's chief landscape architect, Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyas, noted for his activity in the late fifteenth century.[29] Mirak's son went to India to build the tomb of Humayun in Delhi, completed in 1571: in plan its gardens reflect the quadripartite division of Timur's gardens, with the tomb instead of a pavilion in the center (fig. 5). The classical Persian garden described in Mirak's treatise, however, shows
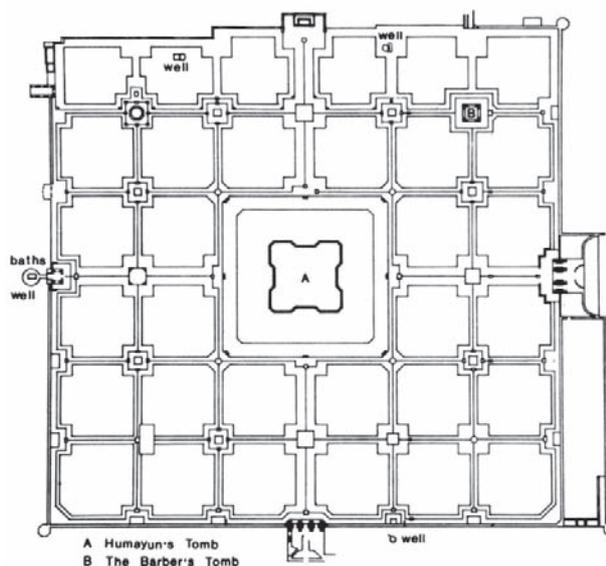

Fig. 5. Plan of the gardens at the tomb of Humayun, Delhi. (Drawing: originally *Archaeological Survey of India*, reproduced in Elizabeth Moynihan, "But What a Happiness to Have Known Babur!" in *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*, ed. J. L. Wescoat, Jr. and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn [Washington, DC, 1996], 122, fig. 23)
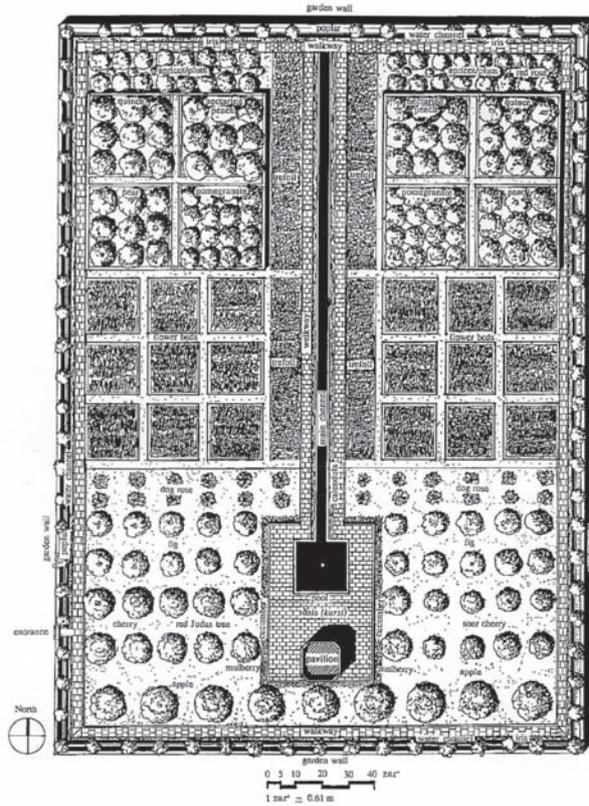
Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the *chahārbāgh*, based on the treatise *Irshād al-zirāʿa*. (Drawing: Wiktor Moskaliuk, from M. E. Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyās and the Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture," *Studia Iranica* 24 [1995]: 59, pl. V)

Fig. 7. Plan of the gardens of the Taj Mahal, Agra. (After E. Koch, "The Mughal Waterfront Garden," in A. Petruccioli, *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires* [Leiden, 1997], 157, fig. 12)

what may have been a new development of the traditional plan. In the chapter titled "On the Planting of Spalings, Flowers, and Aromatic Plants in Relation to Each Other in a Chahar-Bagh according to a Symmetrical Landscape Plan" (*Dar bayān-i nihāl-i ashjār va gul va riyāḥīn bi-siyāq-i bāghbānī dar chahārbāgh kishtan dar barābar-i yakdigar*), every detail is given, including what to plant and when (fig. 6). The pavilion notably lies at one end of the garden, not in the center. It is fronted by a patio with a pool, while the main part of the garden is divided longitudinally into two halves by a broad canal, which also serves as a walkway. This is intersected at right angles by a waterway, thus forming the four quarters. The quarters are then subdivided into parterres. Gardens of this type have not survived from the Timurid period, but the classic example is the Taj Mahal, completed by the Mughal

emperor Shah Jahan between 1632 and 1643 (fig. 7). Raised on a high platform, its pavilion lies at the end of a quadripartite garden. At the intersection of the two main canals in the center of the garden is a large ornamental pool, and the quadrants are further crisscrossed by channels of water and smaller pools. With a bit of imagination one might speculate that the architect at Tivoli had heard of such garden designs, perhaps from a copy of Mirak's treatise or from the descriptions of travelers.

Even if this is stretching the point, there is no doubt about the existence of a quadripartite plan in
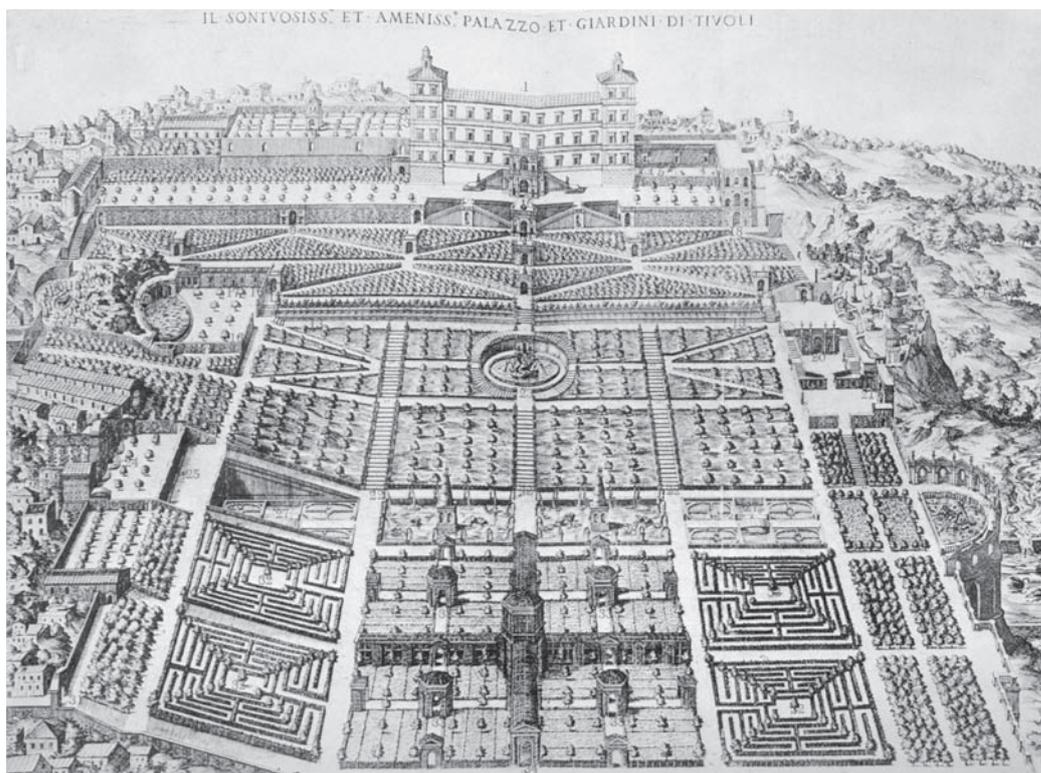
Fig. 8. Engraving of the Tivoli Gardens by Etienne Dupérac, 1573. (After David R. Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960], 180, fig. 1)

the gardens of the lower terrace at Tivoli, which is further divided by an orthogonal grid of walkways, as is shown in an engraving by Dupérac (fig. 8). The main difference between this four-part garden and Islamic versions is the replacement at Tivoli of the irrigation system—the canals—by plantings. The original pergolas that formed the cross are gone, but a similar arrangement can be seen in a painting by Giusto Utens of another garden, the Ambrogiana at Montelupo (fig. 9).[30] The pergolas substitute for water channels in serving to provide the geometric framework of the garden.

The contemporary Villa Lante at Bagnaia is also entered from the flat area of the lower terrace. A large square tank occupies the center of this first terrace, at the end of which lie twin pavilions. The tank is surrounded by a series of square plots, originally enclosing quadripartite gardens with cross-axial pathways or water channels. Today this scheme is no longer visible, but a painting preserved in one of the pavilions shows the original disposition of the gardens (fig. 10).

The tank itself reflects the quadripartite division of a garden with its central island connected to the dry land by four causeways (fig. 11). Four boats carved in stone sit in the tank, one in each quarter. The artificial pond with miniature boats also recalls the description of Uzun Hasan's gardens cited earlier.

The second level of geometrization in the Islamic garden takes place within the quadrants defined by the two main axial canals. Here the landscape architects showed great creativity. Of all the descriptions of gardens built by Timur in Samarqand, that of the Bagh-i Dilgusha (Heart's Delight Garden) is the most detailed.[31] It was constructed in 1396 on the east side of Samarqand and occupied a square of about 945 meters. An ornate gate reveted with mosaic faience stood in the middle of each side, and tiled dovecotes marked the corners. Of the layout, we are told by Sharaf al-Din Yazdi, the author of the history of Timur:

> He [Timur] divided the open space of the garden geometrically into square walkways and hexagonal and trian-

Fig. 9. The Medici estate Ambrogiana with quadripartite gardens. Painted 1599–1602 by Giusto Utens for the Villa Artimino. (Photo: reproduced with permission of the Museo di Firenze Com'Era, su concessione del Servizio Musei Communale di Firenze)

Fig. 10. Painting of the Villa Lante, Bagnaia, in a pavilion at the villa. Original quadripartite gardens surround the pool. (Photo: L. Golombek)

Fig. 11. Villa Lante, Bagnaia. Present state of the gardens, with hedgerows replacing canals and plots. (Photo: L. Golombek)

gular *chaman*s (planting beds). He ordered that poplars be planted along the edges of the walkways and that the hexagons and triangles of their borders be arranged with various fruit trees and diverse trees bearing flowers and fruit.[32]

The result must have been something like the geometric pattern of *chaman*s found in the old Rajput gardens at Amber[33] (fig. 12) and the courtyard gardens within the fort at Agra. The orthogonal irrigation network was thus transformed into a sophisticated work of art, a virtual carpet of plantings.

It is, therefore, the ancient Iranian quadripartite garden as it evolved in its later Islamic mutations that became what we call *il giardino all'italiana*. Why did the Renaissance garden incorporate such an element? The Islamic model was not adopted for its hydrological values but rather for its aesthetics. Irrigation of the formal Renaissance garden did not depend on a grid of canals; even though the axial channels might remain, the canals running through the parterres soon disappeared, to be replaced by box hedges. Rather, the geometric fantasies that were so much a part of Islamic art and architecture resonated in the

humanist culture of Renaissance Italy. Scholars often cite the famous passage in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (IV:20–25) that praises the Achaemenid king of Persia, Cyrus,[34] for the attention he paid to agriculture and gardening. Socrates tells the story of Lysander's visit to Cyrus's pleasure garden in Sardis. Lysander marvels at the regularity of the garden, "that the trees should be so fine, the plantings so regular, the rows of trees so straight, the angles so finely laid…"[35] whereupon Cyrus reveals that he himself laid out the garden and even planted some of it himself. Battista has pointed out that this very passage was championed by the Quattrocento moralist Matteo Palmier in *Della vita civile*, in 1438–39.[36] Pastore cites Francesco Della Torre's use of the Xenophon story in his praise of the Bishop Giberti, who came to Verona in 1528.[37] The king's participation in garden culture was noted as a model for those who promoted agricultural enterprise, but the full implications of this story have not been given their due. I would like to stress the praise for the "regularity" of the plantings, which, no doubt, was imagined by Renaissance humanists as a geometric configuration. Alberti's account of this episode, as
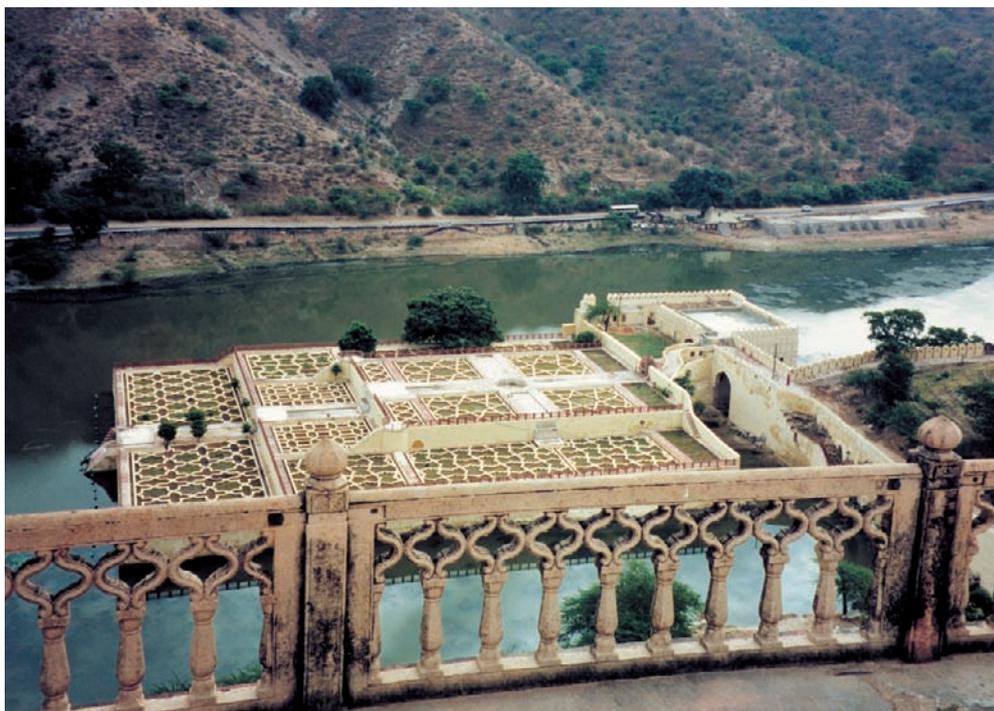
Fig. 12. A geometrically designed garden on the water below the Rajput palace at Amber (Photo: L. Golombek)

told by Cicero in *De Senectute*, says that King Cyrus of Persia planted trees in his garden in a *quincunx*[38]— that is, in squares with a tree in each corner and one in the center. Cyrus the Persian became an acceptable source of inspiration as yet another part of what Pastore has called the "expanded Antique." This acceptance grew out of admiration not only for his attitude toward agriculture but also for the purported rational organization of his garden.

Never having seen this garden, however, Renaissance Italy had to look to contemporary gardens believed to be the descendants of this ancient tradition, whether in Spain or Iran. The actual examples of geometrically organized gardens seen by European travelers to the East were those of the Timurids and their successors, whose architecture epitomizes the principles of rationalism and symmetry. Already familiar with stories about Cyrus and descriptions of existing Persian gardens, the Italian landscape architect had all he needed to reconfigure nature *alla Persiana*. The mindset of Renaissance humanists was such that they latched onto the concept of a garden ordered by geometry, based on examples either seen or reported from the

Islamic world. Their willingness to accept this concept grew not only from their notion that Islamic architecture somehow belonged to the classical age but also from their seeing in the Islamic organization of the landscape the very qualities they were seeking. The sources were of various periods and locations, from medieval Spain and Sicily to Timurid and Turkman Iran, and probably diverse in form, from oral and written reports to drawings. It is impossible to look at Renaissance gardens and not see behind certain elements the presence of Islamic influence. Who knows but that the mysterious name "Boboli" is not a borrowing from the poetic designations given to Islamic gardens, such as Bagh-i Bulbul (Garden of the Nightingale), or perhaps even a reference to the ancient hanging gardens of Babylon (Babel)?

This is not to say that the Islamic garden supplied the governing principles of the Renaissance garden. On the contrary, only limited aspects of Italian garden design were affected. There are also many differences between the two that cannot be discussed here. However, the builders did share a common view of the garden as a legitmate reformulation of the natu-

ral environment, an enhancement of what untamed Nature offers, a pleasure ground for enjoyment and entertainment, and a sign of the patron's command of wealth and territory.

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

NOTES

1. Eugenio Battisti, "*Natura Artificiosa* to *Natura Artificialis*," in *The Italian Garden*, ed. David R. Coffin (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1972), 10.

2. Elisabeth B. MacDougall, "Introduction," in *Fons Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), 3–14.

3. See Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in Attilio Petruccioli, ed., *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997), 45.

4. I am indebted to James Wescoat and Abdul Rehman for inviting me to participate in a symposium on the Mughal garden held in Lahore in 1993, which was a springboard for expanding my knowledge of the Islamic garden into India. Papers of this symposium were published in Mahmood Hussain, Abdul Rehman, and James L. Wescoat, Jr., eds., *The Mughal Garden: Interpretation, Conservation and Implications* (Rawalpindi: Ferozsons, 1996).

5. At this symposium Gülru Necipoğlu noted "the influence of Islamic *chahārbāgh*s on gardens of Renaissance Italy," pointing out that the informality of Ottoman gardens was closer to Roman and Byzantine prototypes. See Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape of Istanbul," 45.

6. Cammy Brothers, "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 79–102; Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Christopher Pastore, "Expanding Antiquity: Andrea Navagero and Villa Culture in the Cinquecento Veneto" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003).

7. D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Gardens of the Alhambra and the Concept of the Garden in Islamic Spain," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn Denise Dodds (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992); D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002).

8. David R. Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).

9. For the Villa Lante at Bagnaia and Pratolino see Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

10. MacDougall, "Introduction," 10.

11. Ibid., 7, where MacDougall discusses the inclusion of *giochi*, the hidden fountains in Renaissance gardens.

12. Brothers, "Alhambra," 81.

13. Lisa Golombek, "The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 139.

14. Coffin, *Tivoli*, 16–29.

15. Brothers, "Alhambra," 83.

16. Pastore, "Expanding," 89.

17. David Stronach, "Excavations at Pasargadae: Third Preliminary Report," *Iran* 3 (1965): 19–42.

18. Ruggles came to the same conclusion in her study of the quadripartite garden (Ruggles, "Alhambra," 154).

19. For a discussion of the monuments in Spain see Ruggles, *Gardens*.

20. For the Safavid gardens see Donald Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions* (Rutland, VT: C. E. Tuttle, 1962); for Afghanistan see D. Schlumberger, *Lashkari Bazar, Une Residence Royale Ghaznevide, 1a. L'architecture, Mémoires de la delegation archéologique française en Afghanistan 18* (Paris: DAFA, 1978); the nine-part *hasht bihisht* (eight heavens) kiosk, based on the division of a square into nine sections and consisting of eight rooms plus a central space, is described by Schlumberger on 82.

21. For general information on both the major and the minor gardens of the Mughals see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526–1858)* (Munich: Prestel, 1991).

22. Golombek, "Perspectives"; Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988), chap. 8.

23. Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. G. Le Strange (London: G. Routledge, 1928).

24. Anonymous, "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia," in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, trans. Charles Grey (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873), 141–207. The "anonymous" Venetian has been identified as Domenico Romano by J. Aubin, "Chroniques persans et relations italiennes: Notes sur les sources narratives du regne du Šah Ismaʿil Ier," *Studia Iranica* 24 (1995): 247–59. My thanks to Sussan Babbaie for drawing my attention to this article.

25. Lisa Golombek, "From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture: In Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1981), 43–50.

26. Filarete, "Treatise on Architecture," in *Treatise on Architecture: Being the Treatise by Antonio di Piero Averlino, Known as Filarete*, trans. John R. Spencer, 2 vols. (vol. 1 translation; vol. 2 facsimile) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 1:xxii, 188–89, and pl. 10; 2: bk. XIV, fol. 108r.

27. On a fifteenth-century scroll preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul and other architects' drawings from Central Asia see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll, Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995).

28. For example, see pl. XII, fig. 7 in Ralph Pinder-Wilson, "The Persian Garden: *Bāgh* and *Chahār Bāgh*," in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1976).

29. M. E. Subtelny, "Mīrak-i Sayyid Ghiyās and the Timurid Tra-
     dition of Landscape Architecture," *Studia Iranica* 24 (1995):
     19–60, on the *chahārbāgh* as discussed in the treatise *Irshād
     al-Zirāʿa*, by Qasim b. Yusuf, Herat, 921 (1515).

30. This comes from the well-known series of cartographic paint-
     ings of the Medici gardens by the expatriate Flemish painter
     Giusto Utens, done for the Villa Artemino of the Grand Duke
     Ferdinand I. See Daniela Mignani, Alessandro Conti, and
     Antonio Paolucci, *The Medicean Villas by Giusto Utens*, Eng-
     lish ed. (Florence: Arnaud, 1991), 47.

31. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbbāsī,
     (Teheran: 1336 [1957–58]), 2:13–14; Clavijo, *Embassy*, 218.

32. Ibid.

33. Victoria and Albert Museum, MS. IM.1913.276A.276, about
     1570, illustrated in Richard Ettinghausen, "Introduction,"
     in MacDougall and Ettinghausen, *The Islamic Garden*, pl. III,
     figs. 3–4.

34. Leo Strauss points out that the so-called king praised by Xeno-
     phon is actually Cyrus the Younger, Xenophon's contempo-
     rary (who was never in fact king), not Cyrus the Elder, who
     founded the Achaemenid Empire. Cyrus the Younger, son of
     Darius II, commanded the Greek mercenary forces in Asia
     Minor to which Xenophon belonged. See Xenophon, *Oeco-
     nomicus*, trans. Leo Strauss (Ithaca: Cornell University Press,
     1970), 20 n. 19.

35. Battisti, "*Natura*," 6; Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, 16–22.

36. Battisti, "*Natura*," 6.

37. Pastore, "Expanding," 449.

38. Lazzaro, *Renaissance Garden*, 44.

ANTHONY WELCH

THE EMPEROR'S GRIEF: TWO MUGHAL TOMBS

With his publication on the Dome of the Rock nearly half a century ago in *Ars Orientalis*,[1] Oleg Grabar established the centrality of inscriptions for the understanding of a building's political, religious, and social significance. His affirmation of the importance of architectural epigraphs has been a constant throughout his career, brilliantly demonstrated in his study of the Alhambra, among other works. My efforts to understand the architecture of the Delhi Sultanate through its inscriptions owe much to his elegant and rigorous work. In its epigraphic analysis the examination of early Mughal architecture that I submit here in his honor is clearly informed by his methods. Additionally, as I developed this study of the youthful Akbar and the tensions among officials at his court in 1562, I recalled Oleg's argument (stemming from the creation of the great Il-Khan *Shāhnāma* in the fourteenth century, which arose from power struggles at the royal court) that great art can arise in times of great tension as a compelling statement of ambition and authority. A patron's aesthetic decisions are rarely frivolous: Akbar's choice of materials and his conscious and pointed references to the past were as self-aware as those of ʿAbd al-Malik in the late seventh century.

Oleg's work is also vital for its exploration of the meaning of holiness and the ways in which a piece of land and the buildings on it become sacred. In my study of Sultanate and early Mughal Delhi, a tomb situated in the fourteenth century *dargah* (shrine and Sufi center) of Nizamuddin Awliya in Delhi becomes a shrine to one of Akbar's most loyal adherents, commemorating a defining event in Akbar's kingship, one that marks a cultural shift and the formation of a new dynastic direction. Akbar symbolically appropriates the land—a key concept in Oleg's work—transforming the site into a pilgrimage shrine.

I am pleased to submit this essay in honor and recognition of Oleg Grabar's eightieth birthday. I owe more than I can say to him, his scholarship, his teaching, and the care he has shown for his students over the years.

PERSONAL POLITICS AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

On May 16, 1562 (12 Ramadan 969), a dreadful incident occurred at the court of the young Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) in Agra, stunning everyone who saw or heard about it and rapidly becoming the stuff of legend. Akbar's minister, historian, biographer, confidant, and boon companion Abu 'l-Fazl ʿAllami considered the event so remarkable that he described it at great length in his *Akbarnāma*. For him, Akbar's response to this shocking act stood as a brilliant example "of the majesty and extensiveness of the justice of His Majesty, the Shahinshah."[2]

Ataga Khan and Adham Khan, two of Akbar's closest aides, had long been at loggerheads: they and their extended families and associates had been struggling for years for influence over Akbar, who had come to the throne in 1556 at the age of fourteen, upon the death of his father, Humayun, the second Mughal ruler (r. 1530–40 and 1555–56).

On what was surely a very hot day in the Agra fort, Adham Khan and two accomplices, following a calculated though very risky plan, broke into the palace and brutally murdered Ataga Khan. According to Abu 'l-Fazl, they had long been jealous of Ataga Khan's eminence under Akbar; their envy was further provoked by Muʿnim Khan, the Khan Khanan, another powerful noble.[3]

> The account of this affair is that Adham Khan, the younger son of the cupola of chastity, Maham Anaga, had neither understanding nor good conditions. He was intoxicated by youth and prosperity and was continually envious of Shams al-Din Muhammad, the Ataga Khan. Munʿim Khan, the Khan Khanan, also suffered much from this malady and used to throw out dark hints, such as the generality could not comprehend, instigating Adham Khan to strife and intrigue…On a court day (16 May 1562), Munʿim Khan, Ataga Khan, Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan, and other magnates were sitting in the royal hall transacting public business, when Adham Khan suddenly entered in a

riotous manner, attended by others more riotous than himself. The members of the assembly rose to do him honor, and the Ataga Khan rose half-up. Immediately upon entering, Adham Khan put his hand to his dagger and went towards the Ataga Khan. Then he angrily signed to his servant Khusham Uzbek and the other desperadoes who had come with their loins girt up for strife, saying: "Why do you stand still?" The wicked Khusham drew his dagger and inflicted a dangerous wound on the breast of that chief-sitter on the pillow of auspiciousness. The Ataga Khan was thoroughly amazed and ran towards the door of the hall. Immediately thereon, Khuda Bardi came and struck him twice with a sword. That great man was martyred in the courtyard of the hall of audience.

The horrendous story continues. Suddenly aware of the likely consequences of the impetuous act that he had been put up to, a panicked Adham Khan made a single-handed assault on the royal palace. It was Ramadan, and it must have been particularly demanding to keep the fast in the hottest time of the year: Akbar was resting in his second-story bedchamber when he was warned of the danger by a chamberlain, who brought him a sword. Adham Khan met Akbar on the veranda and dared to grab the emperor by the hands. With his fist, Akbar knocked Adham Khan senseless with a single blow to the head. He then ordered his servants to bind Adham Khan and throw him off the terrace. Surviving the first fall, the gravely injured Adham Khan was dragged up the stairs and again thrown down, head first, whereupon he died. This demonstration of imperial decisiveness and physical strength became one of the most celebrated events in Mughal hagiography and was a favorite subject in illustrated copies of the *Akbarnāma* (fig. 1). As the closing installment of a long-standing feud, Akbar's action almost immediately took on the character of dynastic myth.

Several years older than Akbar, Adham Khan was a longtime Mughal retainer who held the high-ranking position of *panj-hazārī,* or commander of five thousand troops. Abu 'l-Fazl reports that Adham Khan's father was a certain Shihab al-Din but also intimates that Adham Khan may have been one of Humayun's progeny.[4] He was the younger son of the noblewoman Maham Anaga, who had been responsible for supervising Akbar's attendants when the emperor was a child, and who for several years thereafter remained a powerful figure at the court. In particular, Maham Anaga and her husband, Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan, the governor of Delhi, had allied themselves with Muʿnim
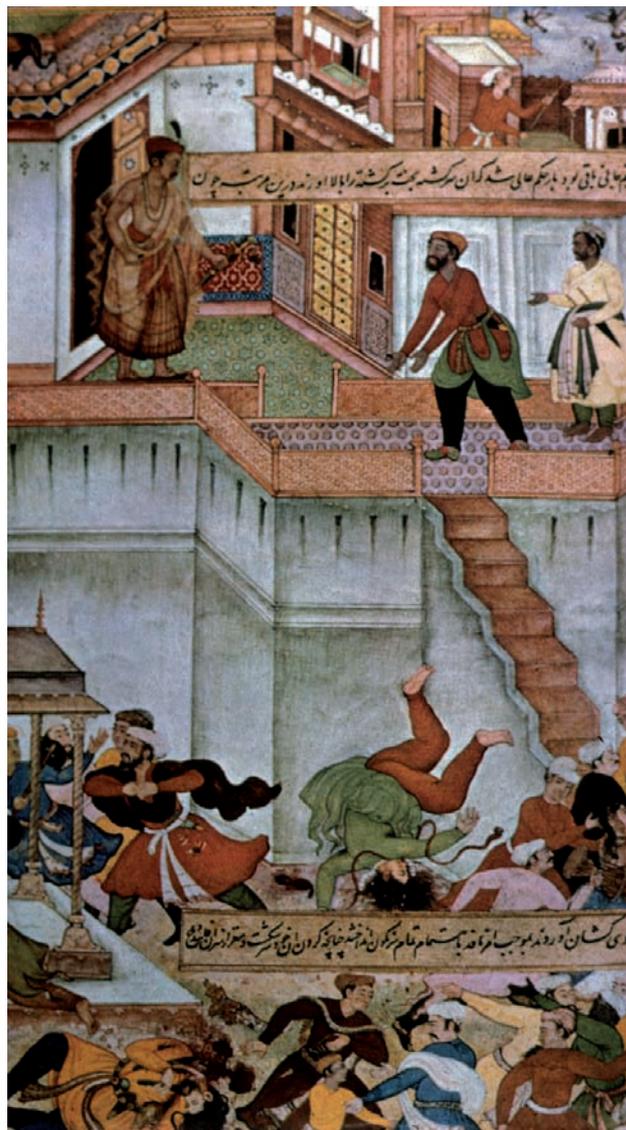
Fig. 1. *Execution of Adham Khan*, painting by Miskin and Sankar. From a manuscript of the *Akbarnāma*, ca. 1590. Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 2, 1896, I.S. 29.117. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

Khan to undermine the influence of Bayram Khan, the previous Khan Khanan, who had protected the young emperor and the Mughal Empire in the years immediately after the death of Akbar's father, Humayun. Muʿnim Khan was appointed Khan Khanan after Bayram Khan was removed from that post in 1560. Maham Anaga apparently had easy access to the emperor, and her son was regarded as Akbar's foster brother.

Adham Khan was famous for his bravery and success on the battlefield, notably at the siege of Mankot in 1557. He led the victorious expedition against Malwa in 968 (1560–61),[5] though he later misgoverned the region, keeping its sizeable treasury and several of its women for himself until Akbar admonished him. His subsequent displays of outrageous behavior prompted the emperor to replace him with a new governor, Pir Muhammad Khan Shirwani. Adham Khan was recalled to the royal court, where he was nevertheless honored by Akbar, who was well aware of his impetuous personality and was apparently determined to restrain his foster brother from further folly and to improve his character.[6] An auspicious marriage, approved by the emperor, was arranged with the daughter of Baqi Khan Baqlani, one of the learned grandees at court.[7] Despite these signs of royal favor, Maham Anaga involved her son and several other court officials in her ruthless intrigues. In charge of the royal harem, she helped Adham Khan purloin two dancing girls acquired following the conquest of Malwa. When Akbar noticed the loss, Adham Khan became alarmed and made it appear that the girls had fled. After they were apprehended, Maham Anaga ordered their execution to cover up the crime.[8]

Maham Anaga was fiercely jealous of Ataga Khan, who headed the largest faction at court and was trusted by Akbar. The son of a farmer, Shams al-Din Muhammad Ataga Khan had been a humble soldier until he saved the life of Emperor Humayun at the battle of Kannauj in 1540. During his exile in Iran from 1542 to 1544, Humayun entrusted his infant son Akbar to Shams al-Din Muhammad and his wife Jiji Anaga, who became Akbar's principal wet nurse. Both as heir apparent and as youthful emperor, Akbar recognized Shams al-Din Muhammad and Jiji Anaga as his foster parents: the honorific *ataga* means "foster father."

After the dismissal of the Khan Khanan Bayram Khan in 1560, Akbar transferred the insignia and the office of Vakil (prime minister) to Ataga Khan. This appointment of an old and trusted servitor with an extensive family (referred to as the *Ataga Khayl*, or Foster-Father Clan) posed a great threat to the party associated with Maham Anaga, who had doubtless expected the office of Khan Khanan to pass to one of her people. She, her husband Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan, and Mu'nim Khan did not conceal their discontent, and if they did not actually plot with Adham Khan they clearly goaded him on. After the assassination of Ataga Khan, both Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan and Mu'nim

Khan fled Agra, only to be recalled and pardoned by the emperor, who needed their expertise and experience. Judging by his other actions, Akbar was also eager to defuse the situation and impose a strict and evenhanded calm. Stunned by Adham Khan's summary execution, Maham Anaga nevertheless acknowledged the justice of Akbar's action and, according to Abu 'l-Fazl, died forty days later.

Ataga Khan's family likewise accepted the emperor's justice and did not continue the feud with Maham Anaga's faction. Ataga Khan's three brothers and two sons, also Akbar's milk brothers, served Akbar well. The elder son, Yusuf Muhammad Khan, was fourteen when his father was murdered. He became a distinguished field commander but died of alcoholism in 1566, when he was only eighteen, his death perhaps brought on by grief over his father's assassination. The younger son, Mirza 'Aziz Koka, was a commander of five thousand whose daughter married Akbar's fourth son, Murad. In 1580 he received the title of A'zam Khan, once held by his father. Celebrated for his intelligence, knowledge of history, eloquence, and straightforward speech, "he grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would but rarely punish him; he used to say 'Between me and 'Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross.'"[9]

Up until 1562, the two court factions had presented the young emperor with unwanted conflicts and a painful division of loyalties. After all, he stood in a foster relationship to the matriarchs of both clans: Maham Anaga had been in charge of all the infant Akbar's nurses and female attendants, and Jiji Anaga had been his wet nurse. Thus, in addition, Akbar had powerful foster relationships with Adham Khan, Ataga Khan, Yusuf Muhammad, and Mirza 'Aziz. After years of relying upon Ataga Khan, Maham Anaga, and Adham Khan, their deaths within a forty-day period must have been a grievous loss. But Akbar was now freed from an increasingly troublesome problem: at one blow, the internecine warfare between the two clans was ended, and the young ruler's power was dramatically asserted by his prompt, personal punishment of Adham Khan. Seeking to reconcile those who remained, he dispatched the bodies of Adham Khan and Ataga Khan for burial in Delhi, far enough away to prevent their relatives and adherents from centering their grievances on graves in Agra. He pardoned Mu'nim Khan and Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan, as already noted, and made it widely known that he

was putting the young members of both clans under his personal protection. After the death of Maham Anaga, he even accompanied her funeral procession for some distance out of Agra; in Delhi two substantial and important tombs were constructed for her remains and those of Adham Khan and Ataga Khan. Abu 'l-Fazl was well aware of the importance of these new buildings:

> The body [of Maham Anaga] was also sent with much respect to Delhi; his Majesty personally escorted it for some paces. All the state officers and the great ones of the sublime family paid the dues of respect and regret. In accordance with orders, a lofty building was erected over the [grave]s of Maham Anaga and Adham Khan. Similar mourning was made for [Ataga] Khan. The hearts of his brethren and children were soothed, and the wounds of the whole clan were healed. His Majesty devoted great attention to the educating of this faithful band and to the furthering of their advancement.[10]

Abu 'l-Fazl dwells on this incident in order to educate the uninitiated into key aspects of Akbar's policies. Imperial authority is not to be disputed, even by near-family members, who are as subject to severe punishment as others. For anyone remembering Humayun's misfortunes, occasioned by his repeated generosity and mercy to his brother Kamran, it was an important lesson. The fact that the execution of Adham Khan was so often illustrated in copies of the *Akbarnāma* underscores its importance as a demonstration of imperial authority. (There was nothing haphazard about the choice of subjects to be illustrated by painters in the royal manuscript workshop.) This authority also had to be focused on the reconciliation of enemies; the effort to bridge hostilities and bring foes into agreement under the Mughal aegis is a recurring theme in Akbari politics. Akbar was determined to avoid feuding between the rival families and to bring under his protection and watchful eye the younger generation, to whose education and advancement he had committed himself.

The emperor was keenly aware of the power of architecture, since he ordered that tombs be built as part of the mourning for the deceased, the process of "soothing the hearts of the brethren and children." In the years around 1562 Akbar emerged as a great architectural patron: the tomb for his father Humayun was also begun in Delhi at that time. The two smaller tombs, one for Ataga Khan and the other for Maham Anaga and Adham Khan, stand as monuments not only to the deceased but also to that day

in May when the emperor, through his personal courage and decisiveness, declared his authority in a way that no one could fail to understand.

MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE AND POLITICS

Neither of the two structures should be regarded simply as a tomb. Emerging out of a complex political situation, each was linked to individuals besides the ones for whom they were built. Both relied on a well-developed visual language to explicate the multiple political and personal relationships of those associated with them. Not just Akbar but also subordinates like Maham Anaga, Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan, and Muhammad 'Aziz Kokaltash were prominent patrons of architecture, whether of tombs, mosques, or madrasas. To some degree we may understand the period through its buildings, as if they constituted the strategically placed pieces of a complex military game such as chess or shogi.

The tomb of Adham Khan and Maham Anaga

Delhi was the capital of the Delhi Sultanate for most of the period from 1192 to 1526 (fig. 2). Successive sultans had lavishly endowed the city with walls, forts, mosques, madrasas, *dargah*s, stepwells, canals, and gardens; in the sixteenth-century Islamic world Delhi's only rivals in architectural splendor were Cairo and Constantinople. The site selected for the mausoleum of Maham Anaga and Adham Khan was on the southwest side of the Lal Kot, the pre-Islamic "red fort"—the oldest part of Islamic Delhi. The tomb lies about 600 meters to the southwest of the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque and its Qutb Minar.[11]

Two earlier royal tombs—the tomb of Sultan Iltutmish (ca. 1235) and that of Sultan 'Ala al-Din Khalji (ca. 1318) (fig. 3)—are situated directly behind the west (qibla) wall of the Qutb Mosque, the old great mosque of Delhi. Aligned with the direction of prayer, they occupied a place of particular honor. As the center of the first capital of Islamic India, the land around the Quwwat al-Islam enjoyed special status: when Babur, the first Mughal emperor (r. 1526–30), took Delhi in 1526, he circumambulated the royal tombs and residences in its vicinity.

The mausoleum of Maham Anaga and Adham Khan is situated far from this hallowed area. Nor is it near the dozens of fifteenth-century tombs, mosques, and
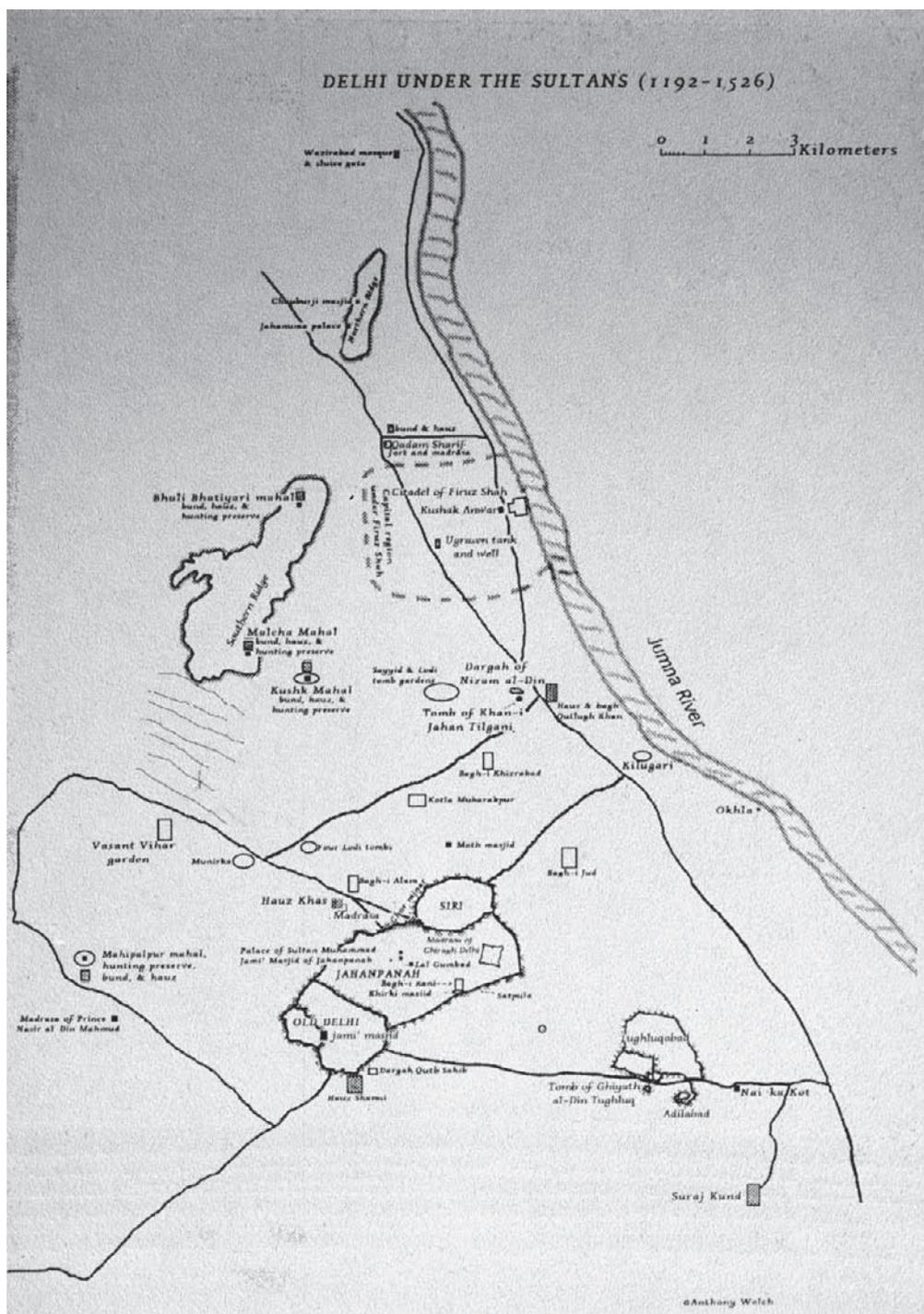
Fig. 2. Delhi under the sultans. (Map: Anthony Welch)

Fig. 3. Quwwat al-Islam Mosque, Delhi. View of the qibla and the madrasa, with the tomb of Adham Khan visible in the distance. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

stepwells in the oldest part of the city, in the village of Mehrauli to the south. Under patronage of the Lodhi dynasty (1444–1526) and then the Mughals, numerous mausolea had been constructed and *dargah*s established in and around Mehrauli, turning it into a city of the formerly pious and powerful dead. Lying between the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque and the necropolis of Mehrauli, Adham Khan's tomb stands apart, partaking of neither.

The entire mausoleum is 19 meters high and consists of three parts (fig. 4). A massive 3-meter-high octagonal platform rises beside the road. Two flights of stone steps lead to a veranda bounded by a 3-meter octagonal wall with low towers at each corner (figs. 5 and 6). In the center of the platform is the tomb, consisting of an octagonal ambulatory 6 meters in height and a central-domed octagonal chamber of 10 meters (fig. 7).[12] Together, the ambulatory and central tomb chamber are 15.5 meters in diameter. Each of the eight sides of the tomb is pierced by three openings; the massive walls enclose several interior passages that intersect, resembling a maze (fig. 8).[13] On the exterior, the eight corners of the first story and the

sixteen corners of the drum are marked by decorative 3-meter-high minars. To a height of some 4 meters the base of the tomb is constructed of pale brown stone, but the upper portion is built of brick, now covered with blackened plaster facing but originally painted white, while the spandrels, the horizontal panels below the parapet, and the merlons were all painted red, as is shown in a nineteenth-century watercolor (fig. 9). The color scheme imitates that of the red sandstone and white marble in such Sultanate buildings as the 1325 tomb of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq.

The dome rises high above the cenotaphs. The interior is well lit from its large doors and eight clerestory windows. In keeping with earlier Sayyid and Lodhi buildings, it is almost entirely devoid of inscriptions. Circular disks on the exterior and interior bear the *shahāda* and pious invocations such as *yā Allāh* and *al-Mālik Allāh*, hardly a complex inscriptional program.[14]

On the northwestern wall of the veranda a gateway leads through the courtyard wall into the Lal Kot, the ancient Delhi fort. In the southwestern wall another gateway opens onto a mosque about 19 meters to the

Fig. 4. Site of the tomb of Adham Khan. (After Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture,* 2 vols. [Calcutta, 1942], vol. 2, *Islamic Period,* pl. XXI)

Fig. 5. Tomb of Adham Khan, exterior. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

Fig. 6. Tomb of Adham Khan, veranda and drum. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

Fig. 8. Tomb of Adham Khan, interior. (Photo: Anthony Welch)
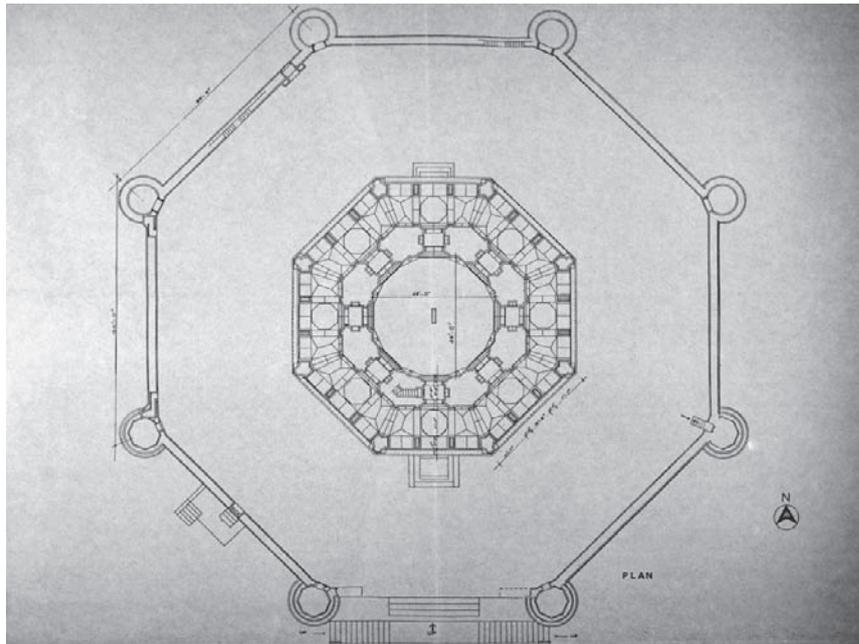
Fig. 7. Tomb of Adham Khan, plan. (Drawing: Anthony Welch)
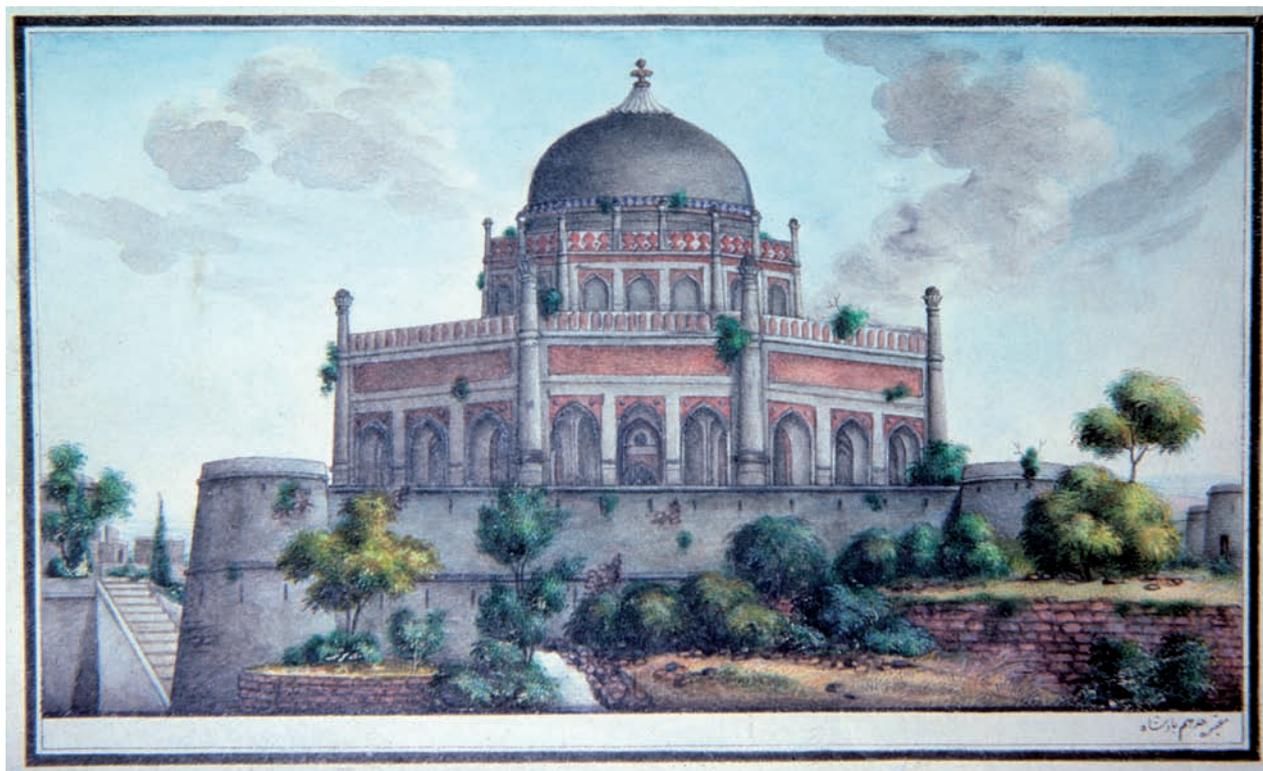
Fig. 9. *Tomb of Adham Khan*, nineteenth-century watercolor by an unknown artist. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 60.1923. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

west of the tomb. With its immediate vicinity largely vacant, the huge mausoleum is an isolated and imposing structure. In terms of its fortress-like platform, octagonal ambulatory and high central drum, and epigraphic sparseness, the architectural associations of the tomb are distinctly with the Lodhi past. The designer of this very traditional building did not—or was not allowed to—evince any progressive ambitions. Since there are in Delhi contemporary examples of innovative structures completed under Akbar's patronage, such as Humayun's tomb, this heavy-handed recapitulation of the Sultanate past was probably neither haphazard nor accidental. I would suggest that Akbar, with his keen architectural sense and deep understanding of the power of buildings to express political values, made a number of intentional choices with respect to this structure.

Akbar placed the tomb in south Delhi, where the historic presence of the Sultanate was felt more strongly than elsewhere in the city. However, he kept it distant from the hallowed Quwwat al-Islam Mosque, which, after all, was the burial place of Sultan Iltutmish (r. 1210–35), who was revered as a pious king and a loyal soldier, while Adham Khan was an assassin and his mother a formidable plotter. Thus, in both form and location, the building stands out as an anomaly,[15] symbolically linked with the turbulent, pre-Mughal past. (Also evoking the past, the assertive, Timurid-derived tomb of Humayun, the grandest of Akbar's buildings in Delhi, was intended to suggest that the Mughals, as descendants of Timur, were bringing a new era of peace and organization to India.[16])

The Khayr al-Manazil Mosque and Madrasa

Akbar expended little money to build Maham Anaga and Adham Khan's tomb. He isolated it from the sacred area of Nizamuddin, where Humayun's tomb was under construction and where Ataga Khan was to be buried. In so doing, he effectively deprived it of any

wider context, either of piety or royalty. The choice of this less-than-favorable site is even more significant given that Maham Anaga had built a madrasa in distant central Delhi, just to the west of the citadel of Din Panah (or Purana Qila), where Akbar resided and worked when in the city. The fort contained the Purana Qila Mosque, almost certainly constructed by Humayun's adversary, the Afghan leader Sher Shah Suri, between 1540 and 1545, as well as the Sher Mandal, a garden pleasure pavilion in Timurid style, built in 1555 by Humayun (who, the following year, fell down its staircase to his death). For the Mughals, the citadel of Din Panah had important associations: the defeat of the usurping Suris, the triumph of the victorious Mughals, and the tragic death of the empire's long-suffering second emperor.

Like Ataga Khan, Maham Anaga had staked her reputation, revenue, and even life on the victory of Humayun and Akbar. Through her favored position at court and her special relationship to Akbar, she had acquired the resources to build the large and innovative Khayr al-Manazil mosque and madrasa on a choice tract of land, quite literally across the street from Din Panah. The structure was close enough to Akbar's Delhi residence and workplace to remind the emperor on a daily basis of Maham Anaga's role in the Mughal triumph. Situated just to the west of Sher Shah Suri's Purana Qila Mosque, it may have been intended as an alternative place of worship. No one would have failed to notice that it was only two kilometers to the north of the *dargah* of Nizam al-Din Awliya, near which Akbar's tomb for his own father would be built.

Sher Shah's successor, Jalal Khan, had been defeated by Humayun in 1555 and Bayram Khan deposed five years later. The construction of the Khayr al-Manazil mosque and madrasa was meant to highlight not only the victory of the Mughals but also the ascendancy of Maham Anaga and her associates. It is dated 969 (1561–62)—the same year as Adham Khan's assault on the emperor, though presumably it was completed somewhat before that memorable event. It is reasonable to assume that its patron intended to add her tomb to the complex; the eventual location of her burial place in Mehrauli was a posthumous exile.

Maham Anaga's mosque and madrasa are built around a central *saḥn* (courtyard) (fig. 10). An imposing entrance on the east side dominates the Delhi–Mathura road. On the north and south sides of the

saḥn are two-storied arcades consisting of seven arched rooms. The five-arched qibla on the west side has a high central dome; the central arch bears an inscription that credits as patrons both Maham Anaga and Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan:

> In the time of Jalal al-Din Muhammad [Akbar]
> [Who] is great among the just kings,
> Maham Begam, the root of purity,
> Laid the foundation [of this house] for good men.
> But the building of this gracious house was helped by Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan Bazel.
> What blessings [there are in] this auspicious building
> That its date is found in the words: "Blessed among Houses!"[17]

The first eight verses of *Banī Isrā'īl*, chapter 17 of the Qur'an, are inscribed around the central arch preceding the prayer chamber. One of the inscriptions most commonly found on Sultanate buildings, it begins with the celebrated reference to the Prophet's *mi'rāj* (ascension into Paradise). The following seven verses recount the revelation to Moses and the punishment meted out to the Children of Israel for turning away from that revelation. In particular, verses 4–8 describe two armed struggles:

> And We decreed for the Children of Israel in the Scripture: Ye verily will work corruption in the earth twice, and ye will become great tyrants.
> So when the time for the first of the two came, We roused against you slaves of Ours of great might who ravaged (your) country, and it was a threat performed. Then we gave you once again your turn against them, and We aided you with wealth and children and made you more in soldiery,
> (Saying): If ye do good, ye do good for your own souls, and if ye do evil, it is for them (in like manner). So, when the time for the second (of the judgments) came, (We roused against you others of Our slaves) to ravage you, and to enter the Temple even as they entered it the first time, and to lay waste all that they conquered with an utter wasting.
> It may be that your Lord will have mercy on you, but if ye repeat (the crime) We shall repeat (the punishment)…[18]

In their Sultanate context, the verses appear to allude to the first and second battles of Tarain, in 1191 and 1192, where initial Muslim defeat was followed by decisive victory. On Maham Anaga's mosque and madrasa, however, the reference may be to two later battles—namely, the defeat of Humayun in 1540 and his subsequent victory in 1555. Maham Anaga's madrasa was
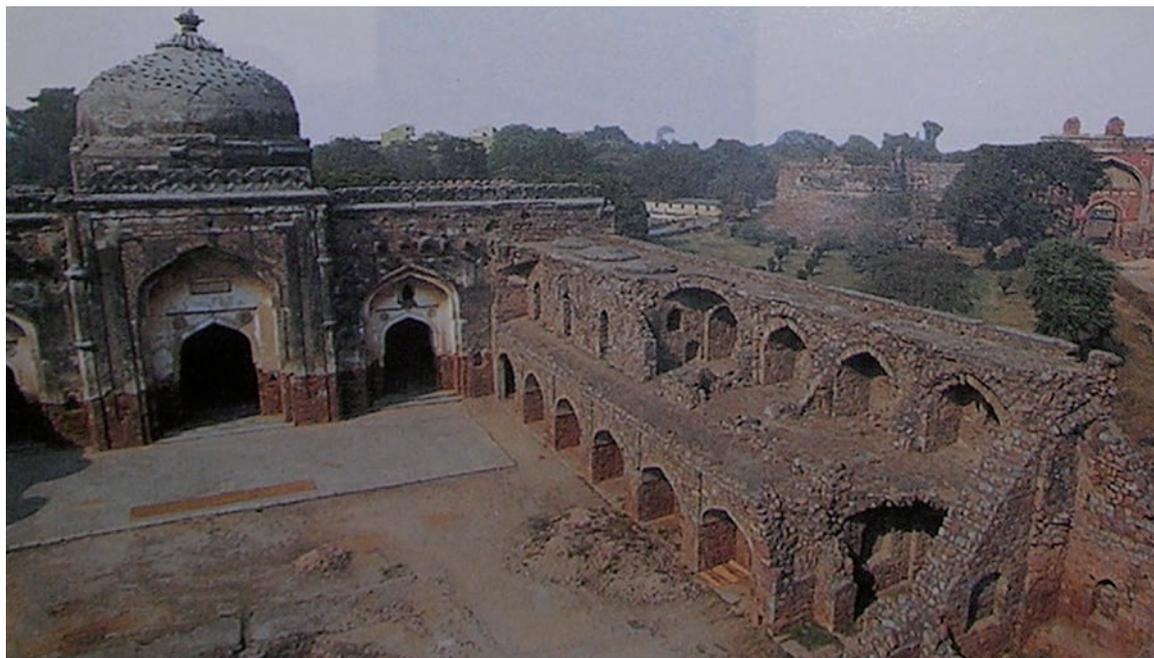
Fig. 10. Khayr al-Manazil Madrasa. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

completed in 1561, under the supervision of Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan. A clear architectural indicator of her ascendancy, it would have been the perfect location for a tomb where, as in earlier Sultanate examples, the students and faculty of the madrasa could regularly say prayers for the departed founder. But Maham Anaga's plot to gain even greater power had failed, and she joined her impetuous son in "exile" in an isolated mausoleum ten kilometers to the south.

The Tomb of Ataga Khan

In stark contrast to Adham Khan's tomb, the mausoleum erected for Ataga Khan is 15 kilometers north of the Quwwat al-Islam complex, in the heart of Akbar's Delhi. It sits, as noted, on the periphery of Nizam al-Din Awliya's *dargah*, a center for Sufis of the Chishtiyya order—one of the most sacred spots in Delhi. Founded during the reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (r. 1320–25), the *dargah*, which contained the graves of several distinguished and pious people,[19] is only a kilometer to the west of Humayun's tomb (fig. 11).

The *dargah* was the heart of a great architectural complex that included a number of significant buildings, including a large cistern (*baoli*) to store water for the *dargah*'s community (fig. 12); a mosque (*jamāʿat khāna*) completed under the patronage of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq, with additions by subsequent rulers and notables; the tomb of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, the eminent Persian-language poet and mystic; and, most importantly, the tomb of Nizam al-Din Awliya, refurbished by Sayyid Faridun Khan in 1562. To the west was the octagonal tomb (ca. 1370) of the great fourteenth-century vizier Khan-i Jahan Tilangani; adjoining it on the north was the Kalan Masjid (ca. 1370), one of the most impressive mosques built under Tughluq patronage (fig. 13).

Already in the fourteenth century the *dargah* and its tombs had the power to attract major architectural patronage. Akbar's decision to place the tomb of Ataga Khan at the most auspicious site in all of Delhi was a signal honor. That Humayun's tomb was in the immediate vicinity only increased the esteem being shown to Ataga Khan.

Located in the northeastern part of the *dargah* complex, Ataga Khan's tomb sits on a raised site and is considerably higher than the *dargah*'s courtyard (fig. 14). A visitor would ascend a narrow flight of stairs to a masonry platform and walled enclosure that
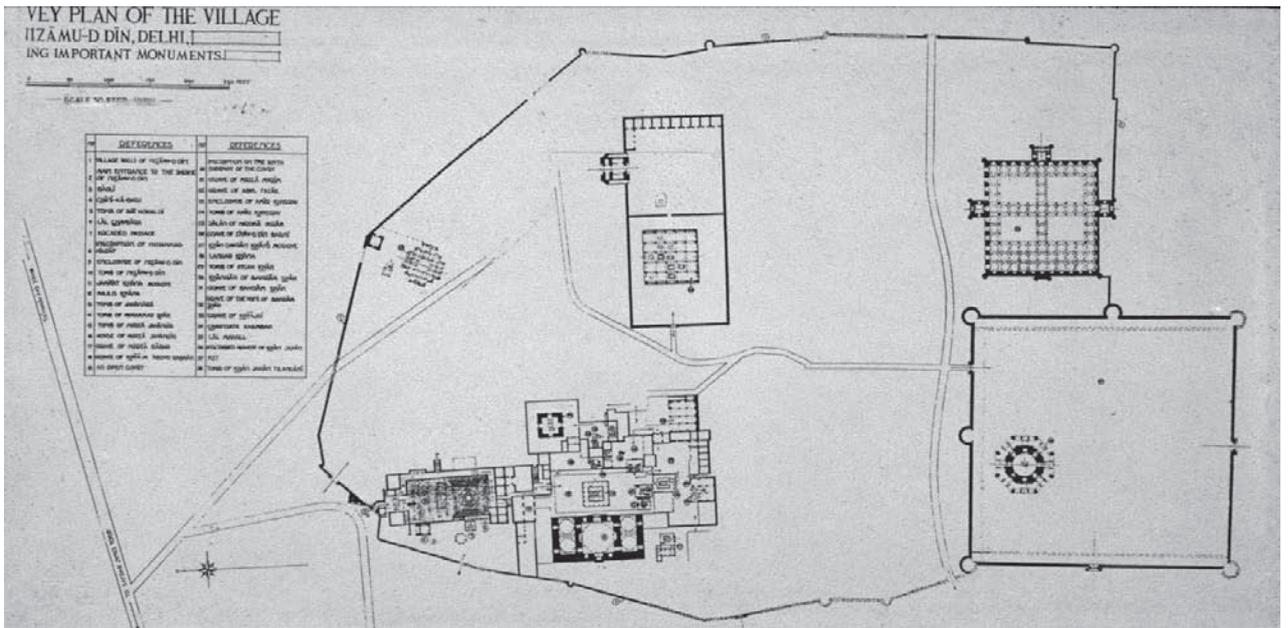
Fig. 11. Nizamuddin site plan (After Zafar Hasan, *A Guide to Nizamuddin*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 10 [Calcutta, 1922], pl. 1)
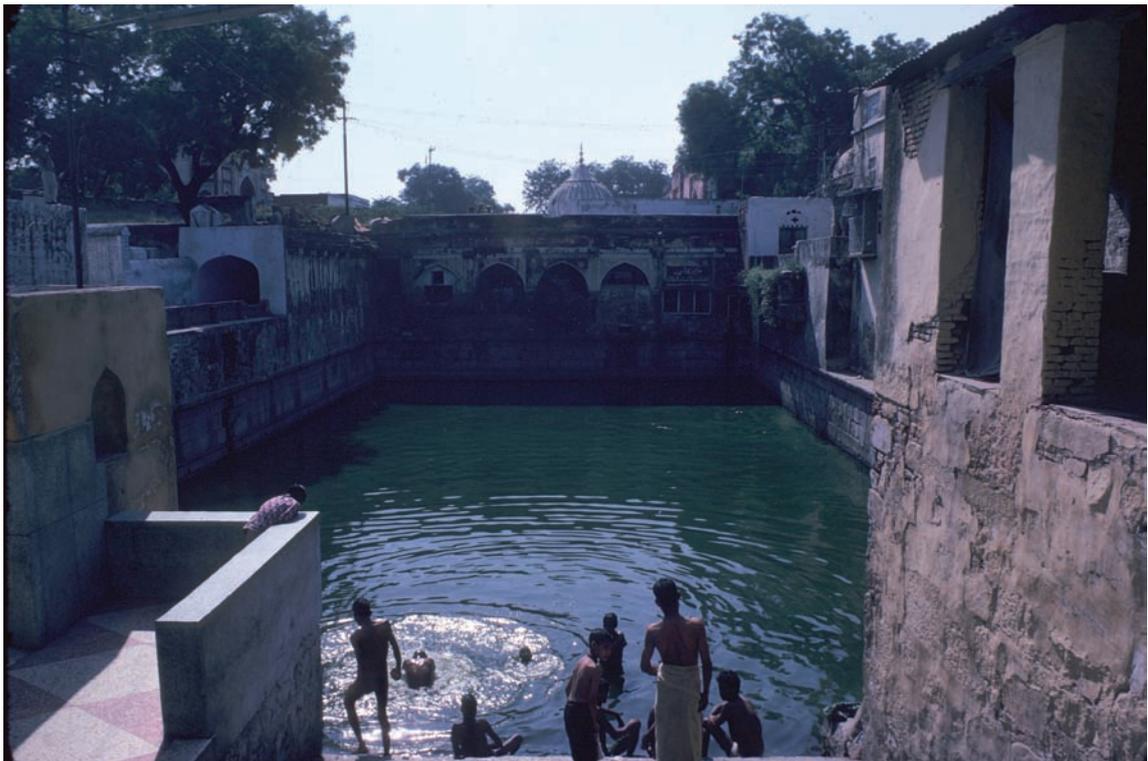
Fig. 12. Nizamuddin stepwell. (Photo: Anthony Welch)
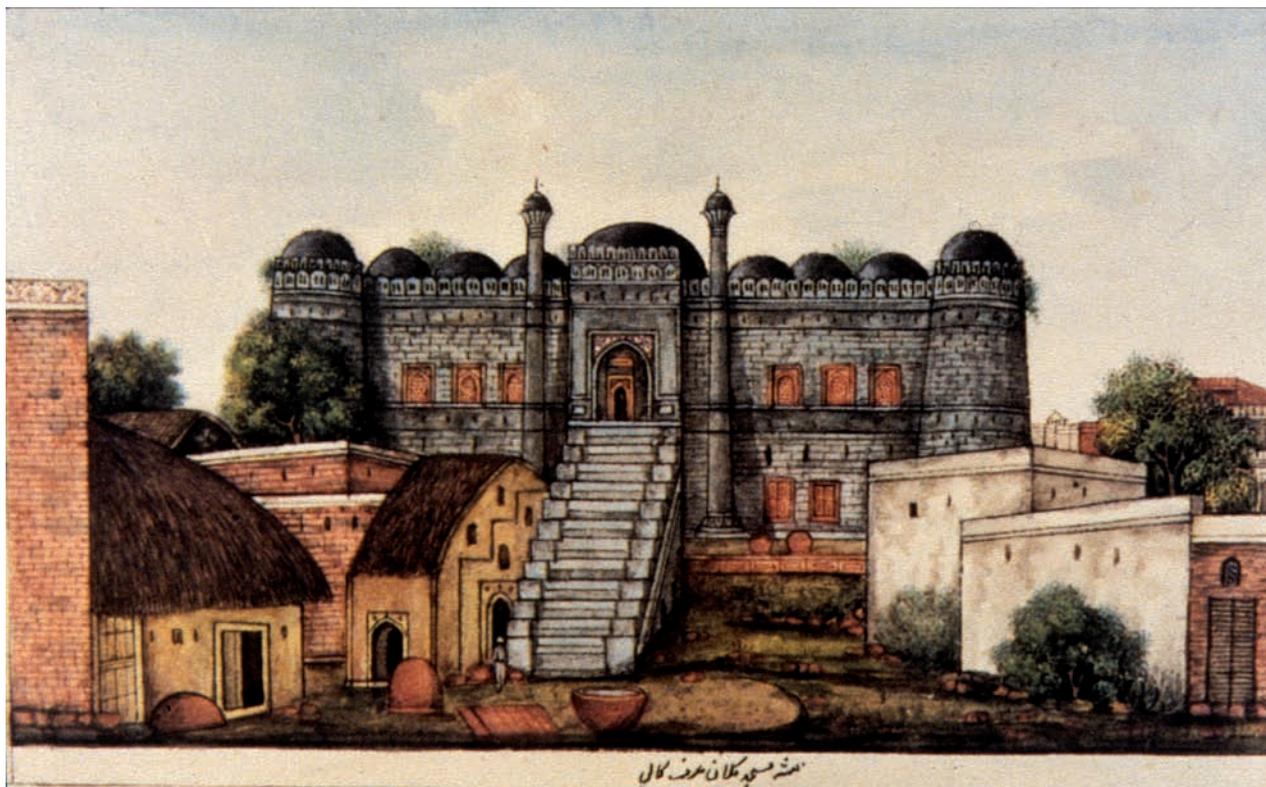
Fig. 13. Kalan Mosque, Nizamuddin, nineteenth-century watercolor by an unknown artist. (After Emily, Lady Clive Bayley, *The Golden Calm*, ed. M. M. Kaye [Exeter, England, 1980], 141)

physically set the tomb off from the *dargah*, though it was embraced by the *dargah*'s *baraka* (aura of blessing) and inevitably became a place of pilgrimage. On its raised ground, the tomb looks over the western wall toward the tombs of Nizam al-Din Awliya and Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, as well as toward the mosque of Niza-muddin and the great stepwell (fig. 15). This mod-est physical separation of tomb from *dargah* reflects the fact that, for all his merits, Ataga Khan was not a Chishtiyya in the same class as Nizam al-Din or Amir Khusraw.[20]

While the tomb was constructed on Akbar's orders—and presumably with an allocation of funds from his treasury—it is reasonable to assume that Ataga Khan's extensive family (the *Ataga Khayl)* would also have sup-ported the construction. Indeed, since his second son, Mirza 'Aziz Koka, was eventually buried in the Niza-muddin area—in the pillared, domed hall now known as the Chawsanth Khamba, to the east of the *dargah*—the family's links with the Chishtiyya order must have

been strong; it thus seems likely that Mirza 'Aziz was the patron immediately responsible for overseeing the construction of the tomb.

Humayun's tomb was under construction from 1562 to 1571. A far smaller project, Ataga Khan's tomb, also begun in 1562, was finished in 1566. It was not accidental that the two buildings were located in the same neighborhood and constructed of similar build-ing materials. Indeed, the same building crews may have worked on both structures. That three important mausoleum projects, in addition to significant resto-rations and additions to the *dargah* of Nizam al-Din, were begun in 1562 may signal the particular signif-icance of the assassination as a precipitating event: the three tombs—for Humayun, for Ataga Khan, and for Maham Anaga and Adham Khan—marked both the forced reconciliation of the feuding parties and the ascendancy of the centralized Mughal Empire. From this point on, the tomb of Humayun occupies a special role as the first great Mughal architectural
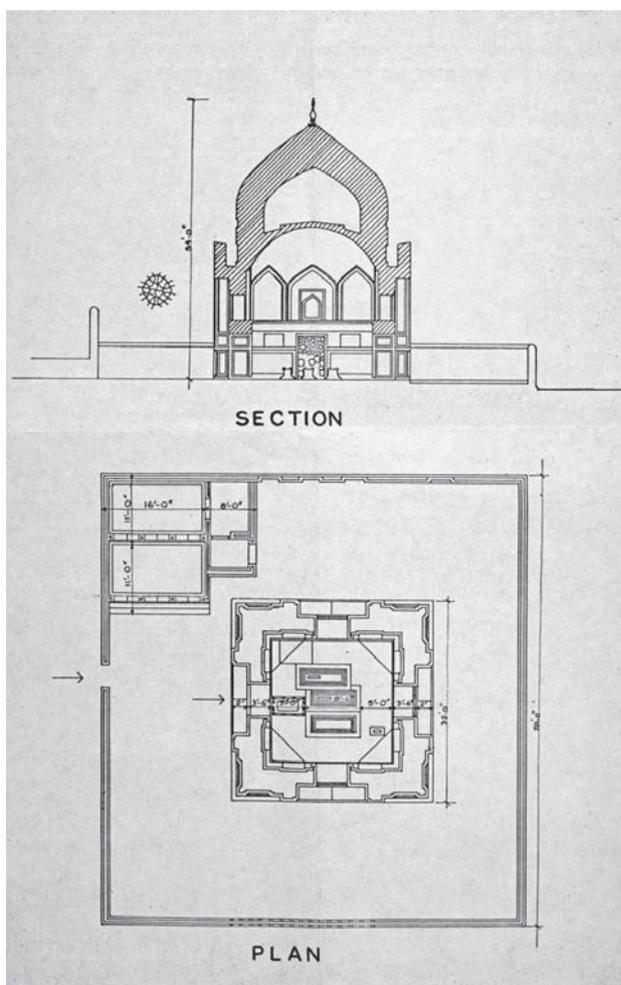
Fig. 14. Tomb of Ataga Khan, ground plan and section. (Drawing: Anthony Welch)

Fig. 15. Tomb of Ataga Khan, north side, with view of the courtyard qibla and the *jamāʿat khāna*. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

achievement, a founding and continuing referent as powerful as the *Bāburnāma* in Mughal literature. Its interior and its surrounding *chahār-bāgh* (quadripartite garden) were favored burial places for loyal adherents of the Mughal state. Tomb architecture is nothing if not expressive of core Mughal values.

Ataga Khan's tomb is built of rough sandstone faced with fine red sandstone and marble, the latter covering much of the body of the building and the entire dome. The building is a cube 10 meters on a side and 10 meters to the base of the outer dome, which is 4 meters in diameter (fig. 16). As in Humayun's tomb, this outer dome covers a lower, inner dome, some 9 meters above the tomb floor. Accessed by a wooden

door, the entrance into the tomb is on the south (fig. 17). Over this entrance is an inscription that provides a completion date of 974 (1566–67). The other three sides have elaborate jalis (stone grill windows) that filter and diffuse light (fig. 18).

Technically, Ataga Khan's tomb is far more refined than the one constructed for Maham Anaga and Adham Khan: its red sandstone and marble facings are superbly carved, its jalis rival those in Humayun's tomb, and its dome glistens in white marble and, importantly, can be seen from the *dargah*'s courtyard, where the marble floors and the tomb of Nizam al-Din underscore the Mughal association of marble with saintliness. Its beautiful cursive inscriptions, some of the most powerful

Fig. 16. Tomb of Ataga Khan, south and east sides. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

and impressive examples of early Mughal epigraphy, present a unique and complex program that illuminates the meaning and function of the tomb.

Often associated with kingship and royal authority, the thirty verses of Qur'an chapter 30, *al-Mulk* (Sovereignty), are distributed evenly on the four sides of the exterior, around the marble arches of the iwans. Verses 1–7 on the exterior west wall focus on divine power and God's punishment for disbelievers, while 8–17 on the north wall proclaim God's omniscience and omnipotence and promise resurrection. Verses 18–26 on the east wall describe God as provider and creator; 27–30 on the south wall (fig. 17) issue a deliberate warning to disbelievers. Given the proximity of the *dargah*'s huge stepwell, which is visible from the east wall of the tomb platform, it seems appropriate that the final verse refers explicitly to water: "Say: Have ye thought: if (all) your water were to disappear into the earth, who then could bring you gushing water?"

→

Fig. 17. Tomb of Ataga Khan, south entrance. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

Fig. 18. Tomb of Ataga Khan, east jali. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

this holy place guaranteed that it would become a pilgrimage site: it is not an isolated structure, but a building carefully incorporated into one of the most sacred sites in north India.[21]

The epigraphic program of Ataga Khan's tomb does not end with Qur'an chapter 30. Again proceeding from the western to the southern exterior, we find coordinated Qur'anic inscriptions. Above the west jali are verses 168–69 of chapter 3, Āl ʿImrān (The Family of ʿImran), which explicitly promise Paradise for those martyrs who die in God's cause: "Think not of those who are slain in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision."[22] The same verse is repeated above the north jali, presumably for emphasis. Martyrdom is again highlighted on the east jali, with verses 154–55 of chapter 2, al-Baqara (The Cow), which promise eternal life for those who are steadfast. The south jali, which pierces the entrance wall into the tomb, features verses from two different chapters: Verses 180–82 of chapter 37, al-Saffat (Those Who Set the Ranks), offer divine power and peace for those who come to warn disbelievers. They are followed by the five verses of chapter 97, al-Qadr, understood by mystics as the preeminent expression of the transforming power of the Revelation. The proximity of this last inscription to the dargah founded by one of the greatest Muslim mystics in India was singularly appropriate:

> Lo! We revealed it on the Night of Power.
> Ah, what will convey unto thee what the Night of Power is!
> The Night of Power is better than a thousand months.
> The angels and the Spirit descend therein, by the permission of their Lord, with all decrees.
> (That Night is) Peace until the rising of the dawn.

The tomb entrance is also to the south. Over the doorway is a munājāt, an Arabic religious poem comprising a statement of submission and a prayer for forgiveness; it, too, is appropriate for a tomb and pilgrimage site. Moreover, in the spandrels of each iwan is a hexagonal medallion containing a three-part Kufic inscription of the name of ʿAli: the Ataga Khan clan was Shiʿi and, like Imam Husayn, its leader had been martyred. The exterior of the tomb, therefore, has a coherent epigraphic program that appears in no earlier Sultanate or Mughal structure.

Unfortunately the interior has suffered terribly. It was once covered with exceptionally fine plaster decoration, of which only small pieces remain. These

These inscribed verses, all from the same chapter of the Qur'an, serve to bind together all four sides of the building, enhancing the unity of the architecture. With its pledge of punishments for disbelievers and its promise of resurrection for believers, al-Mulk is often associated with martyrs. Taking into consideration Abu ʾl-Fazl's explicit identification of Ataga Khan as a martyr, we may then view the inscriptions as providing a neat tie-in with the nearby dargah of Nizam al-Din: Ataga Khan is a pious man and a quasi-holy figure whose death in a clan war is here magnified and interpreted in religious terms. As the righteous one who died in a just cause—service to Akbar—Ataga Khan is entitled to share in the baraka of Nizam al-Din's tomb and dargah. The location of his tomb in

Fig. 19. Tomb of Ataga Khan, cenotaphs. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

fragments contain portions of Qur'an 12 (*Yūsuf*): 39–40:

> … Are divers lords better, or Allah, the One, the Almighty?
>
> Those whom ye worship beside Him are but names which ye have named, ye and your fathers. Allah hath revealed no sanction for them. The decision rests with Allah alone, Who hath commanded you that ye worship none save Him. This is the right religion, but most men know not.

One of the principal functions of Islamic epigraphs in late-twelfth-century India was to warn the non-Muslim majority to accept Islam. This is doubtless the message of *al-Mulk* on the exterior of Ataga Khan's tomb, and although what remains of the interior inscription program is far too small a sampling to support a detailed interpretation, these verses from *Yūsuf* probably serve a like purpose. The Qur'anic Yusuf was a steadfast worshiper of God and a model of righteous behavior; the most trusted servant and adviser of the king, he withstood the temptation to betray his ruler and has attained the Paradise to which Ataga Khan aspires.[23]

Another passage from *Yūsuf* plays a significant role here. Of the seven grave markers in the tomb, three are finely carved marble cenotaphs befitting individuals of high rank. Two of these are identified by inscription as marking the graves of Ataga Khan and his wife Jiji Anaga (fig. 19). No inscriptions identify the third marble cenotaph, but there seems little reason to doubt that it covered the grave of the couple's elder son (and Akbar's foster brother), Yusuf Muhammad Khan, who, as mentioned earlier, died in 973 (1566–67) of alcoholism, perhaps brought on by grief over his father's death. Not only is the use of Qur'an 12:53–56 singularly appropriate for someone named Yusuf; it also strongly suggests that this family member held a position of authority to which the final verse of the selection alludes: "Thus gave We power to Joseph in the land. He was the owner of it where he pleased. We reach with Our mercy whom We will. We lose not the reward of the good."

The contemporary historian Bada'uni (b. 1540) recounts an incident suggesting that Yusuf Muhammad Khan, like the Yusuf of the Qur'an and the works
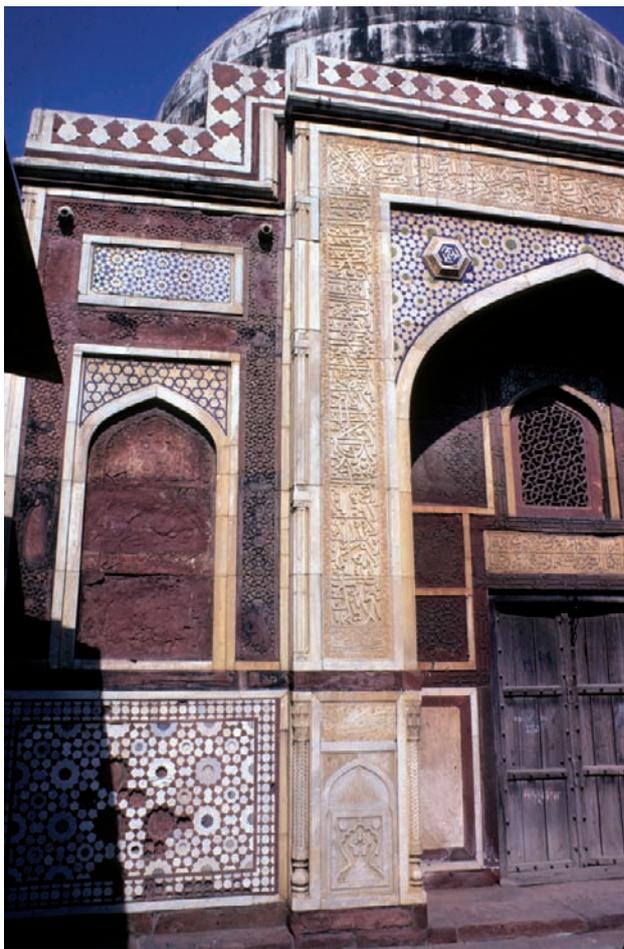
Fig. 20. Tomb of Ataga Khan, inscription on the south side. (Photo: Anthony Welch)

of Nizami and Jami, was extraordinarily handsome. According to Bada'uni, one Tazarvi of Abhar, serving in the army of the rebellious Bayram Khan, was captured in 1560 by forces led by Ataga Khan. Despite his disloyalty, he was well received by Akbar. Attempting to ingratiate himself with Ataga Khan, he "composed his treatise *Beauty and Yusuf* for Yusuf Muhammad Khan," the twelve-year-old son of Ataga Khan.[24] Verses 53–56 of *Yūsuf* emphasize the loyal service and personal trustworthiness of the Qur'anic Yusuf, who was also very young; the passage may therefore provide a pointed reference to the Mughal Yusuf, who, only eighteen when his father was murdered, continued to serve Akbar faithfully despite the terrible event. All told, the use of verses from *Sūra Jūsuf* serves a triple purpose, identifying the cenotaph, reinforcing the

function of the building as a family tomb, and underscoring the value of trust and loyal service.

Ataga Khan's tomb also furnishes valuable historical information. The name of the scribe, Baqi Muhammad al-Bukhari, appears over the exterior western, southern, and northern arches; unfortunately, this calligrapher is not mentioned by Abu 'l-Fazl, although he obviously possessed great skill (fig. 20).[25] Over the south entrance, the date 974 (1566–67) is provided, along with the information that the tomb was constructed under the superintendence of one Ustad Khuda Quli. He likewise is not mentioned by Abu 'l-Fazl, but the style of the tomb suggests that he was associated with the designer(s) of Humayun's tomb.

Built at the same time, the tombs of Ataga Khan and Adham Khan are dramatically different in form, location, decoration, and function. Adham Khan was not a martyr, and his monumental tomb is therefore deprived of pious context. Indeed, from Abu 'l-Fazl's account, it would seem as if it was built primarily to house his mother, and that his burial there, while necessary, was not meant to be particularly emphasized: the building and his inclusion in it were simply ways to pacify his still-powerful court faction.

Ataga Khan's tomb, in contrast, is part of the Chishti *dargah*. A mere two minutes' walk to the grave of Nizam al-Din himself, it is also in the immediate vicinity of Humayun's tomb. Its extensive epigraphic program is intended to establish Ataga Khan as a martyr whose tragic death, as Abu 'l Fazl would have it, is to be lamented.

Both of these two foster relatives of Akbar merited tombs: Adham Khan for his military successes and the identity of his mother, and Ataga Khan for his rescue of Humayun and devotion to Akbar as well as for the status of his wife. Indeed, the two women—Maham Anaga and Jiji Anaga—were as important to Akbar as the men. The tombs thus were built as monuments to several individuals, two rival families, and a defining moment for the Mughal dynasty, when the young ruler demanded the reconciliation essential to the future of his empire.

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NOTES

1.   Oleg Grabar, "The Uayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 220–24.

2. Abū 'l-Faẓl ibn Mubārak, *The Akbarnāma of Abu-l-Fazl*, 3 vols., trans. H. Beveridge (repr. Delhi, 1973), 2:269. Abu 'l-Fazl also tells the story in his *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*: see Abū 'l-Faẓl ibn Mubārak, *The Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, 3 vols., trans. H. Blochmann (vol. 1) and H. A. Jarrett (vols. 2 and 3) (repr. New Delhi, 1977), 2:340–42. His contemporaries also recognized the importance of the event: it is recorded, though with less dramatic effect, in ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, 3 vols., trans. W. H. Lowe (Calcutta, 1884–1925), 2:49–50, and Shāhnavāz Khān Awrangābādī, *The Maʾās̱ir al-Umarā*, trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (repr. New Delhi, 1979), 2:159–60)

3. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *The Akbarnāma*, 2:269–70. Similar information is presented in Abu 'l-Fazl, *The Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, 2:340–42, in his biographical entry on Adham Khan.

4. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *The Akbarnāma*, 1:340: "The name of his father is unknown; he is evidently a royal bastard." He had an older brother, Baqi Khan (ibid., 3:655).

5. Ibid., 2:208

6. Ibid., 2:235

7. Ibid., 2:129

8. Ibid., 2:142

9. Abu 'l-Faẓl, *The Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, 1:343.

10. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *The Akbarnāma*, 2: 275. Abu 'l-Fazl's wording suggests that the building that is now always identified as "Adham Khan's tomb" was intended to be first and foremost the tomb of Maham Anaga and only secondarily the mausoleum of her son. As we will see, in addition to being Akbar's foster mother, Maham Anaga was an important patron of architecture in her own right.

11. Perhaps more accurately identified as Delhi's first congregational mosque and minar, though the modern names will be used here.

12. Beginning with the 1323 tomb of Prince Zafar Khan, octagonal tombs had been constructed in the Delhi area; subsequent Sayyid and Lodi rulers in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries were prolific patrons of the form. Square tombs had been built there since the tomb of Sultan Iltutmish was constructed ca. 1235. There does not appear to be a particular meaning associated with the use of either form.

13. Hence its local name, the Bhul-Bhulaya (labyrinth).

14. The most impressive early Sultanate epigraphic program is found on the Qutb Minar, on the qibla screen of the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque, and on the Alai Darvaza. For an analysis of these inscriptions see Anthony Welch, Hussein Keshani, and Alexandra Bain, "Epigraphs, Scripture, and Architecture in the Early Delhi Sultanate," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 12–43.

15. Adham Khan's brother Muhammad Quli Khan was buried about 150 meters southeast of the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque in an octagonal mausoleum consistent with contemporary Mughal tomb architecture.

16. This point is further elaborated in Anthony Welch, "Gardens That Babur Did Not Like: Landscape, Water and Architecture for the Sultans of Delhi," in *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations and Prospects*, ed. James L. Westcoat and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, DC, 1996), 59–94. Timur conquered and sacked Delhi in 1398; the Mughals regarded this famous victory as a justification for their invasion of India.

17. The chronogram yields the date 969 (1561–62). Translation from Stephen Carr, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi* (Delhi, 1876), 199–200.

18. English translation by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York, n.d.), 204–5. All subsequent Qurʾanic translations are also from this source. The prayer chamber itself is decorated with circular plaster medallions that are inscribed with the *shahāda* and brief invocations such as "O God, O Victorious, Sovereignty [belongs] to God." Around the central mihrab is a fragmentary inscription of the Throne Verse (2:255).

19. Akbar became a *murīd* (disciple) of Shaykh Salim Chishti and traveled to Delhi in 1564, 1566, 1567, 1568, and 1570 to visit the *dargah* as well as the tomb of his father, Humayun.

20. In the 1597–98 *Thamarat al-Quds* (cited in Zafar Hasan, *A Guide to Nizamu-d Dīn*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 10 [Calcutta. 1922]), Maham Anaga's husband, Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan, is credited with building a dome with latticed walls over Amir Khusraw's grave in 969 (1561–62). If his pious act occurred after the murder, it was probably intended to be a demonstration of his loyalty to Akbar.

21. An early "secular" tomb comes to mind—that of Sultan Iltutmish, behind the qibla wall of the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque. Celebrated for his piety, Iltutmish was the first ruler to be buried in what would become the vast necropolis stretching south and west of the mosque. His tomb was the first structure in northern India to use *Al-Mulk* (Qurʾan 67:1–30) in its epigraphic program. It may be worth noting that these verses are also on the Chawsath Khamba, the 1623–24 tomb of Ataga Khan's son Mirza ʿAziz Kokaltash. But in order not to overemphasize possible implications of martyrdom, it must be added that this chapter also appears on the following intervening structures: the late-fifteenth-century Bara Gumbad Mosque, the late-fifteenth-century Munirka Tomb, and Sher Shah Suri's mosque in the Purana Qila.

22. This is the first time in the history of Sultanate and Mughal architecture that this epigraph appears on a building.

23. These verses are also used here for the first time, but the reference to Yusuf is not new. His name, along with those of other saints like Ibrahim, ʿIsa, and Musa, appears on the interior of the dome of the tomb of Firuz Shah Tughluq (ca. 1388), where the Qurʾan chapter *al-Qadr* also appears. They may well have been added to the tomb in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

24. Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, 3:280.

25. I hope that further research will provide some biographical information on this calligrapher, as well as evidence of other epigraphic programs that he may have designed.

DAVID J. ROXBURGH

"THE EYE IS FAVORED FOR SEEING THE WRITING'S FORM": ON THE SENSUAL AND THE SENSUOUS IN ISLAMIC CALLIGRAPHY

> Writing is calliphoric, that is to say a carrier of beauty, and it becomes terpnopoietic by bringing pleasure… Difficulties arise, however, as soon as one tries to understand what actually is beauty or even artistic quality in writing.
>
> Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*[1]

The intense screeching noise generated by the writing instrument, whether reed or bamboo, as it flexes across the surface of the paper sheet is an experience of Islamic calligraphy unknown to most of us.[2] Equally surprising is the slow movement of the pen by which the calligrapher generates individual letter shapes through fastidious, controlled movements, especially when writing at larger sizes: it is then that the size of the writing tool and the properties of materials—such as the viscosity of the ink and the expanse of the writing surface—place still greater strain on the calligrapher's physical capacities. Traces of the successive movements of applying ink are rarely registered on the paper support. When these movements are visible to the eye, they appear as a series of graded lines of ink akin to the contours made in sand by the physical forces of ebbing water, as one sees in two squared-off blocks denoting their adjacent letter's phonetic values (fig. 1). A record of physical movement can also be visible in the long strokes—principally in lengthened or joined letters and ligatures—where the ink becomes less dense in the passage from right to left (figs. 1 and 2). Though the calligrapher repeatedly returned pen to inkwell to replenish the nib with ink in the process of copying a few lines, he generally did this in a way that left little or no indication of the pen's to-ings and fro-ings, favoring instead a seamless production signaled by the absence of certain means of encoding expressiveness.[3]

Perhaps following the dictates of its genre, a specimen of calligraphy (fig. 3, already shown in detail in figs. 1 and 2) attributed to Firuz Mirza Nusrat al-Dawla I is an exception that makes the kinetic and temporal dimensions of the calligrapher's work evident, available to the eye. The study belongs to a category of works termed *siyāh mashq*, literally "black writing," in Persian (Arabic *musawwada*; Turkish *karalama*).[4] These were ostensibly made as practice exercises over the course of a calligrapher's career but quickly developed identifiable, formalized aesthetic features, including superimposed or staggered letters; a text written in opposing directions so as to require different, often multiple, angles of viewing; and the privileging of visual affect over legibility. Some employed writing of different sizes, opposing small and large script to foreground the value of scale. Though *siyāh mashq*s seem to be about modest practice, they attained a level of virtuosity.[5] The example attributed to Firuz Mirza not only reveals process through materiality—as something that was made in time—but also suggests another mode of temporality by the repetition of words.[6] Words are laid over each other, and repeated letter shapes (graphemes) or word fragments (combinations of two graphemes) are slightly offset, suggesting their translation across the sheet of paper as a rapid sequence of repetition (e.g., *mā/mā/mān* [grief] in the third line at top right, or the doubling of the *nūn* after *jā* in the word *jān* [soul] at the end of the same line).

Broad characterizations of Islamic calligraphy, when they address formal aspects of writing—and this is curiously rare—typically focus exclusively on the attribute of skill, asserting the calligrapher's consummate control and closely measured steps.[7] In the most recent assessment to appear in print, we are offered a comparison between Islamic and East Asian calligraphic traditions to drive home this point:
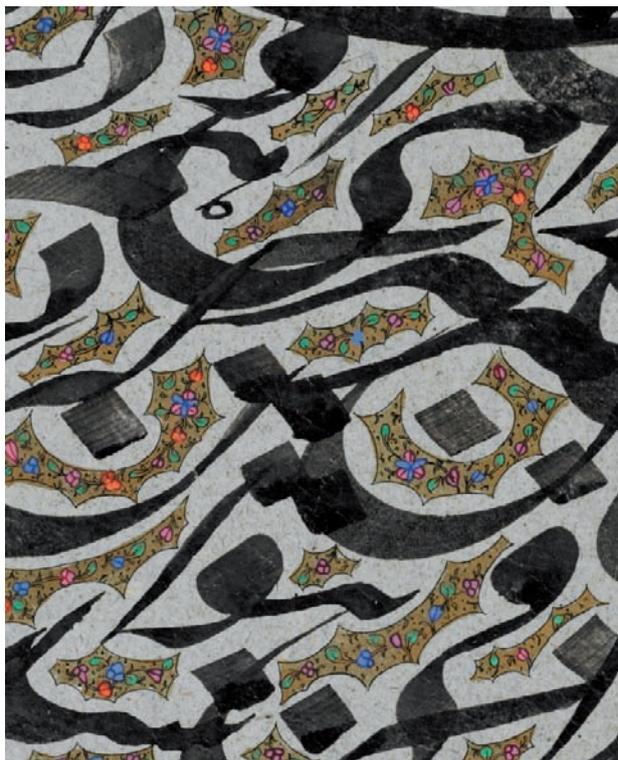
Fig. 1. Detail of a practice exercise (*siyāh mashq*) in *nastaʿlīq*, attributed to Firuz Mirza Nusrat al-Dawla, Iran, ca. 1835–53. Ink, opaque pigment, and gold on paper, 41.5 x 28.9 cm (folio). Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, gift of Afsaneh Firouz in honor of her father, Shahroukh Firouz, 2006.119. (Photo: Katya Kallsen, © President and Fellows of Harvard College)
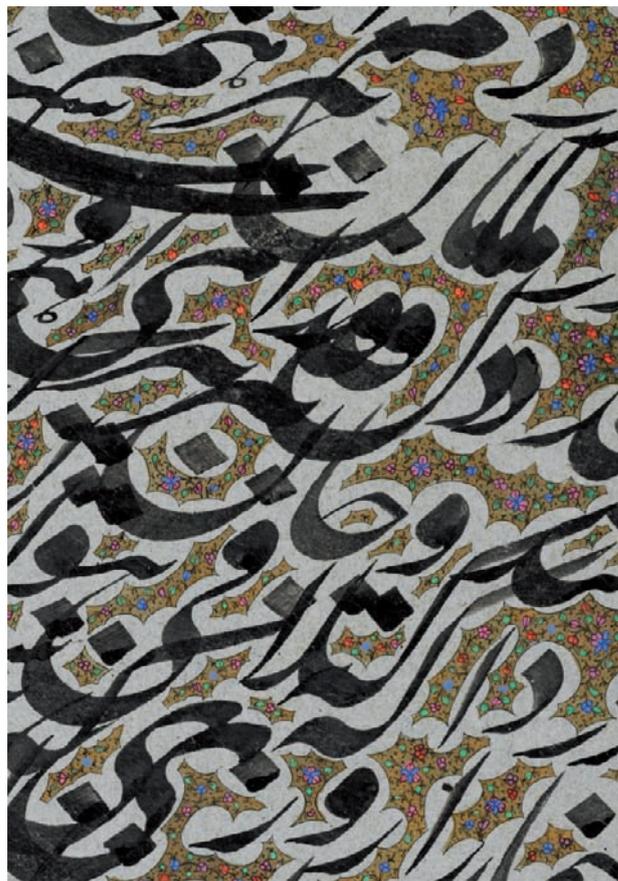
Fig. 2. Detail of the same practice exercise, shown in full in fig. 3.

East Asian calligraphers generally sat motionless, contemplating the moment of artistic creation, and then, with a burst of creativity, applied brush to support. As a result, the reader is meant to sense the personality of the artist through the calligraphy. In following the brushstrokes, the reader experiences a visual sequence of movement and rest and thus participates in the physical process of creation.

This scenario does not hold true in the Islamic lands, where the individual artist is thought to have applied pen to support in regular, steady strokes…The reader is not meant to glean the calligrapher's personality from the script, but rather to appreciate the unwavering line and modulated forms that reflect the transcendence of the Almighty. Palpability and movement are replaced by ineffability and control, complex characters by simple strokes.[8]

This comparison raises many issues, not least of which is the validity of underwriting a comparison between two distinct cultural and artistic traditions—where Islamic calligraphy is defined in opposition, or through, the features of East Asian calligraphy—by invoking a universalizing or transcultural formalism—that is, defining formal features in relation to each other without concern for understanding whether those values were read by contemporaries within the cultures invoked in the way that we read them today, or whether they were assigned similar meanings.

For the purposes of this essay, however, emphasis will be given to the commonly accepted assumption expressed in this definition of the traits of Islamic calligraphy: that the art of beautiful writing in the historical Islamic lands can be understood to involve
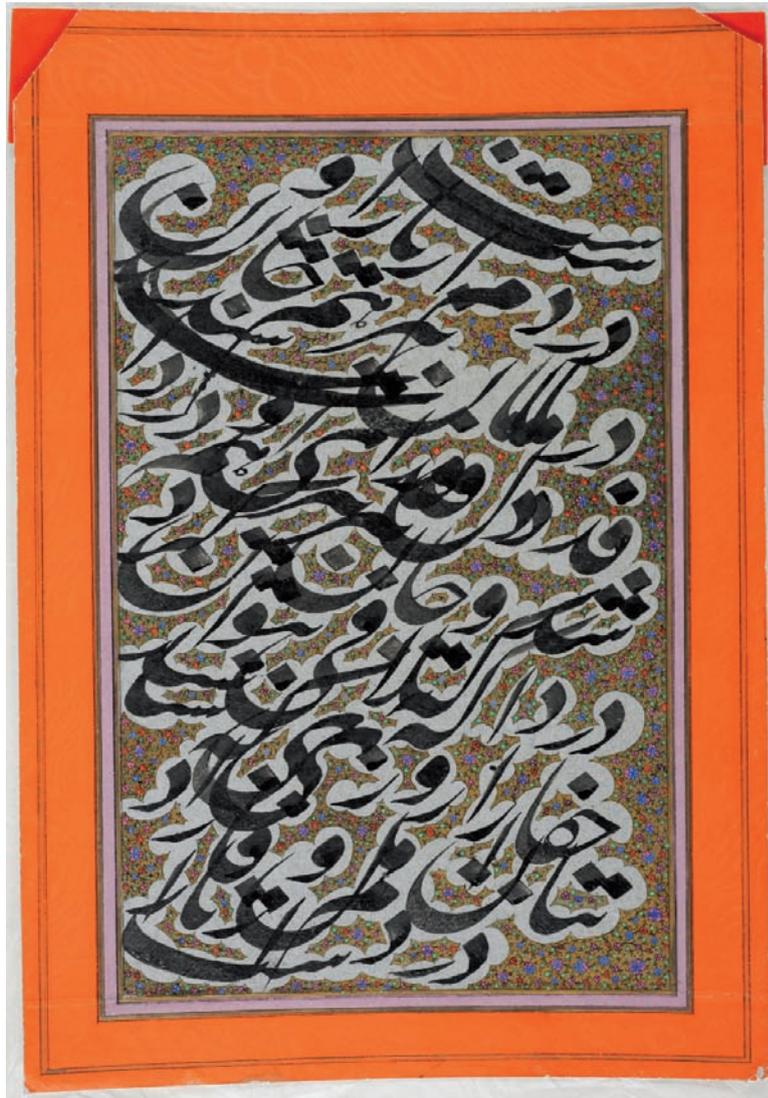
Fig. 3. Practice exercise (*siyāh mashq*) in *nastaʿlīq*, attributed to Firuz Mirza Nusrat al-Dawla, Iran, ca. 1835–53. Ink, opaque pigment, and gold on paper, 41.5 x 28.9 cm (folio). Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, gift of Afsaneh Firouz in honor of her father, Shahroukh Firouz, 2006.119. (Photo: Katya Kallsen, © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

(perhaps even to require) the radical omission of the calligrapher’s body in favor of technical perfection and conformity to established convention in whichever context of historical occurrence the artwork was originally made. In this view, Islamic calligraphy is deprived of any form of indexicality—it cannot be an autograph—and any access that viewers might have to apprehending the fact of time passing in the making of the writing is denied in the finished artwork, which insistently signals its all-at-onceness. In this assessment,

visual pleasure lies solely in an appreciation of skill and the individual calligrapher’s abilities at replicating preexisting canonical tradition. Visual pleasure does not entail the apprehension of the calligrapher’s process—whether through material or time—or the gauging of individuality as it might become manifest in idiosyncracies of letter shaping or composition.

The perfect antidote to many of these assumptions, one that challenges us to redirect and rephrase our questions, is a calligraphic specimen from Timurid

Fig. 4. Calligraphic exercise after a model in *riqāʿ*, attributed to Ahmad al-Rumi, Herat (?), before 1433. Ink on paper, 57.8 x 41 cm (written surface). Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2152, fol. 31b. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul)

Herat made before 1433 (fig. 4). Composed of eighteen lines that repeat the Arabic saying "Blessings coalesce around gratitude" (*bi 'l-shukr tadūmu al-niʿam*), the specimen shows how fourteen calligraphers responded to the "example" (*khaṭṭ* or *mithāl*) by Ahmad al-Rumi provided in the upper right-hand corner.[9] Writing in *riqāʿ* script, each calligrapher took turns imitating the original line and concluded his performance with a signature (later encircled); these written names can more readily be comprehended by us as "autographic" because of their proximity to our cultural notion of handwriting. Taken as a whole the sheet signals the ever-present performative aspect of Islamic calligra-

phy, here enacted by a community of men who gathered to write after a model, and evidences an actual temporality through multiple iterations of the saying written by fourteen individuals. Gesture and individuality may be coded in each line, but not by variation on the tonality of ink, or by the material traces of an instrument pulled across paper, or by a subjective manipulation of the form of each letter. The most pressing of its visual aspects not considered thus far— that the repeated lines *are* differentiated from each other, but not at the level of individual letter shape— will be examined below.

This essay attempts to adjust the common understanding of the omission of the body in the production of Islamic calligraphy by addressing a paradox; in broad terms this might be described as the gulf dividing art-historical writing since the early 1900s from the assessments of contemporary viewers in late Timurid, Safavid, and Ottoman dynastic settings about the merits of individual calligraphers and their calligraphies, of how they defined achievement and the criteria of aesthetic value, and of what calligraphy promised to those who made it and those who viewed it. What we will also see, however, is that correlating the formal and material aspects of Islamic calligraphy with what one reads about it in art-historiographic literature dealing directly with its practice is no simple matter.[10] Perhaps that explains why so few art historians have tackled the aesthetic dimensions of Islamic calligraphy, preferring instead to immerse themselves in a taxonomic project seemingly without end.[11]

This study focuses on the sensual and the sensuous in Islamic calligraphy as a means of thinking about the corporeal dimensions of an artistic practice, of the ways in which the calligrapher's body might be understood as incarnated in the finished work. If we are to think of Islamic calligraphy as the inscription of a human movement, as a deposit left by a kinesthetic process, on what grounds can this be comprehended? We are concerned here with the modes of reception found in written sources that record cultural attitudes to calligraphy mostly framed through an encounter with specimens seen cold, after their production, and with selected case studies on the pursuit of calligraphy from the 1500s through the early modern period that consider issues ranging from the processes of training and practice to the execution of the fair copy. We will consider both forms of evidence from the perspective of what they reveal about the effect of the work of art on the human senses—"the sensuous" defined here as aesthetic gratification or "visual pleasure," and "the sensual" as the process by which the senses are activated.

CALLIGRAPHY AND ITS RECEPTION IN WRITTEN SOURCES

Sixteenth-century Iran was without doubt the richest provider of written sources on the aesthetic evaluation of calligraphy. These texts were mostly written in Persian as introductions to album collections of cal-

ligraphy, painting, and drawing, but works of straight history and treatise literature also include references imparting advice on the techniques of artistic production.[12] Throughout this corpus of written sources, the high status of calligraphy as an art form—a status attained in the early years of Islam—is proclaimed by citing references to writing and the pen from the Qur'an and the Hadith that provide, for example, metaphors of God's act of creation being akin to that of writing, such as "The first thing God created was the pen." Joining revelation and the words of the Prophet Muhammad are a number of sayings attributed to historical persons from the early Islamic period, such as ʿAli b. Abi Talib's "Whoever writes 'In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful' in beautiful writing will enter Paradise without account." There are also aphorisms attributed to the Greeks, including Euclid's "Handwriting is spiritual geometry that appears by means of a bodily instrument."[13] In writing about calligraphy and calligraphers, authors of the 1500s and later periods had at their disposal a rich and profound literary tradition composed of concepts and images from earlier Arabic sources, which had in turn assimilated the traditions of the Greeks and pre-Islamic Persians. This corpus of wisdom about calligraphy—developed in works of *belles-lettres*—was also perpetuated in calligraphic specimens that took aphorisms as their subject matter. Examples include the frequently used "Calligraphy is the tongue of the hand and the translator of infinite duration" (*Al-khaṭṭ lisān al-yad wa tarjumān al-khuld*), and ʿAli b. Abi Talib's "I recommend to you the beauty of calligraphy, for it is among the keys to sustenance" (*ʿAlaykum bi-ḥusn al-khaṭṭ fa-innahu min mafātīḥ al-rizq*).

An important concept that was applied to cultural understandings of calligraphy in the sixteenth century was that of the "trace" (*āthār*, pl. *āthar*). In its varied uses "trace(s)" had the senses of a relic, a footprint, calligraphies, and memorials or architectural landmarks. A key element of the "trace" as applied to calligraphy was the capacity of writing to preserve ideas. This concept developed an especially rich body of sayings, including "Handwriting is the tongue of the hand. Style is the tongue of the intellect. The intellect is the tongue of good actions and qualities. And good actions and qualities are the perfection of man" (ʿAbbas); "Handwriting is the necklace of wisdom. It serves to sort the pearls of wisdom, to bring its dispersed pieces into good order, to put its stray bits together, and to fix its setting (?)" (Jaʿfar b. Yahya

[d. 803]); "The light of handwriting makes wisdom visible, and the skillful handling of the calamus shapes politics" (attributed to an unnamed Greek philosopher); "The calamus is the nose of the brain. When it bleeds, it divulges the secrets of the brain, shows its ideas, and spreads the information the brain has" (Sahl b. Harun [d. 830]); and "The stars of wise sayings [shine] in the darkness of ink" (al-Maʾmun).[14] There are many others. One aspect of the beauty of writing lay in its utility.

A fundamental element of the concept of the trace was the additional notion that writing recorded, by way of a footprint-like impression, the moral makeup of the calligrapher. Thus the Safavid calligrapher Dust Muhammad, in an album preface dated 1544–45, writes, "Verily our works point to us; so gaze after us at our works" (*inna ātharnā tadullu ʿalaynā fa-anzurū baʿdanā illā al-āthārī*). It is an idea that finds expression in calligraphy treatises as early as the eleventh century. In his "Ode Rhyming in the Letter *R* on Calligraphy" (*Rāʾiyya fi ʾl-khaṭṭ*), Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1022) urged his reader to develop good writing precisely because it would be the only thing left to posterity.[16] Such ideas maintained their cultural value up to the late 1400s and early 1500s, when they were used by Shihab al-Din ʿAbd Allah Murvarid (d. 1516) and Ghiyath al-Din b. Humam al-Din Muhammad, known as Khvandamir (d. 1535), the authors of the earliest known album prefaces. Murvarid and Khvandamir employ metaphors that liken the pen to an instrument that scatters pearls (drops of ink). Moreover, in Murvarid's preface, a poem dedicated to praising ʿAli b. Abi Talib compares every "point" (*nuqt*) ʿAli wrote to an unaltered pearl extracted from "the ocean of sanctity." In his preface, Khvandamir employs an image of calligraphies as pearls brought from a capacious inkwell—he likens it to a "sea" (*lujja*)—to the "shores of these folios" (*bi-sāḥil-i īn awrāq*). Murvarid and Khvandamir use these metaphors to conjure potent mental images of the calligrapher's body.[17]

The idea that calligraphy constituted not merely a physical remnant of the person but also his moral imprint—hence that calligraphy also possessed a moral beauty—was voiced even more forcefully by the calligrapher Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi (d. 1520), a contemporary of Murvarid and Khvandamir. In his treatise on the practice of calligraphy, *Ṣirāṭ al-suṭūr* (Way of Lines of Writing), completed in 1514, Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi singles out ʿAli b. Abi Talib as his prime example, noting that ʿAli's goal in writing was the practice of vir-

tue, and that his beautiful writing was a sign not only of his acquired virtue but also of his innate virtue.[18]

In their compositions about art, aesthetics, and art history, writers active in the later sixteenth century also addressed the benefits that accrued from contemplating calligraphy. On this subject Khvandamir writes:

> The eye is favored for seeing the writing's form
> but the heart is ignorant of its meaning.
> Its form and meaning are praiseworthy;
> they brighten the pupil of the eye.[19]

In an expanded and highly metaphorical poem, Khvandamir engages the album as a totality in which calligraphies and other works of art are preserved:

> Every coveted pearl that is nourished in the ocean of contentment
> is to be found in this sea [i.e., album].
> Like beauty, it lights the torch of the eye;
> like the meeting of lovers, it seizes every heart.[20]

One of the more specific writers on the perception of calligraphy is Shams al-Din Muhammad Vasfi (writing between 1568 and 1577). According to him, "human nature" (*tabāʾiʿ-i insānī*) acquires "spiritual/contemplative pleasure" (*ḥazz-i rūḥānī*) and "eternal bounty" (*fayż-i jāvidānī*) from observing works of art.[21] He remarks that calligraphy is held in high esteem by elite and common people alike, and that even the illiterate enjoy looking at it.

Authors give primacy to sight in the sensory process of apprehending calligraphy; comparisons of calligraphy to musk, for example, seem to be more about color than odor. Nevertheless they also invoke olfactory sensation, comparing calligraphies to sweet-smelling herbs or ambergris. The synesthetic metaphors used by writers of the Persian-language sources give an impression of the activation of the senses—and invoke an overwhelming experience—even if they do not supply criteria for the appreciation of calligraphy in specifically formal or technical terms.

Comments about works of art amount to characterizations of their visual properties or attributes. The formal elements of artworks are often implied through analogy. Overall, two modes of response are identifiable: the attributive, which describes an abstract quality of the artwork, and the metaphorical, which infers relationships between things based on like qualities (e.g., the perfect materiality of a pearl or ruby and the shape of a letter of the alphabet). These two responses are entirely consistent with the rhetorical

protocol of the Persian-language sources, whose vector is the exemplary and always tends toward the absolute. The generic framework of the written source controls how the authors write about art and their experience of it.

In assessing Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi's calligraphy, another preface author, Malik Daylami (writing in 1560–61), stresses its "purity" (*safā*) and "sharpness" (*tīzī*); writing on Muhammad Qasim Shadishah's calligraphy, Shams al-Din Muhammad Vasfi notes that it is "at the extremity of sweetness, elegance, and lightness" (*bi-ghāyat-i shīrīn va namakī va nāzuk*), and that Anisi Badakhshi's penmanship is "very pure, sweet, and light" (*bisyār ṣāf va shīrīn va nāzuk*).[22] Dust Muhammad describes Anisi Badakhshi's calligraphy as "delicate" (*nāzuk*), "pure" (*ṣāf*), and "pleasing" (*pasandīda*) and Muhammad Qasim Shadishah's as "delicate" (*nāzuk*), "clean" (*pākīza*), and "pleasing" (*pasandīda*).[23] Less generic descriptors include Dust Muhammad's opinions that Sultan Muhammad Khandan "wrote with [an] essential quality" (*bi-kayfīyat nivishtand*) and that Nur al-Din ʿAbd Allah exhibited an impressive "quickness of copying" (*surʿat-i kitābat*).

Invoked amid such assessments are references to the calligraphers' personal attributes, evidenced by their conduct in life. It is often difficult to separate these from assessments of their calligraphy per se. In Dust Muhammad's words, Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi was of "good character" (*ḥusn-i akhlāq*), and Sultan Muhammad Nur was "accomplished" (*sar-anjām*), "pure" (*pākīzagī*), "pious" (*varaʿ*) and "abstemious" (*taqvā*). The language used to praise personal conduct often resembles that used to describe and judge performance in calligraphy: they are not only related by a shared vocabulary but also by the conception of abstract qualities. This gives further impetus to an indexical reading of calligraphy, though the index cannot be understood via the formal language of gesture in the way we might conceive of it through East Asian calligraphy.[24] In further support of the idea that Islamic calligraphy had an indexical relation to its maker—that writing embodied the traits of an individual and operated as a transport medium—is a much earlier anecdote, cited by Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, relating an encounter of the seventh century:

> When a secretary of ʿĀmr b. al-ʿAs came to ʿUmar, the latter asked him: Are you not Ibn al-Qayn from Mecca? When the secretary answered in the affirmative, ʿUmar said to him: The calamus does not hesitate to show to whom it belongs.[25]

A summary of these written sources in Persian and Arabic reveals that the body, whether that of the calligrapher inscribed in the calligraphy or of the viewer engaged in the experience of the work, is very much present. The senses involved in the appreciation of calligraphy include sight and, by way of metaphor, smell or even taste. Hearing is presumably a given, especially because these visual shapes are attached to sounds. The sense of touch is less directly invoked, unless one considers a form of haptic visuality, or seeing linked to touch and movement, as suggested in Shams al-Din Muhammad Vasfi's poem praising the pen:

> Writer of marvels, ruddy-cloaked reed
> with two tongues but silent in speech,
> A resplendent cypress in stature spreading shade
> that draws its night-tresses underfoot,
> Straight as an arrow, in nature like a bow
> that hides the countenance of day with dark night.[26]

The poem anthropomorphizes the pen—it is dressed in a cloak and is as slender as a cypress (a comparison frequently applied to men and women)—and furthermore assigns it the capacity to speak, invoking the conventional image of the two tongues of the pen (its split nib). As the pen moves, it spreads shade and pulls its dark tresses behind it (the ink moving from the pen onto the paper). The last couplet develops this image by discussing the physical properties of the pen and likening the dispersal of ink on paper to the passage from day to night, the pen blackening the light sheet.

THE CALLIGRAPHER'S TRAINING AND PRACTICE

Fine calligraphy was appreciated not only in its post-production life, as historical manuscripts of various kinds or album collections that assembled formerly loose calligraphed sheets and made new entities out of them (figs. 5 and 6);[27] calligraphers also studied specimens of accomplished writing as part of their education. This aspect of training and practice is referenced in a variety of primary sources, including manuals on the practice of calligraphy and even the occasional work of history, Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddima* (Prolegomena) being a prime example.[28] Practice through the "visual" (*nāzirī*) study of preexisting models, and not only those made "by the pen" (*qalamī*), is mentioned in several Persian written sources, ranging

Fig. 5. Practice exercises by various calligraphers in *riqāʿ* (one specimen signed by Nasr Allah al-Tabib, dated Muharram 736 [August–September 1335]). Ink on paper, 41.8 x 30.6 cm (folio). Topkapı Palace Museum, B. 410, fols. 85b–86a. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul)

from Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi's above-mentioned work to another treatise, written in the late 1500s by Baba Shah Isfahani (d. 1587–88) and titled *Ādāb al-mashq* (Manners of Practice).[29] Baba Shah Isfahani outlines three stages in training, the first being "visual practice" (*mashq-i naẓarī*), the second "pen practice" (*mashq-i qalamī*), and the third "imaginative practice" (*mashq-i khayālī*).[30] In this tripartite model, Baba Shah Isfahani voices an element of training, the third, that Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi may have taken for granted. Explaining what he means by "imaginative practice," Baba Shah Isfahani writes:

> "Imaginative practice" is when the scribe writes not according to a model but with reference to the power of his own nature, and he writes every composition that appears [to him]. The benefit of this practice is that it makes the scribe a master of spontaneity (*taṣarruf*), and when this practice mostly takes the place of pen practice, one's

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Fig. 6. *Siyāh mashq* in *muḥaqqaq,* attributed to Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi (*ʿan Yāqūt*), Iran, before 1549. Ink on paper, 41.8 x 30.6 cm (folio). Topkapı Palace Museum, B. 410, fol. 127b. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 7. *Mufradāt* in *nastaʿlīq* (first of two sheets) by Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi, Herat, before 1520. Opaque pigment, ink, and paper, 48.4 x 34.5 cm (folio). Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2154, fol. 47b. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul)
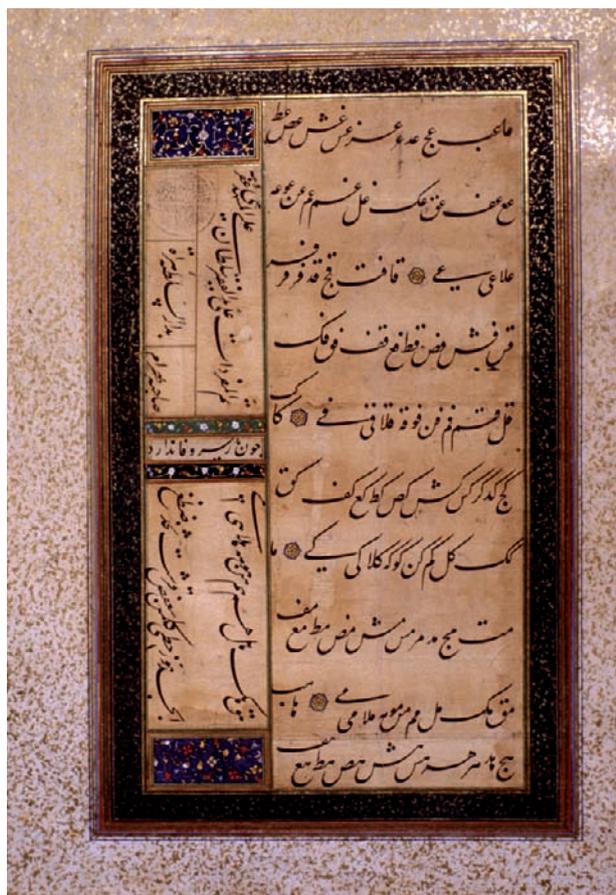
Fig. 8. *Mufradāt* in *nastaʿlīq* (second of two sheets) by Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi, Herat, before 1520. Opaque pigment, ink, and paper, 48.4 x 34.5 (folio). Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2154, fol. 48a. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul)

writing becomes non-reflective (*bī-maghz*). If someone makes a habit of pen practice and avoids imaginative practice, he lacks spontaneity, and is like the reader who grasps the writing of others but himself cannot write. Spontaneity is not permitted in pen practice.[31]

Calligraphers in training were encouraged to devote total commitment to studying ink-on-paper models—which they either were given or selected according to their own tastes—before or during the process of actually writing with a pen. Such study of models provided many important lessons about the formal configurations of letters in their different positions in a word. Through concrete examples it also imparted advice about how to organize writing on a page, how

to seat words in a line, and how to space a sequence of words across a page. This order of instruction was the one least effectively mediated through written modes of pedagogical transmission. And if the calligrapher were to attain a level of mastery—and not simple competence—as stressed by Baba Shah Isfahani, achieving fluency in aspects of composition would be truly critical to his success. Rote replication of letter shapes and fluency in their combinations were insufficient skills if one wanted to achieve the status of master.[32]

Two sheets bound into an album are in fact practice exercises in *nastaʿlīq* script signed by Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi (figs. 7 and 8).[33] Known as *mufradāt* (literally, "simple, singular" as distinct from "compound,"

murakkabāt), these exercises begin with the writing in isolated form of the individual graphemes used in the Arabic alphabet, followed by the joining of each letter in alphabetical sequence to the other letters of the alphabet, also in alphabetical order. Every permutation is not shown because the same grapheme, or letter shape, can be modified to produce different phonemes by the addition of a number of dots above or below the letter (the Arabic alphabet has several homonyms, and the system of pointing offered a means of differentiating individual phonetic values). Hence the letters *jīm*, *ḥāʾ*, and *khāʾ*, which share a single shape, are combined with the alphabetic sequence *alif* through *yāʾ*, avoiding duplication of letters that share the same form, such as *fāʾ* and *qāf*. The line thus reads: *ḥāʾ*, *jat*, *ḥaj*, *jad*, *ḥar*, *ḥar* (two forms are given for the initial-position *ḥāʾ* joined to *rāʾ*), *jar*, *ḥas*, *khash*, *ḥas*, *khaṭ*, *jaʿ*, *jaf*, *ḥaq*, *ḥak*, *ḥal*, *jam*, *kham*, *ḥan*, *jaw*, *jah*, *jalā*, *ḥay*, *ḥay* (two forms for the initial-position *ḥāʾ* joined to *yāʾ*). Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi conveys the various means of linking letters to each other, offering a template of the conventions for joined letters and the relation between consecutive letters that are not joined (there are six in all). The *mufradāt* also demonstrates how letters are configured in their initial, stand-alone position and in their medial form. We see the latter in the penultimate section of the exercise, where Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi writes out the *abjad*, the sequence of Arabic letters according to their numerical value from one to one thousand (fig. 8, the two lines at lower left).

The preservation of these *mufradāt* in an album signals their value to Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi as specimens, but before they entered that context they were presumably among a panoply of written models used by students. Masters continued to pen these exercises over their career to maintain their capacity to perform writing. The practice of calligraphy in Iran, Central Asia, and Afghanistan, areas where Persian was the predominant language, has left a few examples of such exercises, the majority bound into albums of the Timurid and Safavid dynastic periods. Many more examples demonstrating the process of learning calligraphy through duplication are preserved in the lands of the Ottoman Empire, especially from the late 1500s to the modern period. The Ottomans appear to have formalized the practice of calligraphy as had no culture before them in the Islamic lands.[34] A more regimented training system is also manifest in the development of the *icāzet* (literally, "license" in Turkish; *ijāza* in Arabic

and Persian) protocol, at the end of which students were granted permission to sign work in their own names.[35] The final outcome of this licensing procedure yielded a palpable sign of mastery in the form of an exercise made by the student and signed by the student's master and other witnesses.[36]

Though calligraphers working in the Ottoman lands formalized this process of calligraphic training, the basic principles of learning and instruction were much the same as what we can deduce about both earlier and contemporary practice in other regions. Students studied physical specimens, as per the advice of Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi and Baba Shah Isfahani, and watched their teachers in the action of writing,[37] an immediate form of instruction that let them see activities ranging from the preparation of materials and tools to the actual generation of letters. These two forms of empirical observation—study of specimens and study of the living master—culminated in practice with the pen and, it was hoped, ultimate success.

Students in the Ottoman lands would begin by writing out the letters one by one and then by combining them into pairs as in the format of *müfredāt* (Arabic and Persian *mufradāt*). One page of *müfredāt* (fig. 9), shows such a sequence of joined-letter pairs—the first line links the letter ʿayn and the fourth line the letter *fāʾ* to letters of the alphabet: the script of both lines is *sülüs* (*thuluth*), one of the six cursive scripts canonized since the tenth century. The intervening second and third lines show the same sequences but in a smaller scale and different script, *nesih* (*naskh*); the reduction in size allows one to see various means of linking the letter *fāʿ* to the letters of the alphabet. This example of *müfredāt* is the work of Abdülbaki, whose signature employs the verb form *mashaqa* to indicate the intention of the work as practice (hence the Arabic noun *mashq*, which is rendered *meşk* in Turkish).

Two additional pages from a collection of *müfredāt*s (fig. 10) represent the efforts of Seyyid Abdullah (d. 1731; obtained *icāzet* in 1690), well known as a student of Hafız Osman (1642–98), to absorb the technique of his master through direct pedagogy.[38] Like the preceding example, their formalized protocol involves the simultaneous practice of two scripts, *sülüs* and *nesih*, written in contrasting sizes but following the same pattern of letter configurations in alphabetic sequence. The letters *bāʾ* and *jīm* are shown connected to the other letters in *sülüs*; one can also see the alphabet of single letters written in the central line of *nesih*

Fig. 9. Incomplete *müfredāt* by Abdülbaki, Ottoman Turkey, 17th–18th century. Opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 20.2 x 30 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, CAL290–299. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

on the upper page of the opening. In addition to writing these letters in simple and compound form, Seyyid Abdullah has executed the customary vocalization symbols, showing the short vowels (*ḍamma*, *fatḥa*, *kasra*). Other exercises often added more symbols that helped with reading, including those indicating intensification or a doubled consonant (*shadda*) and silence (*sukün*).

When the requirements of the *müfredāt* had been mastered, the student moved on to another exercise (*mürekkebāt*), which tested his capacity to make compound forms from letters, to combine these words into lines, and to write lines in succession in satisfying visual array. A number of different texts could be selected for the content of the *mürekkebāt*. In examples made at the end of the student calligrapher's process of training, as a demonstration to the teacher that all aspects of writing were mastered, the exercise would open with a *basmala* (*bism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*,

→

Fig. 10. *Müfredāt* album signed by Seyyid Abdullah, Ottoman Turkey, 18th century. Opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 20.5 x 29.8 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, MSS191. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

Fig. 11. Opening invocation and prayer in joined letters from a *müfredāt* album, Ottoman Turkey, 17th–18th century, opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 18.5 x 27.3 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, MSS297. (Photo: The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

Fig. 12. *Müfredāt* album signed by Mehmed Vasfi, after a model by Hafiz Osman, Ottoman Turkey, 1784–85. Opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 16 x 23.7 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, MSS333. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful) and the calligrapher's common prayer asking for God's assistance, *Rabbi yessir, ve lātuassir, Rabbi, temmim bi 'l-hayr* (O Lord, make things easy and do not make them difficult. O Lord, make everything come out well),[39] which would be followed by the alphabet and continue with the texts constituting the body of the *mürekkebāt*.[40] At the end, though not in the specific example illustrated (fig. 11), witnesses would sign the exercise, attesting that the calligrapher's formal training was now complete. Though the calligrapher of this example has used *nesih* and *sülüs* for the body of the exercise, the beginning segments also employ *riqāʿ*. The exercise as a whole is thus a distilled catalogue, a virtual microcosm, of the range of challenges calligraphers confronted when writing.

The degree of standardization in text and general format of Ottoman-period practice exercises is highlighted by another example of *müfredāt* (fig. 12), by the calligrapher Mehmed Vasfi (d. 1831), who followed a prior master's example (obviously by studying his models on paper). This was completed not as a licensing process but rather seventeen years after Mehmed Vasfi was already licensed, an indication that practice continued throughout a career and that a well-seasoned master was still interested in confronting the challenge of a historical antecedent, in this case the Ottoman calligrapher Hafiz Osman (d. 1698).[41] Calligraphers made *müfredāt* and *mürekkebāt* over their lives as a way to rehearse and maintain their ability. Presumably some of these ended up in the hands of students who used them as models, and others came

Fig. 13. Two pages from the *Rasm al-khaṭṭ* (Canon of Calligraphy) by Majnun Rafiqi Haravi, copied by Muhammad Bahram in 1551–52 in Iran. Opaque pigment and ink on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum, YY. 599, fols. 21b–22a. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul)

into the possession of collectors who sought fine historical examples.

Some practice sheets are marked with the teacher's interventions, written in red or black ink. These include rhombic points (*nuqṭ*), which show the correct proportional relations between letters, and thin, deft strokes that reveal laterally organized correspondences between the words strung together in a line.[42] The rhombic points are the diamond-shaped dots left by the pen when pressed in a stationary mode against the paper and then released and lifted away. Since the codifications of Ibn Muqla (d. 940), who applied geometric principles to a canon of scripts dubbed the "six scripts" (*al-aqlām al-sitta*) and invented "proportioned script" (*al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb*), scripts had been closely regulated by systems that defined a proportional relation between a standard—the letter *alif*—and every other letter (which related to the dimension of the *alif*, itself assembled from a fixed number of dots, by a series of ratios).[43] The teacher's emendations to a student's work thus renders whichever proportional system was in place visible as a series of rhombic points.

Comparable graphic techniques are used to diagram the shape and interrelation of letters in manuals of calligraphic instruction chronologically earlier than *müfredāt* and *mürekkebāt*. One is *Rasm al-khaṭṭ* (The Canon of Calligraphy), originally written in 1504 by

Majnun Rafiqi Haravi (d. after 1549) in honor of the Timurid prince Muzaffar Husayn Mirza.[44] The text (fig. 13) alternates between discussions in verse about the six styles of calligraphy and images set apart from the text showing the configuration of individual letters. Here the letters of the alphabet carry an armature of dots and lines—differentiated from the main text by another color of ink—and are introduced in their stand-alone form by captions that use the term "taking a form" (*tashakkul*); the intervening texts, composed as rhyming couplets, describe features of the letters in their simple and then their compound forms. Thus, on the two pages illustrated in fig. 13, the captions written in red, gold, and blue on the right-hand page read: "in this order" (*bar īn tartīb*), "on the form of the *jīm*" (*dar tashakkul-i jīm*), and "in this method" (*bar īn nahj*); and those on the left read "by this quantity" (*bar īn ʿadad*), "on the form of the *rāʾ*" (*dar tashakkul-i rāʾ*), "in this style" (*badīn ṭarz*), "by this foundation" (*badīn asās*), and "on the form of the *sīn*" (*dar tashakkul-i sīn*).[45] Additional notations indicate the form and hence position of the letter, as in "simple" (*mufrad*) and "compound" (*tarkīb*), or annotate a specific formal feature, for example, "allowed to fall" (*mursal*), "slender in the body" (*żamr*), "brought near" (*marfūʿ*), "bow-shaped" (*qawsī*), or "attenuated" (*mużammar*).

Fig. 14. *Mürekkebāt* in *sülüs* and *nesih* by Mehmed Şevki Efendi, Istanbul, 1863, opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 16.8 x 26 cm (folio). Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, Istanbul, 216. (Photo: Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum)

Called "measurement of the letters" (Arabic *mi'yār al-ḥurūf*), rhombic points are written on calligraphies as either solid or empty circles to make proportional relations visible to the eye. Such dots were added not as a correction but rather as a form of proportional scaffold. One example is a *meşk* among a series of *müfredāt* and *mürekkebāt* exercises by Mehmed Şevki Efendi (1829–87), which he presumably made to give to one of his students for the purpose of instruction (fig. 14). The upper and lower lines are in *sülüs*.

The upper one reads, "The letters were finished with the help of God the king, the mighty, the merciful" (*Tammat al-ḥurūf bi-ʿawn Allāh al-malik al-ʿazīz al-raʾūf*), while the lower one is the alphabet given in order of numerical value. Between them are two lines in *nesih* proclaiming God's unity and citing a tradition of ʿAli b. Abi Talib. Şevki's annotations in red offer a complete armature for his writing by showing its system of measurement and relation. Many of these annotations measure out the length of ligatures and the distances to be left between adjacent vertical strokes, or establish the relative depth of adjacent letters in the sublinear region (i.e., their seating).

A similar technique of proportional and spatial mensuration is found in three other pages by Mehmed Şevki Efendi, from an album of his *müfredāt* exercises (figs. 15 and 16).[46] These pages, too, bear the calligrapher's marks as an apparatus of dots and lines. The carefully executed rhombic dots and dashes provide a complete set of guidelines for the relative proportion of letters, the spaces between letters, and the seating. The lines reading "the letters are completed..." at the respective top and bottom of fig. 14 and fig. 15 show identical instructions for measurement, despite minor changes in the text (*Allāh* and *al-ʿazīz* are missing from the phrasing in fig. 15).

Yet another example showing *mi'yār al-ḥurūf* is from a twenty-four-page set of *mürekkebāt* exercises written in Ottoman *taʿlīq* by Hacı Nazif Bey (1846–1913). The text consists of the *Hilye-i hākānī*, an ode describing the Prophet Muhammad (fig. 17),[47] copied in "emulation" (*taklīd*) of a model by Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet Efendi (d. 1849). Each line of text, written in black ink, is annotated with lines and dots in red that map the precise proportional system developed by Yesarizade; text lines are separated by curving notations that stand for the phrase "persevere" (*saʿy*). In writing out the

Fig. 15. Opening from a *müfredāt* album in *sülüs* and *nesih* by Mehmed Şevki Efendi, Ottoman Turkey, 1866–67. Opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 10 x 19 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, MSS239, fols. 9b–10a. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

Hilye-i hākānī, Hacı Nazif Bey has revealed the proportional system, spacing, and conventions of seating letters that he learned through the patient visual study of Yesarizade's models. His exercise is not only a facsimile of Yesarizade's writing but is annotated so as to share with others the principles of the master's calligraphy.

CODA

Though all of the aspects of practice and training highlighted here suggest the near-tyrannical hold of replication and duplication in the practice of Islamic calligraphy, whether Timurid, Safavid, or Ottoman, it would be inaccurate to assume that this was so. Practice involved the absorption of rules and norms in the art of writing by repeated rehearsals in such a way that a calligrapher could, and indeed would, reproduce a teacher's or another calligrapher's mode to make a facsimile of the original. Command over technique permitted writing to be executed at will at different scales and in different scripts. This qualitative difference is noted by Shams al-Din Muhammad Vasfi when he opines, "Calligraphy by the destitute is [like] potsherds and pieces of stone. Calligraphy by the eminent has

Fig. 16. Page from a *müfredāt* album in *sülüs* and *nesih* by Mehmed Şevki Efendi, Ottoman Turkey, 1866–67. Opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 10 x 19 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, MSS239, fol. 10b. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)
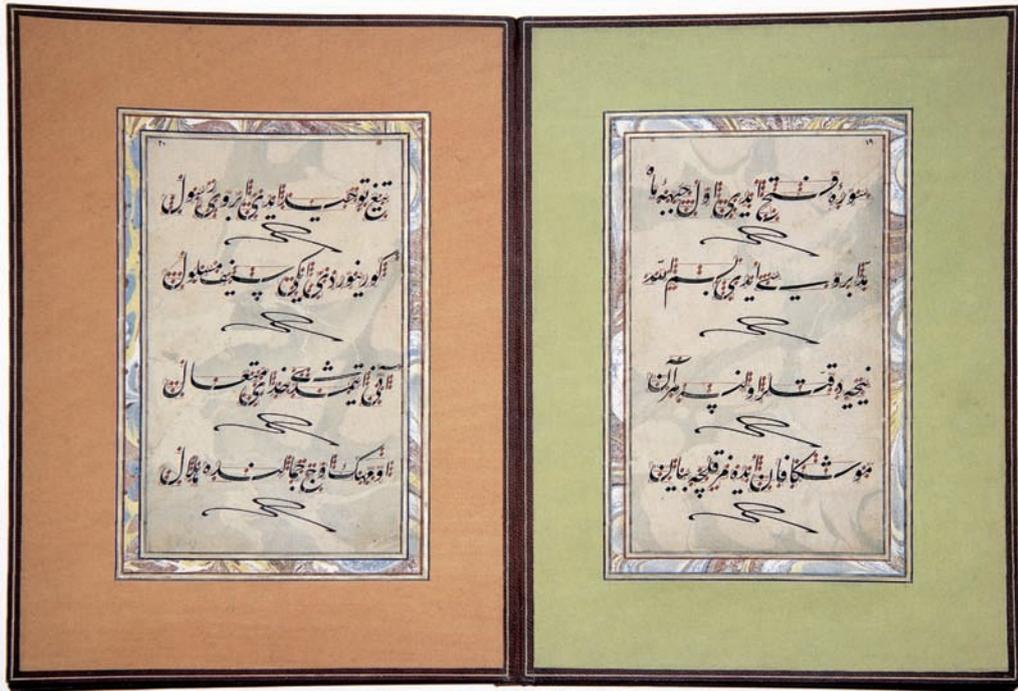
Fig. 17. Two pages from an album of *mürekkebāt* by Hacı Nazif Bey, after Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet Efendi, Istanbul, late 19th to early 20th century. Opaque pigment and ink on paper, 31.6 x 23.2 cm (folio). Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, Istanbul, 226. (Photo: Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum)

Fig. 18. Texts in joined letters concluding a *müfredāt* album by Ömer Vasfi, Ottoman Turkey, 1784. Opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 19.5 x 27.4 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, MSS68, fol. 9a. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

Fig. 19. Texts in joined letters concluding a *müfredāt* album by Osman Selim, Ottoman Turkey, 1779. Opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 15.3 x 22.7 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, MSS293, fol. 17a. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

Fig. 20. Practice exercise in *riqāʿ* by Baysunghur, Herat (?), before 1433. Ink on paper, 25 x 33 cm (sheet). Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2152, fol. 21b. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 21. Practice exercise in *riqāʿ* by Muhammad Sultani, Herat, 1459. Ink on paper, 41.8 x 30.6 cm (folio). Topkapı Palace Museum, B. 410, fol. 180b. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul)

the value of pearls and rubies."[48] But technical prowess did not obviate an individual's inflection—Baba Shah Isfahani's "imaginative practice"—whether in adjustments made to proportional systems or through other means.

Two Ottoman *meşk*s, which are part of albums of *müfredāt* exercises by Ömer Vasfi and Osman Selim that date, respectively, to 1784 and 1779, are copies of the same Arabic text, written in *nesih* and *sülüs* (figs. 18 and 19). The upper line on each page includes the end of the alphabet organized according to numerical sequence, followed by "May God be blessed, the best of the creators" (*Fa-tabāraka Allāh aḥsan al-khāliqīn*). The lower line contains the prayer, "Glory to You, O God, in Your praise may Your name be blessed" (*Subḥānaka Allāhuma wa bi-ḥamdika wa tabāraka ismuka*). Phrases between these majuscule *sülüs* lines here and

elsewhere in the album comprise sayings attributed to such figures as ʿAli b. Abi Talib, including "Calligraphy is concealed within the teaching method of the master. Its essence is in frequent repetition, and it exists to serve Islam."[49]

The two specimens follow shared principles of breaking the texts and arranging them on lines.[50] It is clear, however, that each calligrapher—Osman Selim was Ömer Vasfi's son—finds a different solution to ending each line on the page and to joining certain letters. While Osman Selim follows a more normative connection between the letters *ghayn* and *lām*, for instance, Ömer Vasfi utilizes a feature of writing termed "chained" (*musalsal*) by writing the *ghayn* in its stand-alone form and sweeping back its sublinear curve to connect to the letter *lām* next to it. This convention was common in such scripts as *riqāʿ* and

tawqī, used mostly in the chancery for official correspondence, but it could also be applied in a variant form of *sülüs*. Another readily visible distinction between the two *meşk*s is in the spacing at the end of the upper line: where the father evenly spaces the letters of the final word "creators" (*al-khāliqīn*) and expands the final letter *nūn* so it tails off and falls away, the son compresses the letters *lām, qāf, yā'* and *nūn* and pulls them up above the preceding four letters, *alif, lām, khā'*, and *alif*. The overall effect is of a word deliberately compacted to contrast with its openness in the father's specimen. If one were to expand this comparison through a minute, detailed description, the two lines would in addition reveal subtler differences that are responsible for the overall quite different effect of the two *meşk*s.

The uppermost line in each of two further specimens (figs. 20 and 21) reproduces the saying "Blessings coalesce around gratitude," already seen in the calligraphic exercise in *riqā'* copied by Ahmad al-Rumi and responded to by fourteen other calligraphers, including the Timurid prince Baysunghur (fig. 4). One of these two specimens (fig. 20) represents Baysunghur's effort to write the phrase as a stand-alone exercise, either before or after the group endeavor.[51] The other (fig. 21) is a practice exercise signed by Muhammad al-Sultani, completed in 1459 in Herat.[52] The exercise initiated by Ahmad al-Rumi does not suggest its process of making through aspects of materiality; this multiple was presented at the beginning of this essay as a way to confront the commonly accepted notion that Islamic calligraphy involves the removal of the individual from the finished product by denying writing's indexical function. It is clear that manipulations do not take place within the shaping of an individual letter, and that proportional relations govern relations between letters. This is true whichever context or strand of Arabic-script tradition one looks to, east or west. (These proportional relations were by no means static and were changed by calligraphers over time; the new systems were imparted to their students and from them to their students; alternatively, proportional systems could be reconstructed at some chronological distance as a calligrapher sought out past models to emulate).

And yet, clearly, no two calligraphers' responses to the model of Ahmad al-Rumi were the same, and their reenactments of his line met with varying levels of success. The closest to failure are two lines written by Payanda Darvish at the bottom left (second and

Fig. 22. Two pages from an album of *mürekkebāt* exercises in *sülüs* and *nesih* by al-Hacc al-'Arif, Turkey, 1896–97. Opaque pigment, ink, and gold on paper, 23.18 x 32.39 cm (folio). Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, the Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museum, 1995.829. (Photo: Katya Kallsen © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

third from the bottom). His upper line went quite smoothly, but in the lower one the ascending stroke of the letter *kāf* was insufficiently steep, which had the unfortunate effect of penetrating too deeply into the area above the next letter. As a correction, Payanda Darvish retraced the ascending stroke of the *kāf*. One other example of line repetition by a single individual appears amid the group exercise. Three lines signed by Hajji Muhammad—two at the bottom right followed by one at the top left—show an unwavering fluidity. Each of the three lines shows various degrees of relation to Ahmad al-Rumi as Hajji Muhammad plays with
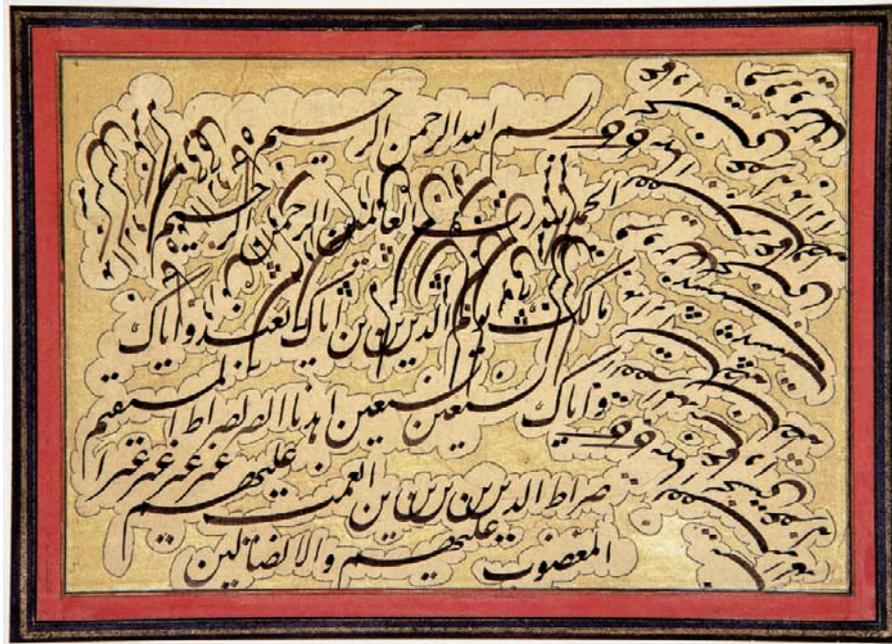
Fig. 23. Practice exercise (siyāh mashq) in nastaʿlīq by ʿImad al-Hasani, Qazvin, before 1600. Ink on paper, 11.4 x 16.7 cm (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, CAL266. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

the length of ligatures joining letters, the arrangement of dots marking phonetic value, and the presence or absence of short vowels. One could contend that the lines in riqāʿ are equally as "autographic" as the "signatures" adjacent to them. These examples reveal that a way of inscribing individuality in calligraphy was through the manipulation of ligatures (termed in Arabic and Persian madd, mashq, and kashīda) as well as through the apparatus of dots and dashes supplying phonetic values and vowels. This was one means of embodying the self and individual movement in an art form of closely regulated norms.

It is also possible to see those daunting rhombic dots in a related way, as satisfying the desire to perceive human movement in writing (fig. 22). While they can certainly be understood as an armature of measurement supplied to calligraphy specimens with the intention of revealing or uncovering the master's secrets—two down, three across, and so forth—they also provide the means of segmenting the calligrapher's physical move-

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Fig. 24. Pages from an album of specimens in shikasta by ʿAbd al-Majid, Isfahan, dated between 1767 and 1770. Ink on paper, 20 x 29.8 (folio). Nasser D Khalili Collection, MSS391, fols. 1a and 2a. (Photo: The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © The Nour Foundation)

ment. Much like the filming of Jackson Pollock's drip paintings—or any other example from modernism's history of "mechanical inscriptions of movement"[53]— *miʿyār al-ḥurūf* have the effect of dividing the movements of writing into units that can be perceived in succession. The dots, one after the other, register the fluid lines of writing against a quantifiable grid akin to a time-motion study. Here, that study slows writing down to provide its viewer with a perspective on practice beyond the direct observation of its original maker at work. The system of applied dots and strokes not only segments the apparently continuous line of the calligrapher but annotates the intervals between his letters and words and their relative seating.

A final two examples, by ʿImad al-Hasani (before 1600) and ʿAbd al-Majid (between 1767 and 1770), offer another pathway to the perception of movement (figs. 23 and 24).[54] Their comparative "expressivity" when seen in relation to other examples illustrated in this essay is of less interest than their arrangement of writing at angles off axis to the rectangular format of the sheet or in opposed directions: viewed from a single position, some of this writing appears upside down. Such examples as these, spanning the late 1500s to the late 1700s, prompt a mode of haptic visuality, that is, a tactile way of seeing and knowing that engages the viewer's body in movement. To read the writing, the viewer is required physically to move, or imaginatively to rotate an image of the calligraphy to a readable axis. The kinesthetic properties of writing are also enacted through variations in the size of writing, a feature of the macrographic and micrographic that has the immediate effect of suggesting foreground and background, or depth in space.

The examples of calligraphy and extracts from written sources presented here suggest how Islamic calligraphy can be understood to involve the inscription of the body in the act of writing, whether it was experienced by its historical viewers through a set of localized variations, through the manipulation of interval—as a pattern-based mode of recognition—or through general composition. These were the primary visual structures that calibrated the eye and body in the pleasure of seeing calligraphy over the course of its history, or, to paraphrase Plato in an Arabic setting, these were the means by which "handwriting deployed the senses."[55]

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NOTES

Author's note: This essay started out as a lecture that I presented at Princeton University in January 2007, in a series cosponsored by the Institute for Advanced Study and the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. I would like to thank Yve-Alain Bois and Hal Foster for their invitation. Oleg attended the lecture and dinner and was characteristically curious and generous with his suggestions. The quotation in the title is by Khvandamir (d. 1535): see nn. 17 and 19 below.

1. Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 59.

2. Auditory dimensions of calligraphic practice are often addressed in the body of literature that grew up around the production and reception of calligraphy. In one of the most common themes, inspired by the exordium ("The Song of the Reed") in Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi's *Maṣnavī-i maʿnavī* (Couplets of Meaning), a link is drawn between the reed pen and the reed flute. In Sufi imagery, the flute makes its lament because it has been taken from the reed bed:

    > Now listen to this reed-flute's deep lament
    > about the heartache being apart has meant:
    > Since from the reed-bed they uprooted me
    > My song's expressed each human's agony,
    > A breast which separation's split in two
    > Is what I seek, to share this pain with you:
    > When kept from their true origin, all yearn
    > For union on the day they can return.

    (Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *The Masnavi, Book One*, trans. Jawid Mojaddedi [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004], 4). The reed wails because it desires to be reunited with its primal origin. The analogy was obvious enough for writers about calligraphy. For this and other aspects of sound-related imagery in poetry about Islamic calligraphy see Annemarie Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 120–21.

3. One of the few scholars to study this aspect of writing and the flow of ink is Vlad Atanasiu, "Le retroencrage: Deduction du ductus d'une écriture d'après l'intensité de l'encre," *Gazette du livre medieval* 37 (2000): 34–42.

4. For a discussion of the historical practice of making *siyāh mashq* in Iran see Maryam Ekhtiar, "Practice Makes Perfect: The Art of Calligraphy Exercises (*Siyāh Mashq*) in Iran," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 107–30. Firuz Mirza Nusrat al-Dawla I, to whom this work is attributed, was the son of Qajar crown prince ʿAbbas Mirza and the grandson of the second Qajar ruler, Fath ʿAli Shah (r. 1797–1834). He was governor of Fars, southern Iran, from 1835 until 1853.

5. The clearest sign of this conceptual change—of a transition from practice to virtuosity and to a discernable calligraphic genre in its own right—is a corpus of *siyāh mashq*s mounted in the "St. Petersburg Album." The calligraphies are signed by ʿImad al-Hasani, but only one is dated (equivalent to 1612–13). The others are assumed to date from his period of activity from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. For illustrations and commentaries on these specimens see Oleg F. Akimushkin, *The St. Petersburg Muraqqaʿ: Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the 16th through the 18th Century and Specimens of Calligraphy by ʿImād al-Ḥasanī* (Milan: Leon-

ardo Arte, 1996), esp. pls. 96, 137, 140, 141, 144, 145, 148, 159, 162, 163, 166, 167, 170, 183, 186, 187, 189, 192, 200, 221, 225, 233, and 237. Some of ʿImad al-Hasani's specimens from this album are illustrated in Ekhtiar, "Practice Makes Perfect" (figs. 8, 11, and 12), alongside examples by him in other collections. Ekhtiar considers the works of ʿImad al-Hasani to be "the first extant 'artistic' *siyāh mashq* pages," which she argues he was inspired to make after visiting Ottoman territories in 1594–95, when he saw Ottoman specimens of *karalama*. The primary changes that Ekhtiar identifies as lending the *siyāh mashq*s the status of collectible works of art and not simply practice exercises are an increased incidence of signatures, the presence of dates, and a more "finished look," hence the addition of illumination and borders ("Practice Makes Perfect," 112). If the artistic transmission effected by ʿImad al-Hasani is correct, it would still have to account for earlier, though rare, examples of *siyāh mashq*s from Iranian contexts, such as a specimen attributed to Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi in an album made for Bahram Mirza before 1549 (see fig. 6 above and n. 27 below). This *siyāh mashq* carries no complete signature but does include a partial name in the text at lower left, which may be read: "written by Yahya bin." This ambiguous phrase could be read as a signature but is more likely a segment of the text, hence the possibility of applying the attribution to Yaqut.

6. Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, MA, 2006.119.

7. Most studies on Islamic calligraphy present the subject matter through a historical framework constructed around the development of types of script, features of orthography, and historical individuals credited with making important changes in calligraphic practice or considered to have possessed a good hand. A subset of this scholarship explores primary sources on the technical practice of calligraphy, with an even smaller subset devoted to exploring the various cultural values assigned to calligraphy at different periods in the history of the Islamic lands. Oleg Grabar's chapter on calligraphy as an intermediary of ornament (in *Mediation of Ornament*) is one of those uncommon studies that engage the visual and aesthetic dimensions of Islamic calligraphy and ask questions that exceed strictly taxonomic problems.

8. Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 7.

9. Each line concludes with a signature placed inside a circle, beginning with the customary formulas *katabahu* (written by), *kātibuhu* (his writing), *mashaqahu* (copied by), and *ḥarrarahu* (penned by): these seem to be used as synonyms for writing without registering any qualitative differences between the calligraphy. The line by Ahmad al-Rumi carries an attributive signature "specimen by Mawlana Ahmad al-Rumi" (*khaṭṭ-i Mawlānā Ahmad al-Rūmī*). Further discussion of this specimen and its bibliography may be found in David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 85–87.

10. For a case study that confronts the same methodological problem but looks at Chinese calligraphy see John Hay, "The Human Body as a Microcosmic Source of Macrocosmic Values in Calligraphy," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 74–102.

11. Blair's recent book (*Islamic Calligraphy*) is the epitome of these taxonomic efforts and makes many new contributions while at the same time clearing up some of the problems and inconsistencies of earlier scholarship. She identifies taxonomy as a prime objective, stating her aim to write a book about the historical development of Islamic calligraphy (ibid., xxviii) and contrasting her approach with the "universalities" (i.e., ahistoricism) sought by Seyyed Hossein Nasr and the transhistorical approach taken by Grabar in *Mediation of Ornament*. Identifying her approach as one informed by "the viewpoint of a historian of Islamic art," she states that it causes her to "miss much of the passion and fervor that calligraphy evokes both in the practitioner and the believer" (ibid.). These however, are little more than reductive categories of the human subject and narrow conceptions of art history as a discipline.

12. For a discussion of these sources and their interpretation see David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). For critical editions of several sources and their English translation see Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

13. Cited in Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi's treatise on the practice of calligraphy, which also contains numerous aphorisms about its importance and value. See Franz Rosenthal, "Abū Ḥaiyān al-Tawḥīdī on Penmanship," *Ars Islamica* 13–14 (1947): 15. Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi was born ca. 926 and died after 1009–10.

14. The excerpts are from Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi's treatise. See Rosenthal, "Abū Ḥaiyān al-Tawḥīdī on Penmanship," 11, 12, 13, and 17. Rosenthal notes that ʿAbbas's identity cannot yet be determined. Other sources attribute the same saying to ʿUbayd Allah b. al-ʿAbbas b. al-Hasan al-ʿAlawi (ibid., 11, n. 88).

15. Pre-Islamic poets, including Imru 'l-Qays, use *khaṭṭ* "to refer to the traces in the sand left by abandoned campsites," while the eleventh-century lexicographer Ibn Faris (d. 1004) defines *khaṭṭ* as "the extended trace [*āthār*] of a thing" (Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, xxv).

16. Ibn al-Bawwab's poem and its later reception are discussed by David James, "The Commentaries of Ibn al-Baṣīṣ and Ibn al-Waḥīd on Ibn al-Bawwāb's 'Ode on the Art of Calligraphy' (Rāʿiyyah fī l-khaṭṭ)," in *Back to the Sources: Biblical and Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Dermot Ryan*, ed. Kevin J. Cathcart and John F. Healey (Dublin: Glendale Press, 1989), 164–91. For the problems associated with the transmission of knowledge about calligraphy and the various means available to calligraphers see David J. Roxburgh, "On the Transmission and Reconstruction of Arabic Calligraphy: Ibn al-Bawwab and History," *Studia Islamica* 96 (2004): 39–53.

17. Expanded discussion of these sources may be found in Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, esp. 89–94.

18. Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi's treatise was cited verbatim in Qadi Ahmad's biographical history of calligraphers and artists of other media. The pertinent text reads: "The aim of Murtada ʿAli in writing / Was not merely characters and dots / But fundamentals, purity, virtue / And he pointed to this by the beauty of his writing (*Gharaż-i Murtaza ʿAlī az khaṭṭ / na hamīn lafz būd va ḥarf va nuqṭ / bal uṣūl va ṣafā va khūbī būd / zi ān ishān bi-ḥusn-i khaṭṭ faramūd*). See Qāżī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i*

hunar: tazkira-yi khushnivīsān va naqqāshān, ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khvānsārī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1352 [1973]), 65; trans. in V. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, Son of Mīr-Munshī (circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1959), 108.

19. *dīda shud az ṣūrat-i khaṭṭ bahravar / dil būd az maʿnī-yi ū bī khabar / ṣūrat va maʿnīyash pasandīda ast / nūr-dih-i mardumak-i dīda ast* (Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, 92).

20. *har gawhar-i murād ki dar baḥr-i khūshdilī / parvarda-and jumla dar īn baḥr ḥāsil ast / hamchun jamāl mashʿala afrūz-i dīda ast / hamchun vaṣṣāl khurramī andūz-i har dil ast* (ibid., 93).

21. Ibid., where the preface is discussed at length, esp. 99–102.

22. Further discussion of Malik Daylami's album preface may be found in ibid., 33–34 and passim.

23. Ibid., 96–99 and passim.

24. Even the characterization of the somatic properties of East Asian calligraphy, as characterized by Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 7, from studies of Chinese and Japanese calligraphy, is ripe for reappraisal. East Asian calligraphy was based on a highly disciplined rhetoric of gesture that automatized corporeal movement. On this see Yukio Lippit, "Of Modes and Manners in Medieval Japanese Ink Painting: Sesshu's Splashed Ink Landscape of 1495," (forthcoming). Also see Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

25. Rosenthal, "Abū Haiyān al-Tawḥīdī on Penmanship," 14.

26. *ṭurfa nigārī qaṣab-i āl push / bā du zabān dar sukhan ammā khamush / jilva-kunān sarv-qadī sāya sāy / gīsū-yi shabrang kishān zīr-i pāy / tīr-qadī hamchu kamān tūz push / az shab-i tārīk rukh-i rūz push* (Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, 100).

27. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, B. 410, fols. 85b–86a and 127b. For further details about this album collection, assembled for Safavid prince Bahram Mirza in Tabriz before 1549, see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, 78–80, and David J. Roxburgh, "Bahram Mirza and His Collections," in *Safavid Art and Architecture*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (London: British Museum, 2002), 31–36.

28. Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddima* includes a subsection on calligraphy where he writes about processes of calligraphy instruction in Cairo. There, he states, the student learns "to draw and form the letters well, as he learns them by sensual perception (*al-ḥiss*), becomes skilled in them through practice in writing them, and learns them in the form of scientific norms" (Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. [New York: Pantheon Books, 1958], 2:388–89).

29. The text presenting Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi's advice reads:
Collect the writings of the masters,
  throw a glance at this and that.
For whomsoever you feel a natural attraction,
  besides his writing you must not look at the others,
So that your eye should become saturated with his writing,
  and because of his writing each of your letters should become a pearl.
(Qāzī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar*, 73; trans. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 117). For Baba Shah Isfahani's *ādāb al-mashq* see Carl Ernst, "The Spirit of Islamic Calligraphy: Baba Shah Isfahani's *Ādāb al-Mashq*," *Journal of the American Oriental*

Society 112 (1992): 279–86. For an edition in Persian see Najīb Māyil Haravī, ed., *Kitāb ārāʾī dar tamuddan-i islāmī* (Mashhad: Astān-i Quds Rażavī, 1372 [1993]), 207–36.

30. The treatise and its terms and implications are discussed by Ekhtiar, "Practice Makes Perfect," 110–11.

31. Trans. Ernst, "Spirit of Islamic Calligraphy," 284.

32. The same distinction between letter shaping and composition was made in the earlier writings of Ibn al-Haytham (965–1039), also referred to as Alhazen. See Ibn al-Haytham, *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham: Books I–III, On Direct Vision*, 2 vols., trans. with introduction by A. I. Sabra (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1989), 1:201. Ibn al-Haytham notes that composition could make calligraphy look beautiful even when the letter shapes were not correct, indicating in another way his highly relativist and subjective notion of the perception of beauty.

33. The *mufradāt* is bound into an album assembled for Safavid prince Bahram Mirza in 1544–45 by Dust Muhammad. The second sheet carries a signature, "The practice was completed under the hand of the poor Sultan ʿAli al-Mashhadi—may his sins be forgiven—in the abode of the sultanate Herat" and an additional notation, "Its owner is Bahram." The paper also bears a seal impression; though it is quite faint, two names—of Bahram and his father Ismaʿil—are discernable, as is the date 935 (1528–29).

34. Though there are abundant specimens of calligraphy—many of them practice exercises surviving in albums—made in Iran, Central Asia, and Afghanistan in the period after the mid-1300s continuing through the 1500s, the corpus lacks a consistent set of conventions. Though there are similarities in textual content—ranging from the *mufradāt* and *murakkabāt* to selections of Hadith, wisdom sayings, and verses from the Qurʾan—and occasionally in aspects of format, they lack the level of consistency and continuity evident among the Ottoman practice exercises.

35. See M. Uğur Derman, *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collection, Istanbul* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 42–43; Nabil F. Safwat, *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries* (London and Oxford: The Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1996), 40–45. Ekhtiar, "Practice Makes Perfect," 109, notes the absence of a formalized production of *ijāza*s in Iran.

36. Several examples are illustrated in Derman, *Letters in Gold*, Safwat, *Art of the Pen*, and Mary McWilliams and David J. Roxburgh, *Traces of the Calligrapher: Islamic Calligraphy in Practice, c. 1600–1900* (Houston and New Haven: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and Yale University Press, 2007).

37. Practice through duplication of a model is seen in earlier specimens of calligraphy, of the 1300s and 1400s, even if no written source specifically highlights this procedure. A number of calligraphies either evidence a direct imitation after a model or use language in their colophons that indicates this intention. For examples and further discussion see Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, 57–59.

38. The *müfredāt* is published by Safwat, *Art of the Pen*, cat. 9, with an extensive biography of Seyyid Abdullah.

39. This is the translation of the prayer rendered by Derman, *Letters in Gold*, 126.

40. Published and discussed in Safwat, *Art of the Pen*, cat. 7. Safwat's

catalogue entry includes a complete summary of the textual content.

41. For additional biography on Mehmed Vasfi see Safwat, *Art of the Pen*, 21. Commenting on Mehmed Vasfi's working after Hafiz Osman's model, Safwat observes "a licensed master would still take pride in copying the work of an illustrious predecessor," and that such forms of exercise were not confined to the practice of calligraphers in the early stages of their careers (ibid.).

42. An illustration of a teacher's corrections to a student's work appears in Derman, *Letters in Gold*, 4. This notion of stringing words together, in a manner comparable to that of a jeweler, is frequently invoked through poetic metaphor in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish written sources, as in the saying attributed to Jaʿfar b. Yahya cited above.

43. A discussion of the nature and context of Ibn Muqla's reforms is presented by Yasser Tabbaa, "The Transformation of Arabic Writing: Part 1, Qurʾanic Calligraphy," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1992): 119–48. Proportionality came to be viewed as a source of beauty in itself from the tenth century onward. For a review of the key developments see Ibn al-Haytham, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:99–101. Ibn al-Haytham's section on "Perception of Beauty" (1:200–24) contains several references to calligraphy. As Sabra remarks, it is a study on beauty that is "remarkable for its consistent approach" to beauty "from an exclusively aesthetic point of view" (*Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:97). Key aspects of the aesthetics of proportion developing from the tenth century onward are discussed by Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture, Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), chap. 10.

44. The manuscript studied here is dated 959 (1551–52) and is housed in the Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, YY. 599. For a Persian edition of Majnun Rafiqi Haravi's text see Haravī, *Kitāb ārāʾī dar tamuddan-i islāmī*, 159–81. This is not the earliest dated example to use the rhombic points as annotation to letters. A still earlier example occurs in the prefatory pages to Muhammad b. Hasan al-Tibi's *Jāmiʿ al-maḥāsin kitābat al-kuttāb*, a manuscript dated equivalent to January 11, 1503 and dedicated to Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Ghuri (r. 1501–16), wherein al-Tibi purports to reconstruct Ibn al-Bawwab's "method" (*ṭarīqa*). The unicum is in the Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, K. 882. For a facsimile with commentary see Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Jāmiʿ maḥāsin kitābat al-kuttāb: Jamaʿahu wa katabahu bi-khaṭṭihi Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṭībī min al-qarn al-ʿāshir al-hijrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1962).

45. The opening illustrated is from the section of the treatise where Majnun Rafiqi Haravi describes the "qualities of the *mufradāt*" (*awṣāf-i mufradāt*).

46. Published and discussed at length in Safwat, *Art of the Pen*, cat. 12.

47. Hakani Mehmed Bey (d. 1606) composed the poem. The text on the pages illustrated (trans. Derman, *Letters in Gold*, 154), reads:

   His moonlike forehead brings to
   mind the Qurʾan chapter of victory.
   His long eyebrows like its *besmele*.
   With however much subtlety,
   Critics cannot convey
   How the eyebrows of the Prophet
   are like the indicator of God's unity.
   They look like two drawn swords.
   God the Transcendent has created his beauty.
   The crescent is the ultimate of the moon's beauty.

48. *Khaṭṭ-i faqīr khazaf-rizaḥāst va sang pārhā va khaṭṭ-i sharīf-i īshān durar va laʿālī purbahā* (Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image*, 101).

49. Trans. Safwat, *Art of the Pen*, 26.

50. Both albums are published in Safwat, *Art of the Pen*, cat. nos. 10 and 11, with extensive biographical information.

51. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2152, fol. 21b. The three lines below the aphorism are a signature reading, "Written by the weak servant who is in need of God, the kind one, Baysunghur, may God make his end good."

52. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, B. 410, fol. 180b.

53. Caroline A. Jones, *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratization of the Senses* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 224 and esp. 242–50. I found Jones's work on Greenberg to offer a productive parallel to my thinking about the kinesthetic dimensions of Islamic calligraphy.

54. The texts have been read and the calligraphies published in Safwat, *Art of the Pen*, cat. nos. 15 and 51.

55. The full anecdote is: "The calamus is the fetter of the intellect. Handwriting is the deployment of the senses, and the desire of the soul is attained through it" (trans. Rosenthal, "Abū Ḥaiyān al-Tawḥīdī on Penmanship," 15).

TÜLAY ARTAN

A *BOOK OF KINGS* PRODUCED AND PRESENTED AS A TREATISE ON HUNTING

In the Topkapı Palace collection is an early-seventeenth-century manuscript secured in a fine leather binding, an Ottoman Turkish translation of a medieval Arabic text, ʿ*Umdat al-mulūk*, bearing the title *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*.[1] It is composed of three parts, the first on hippiatry (the treatment of horse diseases) and hippology (the study of horses), the second on horsemanship, and the third on hunting. Written on burnished paper in clearly legible *naskh*, it is illustrated with 164 miniatures of superb quality. These are certainly the work of two exceptional artists; so far, however, they have been overlooked by art historians, probably due to their subject matter.[2]

ROYAL PROJECT, UNIQUE DOCUMENT

The sumptuous, purplish-brown leather binding of the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* is embossed in gold, with a central lobed medallion and pendants and lobed concave corner brackets, all decorated with floral and cloud motifs. The field of the doublure and flap is filled with gilded cloud bands on a ground of densely spiraling blossom-scrolls. The spine is marked by a well-wishing poem in Arabic: "To the owner [of this work] felicity and success; may he live as long as pigeons coo" (*Li-ṣāḥibihi saʿāda wa-salāma wa ṭūla 'l-ʿumri mā nāhat ḥamāmatun*). The dedication medallion and the beginnings of the first two chapters are illuminated. Chapter endings, too, are illuminated with elegant floral designs. Page borders are plain, but the illustrated pages and interlinear spaces are often accompanied by gold illumination in the headings. Even at first sight the calligraphy, illuminations, illustrations, and binding together testify to a royal project. Eventually, this impression is confirmed by direct evidence.

On both sides of the first folio, we find two frontispiece miniatures (1a and 1b), each showing a gathering of men in a kiosk. On folio 1a, six people are shown

on the ground floor and another four on the upper story of the kiosk; both parties are praying with their hands raised and open, and possibly facing Mecca. On folio 1b, four men in a single-story kiosk are sitting side by side, albeit in couples, expressing close companionship as each member of a twosome embraces the other with one arm while simultaneously grasping the other's opposite arm with his free hand. It is plausible to regard the two miniatures in question as reflecting both on the patron/sponsor and on a particular group that was responsible for the production of the manuscript, perhaps comprising the translator-author of the text, the artists of the paintings, the calligrapher, and even the binder, the illuminator, and any assistants.[3]

On folio 1a, there is also a note in red ink in the upper margin that reads "Illustrated Horse Training" (*Muṣavver te'dībü'l-ḥayl*),[4] as well as the seal of Sultan Ahmed [I, r. 1603–17]. In a circular dedication medallion on the next folio (2a), both the title of the manuscript and its patron are identified in gilt lettering:

> *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*, the Gift of Kings and Sultans, has been translated into Turkish upon the order of his majesty, the sultan of the sultans of the world and caliph of the owner of justice and beneficence, Sultan Ahmed Khan son of Sultan Mehmed Khan son of Sultan Murad Khan, may God support his reign and sultanate. This book includes the books of veterinary medicine, horsemanship, and the hunting of wild beast and bird. God bless our master Muhammad, his family, and all his associates.[5]

On folio 4a, the original from which this book is translated is identified as the "Main Subject of Kings" (ʿ*Umdat al-mulūk*), a book dealing with veterinary science, horsemanship, and the science of hunting beasts and birds, penned by a certain Amir Hajib ʿAshiq Timur.

Unfortunately, a close study reveals that some pages of text and miniatures are missing, while others are in disarray. Moreover, much of the final chapter is lost, together with the epilogue and the colophon. Never-

theless, what has survived is of considerable importance. Today, in the manuscript collections of Istanbul, as well as in those built on material dispersed from the Ottoman capital and earlier Islamic courts, there are numerous medieval treatises on horses and horsemanship, which, like medieval European treatises on hippology, deal primarily with descriptions of horses, the art of riding, and the prevention and treatment of horse ailments. In the hands of numerous copiers, translators, and/or compilers, the contents of these manuscripts, single, merged, or combined, have changed so much that it is not always easy to establish their origins, authors, or patrons.[6] In our case, however, there is a definite attribution to an original work by Amir Hajib ʿAshiq Timur. Moreover, in addition to (or in spite of) this lineage, the seventeenth-century manuscript in question appears to be strictly and literally unique—not only because it is opulent but also because it incorporates a section on hunting. As opposed to the overwhelming number of medieval Islamic works on the veterinary sciences that deal with the horse, treatises on the hunt are extremely rare. Furthermore, their subject matter is mostly limited to the birds of prey that were used in hunting. Also, among those that are available to modern scholarship, there is none that can be related either to our text or to any other text attributable to Amir Hajib ʿAshiq Timur.[7] Dedicated to Ahmed I, the *Tuhfetüʾl-mülūk veʾs-selātīn* may have been compiled and prepared around 1610, at a time when military campaigns were becoming less frequent and hunting was emerging not only as a semi-routinized substitute but even as a personal passion of the young sultan. The identification of the patron and/or sponsor behind the production of the manuscript as a whole—and especially of the section on the merits of the royal hunt—as well as that of the two artists involved in its production (here designated "Painter A" and "Painter B") can provide new perspectives for the understanding of early-seventeenth-century politics at the Ottoman court.

The present study is limited to an exploration of the contents of the third chapter on hunting.[8] Oleg Grabar, elaborating on "the epic" as one of "the major themes of Persian painting," has remarked that

> ...the stories of the *Book of Kings* also appear in other texts than that of Firdawsi. This was possible because certain stories, especially those connected with Bahram Gur and Khosraw Parviz, were reinterpreted in other genres, but also because many of the stories of the *Book*

of Kings appear in the guise of a relatively small number of general subjects or activities (battle, hunt, feast, etc.) to which the heroes of the tales devote themselves, and thus the illustration gives a particular flavor to each manuscript. One could call these general subjects "subject-types" and distinguish them from the particular subjects of each story.[9]

What I shall be presenting below demonstrates that not only the "subject-types" of the *Book of Kings*—battle, hunt, and feast—but also the "person-types"—that is, its combatants, hunters, and partying royalty—appear in the *Tuhfetüʾl-mülūk veʾs-selātīn*, where they turn out, in both the text and the miniatures, to have lives of their own.

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF THE OTTOMAN ROYAL HUNT FROM THE LATE FOURTEENTH TO THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Starting with the eldest son of Orhan Gazi (r. 1324–62), Süleyman Pasha, who is reported to have died when his horse tripped and fell during a hunting party in 1357, the Ottoman royal hunt is often noted by the chroniclers as part of court life and routine.[10] It was in the sixteenth century, however, that Süleyman Pasha's incomparably more famous namesake, Süleyman I (r. 1520–66), emerged as the epitome of the ferocious hunter-sultan. Again and again, chroniclers described him and artists of his time portrayed him as participating in hunting parties.[11] This distinctive topos was also retrospectively applied. The *Hünernāme*, or Book of Talents, which was planned to expound on Süleyman I's military prowess, not only pictured him as *the* Ottoman royal hunter but also breathed new life into the hunting images of a few of his long-gone predecessors, such as Murad I, Beyazid I, Mehmed I, and Süleyman's father, Selim I.[12]

Both Murad I (r. 1363–89) and Beyazid I (r. 1389–1402) are known to have patronized extensive hunting establishments, incorporating a task force of around five to six thousand people, including those stationed in the hunting preserves.[13] The janissary corps, generally agreed to have been introduced under Murad I, incorporated titles such as *ṭurnacıbaşı*, *ṣamsuncubaşı* (*sansuncubaşı/seksoncubaşı*), *zaġārcıbaşı*, and *segbānbaşı*, all of whom were officers charged with the care and management of rare and cherished hunting dogs. The implied absorption of members of an earlier, already existing hunting establishment into the new

army of royal guards has been interpreted as a by-product of Murad's predilection for the hunt.[14] Elsewhere, his numerous and most valuable hunting dogs are said to have worn lavish silver collars.[15] Murad I is also credited with having constructed a comfortable hunting lodge at Çömlek (also spelled "Çölmek"), a seemingly inexhaustible game preserve to the north of Edirne that remained a favored hunting station for centuries.[16]

As for Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51), an anonymous *Ġazavātnāme* (heroic poem of military exploits) on the Izladi and Vidin campaigns records him as having witnessed Karamanoğlu being repulsed in 1442 while he was enjoying a hunting party.[17] He is said to have treasured a thousand hounds and more than two hundred hunting birds.[18] Another source records Murad II's hunting at the summer pastures of Sakar, Keşerlik, and Çöke, all in the vicinity of Edirne.[19] His son Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) and grandson Beyazid II (r. 1481–1512) also frequently hunted in and around Edirne,[20] often making use of Murad I's hunting lodge at Çömlek/Çölmek, the center of the Çöke district.[21] Mehmed II is also noted as being at Çöke when he issued orders to Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey to launch raids directed at Hungary. Similarly, Beyazid II is described as receiving ambassadorial envoys from Egypt, India, and Hungary at his hunting lodge. Such observations attest to the routinization of hunting as part of the official duties of the sultan.[22]

Even after the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II and his son Beyazid II often returned to Edirne, and hunting parties in the already established parks and woodlands resumed.[23] Selim I spent the winters of 1513–14[24] and 1515–16[25] in Edirne, where he hunted intensely. In 1518 and 1519, he is reported as hunting at Gümülcine (Komotini), Karasu Yenicesi, Filibe (Plovdiv), and also in the vicinity of Edirne.[26] Quite noteworthy is his unusual hunting trip to Trabzon.[27] Thus it comes as no surprise that Selim I's hunter portrait should have been included in the first volume of the *Hünernāme*.[28]

As already indicated, the reign and career of Süleyman the Lawgiver represented both a continuation of the hunting activities of his predecessors and, at least with regard to how those activities were portrayed, a turning point. Numerous Ottoman chronicles abound in references to the extent to which he too was absorbed by hunting.[29] In September 1521, immediately after the conquest of Belgrade, Süleyman is to be found hunting at Uzuncaova—while he was

still mourning the death of his son, Prince Murad, and while preparations for the Rhodian expedition must have been imminent.[30] In later years and decades, during his numerous westbound expeditions through and much further beyond Edirne, the sultan hunted as the army marched on. Of all the various locations that he frequented, the woodlands (*ḳoru*) in the vicinity of Yanbolu seem to have been the most favored during his reign.[31]

As with so many other things, a certain change seems to have set in after the Süleymanic era, though it is not easy to pinpoint just what was involved. At the very least, it appears that Süleyman's immediate successors, that is to say his son, his grandson, and his great-grandson, did not sustain the same level of hunting activity, or perhaps did not do so willingly and enthusiastically. Among other things, this might have been because the imperial hunting reserves developed and exploited over previous centuries were now more difficult to manage and maintain. For example, while Selim II (r. 1566–75) had no real interest in hunting, he did take care to act in accordance with established court custom. Thus, following his enthronement and as soon as he arrived in Edirne, he issued several imperial decrees towards the protection of the hunting grounds in the vicinity.[32]

There are other ambiguities. Selim II's occasional hunting processions have been painted by a group of European artists whose works are not regarded as reflecting direct observation. Instead, these paintings are agreed to have been based on an original, possibly by local artists, that was acquired in Istanbul about 1575 by David Ungnad, the Habsburg ambassador.[33] At the same time, the court painter Nakkaş Hasan, who in the *Şehnāme-i āl-i Osman* of 1596 depicted Selim II as using a mace to strike wild animals being brought to him, all the while remaining seated on a throne under a canopy, may have been resorting to subdued yet deliberate sarcasm.[34] Murad III (r. 1575–95), who acquired a reputation as a mystic and a patron of the arts, was never noted by the chroniclers of the time as participating in any kind of martial activity, including hunting. However, Michael Heberer, a former galley slave, testifies that in 1588 he had the opportunity to watch Murad III hunt rabbits in the royal gardens on the shores of the Bosphorus.[35] Murad's son Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603) also appears to have been physically inactive. And yet, when Mehmed III had to participate in the Eger campaign, he left Istanbul in July 1596, together with all the palace huntsmen in his

retinue, and as he traveled he hunted officially and visibly at Halkalı, Benefşe, Çatalca, Silivri, Arablu Deresi, Çorlu, Karışdıran, Burgaz, and Hasköy.[36] It may therefore be possible to infer that while, after Süleyman I, participation in royal hunting parties was clearly not a personal choice, let alone an obsession, the next three sultans nevertheless regarded it as a duty, a regnal obligation that they complied with. Moreover, even when the sultans were not consumed by hunting, they often took measures to ensure that the game reserves were jealously guarded and carefully and routinely maintained.

With Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) the Ottoman royal hunt took another turn. The chronicles of his time abound in references to hunting parties, often concluding with sumptuous banquets.[37] In early June 1604, six months after he had ascended the throne, the sixteen-year-old sultan was at the palaces of Davudpaşa and Halkalı to bid farewell to his army and his grand vizier, who were embarking on a campaign to the western front while Ahmed busied himself hunting birds with falcons or watching performances of horsemanship.[38] In early November 1604, the sultan received the news of the birth of his first son while he was at a hunting party at Rumeli Bahçesi.[39] In early October 1605, he was hunting at Çatalca and on the spur of the moment decided to visit Edirne, perhaps out of a need to emulate his prodigious forebearers who had routinely set out on Europe-bound campaigns from Edirne after the completion of the hunting season. On this occasion, however, no hunting is recorded either on the arduous three-day trip, during his eight-day stay there, or on the way back. Likewise, when he traveled to Bursa the next month, he did not engage in any hunting on the way.[40] Nevertheless, possibly in response to manipulation by courtiers frustrated by his immediate predecessors' lack of interest in war leadership and deficient martial skills, the young sultan from this point onward began to demonstrate an overwhelming commitment to hunting in the royal gardens of Istanbul: at Üsküdar, Göksu, Kandilli, Tokat, and Beykoz on the Asian side; at Sarıyer and Feridun along the European shores of the Bosphorus; and at Ayazağa, Haramideresi, Kağıthane, Karaağaç, and Halkalı on the Golden Horn.[41] Still, these hunts were on a relatively small scale and close to home. A major break came in December 1612 when, setting out from Davudpaşa, Ahmed hunted all the way to Edirne, organizing parties at Filorya (Küçükçekmece), Büyükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, Karışdıran, Burgaz, Babaeski, and Hafsa.

He then spent the rest of the winter hunting in and around Edirne, enjoying drives at Çömlek, Kurdkayası, and Karaağaç that lasted for days.[42] On April 15, 1613, the royal party left Edirne and hunted relentlessly on the road as they headed first for Bolayır and Gelibolu to visit the tomb of Süleyman Pasha "the Hunter," and then for Istanbul.[43] On May 14 the sultan finally returned and made a ceremonial entry into the capital with a pomp-and-circumstance procession as if he were returning from a victorious military campaign.[44] He promptly left the imperial palace again, this time for the palace at Üsküdar, where he stayed for forty-five days and hunted in the royal gardens. Over the rest of the summer, he continued to hunt as he visited the palaces and gardens at İstavroz, Tersane, Davudpaşa, and Halkalı; there was also a drive at Çatalca.[45] The following winter he once again moved to Edirne and hunted along the way.[46] While at Edirne, he organized drives lasting for many days and nights in the royal hunting grounds of Çömlek.[47]

Mustafa Safi reports a royal bag of eighteen deer, 150 hares, forty foxes, and several wolves taken on one occasion; regarding another, he speaks of a bag of twelve deer, 127 hares, thirty-three foxes, and one wolf.[48] Large as these numbers may seem, as royal hunts go they are relatively modest. The tallies suggest that Ahmed I had been practicing this royal sport purely as an elite pastime involving demonstrations of chivalry and gallantry. Hunting reflected the sultan's need to show off his military prowess in the absence of opportunities for (potentially) victorious campaigns during his reign.[49] No longer an overactive youth but now a vigorous young man, Ahmed I was a make-believe conqueror who modeled himself on Süleyman I. Although no miniature painting has survived that depicts him during the chase or in any other hunt-related setting, there is a document referring to a now-lost scroll picture of him in a procession to the hunting park at Davudpaşa, with the kind of pomp and display that had been established during the reign of Süleyman I.[50] Hasan Bey-zade Ahmed, Topçular Katibi 'Abdülkadir, and Mustafa Safi also repeatedly refer to the Süleyman-like posturing and behavior of the young sultan. He used the hunting lodge at Çömlek, rebuilt by Süleyman I and called *bār-gāh-ı Süleymānī*, as a reminder of his great-grandfather's might and magnificence.[51] He was apparently perceived as so promising a replacement for his great-grandfather that European observers were even willing to accept an equestrian portrait of Süleyman I as

a representation of Ahmed I.[52] In any case, Ahmed I came to patronize the entire hunting establishment of the court, which included no fewer than thirty falconers (*doğancı*) in the *Enderūn* (inner section of the palace)—three in the Privy Chamber, seven in the Treasury, and twenty in the Imperial Wardrobe. At the same time, in the *Bīrūn* (outer section of the palace), there were 271 goshawk keepers (*çakırcı*), 276 peregrine falconers (*şāhīncı*), and forty-five hawk keepers (*atmacacı*)—nearly six hundred men in all.[53] It was a machine capable of wholesale slaughter on a much more massive scale.

THE *TUḤFETÜ'L-MÜLŪK VE'S-SELĀṬĪN* AND ITS "HUNTING TREATISE" COMPONENT

It was probably at this juncture that the *Tuḥfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* was translated (or compiled or adapted) for Ahmed I. By way of introduction, the text presents a compendium of Islamic references to the horse. It is followed by a stately eulogy of Ahmed I, who is said to have understood the importance of noble horses, gallant riders, the veterinary sciences, and chivalry. Like the early Islamic conquerors, the Ottoman sultan is portrayed as having had to rely on the power of the horse to vanquish and rule. We then come to statements reflecting on Ahmed I's predilection for horse racing and hunting, expressed in terms of his eagerness to campaign against the internal enemies of his realm:

> His noble highness holds race horses and strong-hearted horsemen in great favor, and his high-flying hawks willingly go out for fresh air in the form of a ride in the desert and in the wide fields to hunt the partridge-hearted subjects and the gazelle-hearted peoples of the kingdom.[54]

This passage subtly reflects an underlying tension concerning the diverse values embodied in hunting. We understand from period chroniclers such as Mustafa Safi, who was also the sultan's imam and confidant, that many of Ahmed I's contemporaries disapproved of the sultan's passion for hunting. Such total engagement meant pleasure, and "any kind of pleasure was regarded with suspicion and could be linked with sin, particularly lust. This attitude was so entrenched in the medieval mind that pleasure often engendered a sense of guilt in the psyche of believers."[55]

At the Ottoman court, too, the baying of the hounds, the bustle and excitement of splendidly clad riders, the thrill of the chase, and the triumphant beat of the small kettledrums were all components of the highest form of enjoyment. In court circles and among the ulema, there seems to have been considerable discussion surrounding the young Ahmed's devotion to his hunting routine, the consensus being that it was infringing on the sultan's regular Friday prayers. There were also complaints about lavish spending on the royal hunt, specifically the cost of maintaining vast hunting parks and preserves, which denied commoners access to forest resources and, even worse, withdrew large tracts of land from cultivation. Court officials repeatedly recommended economizing on the royal hunt: in their view, it was a major source of economic strain, with spending for it (on robes, carriages, palaces, parks, hounds, horses, and, of course, hunters) contributing greatly to the rising burden on the imperial treasury.

In his *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, Mustafa Safi repeatedly defended his master against such charges.[56] He found it necessary to explain that beyond pleasure, hunting involved a serious motive.[57] For the feudal elites of medieval Europe and the noble warriors of Asia, prowess in the art of hunting was an important aspect of social life. It provided (or sustained) essential training for chivalry and warfare and, in times of peace, served as a substitute for the battlefield. The above quotation, linking the sultan's absorption in hunting, horses, and horsemanship to his military prowess in fighting the empire's internal and external enemies, should also be read in this vein.

Questions of authorship

In neither European nor non-European pre-modernity does the elite interest in hunting necessarily translate into an abundant literature covering all aspects of this key practice: there are major, albeit varying, lacunae in both literatures. In the medieval West, for example, there was prolific writing on venery, but it contains remarkably little on the role of the horse in the chase. In medieval literature from the Islamic lands, even though there are plenty of manuscripts on beasts in general and horses in particular, they provide little information on hunting. This is the reason that the "Treatise on Hunting" incorporated into the *Tuḥfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* is so significant, even though the original on which it was based is currently missing and its author remains obscure—despite the

folio 4a attribution of the original (as a whole) to a certain Amir Hajib ʿAshiq Timur.

Given customary practice at the time, it cannot be ruled out that what was rendered in Ottoman Turkish as the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* was a compilation and conflation of two or more works. In fact, the text itself hints at this possibility in several places. On folio 201b, for example, we learn that the text comprises, first, a study of the horse and its ailments; second, a study of horsemanship, which inevitably goes hand in hand with veterinary science; and third, a revised and abridged version of a work by a certain Shuʿayb.[58] Unfortunately, I have been able to identify neither Shuʿayb nor his work. Folio 201b further asserts that what follows will concern a certain Bakr(?) and the "science," culture, and practice of hunting.[59] This second person may have been Abu Bakr al-Baytar ibn Badr al-Din, also known as Nasiri (Naseri) ibn al-Mundhir (d. 1340), who was the author of *Kāshif hamm al-wayl fī maʿrifat amrāḍ al-khayl* (ca. 1339–40); this book on hippiatry was based on earlier works such as *Kāmil al-ṣināʿatayn (al-bayṭara wa 'l-zarṭafa)*, composed by a certain Ibn Akhi Hizam in the ninth or tenth century.[60] Like his father before him, Abu Bakr was chief veterinary surgeon at the Mamluk court. He served in the palace of Sultan Muhammad al-Nasir (r. 1294, 1299–1341), to whom his treatise was dedicated—hence the title "Naseri," which came to be applied to both the work and its author. Several copies of Naseri have been located, and a few are still in Istanbul.[61]

How can this assertion be made compatible with that other claim by the translator of ʿ*Umdat al-mulūk* into Ottoman Turkish, set out on folio 4a, that the original was composed or compiled (*te'līf etmişdir*) by a certain Amir Hajib ʿAshiq Timur? George Sarton has noted that a Syrian writer named Muhammad ibn Lajin al-Husami al-Tarabul[u]si al-Rammah (hence his nickname, "the Lancer of Tripoli") composed a manuscript on cavalry tactics entitled *Bughyat al-qāsidīn bi 'l-ʿamal fī 'l-mayādīn*. The work was dedicated to Amir ʿAshiq Timur Sayf al-Din al-Mardini, who was the Mamluk governor of Aleppo until his death in 1388.[62] This second reference to either the same or a very similar name raises the possibility that the person to whom the original of the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* is attributed may have been the work's patron rather than its author.

The secondary literature on medical or military manuscripts of medieval Islamic vintage has so far yielded no further information on Amir Hajib ʿAshiq Timur

as the patron of a manuscript on hunting. Numerous works on veterinary science and cavalry training compiled under the Mamluk sultanate consisted mostly of material from earlier writings dating back to the ninth or even the late-eighth century, i.e., to the time of the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad. Furthermore, in Arabo-Islamic manuals, a chain of authority from master to student was also usually provided. Either or both of these dimensions—recopying from earlier works and master–student connections—might account for the references to Shuʿayb or Bakr. In the absence of any such lineage, it is still plausible that the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* is at least partially a descendant of a treatise from the latter part of the fourteenth century dedicated to ʿAshiq Timur, Amir of Aleppo. The master–student chain of lineage might have then extended back from him to a certain master of the hunt, another "Amir," who not only knew the chase but was also a close and longtime servitor of his ruler—as the other epithet, "Hajib," in reference to a prince's chamberlain, suggests. We also know that hunting masters often moved on to higher posts and greater successes, as did many an *amīr-i shikār* (master of the hunt) in the Mamluk kingdom.[63]

As with the author(s) of the original treatise(s), the identity of the Ottoman Turkish translator/compiler also remains unclear. In the preface, he repeatedly states that the translation had been ordered by Ahmed I. He also complains bitterly about the task assigned him, which, he says, has cost him a great deal of his treasured lifetime. He reveals nothing further, however, about himself, the immediate patron, or the circles in which the manuscript was produced. This raises the possibility that the work was never actually completed (as opposed to the idea of a completed manuscript that was subsequently broken up). Towards the end of this article, I will argue that the miniatures, more than anything else, provide us with clues regarding the identity of the patron and his motives for the production of such a sumptuous manuscript.

On the provision of hunting grounds, hunting aids, and hunting associates

The chapter on horsemanship concludes on folio 202a, the same page on which the chapter on hunting commences. There is no illuminated title page similar to the two previous ones, but a fine floral decoration in gilt accentuates the beginning of the new chapter, which unfolds with a preface on hunting grounds,

hunting aids, and hunting associates (202a–202b). This section, abounding in Islamic references, seems to derive from a medieval text on hunting. Next comes a section expounding on issues related to justifying the royal hunt (202b–203b). It is followed by what reads as a "mirror of princes" (*naṣīḥatnāme*) (203b–206b), as well as comments regarding the preparations for and purposes of the royal hunt (204a–205a), and a discussion of how to conduct oneself during the chase (205a–206a). I believe this last section is original, addressing Ahmed I in particular and possibly written by his courtiers. The text then continues with several sections on practical issues related to hunting organization. The repetitiousness of these sections seems to have been the result of stringing together various texts, perhaps those of Shuʿayb and/or Bakr. The chapter on hunting ends abruptly on 217b, with a new section heading on hunting dogs, which would have been followed by the section on dogs, and possibly by one on birds of prey. These lacunae are lamentable, since their absence leaves the seventy-two miniatures that follow, starting on 218a—nearly half of the miniatures in the manuscript—bound and presented with no accompanying text whatsoever.

At the beginning of the chapter on hunting (202a–202b), three ideas are set forth: first, that someone must provide the hunting grounds and facilitate the hunt; second, that hunting affords both the provider-facilitator and the hunter the opportunity to come into contact with the people; and third, that certain components of hunting, such as the aids and the associates, serve to define the roles of the confidants of the hunter. No mention is made of the prey that is the object of the hunt. Hence, hunting is portrayed as a royal obligation that sovereigns take upon themselves as part of their commitment to state and society.

In a fashion typical of medieval Islamic treatises the author alternates between between hunting and hunting grounds in the ethereal world and the physical world, as hunting becomes a metaphor for the search for absolute truth. It is God who provides the hunting reserves and facilitates the hunt, while the skill of hunting for (i.e., chasing, pursuing, or following) the truth (i.e., knowledge or belief) is passed on to the followers of the Islamic faith with the help of the Prophet Muhammad, the caliphs, and the great sultans. In the physical world, hunting lets sovereigns familiarize themselves with the realities of their subjects' lives. Like their lassoes and hunting eagles, the

sultans' kindness and generosity extend far, helping them to rule justly. Similarly, the attendants and courtiers who make up the royal hunter's most intimate and reliable cohort assist the sultan in fulfilling his obligations.

Translated into everyday life, this passage reads as an introduction to the importance of knowing where hunting grounds in the wild are located and how to preserve them, as well as how to turn such areas, as well as deserts and oak groves, into well-kept game reserves for the enjoyment of royal hunters and their associates.[64] Hunting grounds could be either "natural" or "man made," but whether a forest or a royal garden was involved, the woods and wild animals needed to be maintained. There were hunting places in the wilderness intended for royalty only—*ḳoru*s known as *şikārgāh-ı selātīn, ṣaydgāh-ı ḫāṣṣa*—and the state took strict measures for their protection. Neither local fief holders nor the *reʿāyā* (literally "the flock," that is, subjects of the realm) were allowed to hunt or graze their animals in, or benefit from the forest products of, these jealously guarded hunting preserves. Wardens (*ḳorucu*s) of janissary background strictly supervised these reserves to prevent their abuse and destruction. Although Ottoman royal gardens were not exactly the paradise gardens of Indo-Iranian culture, royal hunting parties were integral to them.[65]

This same passage (202a–202b) also emphasizes the daily duties of the sultan's hunting associates, that is, those who cared for the royal hunting aids—the hounds, birds, and cats—taming and training them and driving them during the hunt. Known collectively as *şikār ḫalḳı*, these men were not menial servants but honored and influential officers of the court and the janissary corps. The principal duty of the master of the hunt (*şikār aġası*) was to ensure safe and productive hunts for the sultan. With the help of skilled assistants, he procured and trained the hunting aids, oversaw their care, and maintained their trappings and other hunting equipment. The master of the hunt was also responsible for all preparations, including recruiting drovers or huntsmen from nearby villages, sealing off the hunting grounds, supplying food for the horses and hunting aids, and properly setting up camp for the sultan and his retinue. Despite the careful stage management and a plethora of special measures and precautions, the sultan's safety was always a primary concern for the master of the hunt.

Excelling in the chase was not sufficient qualification for this position; the master of the hunt also

had to be a close and longtime servitor of the sultan. Indeed, the sponsor of the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* should be looked for among those hunting officers who not only had a visible place of honor in the court hierarchy but also perceived themselves as the true confidants of the sovereign. It is worth noting that in several instances Mustafa Safi identifies Ahmed I's intimate hunting companions by name.

On the justification of the royal hunt

Justification of the sultan's lust for the hunt is found on folios 202b–206b. The author begins by recognizing the efforts of the just sultans to eliminate the internal and external enemies of the state, artfully relating their success to developments in the veterinary sciences that had in turn led to improvements in horsemanship. Following these advances in horsemanship, the threats posed by external enemies (those outside the borders of the lands of Islam) were repelled, and the bloodthirsty, leopard-like tyrants living within Islamdom were also overthrown.[66] If as a consequence of his engagement in chivalry the sultan had become increasingly fond of hunting,[67] it was for a good cause. A love of the hunt had long been perceived as a lust for pleasure, if not for blood. To deflect accusations that the sultan had so given himself over to the pleasures of hunting that he was neglecting his royal duties, the author/translator argues that hunting is also a means for the sovereign to inform himself of the affairs of the state and his subjects' living conditions; he might then implement any regulations he deemed necessary as a result of these interactions with the populace.[68]

In another clearly defensive reference, this one to the ethereal world, the author states, "Because hunting is a way for merriment and joy, [it is] a mental course towards the absolute truth consisting of four stages: traveling on the road to God, traveling in God, traveling with God, and traveling for God; it is the highest post one may achieve and the greatest effort one may exert."

There are also more mundane reasons for sovereigns to engage in the hunt, which, according to the author, require no further explanation. For example, he states that hunting helps instill and develop courage and that sovereigns would not engage in war if their hearts were not made brave and fortified by hunting, which inoculates the soul with power.[69] Hunting also helps to overcome unnecessary pride and unjustifiable laziness.[70] If sovereigns were too inclined to the

pleasures and luxuries of life, they would remain passive and unconcerned about the oppressors and the oppressed.[71] Additionally, hunting helps to overcome excuses, for some sovereigns might try to hide their reluctance to fight oppressors and oppression behind the pretext of preserving peace and welfare.[72]

Those sultans and sovereigns who, refraining from hunting, are too fond of secluding themselves and socializing with women neglect the moral principles of their realm and reign and become overly subject to customs, traditions, and diversions.[73] These are mores that are characteristic of the lower strata of society. Whenever a ruler adopts the habits and morals of the masses, this becomes a crucial reason for his downfall.[74] The sultan's subjects, soldiers, and household would then dare to attack him,[75] and the enemy would not allow him to stand firm on his feet.[76] The leading dignitaries and ministers of his realm would render decisions independent of him and the high officials working in the public tax offices and the treasury would hide his money from him and cheat him.[77]

A counsel for princes

After the section on justifications of the hunt, the text continues in the format of a *naṣīḥat-nāme* (203b–206a). The author/translator begins by advising the sultan that he should personally lead his army to war, even if it might fall on his generals to lead in the field during actual combat. However, the author/translator also provides counterarguments to this counsel, suggesting that he and perhaps also the faction he represented were caught on the horns of a dilemma. If the sovereign were to decline to personally lead the army, the author argues, each of the forces with a potential for challenging his reign—his subjects, including the militia, and his internal and external enemies—would resort to deceptions, such as providing misinformation or exaggerating the threat posed by his enemies to convince the sultan that they alone were his true confidants, whose counsel he should heed. They would thus, according to the author, gradually take over the country and the sultanate.[78]

Those who, through their cumulative experience in politics and the secrets of state policy, have arrived at learning and wisdom and are aware of this problem nevertheless dare not suggest that the sultan personally participate in battle.[79] Despite what they believe in principle, the author, and most likely his party, ultimately advise the sultan not to commit himself to fight-

ing in the flesh, because they fear that the treachery and trickery of war might lead to his injury or death.[80] If the sultan were to suffer bodily harm, the whole country would be imperiled, and the enemy could triumph; but if the sultan were to survive, even with the army defeated, it would still be possible for the empire to endure.[81] Hence, according to the author, the supreme ruler of the ancient state and the great sultanate should not participate in combat in person.[82] Nevertheless, the sovereign might defy and repulse the enemy through the force of his spirit and character, while his associates and warriors fight and sacrifice their souls on his behalf.[83]

Following from, and overlapping with, the debate over the sultan's participation in battle is the problem, expressed in the very same lines, of martyrs who die on the battlefield in the absence of their sovereign.[84] What haunted the Ottoman mind was the belief that on Judgment Day the sultan would be held responsible before God for the bodies and souls of the soldiers who were thus lost or injured fighting on his behalf. To persuade his audience, the ruling elite, that this was not an absolute dictum, the author claims that the idea is relevant only in those cases in which the sultan acts entirely on his own account, rather than in accordance with the Prophet's directives, thereby causing unnecessary casualties on the battlefield.

Finally, the author turns to the problem of the sovereign's weaknesses, which derive from the sultan giving himself over to luxury and pleasure. Experienced in politics, the class of learned scholars have paid particular attention to this sort of moral defect, which was born out of affluence and comfort. Counseling frugality, they have striven to remove such desires from the hearts of their sovereigns, and to mend their moral principles damaged by softness and tenderheartedness.[85] However, with respect to actual politics, it has not been not possible for the learned class to dictate the sovereign's behavior.[86]

Predators as the measure of rulership: more on hunting as a metaphor for statecraft

After stressing the need for sultanic severity and firmness, the author revisits the problem of the sovereign personally leading his army into battle. When military forces, armies, and commanders engage in warfare on behalf of Islam, as well as for the honor, fortitude, and impregnability of the state, the sultan is secure, and the enemy cannot harm him.[87] But when the sovereign himself is observed marching out, he comes within the reach of the enemy and its spies.[88] For this reason, men of learning have had to encourage their sovereigns and fortify their hearts and souls before they engage in battle, thus enabling them to leave behind their concerns about their unassailability, might, and resilience. In this endeavor, hunting once more plays an instrumental role.

Almighty God intervened in the affairs of the caliphs and earthly sovereigns; through acts of revelation, He inspired the hearts of the ruling elite/men of learning, and taught them how to use different training methods to tame the wild beasts and the birds. As a result, these wild beasts and birds became accustomed to them, befriended them, and submitted to them.[89] When they (the ruling elite/men of learning) released them (literally, "sent them"), they returned; when they called out to them with instruments the beasts understood their calls and responded to them. When some beasts tried to escape, they tied them down, and the beasts have remained to serve humanity. And they (the ruling elite/men of learning) have presented them to their sovereigns.[90]

Thinking about all that might hinder a sovereign from making war, and believing that hunting might help, they (the ruling elite/the men of learning) arranged hunting parties for their princes and instructed them to take part in the chase. After that, once their sovereigns' hearts became fond of hunting, the men of learning told them further that they had to choose a correct time for hunting and that they had to take with them their treasure (i.e., financial resources), as well as their hunting instruments.[91] The ruling elite/men of learning also instructed them (the sovereigns or princes) in such matters as shooting at hanging (swinging) objects and making up-and-down movements like lowering a bucket into the water. They did all this in a proper manner, according the sultans the respect and special concern due them.[92]

Preventing familiarity from breeding contempt and suppressing potential rivals

According to the next section, a sultan setting out into the wild on a hunting expedition benefits greatly. He overcomes the boredom caused by prolonged stays in the city and by not traveling to the countryside.[93] He is able to rest and relax, breathe fresh air, gaze at the sky, and take advantage of the good health

imparted by the air.[94] And he has the opportunity to go horse riding.[95]

When the sultan and his close associates chase wild animals, he is able to push his horse to jump and to play, unlike in the capital, where, continually surrounded by a great many people, he does not have the chance to engage in such pursuits. On the hunting grounds, however, there are no rivals or observers. If he were to try to do any of the aforementioned activities in the city, among the common people, it is possible that one among the lowest in rank of his soldiers might say, "I am more stable in the saddle, I am more powerful, and I am a better rider than the padishah."[96] The people might thus make snide remarks about the sultan, who would no longer appear as dignified in their eyes; the sultan should not have to endure this sort of humiliation. And if (one day), feeling the need to participate personally on the battlefield against the enemy, the sultan personally sallies forth from the security, firmness, and durability of his sultanate, may he do so sheltered by his troops and soldiery, lest it be the end of the world.[97]

Once they have demonstrated their riding skills, princes should regard it as desirable to look for their prey among leopards, tigers, (wild) dogs, and hawks— the ferocious predators among birds and beasts—and to take their sport with them.[98] As the sultan pursues and hunts these predators, he will gain courage and self-confidence; as he observes their many ways, he will note how fiercely they seize and grab, and how ferociously they rage. As he fights these beasts and overcomes some of them, he will observe how they seek to evade pursuit through all kinds of trickery and thus make their escape. After witnessing all sorts of situations in which predatory beasts hunt, the sultan's character will come to partake of their temper and nature.[99] The sultan thus acquires characteristics such as strength, determination, focus, and greatness, as well as public spirit, a sense of protectiveness toward his realm and his subjects, and perseverance against his enemies. By watching and observing the behavior of predators and those they prey upon, the sultan learns how to wage war. Brave fighters and warriors who acquire and apply their martial skills in this way are able to defeat the enemy on the field of battle.

Personally ready for combat and the battlefield, the sultan also derives power, zeal, and courage from the enthusiasm of all the champions and warriors around him, from the energy and zeal that they display in the name of God, from how they tear apart, smash, and slay the enemy, and from their yells and shouts of triumph.[100] Before he engages in warfare, the sultan observes on the hunting grounds the courage, effort, perseverance, and audacity of the leopards, tigers, hounds, falcons, hawks, and all the other beasts and birds used for hunting. Seeing how fiercely they grab, knock down, and tear their prey to pieces, the padishah's self and soul also gains motivation, valor, daring, and aggressiveness.[101] The sultan thereby perseveres against, and triumphs over, the infidels from neighboring states. As for any tyrants in his own lands, the sultan comes forth bearing the sword of justice, cleanses his country, and, saving his subjects from such oppression, he takes them back again.[102]

Maintaining monopoly over a "royal art"

Hunting has not been prescribed for rulers and sultans as a means of sustenance, for, unlike other hunters, they do not need to eat what they have bagged.[103] It could be that what the sovereign really seeks to conquer and cultivate is knowledge, and that the prize he really pursues is the hearts and minds of his subjects, who have been entrusted to him by God. For people who are animal-like in their qualities cannot be influenced by any sermon or advice, since the only things that will have any effect on them are the policy, sword, justice, and fury of the sultan.[104]

> We have sought out the ends of the world, o prince, for the sake of the hunt,
> Master the knowledge of the hunt, so that you may capture the bird of the heart.
> Release the royal falcon of your zeal, to the summits that guard your kingdom,
> For they have goshawks' talons, those gain-seekers who are now being born.[105]

It is for this reason that hunting has been prescribed only for sultans and sovereigns, while soldiers and members of the troops have not been permitted to hunt.[106] And if hunting has come to be allowed, it is because of the grace that has been bestowed on princes rather than on hunters and drovers. So it has been that padishahs themselves have descended on hunting grounds, accompanied by a plethora of predatory beasts and gamebirds.[107] For soldiers and subjects alike there is nothing more dangerous than having their lord (or commander) designated as a keeper (or watchman) during a hunting party. It is a great betrayal, for it has happened many times that

when people commanding large numbers of soldiers, drovers, and troops have taken to the field in pomp and glory to pursue the hunt, their enemy has by craft and guile succeeded in hunting and seizing them. For this reason, the hunt is not meant for anyone but the ruler.[108]

When the sultan uses hunting as a pretext to go out and observe the conditions of the subjects living under his rule, this leaves nobody with any special connection or influence: his sultanate admits of no partners, of no one who has the right to use the same pretext for going out in the same way. But every now and then this has happened. To guard against it, the sovereigns have thus reserved hunting as their own privilege, and prohibited it to the common people.[109] They have also prohibited all others from keeping and caring for hawks and predatory beasts like dogs or leopards, since, as the sovereigns used to say, "This (hunting) is a royal art."[110] And nobody who was not one of them had the right to be like them; so (only) the princes could go out hunting. And as they were getting ready, they would warn the drovers in their retinue that the soldiers were allowed to hunt only predators and nothing else, so that, especially when they brought forth the enemy, their paths would not be entangled and their horses would not be exhausted; for there have been times when, in pursuing wild beasts, horses have lost their footing and been lamed.[111]

Modes of conduct during the hunt

In a section entitled "the first stage of hunting" (*evvel merātib-i ṣayd*), we find a discussion of the most suitable weather conditions for the hunt. One has to ascertain whether it is going to be cloudy or clear: this depends on the month of the year, the (natural) environment, and the climate (what we would today call an ecosystem). Knowledge of the appropriate times for hunting helps in determining when and where various kinds of prey are to be found.[112] The author/translator elaborates further on what to look out for in order to make an accurate weather forecast (206b). Quoting a hadith in Arabic, he relates how the Prophet Muhammad forecast rain by observing different tones of color in different parts of the clouds (207a). The author/translator then discusses rainclouds, lightning, and thunderbolts (207b), and also incorporates an anecdote about a dialogue between an old blind shepherd and his young daughter (208a).

In the next section, on "modes of conduct during the hunt" (*ṣayd içün çıḳıldıḳta vāḳiʿ olan ādāb beyān eder*), the author counsels that the sultan, while on hunting expeditions, should inquire about the needs and problems of his subjects.[113] He also advises that the people be given advance notice of hunting parties because timid women and those who hold their persons dear might not be able to suffer the impetuosity and brutality displayed by the (hunting) attendants.[114]

There follows a discussion of the correct ways of forwarding complaints to the sultan by the abused (208b). This, in turn, is followed by a set of suggestions for the guards, watchmen, and criers, who are also instructed to keep track of the hideouts where game might take cover, as well as their water holes or drinking spots. The hunting attendants are warned that in order to avoid frustrating the sultan the basic routines of the game animals should be studied very carefully (208b). It is recommended that the same tactics that prove useful in discovering enemy hideouts be tried on wild animals. Their dens, holes, lairs, nests, and burrows should be raided, and (the equivalents of) spying and treason should also be resorted to as necessary tools for success (209a). The author further advises including in the sultan's hunting retinue a scholar of Islamic jurisprudence, a muezzin (as an expert for calculating the time to call for prayers), a secretary, poets well versed in pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry, a pharmacist, and others whom the sultan may need to rely on when he is out in the countryside (209b).

Following some hadith and anecdotes about Caliph ʿUmar and hunting (210a) appear a number of other stories that are not directly related to the Ottoman royal hunt. One narrates the plight of the caliph who, during a hunting party, finds himself lost in the desert until some Bedouins come to his aid (210b). An explanation of the virtue of an expression of impatience (210b–211a), "There is no power nor strength but in God" (*Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata [illā bi ʾllāhi]*), is followed by another anecdote relating to the caliph who, having observed the intolerable living conditions of his subjects, is said to have gathered his viziers after a hunting party to discuss the people's difficulties, needs, and troubles (211b) and to have found it necessary to make changes in the tax-collection system (212a). A statement on the need to employ attendants to clean the face of the sultan's horse and to hold his falcon is accompanied by a hadith describing how

the Prophet wiped perspiration from his horse with the skirt of his gown. Yet another story explains how the Prophet speared an onager on his way to Mecca. Some of his companions ate its meat, while others used its skin for clothing, upon which the caliph was asked, "Was it sent by God to be consumed by us?" A further story relates to the caliph Mutawakkil's commitment to hunting: upon return from his hunting parties, he was known to have paid indemnities for the damages caused by his horses to fields under cultivation (212a–212b).

According to the section on "The Manners of the Hunting Attendants" (212b: *bu faṣl ol ḫizmetkārlaruñ ādābın beyān eder ki*), those attendants chosen to walk or ride beside the sultan should be very sensitive to the sovereign's needs. In the winter, if they want to address the sultan, they should avoid standing in the sun for warmth, because the horse might stomp and scratch, perhaps kicking dirt on the sultan. The hunting attendants should also be well trained. When an archer shoots an arrow he should say, "I shot in the name of the glory and might of the sultan (213a: *Pādişāhuñ ʿizzet ve devletine atdum*).

Hunting birds and hounds

Birds of prey used for hunting (*bu faṣl yırtıcı ve avlayıcı olan ṭuyūruñ beyānıdur*) are examined in a section beginning on 213b. In a discussion apparently based on earlier treatises, certain foreign species (*tarʾuk* and *sunġur*) are compared and contrasted with those better known in the Ottoman world, such as falcons (*doġan*), peregrine falcons (*şāhīn*), hawks (*atmaca*), and goshawks (*çāḳır*), whose wing coloring, tail and neck lengths, and other characteristics are described (214a). In accordance with the ancient theory of humors, birds of prey are classified into three groups, depending on the nature of their blood (*dem*), phlegm (*bālġam*), and wind (*rīḥ*). The symptoms of the ailments these birds are prone to are listed, and also related to their defining characteristics (214b). A section on raptors (*faṣl-i cevāriḥ*) includes a discussion of the first historical figures said to have used falcons while hunting (214b–215a). Other sections highlight the role of the falconer (215a: *bu faṣl doġan ile ṣayd eden kimesneyi beyān eder)*; provide detailed descriptions of falcons (216b: *bu faṣl doġanuñ tafṣīlin beyān eder*); show how to identify the males of each species (217a: *bu faṣl yırtıcı ve avlayıcı ḳuşlaruñ erkeklerüñ dişilerinden bilmeyi beyān eder)*; document the methods used by natives of

Khorasan to deliver of birds of prey (217a: [*bu*] *faṣl ehl-i Ḫorāsān avcı olan ṭuyūru nice getürürler anı beyān eder*); and explain how falcons are trained (217a: *bu faṣl doġanuñ teʾdībin beyān eder*). The next page displays a miniature of a leopard accompanied by its handler or caretaker (218a).

The beginning of a new section on hunting with hounds (218b: *bu faṣl ṣayd-ı kilābı beyān eder*) is indicated by the depictions of an attendant with three hounds; on the opposite page, however, are depicted three falconers (figs. 1–2). Unfortunately, the rest of the text is missing, and the miniatures that follow appear in no definite order, all coming to an end on folio 253b. What is likely to have been there? A comparison with a thirteenth-century hunting treatise, which offers a good example of the medieval literature on this subject, may give us some idea of the format and contents of the sections that might have been planned. The manuscript in question was presented to the caliph as well as to Imam al-Mustansir Billah, also known as al-Mansur bi-Fadl Allah, who was a military commander under Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad b. Yahya, who in turn reigned over much of North Africa between 1249 and 1277. It is commonly referred in the relevant literature to as "al-Mansur's book."[115]

The first three volumes of al-Mansur's book have been lost; in published form we have only what remains of the fourth volume. The treatise opens with a section on predators, enumerating them and setting out their distinguishing features. A discussion of hounds details their superior qualities, their breeding seasons, and their various merits and flaws, as well as how to feed, raise, train, and hunt with them; other matters having to do with hounds of special quality are also addressed. The reader also learns about their various eye, ear, throat, and abdominal diseases, as well as rabies, and about treatments for wounds, cuts, swellings, ulcers, abcesses, warts, and tumors. The treatise also considers hunting without the aid of animals before turning to the targets of the hunt—birds and fish as well as quadrupeds.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE MINIATURES

The miniatures appended to the section on hunting in the *Tuḥfetüʾl-mülūk veʾs-selāṭīn* illustrate not only hunters and their animal aids as mentioned in the text but also aspects or activities for which there is no textual counterpart. This includes, most strikingly,

Figs. 1 and 2. Hunting aids: attendants with falcons and hounds. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 218b–219a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

illustrations of warriors in various types of training or combat positions (figs. 3 and 4, 5 and 6). It may be that the inclusion of these fighters was intended to highlight the function of the hunt as a military exercise. This conjecture seems to be further supported by the fact that most of the warriors—mounted or not, but also in full armor—are shown training in "nature," not only with various inanimate targets but also by hunting boars, lions, snakes, birds, goats, gazelles, and even, oddly enough, ostriches (figs. 7 and 8). Curiously, there are also depictions of cavalrymen wearing war masks, even while riding horses,[116] together with other riders on giraffes, elephants, or camels. Even if we had not been told anything about the origin or original form of this manuscript, this by itself would point to a Mamluk model for these miniatures.[117] In

any case, also included in this section are illustrations of wrestlers paired off against one another. Further on, there is a double-page representation of a form of longeing, with two warriors riding in circles, their horses constantly changing lean and direction.[118]

Contrasting to all these scenes of combat or combat training are several depictions of royal hunting parties, in which the sultan, the sultana, and her ladies-in-waiting figure prominently (figs. 9 and 10). These genre paintings are remarkable not only because they relate to the social setting of the royal hunts, but also because they exemplify the artistic style of the age. Furthermore, this group of miniatures, more than any other, embodies one of the messages that the patron of the manuscript in question appears to have wanted to convey (to judge from the numerous textual refer-

Figs. 3 and 4. A cavalryman with a club-like weapon, opposite a horseman spearing a wild boar from his saddle. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 243b–244a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Figs. 5 and 6. A king hunting wth his falcon, opposite a heavy cavalryman wielding a bared sword and riding an armored horse. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 219b–220a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)
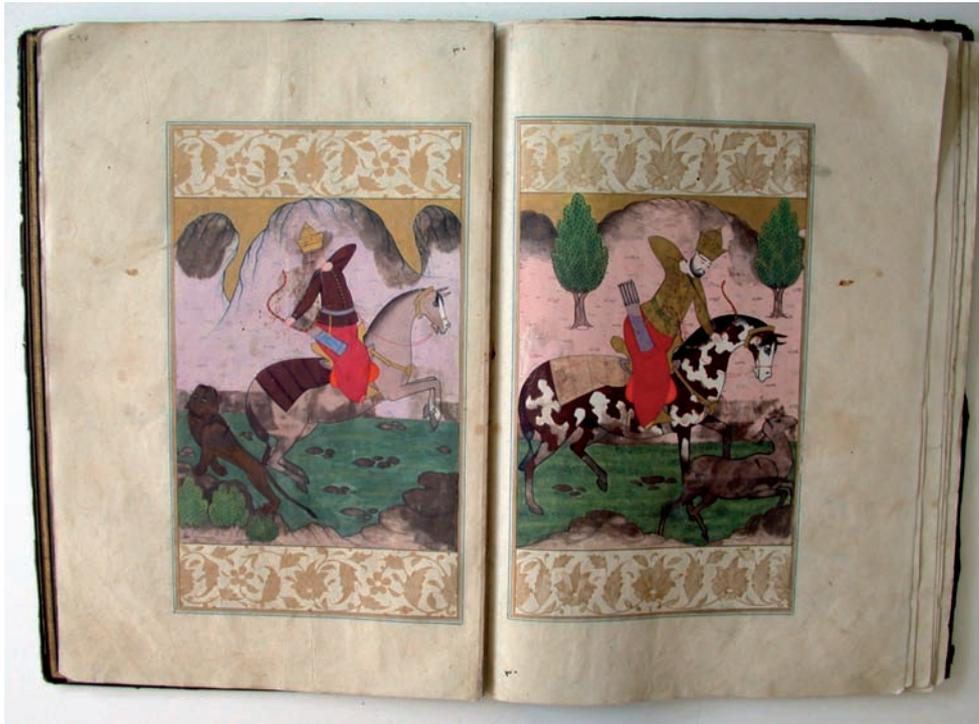
Figs. 7 and 8. Two kings on horseback, one shooting at an antelope and the other at a lioness. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 246b–247a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Figs. 9 and 10. A party or gathering of women during a royal hunt, opposite a huntsman on horseback shooting a charging bear. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 245b–246a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

ences and repetitions)—namely, that while it is normal for luxury, pleasure, and even various kinds of lust to be commonly associated with royal hunting parties, there is much more to hunting than these self-indulgent aspects.

In contrast, it is the self-indulgent aspects of such leisurely activities that are disparagingly emphasized in two copies (perhaps a decade apart) of a contemporary manuscript on eschatology, *Tercüme-i Miftāḥ cifrü'l-cāmiᶜ*, which contain miniatures with similar themes relayed through similar compositions. The scene in question relates to an apocalyptic event, the sending of the wind that, it was believed, would take the souls of all true believers so that in the end only the sinful would suffer the apocalypse. It is represented by a group of people engaged in frivolous activities outdoors, that is to say, in "nature"—a setting similar to that of a hunting party.[119] In an illustration in the earlier copy of the *Tercüme*, two women playing a cymbal and a harp accompany a third who is dancing, while yet another woman serves a drink to a youth seated cross-legged on a throne; in the later copy, the female figures are replaced by males, and the cupbearer is replaced by a young man reading a book. The changes in the second copy, which was prepared during the reign of Ahmed I, may have been introduced to please the pious sultan, or some in his immediate retinue, on the assumption that he might not have tolerated representations of women, especially in such a setting.[120]

In the *Tuḥfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*, representations of ladies in party scenes appear on separate folios, with the sultana and her attendants in one group and the entertainers in another. It is possible that the depictions of the sultana participating in hunting parties were originally meant to be juxtaposed, face to face, with compositions comprising musicians and dancers, so as to create a more impressive double folio of playfulness (figs. 11 and 12). It is also possible that the depictions of the sultana and her ladies-in-waiting were intended to face those of the royal hunter in the company of his attendants, enthroned, wearing his royal insignia (notably the Persian-style crown), and occasionally bearing a falcon on his hand. Most importantly, there is always a person of status seated to the right of the throne, recalling Asaf ibn Barkhiya, the wise and learned vizier of Solomon (figs. 13 and 14). This version certainly recalls a very common model in Islamic painting, the depictions of Solomon and Bilqis, the Queen of Sheba, enthroned outdoors in "nature" and surrounded by animals, birds, and supernatural creatures.

The puzzle of the two painters

Of the seventy-two miniatures included in the third chapter of the *Tuḥfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*, thirty-five depict some aspect or feature of the hunt (including the entertainment scenes), while thirty-seven are explicitly related to the martial arts. Among the latter are singular figurative representations that strictly follow a compositional model. The figures, mostly static, with only arms and hands moving, are extremely repetitive; only the costumes vary to some extent, displaying non-Ottoman regional origins or social status. Mounted figures are often represented in three-quarter view (figs. 15 and 16), but frontal and rear depictions, and even one in full profile, are also present in the throne and entertainment scenes. The representations of nature are conventional, following standard compositional models consisting of bare, rocky hills and a few trees. Nevertheless, the depictions of the trees are quite distinctive.

Two styles of painting are easily and patently discernible (figs. 17 and 18).[121] They differ, for example, in Painter A's preference for pale colors as opposed to the deep, vivid, and strong colors favored by Painter B. The subtle tones of Painter A's palette and his painterly style contrast with the boldness and self-possession of Painter B. The treatment of depth also differs: while Painter A's landscapes are quite flat, Painter B carefully differentiates between the foreground, middle ground, and background and better conveys the third dimension. Painter B's characteristic eyes, brows, and moustaches add humor to his work. In addition to the stylistic differences between the two artists apparent in their representations of facial features, trees, hills, rocks, and flowering shrubs, and in their respective preferences in color scheme, there is a discrepancy in their painting materials, those of Painter B being of higher quality. Another quite striking difference between the two can be seen in their depictions of the trappings and coverings of the horses: for example, while Painter A's caparisons feature two slits on the side flaps, Painter B's have a single slit at the center of each side flap. It seems plausible that while Painter B was already a mature artist in the 1610s, Painter A might have been an advanced apprentice, working with materials of poorer quality. But probably the situation was more complicated; the circumstances that

Figs. 11 and 12. A king with his falcon at a hunting party, his attendants behind him, talking with a learned man sitting on the ground, opposite a mail-coated cavalryman on horseback shooting at a huge snake. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 232b–233a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Figs. 13 and 14. Two scenes from a hunting party: a falcon-bearing king talking with a learned man, and, opposite, his women, seated or standing separately. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 251b–252a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Figs. 15 and 16. Identically equipped heavy cavalrymen on elaborately caparisoned and armored horses, depicted from both sides to show what was worn or carried to the right or left of the saddle. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 140b–141a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

brought the works of the two artists of different caliber together in a royal project deserve scrutiny.

Men of multiple identities and diverse backgrounds infused Ahmed I's court with a new dynamism. One member of this new wave was Kalender Pasha (d. 1616), whose interesting name (unique in Ottoman military-bureaucratic service) and swift rise to high office suggest that his origins might have been in some eastern center of power. Once conscripted, he appears to have conformed well within the newly evolving Ottoman system, benefitting to the utmost from all the opportunities coming his way. Kalender's multifaceted talents and artistic output reveal a man of a complex and compound culture.[122]

In contrast to the "adventurer" Kalender stood Nakkaş Hasan (d. 1623), a celebrated artist in the early-seventeenth-century Ottoman court, who was involved in the illustration of at least twenty manuscripts with historical and literary themes. Nakkaş Hasan was certainly a product of the palace in the "classical" sense. He too, however, was many-sided, and fit in nicely with the new realities of the Ottoman military-bureaucratic elite. When he was appointed agha of the janissaries in early March 1604, immediately after Ahmed I's enthronement, he was already an esteemed artist who had worked with Nakkaş Osman (d. 1598?). Since that master's demise, he had been in overall charge of the palace workshops. Nevertheless, because he was paid for his services elsewhere, his name never appears on the payroll lists of the *nakkāşhāne*. In 1604, Nakkaş Hasan Pasha was also engaged in training the troops preparing for a campaign in Hungary. It would not therefore be illogical to regard him as a potential illustrator of a manuscript on horsemanship. Never-

Figs. 17 and 18. Two heavy cavalrymen fencing, their lances held in both hands, opposite a cavalryman spearing an unhorsed warrior lying helpless on the ground. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 158b–159a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

theless, although it seems that he continued even in this period to work as an artist, his style, akin to the miniatures of the Baghdad school, bears no resemblance to that of either Painter A or Painter B in the *Tuḥfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*.

The career of another celebrated artist of the period, Ahmed Nakşi (d. after 1622), whose early exposure to European art and painting is beyond dispute, is also characteristic of this period of transformation.[123] Like Nakkaş Hasan Pasha, he does not show up in the payroll registers of the *nakkāşḫāne*. Ahmed Nakşi's hand is most discernible in his individualized portraits, each executed with finesse and exhibiting a distinguishable physiognomy. While Painters A and B also appear to be quite competent artists, their styles are notably distinct from those of Nakkaş Hasan Pasha and Ahmed Nakşi.

Exploring diverse networks and backgrounds

Despite their anonymity, I believe that the two painters of the *Tuḥfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* should be sought among the masters of Ottoman painting. The representations by these two painters of horses and warriors, as well as of courtly gatherings, recall, for example, those of the *Şehnāme-i Türkī* manuscripts from more or less the same period, mostly commissioned during the reign of Osman II (1618–22) by lesser statesmen.[124] Furthermore, the bold self-confidence of Painter B is similar to that displayed in some of the illustrations of two *Şehnāme-i Türkī* manuscripts perhaps commissioned in the reign of Ahmed I, one of which is in the New York Public Library's Spencer Collection (figs. 19 and 20),[125] and the other in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.[126] Two illustrated anthologies of poetry

Fig. 19. Bahram Gur kills a unicorn (*karg*) during his sojourn in India. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Ms. Turk 1, fol. 474a. (Photo: courtesy of the New York Public Library)

Fig. 20. Giv and Tus fighting with Kamus. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Ms. Turk 1, fol. 246a. (Photo: courtesy of the New York Public Library)

in the British Library also include miniatures reminiscent of Painter B's personal and intrepid style.[127] Furthermore, combined with his rendering of depth, the manner in which Painter B depicts the countryside, especially hills, plants, trees, and rocks—his sense of humor in imbuing the rocks with human faces (figs. 21 and 22) is akin to the mood of Ahmed Nakşi, and, more distantly, to that of the Tahmasp *Shāhnāma*—is reminiscent of elements from other manuscripts and albums of the period.[128] "In several of the illustrations, the artist tried to add realism by placing the trees in dead ground," Meredith-Owens has said of the contemporary miniatures that I find similar in style to Painter B's.[129]

In contrast, the subtle tones of Painter A's palette match other paintings (1616–20?) now in the Spencer Collection of New York Public Library, as well as those in the *Şehnāme-i Türkī* in the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (dated 1620, with a record of the manuscript's having taken four years to produce, making it possible to date its commissioning to the last years of Ahmed I's reign),[130] the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (ca. 1622),[131] and some other *Şehnāme*s from the same period, including those that are now truncated and dispersed.[132] Two Ottoman *Şehnāme*s now in the manuscript libraries of St. Petersburg also contain miniatures that compare with the output of Painters A and B in the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*. Yet again, there are albums from the first

Figs. 21 and 22. Two horses in a landscape; rocks in the foreground of the left-hand folio bear a human face in profile. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, fols. 53b–54a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

quarter of the seventeenth century containing individual studies that yield a close match with the output of the two *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* painters.[133]

Who, then, were these industrious artists? Were they employed at the imperial court, or did they work freelance in Istanbul? Were they members of the military-bureaucratic machine, whose careers had therefore removed them at some point from the capital and the *naḳḳāşḫāne*? Or were they immigrants to Istanbul? Considering the abundance of miniatures produced for the many *Şehnāme-i Türkī* copies and for other manuscripts of the period,[134] including those of the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn,* could these artists be among those who had been busy at the end of the sixteenth century producing commercial copies (for lesser grandees) in Shiraz or Tabriz or elsewhere?[135] Or should we search for Painters A and B among the Sufi circles of the Ottoman capital? Even if we do not have a clear-cut answer at this point, it is crucial to note that,

on the whole, this group of miniature artists, working in the Ottoman capital in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, were more accomplished than their counterparts who were paving the way for the Iranian epic's new visual reinterpretation under the eminent late-sixteenth-century master Nakkaş Osman.[136]

Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı have recently argued that the rich artistic environment created by Mevlevi intellectuals in medieval Anatolia and beyond was still considerably alive in the early 1600s, resulting in the production of a number of *Mesnevi* and illustrated *Şehnāme-i Türkī* manuscripts.[137] A Mevlevi poet and calligrapher, Cevri İbrahim Çelebi (ca. 1595–1654), produced several copies of both texts. In 1978, Esin Atıl also made some keen observations concerning the connections between the illustrations of the various *Şehnāme-i Türkī* manuscripts of the early seventeenth century. For example, regarding the miniatures of the New York Public Library Spencer Collection copy, she

noted that "sixty-eight of the paintings reflect the vestiges of the classical court style, while fourteen were made by the same artist who worked on the Uppsala manuscript with Nakşi."[138] Since then, Barbara Schmitz has attributed sixty-seven of the paintings to "a follower of Osman" (meaning Nakkaş Osman), actually relating the artist in question to the eminent *ser-nakkāş* (chief painter) as a son or nephew. She has attributed the other fifteen (note Atıl's division of sixty-eight and fourteen as opposed to Schmitz's sixty-seven and fifteen) to an artist she calls "the Bizhan Master," after his most outstanding work in the Spencer Collection *Şehnāme*. It is directly to Ahmed Nakşi that she has attributed a final twenty-six.[139]

Narrowing the search: pinpointing the patron and the unnamed Painter B

I would argue that one of Ahmed Nakşi's associates in the production of the Spencer Collection *Şehnāme-i Türkī* must have also contributed to the Uppsala, Paris, and St. Petersburg copies, and must be the artist whom I have identified as Painter B in the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāţīn* miniatures.[140] I would further argue that both this prolific painter and his colleague Painter A worked in the Ottoman capital, in close proximity to and in some kind of working relationship with the *nakkāşḫāne*—and as equals or near-equals to Nakkaş Hasan Paşa or Ahmed Nakşi, not so much in terms of their origins and training or the artistic circles they belonged to but certainly in terms of the numbers of high-level commissions they received from art patrons in Istanbul in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.[141] It was, indeed, the rise of a new generation of patrons of the arts that generated a more fluid mobility among artists, enabling a new genre of painting to flourish outside the walls of the Topkapı Palace.

The Spencer Collection *Şehnāme-i Türkī* was copied in *nastaʿlīq* by the calligrapher Dervish ʿAbdi-i Mevlevi for Hafız Ahmed Pasha (d. 1632), who was closely related to Ahmed I.[142] Hafız Ahmed had joined the *Enderūn* when he was fifteen; chosen for his voice, he was trained as a *ḥāfız*, one who recites the entire Qurʾan by heart. As the boon companion of Ahmed I, Hafız Ahmed likely waited on the sultan during hunting parties in or near the capital. In February 1608, when he was chief falconer (*doğancıbaşı*), Hafız Ahmed was simultaneously promoted to a vizierate and appointed grand admiral.[143] (It was around this time that he recommended Mustafa Safi to the sultan

to translate Asafi's *Celāl ü Cemāl* from Persian.[144]) In February 1609, Hafız Ahmed was dismissed as grand admiral and appointed governor-general of Damascus.[145] Following several expeditions against Celali rebels, he joined forces with the grand vizier Kuyucu Murad Pasha and campaigned all the way to Tabriz in 1610.[146] In 1611, he was also dismissed from his Damascus governorship, though not, apparently, in disgrace, since upon his return to Istanbul he is noted to have attended state ceremonies. Not only during various celebrations (such as royal marriages) but in other instances too, he often appeared next to Nakkaş Hasan Pasha (*ittifāk ile cemʿīyet ederler*), who was not only his senior but also, at the time, a vizier in the Imperial Council. One such occasion was the marriage of Ayşe Sultan to Nasuh Pasha.[147] Hafız Ahmed later served as governor-general of Aleppo, Erzurum, Diyarbakır, and Baghdad, and was involved in several anti-rebel expeditions in the east.[148]

Just before his appointment to Diyarbakır in the spring of 1622, he was recalled to Istanbul to be married to a princess, who remains unidentified in the sources.[149] We do not know what then happened to this marriage or the unnamed princess. But four years later, in 1626, Hafız Ahmed is reported to have married Ayşe Sultan—the daughter of Ahmed I whose marriage to Nasuh Pasha he had attended in 1611. (This appears to have been Ayşe Sultan's fifth or sixth marriage to a leading dignitary). Clearly Hafız Ahmed's periodic absences from Istanbul had not prevented him from maintaining his ties with palace circles. What we know of his artistic patronage fits in with this broad picture. A long inscription on folio 591v of the Spencer Collection *Şehnāme-i Türkī* describes the various stages of the manuscript's creation and later repairs. It says (in the New York Public Library's transcription) that the grand vizier and imperial son-in-law (*dāmād*) Hafız Pasha borrowed a manuscript of the Ottoman Turkish translation of Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* that had been made for the Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri in 906 (1500–1501) by Şerif Amidi Efendi, and persuaded the famous calligrapher Dervish ʿAbdi Efendi of the Mevlevihane (in Istanbul) to copy it for him. Schmitz has dated the preparation of the manuscript to between 1616 and 1620.[150] But the fact that Hafız Ahmed was simultaneously grand vizier and a *dāmād* when he borrowed the *Şehnāme* from the palace library should date the completion of the manuscript to, at the earliest, 1624–25, during his first period in highest office.[151]

Hafız Ahmed's frequent postings to the eastern provinces of Damascus, Aleppo, Erzurum, Diyarbakır, and Baghdad tie in nicely with the additional information that he "brought painters and bookbinders from India to illustrate and illuminate the manuscript" (*maḫṣūṣan Hindden ressām ve mücellid celbiyle tersīm ve teẕhīb etdirilüp*).[152] At the same time, the further point that Dervish ʿAbdi-i Mevlevi, the copyist of the Spencer Collection *Şehnāme*, had studied in Isfahan and, upon his return, established ties with Hafız Ahmed Pasha, who is thought to have been close to Mevlevi circles in general, is highly suggestive of the Sufi networks operating in manuscript production in early-seventeenth-century Istanbul.[153] Hence, in a certain way, the networks and backgrounds suggested by Çağman and Tanındı, Atıl, and Schmitz all seem to come together.

Turning to the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*, it is quite possible, indeed probable, that even though its translation is said to have been commissioned directly by Ahmed I, the illustrated manuscript was initiated by Hafız Ahmed Pasha, who was, after all, an aspiring patron of the arts. Closely involved in the royal hunt as chief falconer, he may already have had access, while in that position, to artists in Sufi circles, from among whom he could have hired Painter B and the other team members. The privilege of hunting in the retinue of the sultan conferred not only status but also responsibility. The chief falconer, always in the top ranks of the hunting establishment despite the ebb and flow of Ottoman practice, was at that time its direct head.[154] As such, he had to be even more conscientious than the other hunting attendants and confidants. In a sense, it was his task to address the ruler discreetly and decorously about issues that the sultan's hunting confidants—and/or the particular faction that the chief falconer belonged to—perceived to be menacing both the person of the sovereign and his state, as well as his rulership. This is why parts of the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* read like a *naṣīḥatnāme*, a fine example of "mirror for princes" literature.

As provincial appointments took Hafız Ahmed Pasha away from the capital and the court, the completion of the manuscript would have been repeatedly delayed. In the meantime, Ahmed I, to whom it was to be presented, died in 1617. It is quite likely that the Spencer Collection *Şehnāme*, too, was produced under such circumstances in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. After all, of the 108 miniatures of that *Şehnāme*, there is a near consensus on sixty-seven

or sixty-eight as being the work of Nakkaş Osman's studio, and on another twenty-six or twenty-seven as being by the eclectic painter Ahmed Nakşi, whose work would come to be more closely associated with the reign of Osman II.

What remains is that crucial middle group of fourteen or fifteen paintings that are typical of the reign of Ahmed I—by somebody whom Esin Atıl describes as "the same artist who worked on the Uppsala manuscript with Nakşi," and whom Barbara Schmitz has chosen to call "the Bizhan Master."[155] I remain thoroughly persuaded that this same unknown painter also created the sumptuous images for the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*.

A MANUSCRIPT INTENDED AS YET ANOTHER *BOOK OF KINGS*

In his *War in the Middle Ages*, Philippe Contamine refers to the warrior element in hunting, noting that because of the armored cavalryman's key role in medieval armies, "all exercise on horseback [by the knightly classes], notably hunting, could be considered as preparation for war."[156] Richard Almond further elaborates on what was expected of hunting in this regard:

> For a knight should always engage in anything to do with arms or chivalry and, if he can not do so in war, he should do so in activities which resemble war. And the chase is most similar to war for these reasons: war demands expense met without complaint; one must be well horsed and well armed; one must be vigorous, and do without sleep, suffer lack of good food and drink, rise early, sometimes have a poor bed, undergo heat and cold, and conceal one's fear.[157]

In time, of course, as ideology perhaps initially growing out of material thresholds and class divisions came to subsume and represent all such conditions or causal links and to acquire an autonomy of its own, royalty and the rest of the ruling elite also hunted as part of their legacy—it was a birthright, and it was expected of them. Yet another dimension of this complex outlook was that, for the warrior elite organized around a monarchical nucleus, avoiding idleness, and therefore sin, was important, and hunting provided the ideal anodyne of healthy, violent, and enjoyable exercise.

The evidence points to the royal hunt as a large-scale consumer of resources—animal, human, admin-

istrative, and financial.[158] Hence, for example, criticism was leveled at Chinese officials on the grounds that they ignored the disruption of arable and other natural resources, the burden that the royal hunt exerted on the locals who were drawn into its vortex, the fiscal drains entailed by the construction of hunting parks replete with numerous facilities, and the general extravagance it all embodied.[159] Nizam al-Mulk, the eminent vizier of Sultan Malik Shah (d. 1092), reflected the same kind of apprehension when, in his *Siyasetname,* he agreed that hunting helped the ruler to establish contact with his subjects but simultaneously warned that excessive involvement would bring misfortune. Malik Shah was, in fact, hugely preoccupied with hunting.[160] All such concerns and criticism led to the need to explore and extol the significance of the royal hunt from the perspective of politics.[161]

As post-Süleymanic sultans abandoned direct and personal leadership of military campaigns, the extended sojourns to Edirne that had been part of westbound expeditions came to an end. The vigorous hunting parties of the recent past in the vicinity of Edirne and further west also became less frequent in the late sixteenth century. Against the background of that recent past, Ahmed I's reengagement with the hunt seems to have been manipulated by the aghas of the court, who may have been yearning for a sultan as grand and victorious as Ahmed's great-grandfather—and who may therefore have been looking for a revival of the hunting tradition as a substitute or surrogate for the grander tradition of the sultan going out on military campaigns. As a result, rather than criticism there seems to have been more and weightier praise, even glorification, of the royal hunt.

The intended royal reader of the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* was still quite young when the project started, and also limited in his hunting experience to birdhunting in the royal gardens of Istanbul. Even without these limiting factors, he may have been regarded as needing some sort of stimulus for reading it. Even if the original was not illustrated, there were certainly Mamluk, or even earlier, illustrated texts in the Istanbul collections that served as models for the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn.*[162] It may be, however, that these medieval illustrations no longer appealed to the Ottoman eye. In the absence of extant prototypes for the illustrations of a hunting treatise that would suit the aspirations of the Ottoman elite in the early seventeenth century, artists turned once again to the iconography of combats and hunts of the *Shāhnāma* tradition. After

all, many of the most competent artists at the time were busy illustrating *Şehnāme-i Türkī* manuscripts for different patrons. Thus, the tripartite Mamluk text was refurbished with miniatures reflecting an acclimatized, Ottomanized vocabulary, though broadly and loosely inspired by the Iranian epic.

The Ottomans had a long history of involvement with Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* and the imagery and ideas associated with it. Ottoman artists assimilated, transformed, and at times built on the Iranian epic.[163] In the case of the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*, the warrior types of the Iranian epic, abstracted from their original narrative contexts or personifying roles, were easily translated into images intended to represent training for the hunt and for combat, both seen as preparation for war. The scenes of feasts and court life also bear an iconographic debt to *Shāhnāma* prototypes. Even though the purpose of the illustrations was to delight and entertain, they contributed in their way to a text that was meant to convince, reassure, and encourage a young sultan and to establish a model for his future behavior—even as it also subtly, politely, and diplomatically made value-loaded statements, including veiled (potential) criticisms.

Earlier advice literature had used aphorisms and didactic tales of ancient kings. In the hunting treatise, statements regarding institutional failure, injustice, and social disruption, relayed by one of the sultan's most reliable men on behalf of the ruling elite (or one faction thereof), were more than insinuations; they were direct and operational. It is also possible that Hafız Ahmed and his political companions sought to derive their power from the ability of the manuscript to appear as if it had arisen from the *Şehnāme* tradition itself. Thus, the *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn* was, in fact, yet another *Book of Kings*.

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NOTES

1. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415: 385 x 250 mm, 253 pages, 164 miniatures and two illuminated pages. See F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*. 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1961), 1:574–75.

2. This despite the fact that Esin Atıl, for one, took emphatic note of the manuscript as early as three decades ago, referring to it as "one of the most original works of the period." E. Atıl, *Turkish Art* (Washington, DC, and New York, 1980), 212. See also M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting: The Ottoman Period* (Istanbul, 1982 [orig. pub. 1974]), 27. One of the miniatures in the *Tuhfetü'l-mülük ve's-selāṭīn*, showing a rider, was included (for comparative purposes) in a rather difficult-to-find and therefore little-known study: G. Renda, *Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazma ve Albümler* (Ankara, 1980), fig. 39. So far, only the entertainment scenes in the final "hunting" section of the manuscript have been commented upon: see F. Çağman, "Tanzimat'tan Önce Selçuk ve Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadınlar (C86)," in the exhibition catalogue *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın = Women in Anatolia* (Istanbul, 1993), 247.

3. Nevertheless, it is also useful to consider other possibilities. Frontispiece miniatures are usually not directly related to the text. Almost always designed as double-page compositions, these miniatures are sometimes chosen to depict the patron, who often happens to be the ruler, engaged in some kind of courtly activity. In that case, the enthroned prince is frequently depicted in the company of his courtiers—including women, musicians, and dancers—during or after a hunting feast. Such frontispiece miniatures, moreover, often allude to other, archetypal compositions relating to the enthroned Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Bilqis: see S. Bağcı, "A New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece Miniatures: The *Dīvān* of Solomon," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 101–11. An allusion to Solomon would not have been surprising for the *Tuhfetü'l-mülük ve's-selāṭīn*, too, because, constantly judged by some of his courtiers against the standards set by Süleyman I, Ahmed I seems to have begun to emulate his great-grandfather: see N. Avcıoğlu, "Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny in the Frontispiece to George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey*," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 218–23. Instead, however, we are confronted with a preference for some kind of spiritual gathering. This could, of course, be an allusion to Ahmed I's own devoutness, which earned him the sobriquet "the Pious," and could be related to another court faction who was betting on the sultan's religious rather than his military persona. It could refer to the solidarity of those involved in the production of the manuscript, which is my main suggestion.

4. This note has led to the misidentification of the manuscript as *Te'eddüb el-ḫayl*. See Renda, *Albümler,* fig. 39. Also noted on fol. 1a, and perhaps added in 1961, is the number of folios (253), miniatures (164), and illuminations (2) that we find in Karatay's entry: see n. 1 above. The marginalia indicate that the pagination throughout the manuscript was done after it was put together.

5. *Kitāb-ı Tuhfetü'l-mülük ve's-selāṭīn ki sulṭān-ı selāṭīn-i cihān ve ḫalīfe-i ṣāḥibü'l-ʿadl ve'l-iḥsān Sulṭān Aḥmed Ḫān ibn-i Sulṭān Meḥmed Ḫān ibn-i Sulṭān Murād Ḫān eyyedallāhu mülkehu ve salṭanatehu ḥażretlerinüñ emr-i şerīfleriyle lisān-ı Türkī'ye tercüme olınmışdur ve bu kitāb kitāb-ı bayṭārātı ve kitāb-ı fürūsīyeti ve kitāb-ı ṣayd-ı*

6. S. al-Sarraf, "Mamluk Furûsîyah Literature and Its Antecedents," *Mamluk Studies Review* 8, 1 (2004): 141–200.

7. See note 162 below.

8. Elsewhere I explore the first two chapters of the *Tuhfetü 'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*, covering the physiognomy, illnesses, and treatment of horses, as well as questions of horsemanship, together with the miniatures in these chapters: see T. Artan, "Ahmed I and *Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtin*: A Period Manuscript on Horses, Horsemanship and Hunting," in *Animals and People in the Ottoman World*, ed. S. Faroqhi and C. Neumann (Istanbul, forthcoming). A more comprehensive examination of the second chapter on horsemanship, focusing on equitation and the handling of arms on horseback, and supported by an analysis of the accompanying miniatures, is being targeted for another study, on which I am working with Halil Berktay. See also T. Artan, "Arts and Architecture," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey,* vol. 3, *The Latter Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. S. Faroqhi (New York, 2006), 408–80.

9. O. Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting* (Princeton and Oxford, 2000), 101–3. For further explorations by Oleg Grabar relating to the *Book of Kings* genre see idem, "Notes on the Iconography of the 'Demotte' *Shah-Nama*," in *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, ed. Ralph Pinder-Wilson (Oxford, 1969); idem, "Toward an Aesthetic of Persian Painting," in *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. Susan C. Scott (Philadelphia, 1995), 129–39; and O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago, 1980).

10. For overviews of the primary sources on the Ottoman royal hunt see A. Özaydın, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Av"; Ş. Çelik, "Osmanlı Padişahlarının Av Geleneğinde Edirne'nin Yeri ve Edirne Kazasındaki Av Alanları (Hassa Şikâr-gâhı)," *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 4–8 Ekim 1999: Kongre'ye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara, 2002), 1887–1903. For Süleyman Pasha's death see Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. H. N. Atsız (Ankara, 1985), 55; Edirneli Oruç Beğ, *Oruç Beğ Tarihi*, ed. H. N. Atsız (Istanbul, 1972), 38; Neşrî, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ: Neşri Tarihi*, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen (Ankara, 1987), 185–86; Kemalpaşazāde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: II. Defter*, ed. Ş. Turan (Ankara, 1983), 183–84.

11. The earliest Ottoman miniatures on hunting, dating to 1558, also appeared during his reign, in ʿĀrifī's *Süleymānnāme*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1517, fols. 115a, 132a, 177a, 403a (before and after campaigns); and 393a, 462a, 576a (in the company of his princes). See also n. 12 below.

12. Seyyid Loḳmān b. Seyyid Ḥüseynī el-Urmevī, *Hünernāme*, vol. 1, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1523, fols. 89b, 105a, 116a. The completion of the first volume, including miniatures by Osman, Ali Mehmed Beğ, Veli Can, Molla Tiflisi, and Mehmed Bursevi, is dated to 1584. The second volume, completed in 1588, focuses only on Süleyman I and includes miniatures by six artists: see *Hünernāme*, vol. 2, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1524, fols. 53a, 80b, 84b, 55b–56a, 63b–64a.

13. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1984 [orig. pub. 1945]), 420–25.

14. Ibid., 421.

vaḥş ve ṭayrı müştemildür ve sallāllahu ʿalā seyyidinā Muhammed ve ālihi ve aṣḥābihi ecmaʿīn.

15. *Rüstem Paşa Tarihi*, fol. 94, as cited in İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1984 [orig. pub. 1943]), 1:162 n. 4.

16. For Çölmek and other woodlands in the vicinity of Edirne see *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri (937/1530) I: Paşa (Sofya) ve Vize Livâları ve Sağkol Kazâları (Edirne, Dimetoka, Ferecik, Keşan, Kızılağaç, Zağra-i Eski-Hisâr, İpsala, Filibe, Tatarbâzârı, Samakov, Üsküb, Kalkan-delen, Kırçova, Manastır, Pirlepe ve Köprülü)*, ed. Y. Sarınay (Ankara, 2001); Kemalpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: X. Defter*, ed. Ş. Severcan (Ankara, 1996), 11; Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 3, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 305 Yazmasının Trankripsiyonu*, ed. S. A. Kahraman and Y. Dağlı (Istanbul, 1999).

17. Anonymous, *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd b. Mehemmed Hân*, ed. H. İnalcık and M. Oğuz (Ankara, 1989 [orig. pub. 1978]), 7.

18. M. Ş. Ülkütaşır, "Çevgen ve Gökbörü," *Türk Kültürü Dergisi* 159 (1976).

19. Edirneli Oruç Beğ, *Oruç Beğ Tarihi*, 83–84.

20. Hoca Şaʿdeddîn, *Tâc-üt-tevârîḫ*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1862–64), 1:260; 2:40.

21. Edirneli Oruç Beğ, *Oruç Beğ Tarihi*, 127, 132; Kemalpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: VII. Defter*, ed. Ş. Turan (Ankara, 1991), 399.

22. Edirneli Oruç Beğ, *Oruç Beğ Tarihi*, 127, 132; Kemalpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: VII. Defter*, 399; Luṭfî Paşa, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. Âli Bey, intr. and index by M. S. Tayşi (repr. Istanbul, 1990 [orig. pub. 1925]), 192.

23. Lutfî Paşa, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, 184–86. The chase took Beyazid II further and further away from Edirne, primarily to Uzuncaova, located between Edirne and Filibe (Plovdiv): see Kemalpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: VIII. Defter*, ed. A. Uğur (Ankara, 1997), 49; idem, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: X. Defter*, ed. Ş. Severcan (Ankara, 1996), 117. This place was also noted as a royal hunting ground by Josef von Lamberg and Niclas Jurischitz, who stayed in Uzuncaova roughly half a century later, on October 7, 1530. See Benedikt Kuripešić, *Yolculuk Günlüğü 1530* (Ankara, 1989), 41. In 1483, on Beyazid's way from Filibe to Edirne, the nimble locals (*Etrāk-ı çālāk*) were forced to chase game for three days to Uzuncaova: see Hoca Şaʿdeddîn, *Tâc-üt-tevârîḫ*, 2:96; Kemalpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: VIII. Defter*, 49. Beyazid II also hunted at Rila Mountain between Filibe and Sofya. In early 1485, the sultan set out to hunt in the vicinity of Tavaslu, returning to the palace in Edirne only in early March. In late 1489, he hunted at Sakar pasture, and spent some time at Çömlek. This hunting party took him to Gümülcine (Komotini), where there were several drives. Upon his return to Edirne, Beyazid continued to hunt in the vicinity: Kemalpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: VIII. Defter*, 48, 90, 122, 129.

24. Lutfî Paşa, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, 206, 208.

25. Ibid., 243.

26. Ibid., 281–83; Muṣṭafā Çelebi Celālzāde, *Selim-nâme*, ed. A. Uğur and M. Çuhadar (Ankara, 1990), 444.

27. Hezârfen Ḥüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fi Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, ed. S. İlgürel (Ankara, 1998), 143.

28. Seyyid Loḳmān, *Hünernâme*, vol. 1, fol. 121a.

29. Lütfi Paşa, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, 316, 358, 368, 413, 433, 435, 444, 448. Not only his contemporaries but later chroniclers too reflected on Süleyman I's passion for hunting: see Meḥmed Hemdemī Çelebi Solakzāde, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*, ed. V. Çubuk

30. Kemalpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: X. Defter*, 117.

31. See, for example, "Yeniçeri Kanunnâmesi," in A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 9 vols. (Istanbul, 1990–), 9:213.

(Ankara, 1989), 206–7; İbrahim Peçevî, *Tārīḫ-i Peçevī*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1864–65), 1:199, 248; Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-beyân fi Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, 143. Archival sources, such as the earliest available Register of Important Affairs, also reveal various dimensions of Süleyman's personal keenness for hunting: *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951–952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, ed. H. Sahillioğlu (Istanbul, 2002).

32. By mid-July 1567 several orders were issued addressing the kadi and *bostancıbaşı* (commander of the imperial guard) of Edirne concerning the protection of the hunting grounds: see M. Şener, N. İşler, and H. O. Yıldırım, eds., *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri I–III (975–976/1567–1569)*, (Ankara, 1997–99), 204 no. 74.

33. E. Atıl, *Images of Imperial Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1993), 7–8, 14.

34. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3592, fol. 39b, illustrated by Nakkaş Hasan Paşa. Also included in this manuscript is a quite similar portrait of Bayezid II (fol. 37b), who was a committed and renowned hunter, so that it would be difficult to regard Nakkaş Hasan's manner as critical or sarcastic, at least with respect to this sultan. On the other hand, Selaniki also talks derisively about hunting hares from carriages "in their known manner" (*…zakonları üzre tavşanı araba ile avlayup…*): see Selānikî Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, 2 vols., ed. M. İpşirli (Istanbul, 1989), 1:60.

35. Johann Michael Heberer von Bretten, *Aegyptiaca Servitus*, intr. Karl Teply (Graz, 1967 [repr. of 1610 edition]) = *Osmanlıda Bir Köle: Brettenli Michael Heberer'in Anıları, 1585–1588*, trans. T. Noyan (Istanbul, 2003), 284–85. Furthermore, a tripartite hunting scene is included in the album prepared in his reign: regarding the VNB Codex Mixtus 313 see E. Wellesz, "Die Miniaturen im Album Murad III," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens* 10 (1936): 55–67; A. E. Froom, "A Muraqqaʿ for the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595): Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Mixtus 313" (PhD diss., New York University, 2001).

36. Selānikî Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, 2:613. Most of the time they hunted birds, but they also organized drives at Çatalca, Silivri, and Burgaz. The sultan continued to hunt in the vicinity of Edirne, where he stayed for eleven days in all: see ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi ʿAbdülḳādir (Kadri) Efendi Tarihi* (henceforth *Topçular Katibi Tarihi*), ed. Z. Yılmazer (Ankara, 2003), 124–25, 127.

37. T. Artan, "Feasting in Adversity: Enhancing the Ordinary," unpub. paper presented at the 2007 annual meeting of MESA (Montreal, Nov. 16–20, 2007).

38. ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi*, 407–8.

39. The prince in question was the future Osman II. News of the birth of two other princes also reached Ahmed I at hunting parties: Şehzade Selim was born when the sultan was hunting at Davudpaşa in June 1611; Şehzade Murad (IV) was also born when his father was at a hunting party, this time in İstavroz on July 27, 1612. See Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Mustafa Sâfî'nin Zübdetü't-Tevârîh* (henceforth *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*), ed. İ. H. Çuhadar (Ankara, 2003), 2:28a, 168a, 179b.

40. Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 1:28a–29b; 2:50a, 183b–184a;

ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi*, 424–26; Kātib Çelebi, *Fezleke-yi Kātib Çelebi* (henceforth *Fezleke*), 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1869–70), 1:268.

41. In the first volume of *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh,* Mustafa Safi records various anecdotes relating to hunting parties, reflecting on sultanic justice, probity and honesty, piety and charity, reason and intelligence, modesty and humility, and generosity and magnanimity: see 1:24b–25a, 36a, 37a, 29b–30a, 66a–68a. The last section is devoted to the sultan's bodily vigor and skills in horsemanship and, in particular, the hunt: see 1:95a, 97a, 115a, 132a, 137b, 168a–168b, 176a.

42. Ibid., 2:181b–196b. Arriving in Edirne on January 11, 1613, the sultan embarked on daily excursions; he also traveled to hunting grounds in the vicinity, where most of the time he hunted with falcons. Nevertheless, it was in these hunting parks that he was introduced to big-game hunting—chasing boars, wolves, foxes, deer, and hares, with dogs and leopards as his aids. For the narration of the drives see 2:204a–211b for the one at Çölmek; 2:211b–226a for the two at Kurdkayası; and 2:226a for the one at Karaağaç. Apart from these massive organizations, there were seventeen other hunting parties in nearby parks, as well as daily hunting in the royal gardens.

43. Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:230b–255a.

44. Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:255a–258a. See also Kātib Çelebi, *Fezleke,* 1:345–46; Naʿīmā Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Târih-i Naʿîmâ: Ravzatü'l-Hüseyn fî hulâsati ahbâri'l-hâfikayn* (henceforth *Târih-i Naʿîmâ*) 4 vols., ed. M. İpşirli (Ankara, 2007), vol. 2, fol. 94. I am grateful to Prof. Mehmet İpşirli for allowing me to consult his 2007 edition, which at the time was still in press.

45. Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:260a–301a; for the drive at Çatalca in August 1613 see 2:304a–306a and 310a–311a.

46. Starting from Davudpaşa on November 22, the royal party hunted intermittently in some of the staging areas but enjoyed a three-day drive at Burgaz: see Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:326b–336a. They arrived in Edirne on December 4 and returned to the capital on February 25, 1614.

47. Mustafa Safi records this event in verse; see Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh,* 2:345b–360b.

48. These numbers pertain to the hunting parties in the winter of 1613: see Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:208b for the hunting party at Çölmek, and 223a for the ones at Kurdkayası. In the latter case, though, he notes that these numbers pertain only to whatever game was presented to the sultan. Later, exploring the register kept by Haseki Hüseyin (also referred to as a *ġulām-ı bostānī* and a *mülāzim-i rikāb-ı sulṭānī*), he notes that the first two drives, at Çölmek and Kurdkayası, yielded 365 animals; the one at Karaağaç 144 animals; and the second drive at Kurdkayası sixty animals. The number of game hunted in the winter of 1613 reached 915, including the yields of seventeen other hunting parties in the vicinity of Edirne. The intimate retinue of the sultan, hunting with falcons, bagged about one hundred birds (geese, ducks, partridges, storks, etc.) in the royal gardens, without the assistance of the hunting establishment. For a total list of the game recorded in this period see Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:226a–227a.

49. Rhoads Murphey has noted that one of the themes consistently pursued in Mustafa Safi's *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh* concerns

the sultan's ability to perform unexpected, even miraculous, feats of equestrian skill, such as remarkably swift mobilizations (as a result of his good horsemanship, physical stamina, patience in adversity, and disregard for his own personal comfort). Murphey notes, moreover, that Mustafa Safi, unaware of the fact that Ahmed was effectively the first sultan ever to have assumed office without the usual training as governor of an Anatolian province, argues in support of his having all the requisite abilities: see R. Murphey, "Politics and Islam: Mustafa Safi's Version of the Kingly Virtues as Presented in His *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, or Annals of Sultan Ahmed, 1012–23 A.H./1603–1614 A.D." in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, ed. C. Imber and K. Kiyotaki (London and New York, 2005), 17.

50. Topkapı Palace Museum Archives D 4155 (1651–52). See also B. Mahir, "Extending the Tradition (1600–1700): Portraits in New Context," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul, 2000), 298. This promptly brings to mind Selim II's hunting expedition, which was captured for posterity in 1575; see Atıl, *Images of Imperial Istanbul*, 7–8, 14. For a description of the procession entering the capital on October 12, 1612, on their way back from a hunting party at Davudpaşa, see ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi*, 606–9; and Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:176a. For another depiction of a mock entrance, on May 14, 1613, upon the sultan's return from Edirne, see Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:225a–258a. The latter has been embellished by Kātib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 1:345–46; and Naʿīmā, *Târih-i Naʿîmâ*, 94.

51. Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 2:208b.

52. Avcıoğlu, "Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny," 218–26.

53. *Ḳavānīn-i ʿOs̱mānī* and *Rābıṭa-i Āsitāne*, 12, as cited in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, 421 n. 5; Müʾezzin-zāde ʿAyn-ı ʿĀlī, *Ḳavānīn-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān der Ḫūlāṣa-i Mez̲āmin-i Defter-i Dīvān* (Istanbul, 1863–64), fol. 95, as cited in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*, 422 n. 1.

54. *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn,* introduction: …ḫāṭır-ı şerīfleri māʾil-i ḫayl-i cevād ve rāġıb-ı fāris-i ḳaviyyi'l-fūʾād olmaġla ve şāhbāz-ı ṭabʿ-ı bülend-pervāzları dahi şikār-ı kebk-i ḫāṭır-ı raʿiyyeti ve ṣayd-ı āhū-yi dil-i ehl-i memleketi hevāsı ile ṣaḥrā ve feżāya pervāz etmege rāġıb olmaġla…

55. R. Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud, 2003), 25.

56. Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 1:227a–228a. In addition to countless references to the devoutness of Ahmed I, Mustafa Safi mentions in particular the special care the sultan took not to miss prayer times, even during hunting parties: see Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh*, 1:36a, 37a.

57. Ibid., 1:144a–159a.

58. *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn,* fol. 201b: …ve biz bayṭaratı fünūnu ile ve ʿilletleri ile ve aña ṣālih olup aña mensūb olan şey ile cemʿ eyledük ve anuñ ardınca fürūsīyeti īrād eyledük zīrā fürūsīyet maʿnā-yı ṭabīʿide bayṭaranuñ telvīʿidür ve baʿdehu bir muḫtaṣar laṭīf ve ḫafīf ki Şuʿayb'dan münakkaḥ ve muḫallaṣdur īrād ederüz…

59. Ibid., fol 201b: …ve Bekr ve ṣayd ḥaḳḳında ve anuñ fünūnu ve ḥavāṣṣı ḥaḳḳında ve anuñla ʿamel etmek ḥaḳḳında ve's-selām.

60. Copies are in London (the British Museum); Oxford (the Bodleian Library); Berlin; Baghdad; and Bursa (Bursa Kütüphanesi). See also Haraçcı 1122, copied in 970 (1562–63) by Hüseyin bin ʿAbdullah. The sixteenth-century translation into Ottoman includes only the cures: see N. Erk, *Islam Medeni-*

yeti Çağında Veteriner Tababette Gelişmeler ve 'Naserī' (Ankara, 1959). There is an old French translation of Naseri's Baghdad copy: *Le Nâcérî: La perfection des deux arts, ou traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie arabes,* trans. N. Perron (Paris, 1852–60).

61. For a comprehensive bibliography of medieval manuscripts on the horse, horsemanship, and hunting in the manuscript libraries in Istanbul see Artan, "Ahmed I and *Tuhfetü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtin.*"

62. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science,* 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1948) 3:1642. Shihab al-Sarraf, in his most recent and significant study on Mamluk *furūsiyya* literature, has also referred to *Bughyat al-qāsidīn bi 'l-'amal fī 'l-mayādīn* and the governor of Aleppo to whom it was dedicated. Al-Sarraf, however, has classified the work in question as one of four parts on the art of the lance. Identifying *al-mayādīn* as the exercise itself, al-Sarraf has remarked, "The most current treatise on mayâdîn in the Mamluk period was *Tuhfat al-Mujâhidîn fī al-ʿAmal bi-al-Mayâdîn,* by Lâjin Ibn ʿAbd Allâh al-Dhahabî al-Tarâbulsi al-Rammâh (d.738/1337)." Al-Sarraf also states, "Lâjin and his work should not be confused with his son Muhammad Ibn Lâjin al-Husâmî al-Tarâbulsî al-Rammâh and his work, also on mayâdîn, entitled *Bughyat al-qāsidīn bi-al-ʿAmal fī al-Mayâdîn,* written for Sayf al-Dîn ʿÂshiqtîmûr al-Mârdînî al-Nâsirî, governor of Aleppo (d. 791/1389)." See al-Sarraf, "Mamluk Furûsîyah Literature and Its Antecedents," 174–75. Al-Sarraf adds that two copies of the latter work survive: Ayasofya Library, ms. 3799/1, dated 1378; and Leiden University Library, ms. 1418.

63. T. T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia, 2006), 90.

64. *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selātīn,* fol. 202a: *sükkān-ı ʿālem-i üns ve mülāzimān-ı bārgāh-ı vahdet ve kuds olan ervāh-ı ʿulviye içün sahrā-yı ʿālem-i imkān ve mīşezār-ı zemīn-ü āsūmānı saydgāh edüp.*

65. Allsen, *Royal Hunt in Eurasian History,* 34, 47–48. Compare and contrast G. Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires,* ed. A. Petruccioli, Supplements to Muqarnas, vol. 7 (Leiden, 1997), 32–71.

66. *Tuhfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selātīn,* fol. 202b: *…Vakta kim baytarat ʿilmi-nüñ netīcesi fürūsīyet olduysa ve fürūsīyetüñ netīcesi dahi hudūd-ı İslāmdan hāric olan aʿdānuñ mazarrat-ı defʿi ve bilād-ı İslāmuñ dāhilinde hūn tabīʿatlu ve fuhūd siretlü olan zalemenüñ kayd-ı ʿadl-i sultānī ile kayd ve refʿi olduysa…*

67. Ibid., fol. 202b: *…ve bunuñ husūlü sultānuñ kendü nefsi ile sayd-ı hevāsı ile sahrāya ve fezāya hurūcuna mütevakkıf olduysa…*

68. Ibid., fol. 203a: *…Ve saltanat umūruna ve raʿiyyet ahvāline sayd bahānesiyle ittilāʿ ve şuʿūrdur ve mūcibiyle tenfīz-i ahkāmdur. Zīrā ferece ve nüzhet ve seyr ü sülūke rağbet ve rütbet-i ʿuzmā ve himmet-i kuşvādur…*

69. Ibid., fol. 203a: *Ve mülūk nefsleriyle şol hurūba mübāşeret etmezler ki kalbı şecīʿ eder ve aña takviyet verür. Ve nüfūsda ʿizzi telkīh eder yaʿnī aşılar.*

70. Ibid., fol. 203a: *Ve menfūs olan nüfūs ve ebdāndan nefs-i libās-ı fāhiri refʿ eder.*

71. Ibid., fol. 203a: *Pes vakta kim mülūkuñ ʿadeti ve refāhiyyeti ve zevk u safāya niʿmet ve alaya meyl ve sükūn olduysa kāhir ve makhūra ve tālib ve matlūba ve ğālib ve mağlūba ve hāric ve mahrūca ve kātil ve maktūla ve mübāşeretsiz yaʿnī niʿmete ve nefsüñ huzūr*

72. Ibid., fol. 203a: *Ve bu bir ʿādetdür kim meliküñ kalbi oldur ve zilleti ve horluyu ve korkaklığı ve ʿaczi getürür. Ve sulh etmekde ve ʿāfiyet kesbinde gizlenmeye rağbet eyledüler.*

73. Ibid., fol. 203a: *Husūsan kaçan kim nisā' ile halveti ve sohbeti çok edeler, pes mülūk ve selātīnüñ nüfūsları üzere ahlāk-ı reddiye ve ʿörf ü ʿādet-i lehv ğālib olur.*

74. Ibid., fol. 203a: *Ve bu zikr olınan ahlāk ʿavāmmuñ ednā tabakasıdur. Ve her kaçan kim melik üzere ʿavammuñ ahlāk ve ʿādeti ğālib olsa pes bu esbābuñ aʿzamından olur.*

75. Ibid., fol. 203a: *Kendü etbāʿı yaʿnī ʿaskeri ve havāşş isi anuñ üzere cürʾet edüp hücūm etmesinden ednā saʿy ile.*

76. Ibid., fol. 203a: *aʿdānuñ aña <203b> ayak üzere kalkmasında.*

77. Ibid., fol. 203b: *devletinüñ rüʾesāsı ve vüzerāsı ve reʾy ve tedbīrde ansız müstakill olur ve istediklerin ederler ve erbāb-ı devāvīn ve cibāyāt ve harac ve ashāb-ı büyūt-ı emvāl anuñ mālını andan saklarlar ve egrilik ederler.*

78. Ibid., fol. 203b: *Pes anlardan her birisi pādişāh üzere telbīsligi ve hilāf-ı vākiʿ olan şeyʾi bildürmegi ve dahi pādişāhuñ aʿdāsından ihbār etmekle, korkutmagı istiʿmāl eder. Pes devlet ve saltanat anlaruñ olur, pādişāhuñ olmaz. Pes anı ʿacz örter ve zillet keşf eder.*

79. Ibid., fol. 203b: *Pes vaktā kim pādişāhlara mahsūs olan siyāseti ve siyāsetüñ sırrını tecrübe ile ʿālim olanlar bu emr-i müşkili gördüler ve anlaruñ kudreti olmadı ki mülūka kendü bedenleri ile harb u kıtāle mübāşereti teklīf edeler.*

80. Ibid., fol. 203b: *Mülūküñ helākinden nefslerine havfden ötürü harbüñ hīlesinden ve muhārebenüñ kizbinden ve aʿdānuñ aldatmasından yaʿnī aʿdā cengde pādişāha zarar etmesünler deyü havf etdüklerinden aña kendü nefsi ile ceng ü harbe mübāşereti teklīf etmezler.*

81. Ibid., fol. 203b: *Zīrā pādişāhuñ nefsine zarar işābet edicek cemīʿ bilād ve memlekete zarar işābet eder ve aʿdā memleket üzere ğalebe eder ve pādişāhuñ nefsi mahfūz olıcak bi-emrillāh ʿaskerine inkisār gelürse yine cebr etmek mümkündür.*

82. Ibid., fol. 203b: *Zīrā devlet-i kadīme ve saltanat-ı ʿazīme sāhibi olan melik-i ʿazīmüʾş-şān ve sultān-ı sātiʿül-hükm veʾl-burhān üzere vācib olan budur ki kendü nefsi ile mübāşeret etmege…*

83. Ibid., fol. 203b: *şol fiʿile ki anuñ ümerāsından aña hidmet eden kimesne anuñ tarafından anda kāyim olur ve anı edā eder ve melik kendü rūhu ile ʿadūyu menʿ etmege belki ʿadūya mübāşeret <204a> ve anları menʿ etmek pādişāhuñ ʿaşrī ehlinüñ ve ʿaskerinüñ ve rūhu iledür yaʿnī anlar pādişāh tarafından muhārebe edüp rūhların bezl etmekle vākiʿdür.*

84. See n. 83 above.

85. Ibid., fol. 204a: *Pes siyāset-i hikemiyyeyi ʿālim olan ʿulemā mülūküñ nüfūsunda niʿmetden mütevellid olan şeyʾüñ defʿinde ve refāhiyyetinden hāsıl olan emrin nezʿinde ki yitecek mikdārı şeyʾ ile kanāʿatdur ve rahātdur ve ahlāklarında yumuşaklık ve rikkat gibi olan şeyʾin izālesinde ihtimām eyledüler.*

86. Ibid., fol. 204a: *Ve siyāset-i hikemiyye hükmünde ʿulemāya mümkün olmadı ki mülūka emr edeler.*

87. Ibid., fol. 204a: *Gazāya hurūc etmekle muhārebe ve mukātele etmekle ki kuvvādlarınuñ ve cüyūşi ve ümerāsınuñ baʿzısı anuñla kāyim olur ve dahi hasānet ve metānetden <204b> ve memleketinüñ nāmūsı ve kutrundan ve haddinden ki tenāvül-i aʿdādan masūndur.*

88. Ibid., fol. 204b: *ve taşra çıkmakla şol emākine ki anlaruñ mülūki*

anlarda münkeşif olur ve aşikāre olur ve aʿdānuñ ve cāsūslarınuñ yedleri anlarda mübāşeret eder.

89. Ibid., fol. 204b: *Pes vuḥūş ve ṭuyūr anlar ile meʾnūs olup ve ülfet edüp anlara münḳād oldılar.*

90. Ibid., fol. 204b: *Pes anları irsāl eyledüler. Ve anlar daḥi rücūʿ eyledüler ve anlara ḥiṭāb eder baʿzı edevāt ile āvāz eyledüler. Pes vuḥūş anlardan fehm eyledüler. Pes anları çaġırdılar ve anlar daḥi anlara icābet eyledüler. Pes ḳaçan kim anları başladılar ve anlar daḥi anlaruñ ḳatında benī ādemden ḥüddām gibi ḳaldılar. Pes anları mülūka ʿarż eyledüler.*

91. Ibid., fol. 204b: *Ve şayd içün ḥurūcu mülūk içün tertīb edüp anlara emr eyledüler. Pes mülūkün ḳulūbu vech-i meşrūḥ üzere şayda taʿalluḳ etdikden soñra ʿulemā anlara emr eyledüler kim şayd içün vaḳti ve zamānı içün iḥtiyār edeler. Ve yanına ḥażāyiñ ile şayd ālātını aḥz edeler.*

92. Ibid., fol. 205a: *ve şayd yerlerinde havāda muʿallaḳ olan nesneyi depretmek gibi ve şuya ḳoġayı şarḳutmaḳ gibi olan umūra tenbīh edeler ve pādişāhlara lāyıḳ olan himmet ile ihtimām edeler.*

93. Ibid., fol. 205a: *Zīrā pādişāh şayd içün şahrāya ḥurūc etmekle nice fevāyid cemʿ eder birisi budur ki şehirde çoḳ iḳāmet etdikden ve taşra çıḳmamasından ḥāşıl olan iżṭırābdan tenezzüh ve istirāḥatdur.*

94. Ibid., fol. 205a: *ve havāyı aḥz etmekdür. Ve feżāya nazar etmekdür ve havānuñ şıḥḥatidür.*

95. Ibid., fol. 205a: *Ve birisi atı ḳoşmaḳ ve segirtmekdür.*

96. Ibid., fol. 205a: *Tā kim pādişāh tenhā kendü ḥavāşşı ile vaḥşī ḳovmaḳda at ile segirde ve anı oynada ki şehrinde memleketi taḥtında ḥalḳ arasında ana anı eyitmek mümkün degildür. Ve şayd mevāṭınında rāḳibden ve seyr ediciden tenhādur. Ve şehrde ḥalḳdan cemʿ-i ġafīr beyninde edicek mümkündür ki ʿaskerinden ve cünūdundan ednā olan kimesne diye ki ben pādişāhdan eyerde daḥi muḥkem otururum ve ḳuvvetüm ziyādedür ve andan daḥi atluyum. Pes pādişāha bu vech ile taş atarlar.*

97. Ibid., fol. 205a: *Ve daḥi nāsuñ gözinde ḥürmetlü görinmez ve pādişāh böyle alçaḳ mertebe aşaġa inmege muḥtāc degildür. Ve pādişāh ḳaçan muḥtāc oldı kendü nefsi ile aʿdā ile ḥarbe mübāşeret etmege ve bedeni ile ʿizz ü salṭanatdan ve metānet ve ṭāḳatden ḥurūc etmege. ʿAsākir ve ecnādından soñra illā meger kim ʿālemde ḳıyāmet ḳopa.*

98. Ibid., fol. 205a: *Pes mülūk içün şayd ve parslar ve ḳaplanlar kilāb ve doġanlar ve ṭayruñ ve vaḥşī cānāvaruñ yırtıcısı ve bunlar ile segirtmek müsteḥābdur.*

99. Ibid., fol. 205a: *Tā kim pādişāhuñ nefsi şecāʿat taḥşīl ede yırtıcılara* <205b> *mübāşeret etmekle ve anlaruñ çoḳ efʿālin müşāhede etmekle ve anlara meyl etmekle anlaruñ şiddetle yapışmasında ve ġażab etmesinde ve yırtıcıları şayd ile ceng etdiklerin ve gāh ḳahr etdiklerin ve gāh satvetlerin ve şaydın kendü nefsinden envāʿ-ı ḥīle ile defʿ etdigin veyā andan ḳaçdugın müşāhede etmekle ve bundan ġayrı vāḳiʿ olan sibāʿ ile şayd aḥvālin müşāhede etmekle pes pādişāh üzere yırtıcıların aḥlāḳı ġalebe eder.*

100. Ibid., fol. 205b: *Pes şiddet ile ʿazm ve teveccühü ve ʿizzeti ve milk ve raʿiyyet üzere ḥimāyeti ve ḥamiyyeti ve aʿdā üzere iḳdāmı bunlar ḳapar ve pādişāhuñ yırtıcılar ile şayduñ aḥvālini müşāhede etmesi ve seyr etmesi ḥarb ve cenge onuñ mübāşereti maḳāmında ḳāʾim olur ki cenge mümāreset edüp aña mübāşeret olan bahādırlar ve ġāzīler ʿadūya bunuñ gibi ġalebe edüp bu efʿāl anlardan şādıra olur yaʿnī pādişāh kendü nefsi ile ceng ve ḥarb meydānına ḥāżır olup pehlivānlar ve ġāzīlerüñ cūş u ḥurūşlarından fī sebīlillāh ġayret ve ḥamiyyetlerinden ve ʿadūyu yırtup urmaḳdan ve ḳatl etmekden ve ġalebe edüp haykırmaḳdan aña ġayret ve ḥamiyyet ve şecāʿat geldügi gibi.*

101. Ibid., fol. 205b: *cenge mübāşeret etmeden şayd yerlerinde parslaruñ ve ḳaplānlaruñ ve tazılaruñ ve doġan ile şāhīnüñ ve bunlardan ġayrı şayda mensūb olan sibāʿ ve ṭuyūruñ ḥamiyyet ve ġayretlerin ve iḳdām ve cürʾetlerin ve şayda ġażab ile yapışup yırtmaḳdan ve yere urmaḳdan nefs-i pādişāhīye ġayret ve ḥamiyyet ve cürʾet ve şecāʿat gelüp.*

102. Ibid., fol. 205b: *eger bilādınuñ ḥudūdı civārında olan küffār üzere iḳdām edüp anlara ġalebe etmesidür. Ve eger bilādında zeleme üzere* <206a> *tīġ-i ʿadālet ile ʿazm edüp bilāduñ anlardan taṭhīri ve raʿiyyetüñ anlardan taḥlīşidür. Anlardan aḥz eder.*

103. Ibid., fol. 206a: *...Ve illā şayd mülūk ve selāṭīne ekl içün ve kesb-i ṭalebi içün resm olınmadı. Sāʾir şayyādlar etdigi gibi ve şaydı yemege daḥi anlaruñ iḥtiyācı yoḳdur...*

104. Ibid., fol. 206a: *Belki melikün żabṭ ve hirāseti maʿrifetinüñ ve min ʿindillāh pādişāha emānet olan reʿāyā ve fuḳarā göñüllerinüñ şaydıdur. Zīrā şıfat-ı ḥayvāniyye ile muttaşıf olan nās vaʿz ve naşīḥatdan müteʾessir olmazlar. Pādişāhuñ siyāset ve seyfinden ve ʿadālet ve ġażabından müteʾessir oldukları gibi.*

105. Ibid., fol. 206a:

> Çün feżāy-ı dehre çıḳdıḳ şayd içün ey şehriyār
> şayd-ı ʿirfān eyleyüp dil mürgünü eyle şikār
> şāhbāz-ı himmetin sal ḥıfz-ı ʿālem evcine
> Zīrā çaḳır pençelüdür şimdi doġan ehl-i kār.

106. Ibid., fol. 206a: *İmdi bu sebebden ötürü mülūk ve selāṭīn içün şayd resm olındı ve şayd emrinden bir nesneyi ḳuvvādlarından ve ʿaskerlerinden bir kimesneye şayd etmege ruḥsat vermediler.*

107. Ibid., fol. 206a: *Ve anlaruñ zamānında bir kimesne şayd etmege ḳādir olmadı. Anlaruñ şayyādlarından ve muḳarreblerinden ġayrı mülūk üzere ġalebe olan niʿmetinden ötürüdür. Pes pādişāhlar yırtıcı cānāvarlaruñ ve av avlayıcı ṭuyūruñ çoḳluġı ile şayd yerlerine nüzūl eyledüler. Ve şayd eyledüler.*

108. Ibid., fol. 206a: *...ve ʿasker ve raʿiyyet üzere bundan żararlı bir nesne yoḳdur ki bir ʿaskerüñ emīri şaydda ḥāris ola. Zīrā bu hezelān-ı ekberdür ve nice defʿa vāḳiʿ olmışdur ki nice ʿasker sürücü ve ceyş şāḥibi olan kimesneler ʿizzet ve salṭanat içinde şayd içün şahrāya çıḳdı. Pes anuñ ʿadūsu bir ḥīle ile bir şanʿat ile anı şayd eyledi ve aḥz eyledi ve şayd melikden ġayrı kimesneye lāyıḳ degildür.*

109. Ibid., fol. 206b: *zīrā pādişāh kendü ḥükūmeti taḥtında olan raʿiyyetüñ aḥvālini görmek içün şayd bahānesiyle taşra çıḳar ve onuñ ḥükūmetinde ġayrı kimesnenüñ medḥali yoḳdur. Ve salṭanatında onuñ şerīki yoḳdur tā kim ol daḥi ol bahāne ile taşra çıḳa ve lākin aḥyānen vāḳiʿ ola ve mülūk peşīn şaydı kendülere maḥşūş etmişler idi.*

110. Ibid., fol. 206b: *Ḥalḳı menʿ ederlerdi ve doġanlardan ve yırtıcıdan pars ve kilāb gibi beslemekden ġayrı kimesneleri menʿ ederlerdi ve derlerdi ki bu mülūkün şanʿatıdur.*

111. Ibid., fol. 206b: *Ve şol kimesne ki anlardan degildür anlara beñzemek aña yoḳdur ve mülūk şayda çıḳarlardı. Ve ḥāżır olurlardı. Ve cuyūşuñ sürücülerine evvelden tenbīh ederlerdi ki ʿaskeri sibāʿın şaydından ġayrı şeyʾi şayd etmekden menʿ ederlerdi. Ḥuşūşan kim ʿadū īlādında oldukları zamānda tā kim yollar müşevveş olmaya ve atlar yorulmaya ve vaḳt olur ki at vaḥşī ḥayvanuñ ardınca giderken öḳçelenür ve saḳat olurdı.*

112. Ibid., fol. 206b: *şayd merātibinüñ evveli bulutlı ve açuḳ olan evḳātı beklemekdür ve bunuñ zamānı şehrün vażʿı ve heyʾeti ve mizācı ve havāsı ve havāsınuñ evfāḳı miḳdārı üzredür. Ve daḥi şayd evḳātınuñ maʿrifeti ki şayduñ her cinsi ḳangı vaḳitde şayd olınur ve nirede bulunur.*

113. Ibid., fol. 208a: *Pes mülūk ve selāṭīn şayd içün taşra çıḳdıḳlarında onlara vācib olan budur ki raʿiyyetüñ meʿāribine ve aḥvāllerine*

ve anlaruñ mazlūmiyyetlerine vāḳıf olduḳda anlara luṭf edeler ve anlardan ḥācet ṣāḥibi olan kimesnenüñ ḥācetlerini ḳaẓā edeler.

114. Ibid., fol. 208a: *Pes pādişāh ṣayd içün hurūc edicek raʿiyyete evvelden iʿlāmı etmek gerekdür zīrā raʿiyyet içün ḳorḳaḳ ḫātūnlar ve ʿazīzü'n-nefsi kimesne vardur ki ḥicābüñ ve ḥadem ü ḥaşemüñ ṣavlet-i zulletine taḥammül edemez ve mazlūme olan olan* [sic] *ḫātūnlar ḥaẕer ve ḫavf üzerelerdür.*

115. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā Mustanṣir al-Awwal, *Al-Mansur's Book on Hunting*, ed. T. Clark and M. Derhalli (Warminster, 2001). For a comprehensive analysis of medieval texts on hunting see al-Sarraf, "Mamluk Furūsîyah Literature and Its Antecedents," 184–90.

116. D. Alexander, "Les masques de guerre," in *Chevaux et cavaliers arabes dans les arts d'Orient et d'Occident* (Paris, 2003), 100–101.

117. D. Haldane, *Mamluk Painting* (Warminster, 1978), 79.

118. *Tuḥfetü'l-mülūk ve's-selāṭīn*, fols. 225b–226a. Today, longeing generally refers to a riderless horse on a long leash running in circles around a trainer.

119. Istanbul University Library, T. 6624, fol. 100b. Compare also with a slightly earlier copy of the *Tercüme-i Miftāḥ Cifrü 'l-Cāmiʿ*: Topkapı Palace Library, B. 373 (1597–98), fol. 243b.

120. There are, however, several similar compositions in an album put together in this same period and known as the *Ahmed I Album* (Topkapı Palace Library, B. 408, fols. 14a, 19a).

121. In the first chapter, the miniatures on 1a and 1b, together with six unlabeled miniatures appended to the end of the chapter (two showing saddled horses, and the other four scenes pertaining to horsemanship) are by Painter A. The remaining forty miniatures of the first chapter are all by Painter B. Thirty-eight of these, representing specific horse breeds, mules, and donkeys are stereotypical; the only variation is in the color of the animals' coats. No riding equipment is represented with the animals in question, and their tails are left to hang loose. Also thrown in are two fantastic creatures, a unicorn-*cum*-pegasus, and an antelope-like quadruped standing on a fish. Furthermore, in contrast to the representations of all these breeds in repose, there are two identical, double-folio drawings that depict horses in motion—possibly jumping over a fence. A third, also identical, representation of a jumping horse is included a few folios later, but the page bearing the hind part of the animal is missing. It is difficult to identify the artist of these three drawings, distributed over five pages. In the second chapter, there are twenty-six more miniatures by Painter A, and a further eighteen miniatures by Painter B. All of the seventy-two miniatures of the third chapter are by Painter A.

122. For this "complex and compound culture" see Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 408–80.

123. A. S. Ünver, *Ressam Naḳşî: Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Istanbul, 1949); E. Atıl, "Ahmed Naḳşî, an Eclectic Painter of the Early 17th Century," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest, 1978), 103–121; B. Mahir, "Ahmed Naḳşî," in *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), s.v.; Z. Tanındı, "Transformation of Words to Images: Portraits of Ottoman Courtiers in the *Diwan*s of Baki and Nadiri," *Res* 43: *Anthropology and Aesthetics* (Spring 2003): 131–45. For Naḳşi's work see the historical biogra-

phy *Tercüme-i Şaḳāyıḳ-i Nuʿmāniye* (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1263), the anthology of poetry *Dīvān-ı Nādirī* (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 889), the annals of the Hotin campaign of Osman II *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1124), and several copies of the *Şehnāme-i Türkī* (see n. 124 below).

124. Early-seventeenth-century *Şehnāme-i Türkī* manuscripts were based on a verse translation by Şerif Amidi, composed probably in Cairo in 1500–1501 on the orders of the Mamluk sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri, as well as a prose translation by Dervish Hasan Medhi, ordered by ʿOsman II (r. 1617–22). Illustrated copies of the verse translation are found in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library, Spencer Turk. Ms. 1 (123 miniatures); the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences), E 8 (two miniatures); and the Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at LACMA, M.85.237.32 (six miniatures). Illustrated copies of the prose translation are located in Universitetsbibliotek, Upsala, Ms. Celsius I (twenty-eight miniatures); Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, ms. suppl. turc. 326 (fifteen miniatures); and the St. Petersburg State University Library, no. 1378 (twenty-nine miniatures). For patrons (and calligraphers) from Mevlevi circles see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Illustration and the Art of the Book in the Sufi Orders in the Ottoman Empire," in *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society: Sources, Doctrine, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature and Fine Arts, Modernism*, ed. A. Y. Ocak (Ankara, 2005), 501–27. See also S. Bağcı, "From Translated Word to Translated Image: The Illustrated *Şehnâme-i Türkî* Copies," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 162–76.

125. New York Public Library, Spencer Turk. ms. 1: see R. Gottheil, "The Shahnâmeh in Turkish: An Illuminated Manuscript in the Spencer Collection," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 36, 8 (1936): 8–11, 3 pls.; Atıl, "The Art of the Book," in *Turkish Art*, 214–15 and 217 fig. 112; B. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York, 1992), 254–65, figs. 261–84 and pls. XX–XXII.

126. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. suppl. turc. 326. See I. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1971), 2: pl. 45; H.-C. Graf von Bothmer, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1985), 1:69, cat. 1/31 (fol. 17b).

127. British Library, Or. 4129 and Or. 2709. For Or. 4129 see G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures*, (London, 1963), 28 and pl. 21; N. M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and British Museum* (London, 1981), pl. 17; and Graf von Bothmer, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur*, 1:67, cat. 1/28. For Or. 2709 see N. M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and Its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India* (London, 1983), 151–57 and pl. 29.

128. For Ahmed Naḳşi's rendering of rocks with facial features see *Tercüme-i Şaḳāyıḳ-i Nuʿmāniye*, ca. 1619, Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 1263 (forty-nine miniatures), fols. 159b, 163a. For another period manuscript that illustrates rocks endowed with facial features see *Şerefü'l-İnsān* by Lāmiʿī Çelebi, dated to 1613, an adaptation of an Arabic philosophical treatise, *Ikhwān al-Safāʾ*, on the nobility of man and his superiority over animals. All twenty-six miniatures are by Ustad Muhammad ʿAli, known as Ahtari Shamakhi, whose name appears on

folio 30b. There is no record of this artist in other Ottoman illustrated manuscripts: see Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting,* fig. 54. Another signed miniature from the period is in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Inv. No. 1888.88 Bl. 11A: see Graf von Bothmer, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur,* 1:67, cat. 1/29 (portrait of Ahmed I, inscribed *el-fakīr Süleymān*).

129. Meredith-Owens notes the accuracy in the depiction of contemporary dress and the mannerism of the rosebud mouths of the youths in Or. 4129, as well as a strikingly personal style in the rendering of depth: see Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures,* 28.

130. Universitetsbibliotek, Uppsala, Ms. Celsius I (twenty-eight miniatures). See Graf von Bothmer, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur,* 1:68, cat. 1/30 (fols. 1b–2a, showing the enthronement of Osman II in the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace). Atıl attributes the paintings in this manuscript to Ahmed Nakşi: see Atıl, "Ahmed Nakşi, an Eclectic Painter," 103–21.

131. Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 1124.

132. See, for example, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd* (Portland, 1979), 66–67, 70–71, 72–73.

133. See, for instance Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2165, fol. 25b; and British Library, Or. 2709, fol. 26b: depictions of warriors wrestling that are directly comparable to the warriors of H. 415.

134. See, for example, *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt,* Topkapı Palace Library A. 3632, in M. And, *Minyatür,* Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 2002), 415.

135. Meredith-Owens regards the six miniatures of Murad III's *Şehnāme-i Türkī,* several of these painted on leaves that bear no relevant text, as "so greatly influenced by the Persian Shirazi style that it is virtually indistinguishable from it..." See Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures,* 21, as cited in *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd,* 48–50, cat. 23. To this criticism Binney adds (50), "Yet there are a few unmistakably Turkish elements here, for example, the typical pointed helmets of ff. 172r and 262v." See also K. Rührdanz, "About a Group of Truncated *Shāhnāma*s: A Case Study in the Commercial Production of Illustrated Manuscripts in the Second Part of the Sixteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 118–34.

136. S. Bağcı, "An Iranian Epic and an Ottoman Painter: Nakkaş Osman's 'New' Visual Interpretation of the *Shāhnāmah,*" in *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte: Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich,* 2 vols., ed. S. Prätor and C. Neumann (Istanbul, 2002), 2:421–50. See also W. Kwiatkowski, *The Eckstein Shahnama: An Ottoman Book of Kings* (London, 2005).

137. Çağman and Tanındı, "Illustration and the Art of the Book," 501–27. The authors note that copies of the Mesnevi were not part and parcel of the collections of Ottoman royalty until the seventeenth century, and that there was a radical change of attitude in the 1600s: "Cevrî İbrahim, a Mevlevî poet and a master of talik script in the first part of the 17th century, who was for a time secretary to the Divân-i Humâyûn (Imperial Chancery of the State) and who, after his retirement, earned a living by copying works for high state officials, is said to have produced twenty-two copies of the Mesnevi." Cevri İbrahim Çelebi copied the *Şehnāme-i Türkī* manuscripts now in St. Petersburg, and might also have been responsible for the Paris and Uppsala copies: see H. Ayan,

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Cevri İbrahim Çelebi"; Çağman and Tanındı, "Illustration and the Art of the Book," 511–12.

138. Atıl, "Ahmed Nakşî, an Eclectic Painter," 108.

139. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts,* 256.

140. Bağcı has argued that most of the miniatures were made by three artists and has described the artist in question as somebody "whose style was very close to [Nakkaş] Osman." Bağcı, "From Translated Word to Translated Image," 166.

141. Z. Tanındı, "Bibliophile Aghas (Eunuchs) at Topkapı Saray," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 333–43.

142. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts,* 254–255; V. J. Parry, "Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1960–2004), s.v.; Mehmed Süreyya, "Hâfiz Ahmed Paşa (Müezzinzâde)," in *Sicill-i Osmanî,* 6 vols., ed. N. Akbayar and S. A. Kahraman (Istanbul, 1996), 2:556.

143. İbrahim Agâh Paşa, *Vakāyiʿ-i Tārīḫiye* (Istanbul, 1909), fol. 119b, and Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh,* 96, as cited in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı,* 421 n. 4.

144. Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh,* 2:140a–140b.

145. ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi,* 547, 555.

146. Ibid., 577, 579, 582.

147. Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī, *Zübdetü't-Tevârîh,* 2:170a; ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi,* 588. By 1626, Ayşe Sultan had been married five more times during the reigns of Osman II and Murad IV: see ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi,* 462, 481, 514.

148. Concerning Hafız Ahmed Pasha's service as governor-general see ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi,* 633 (on Aleppo); 674, 680, 683 (on Erzurum); 702 (on Damascus); 768, 770, 773 (on Diyarbakır); and 787, 788, 801 (on Baghdad). Regarding the expeditions against rebels see ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi,* 656 (for the year 1617); 757 (for the year 1622); and 786 (for the year 1624).

149. A princess previously promised to Karakaş Mehmed Pasha was married to Hâfız Ahmed Pasha: see ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi,* 757. ʿAbdülkadir Efendi dates the Diyarbakır appointment to the meeting of the Imperial Council on December 9, 1621, to be followed by the marriage; however, a *Rüʾûs* Register (*Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kāmil Kepeci Rüʾûs Defterleri* no. 257) records (88) the date of appointment as May 30, 1622.

150. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts,* 254–55.

151. He was twice appointed grand vizier, first in December 1624, and then in October 1631, according to ʿAbdülḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Katibi Tarihi,* 805–6.

152. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts,* 254–55.

153. M. U. Derman, "Derviş Abdi-i Mevlevî." in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* s.v.

154. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal* (Ankara, 1988 [orig. pub. 1941]), 344, 347; idem, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları,* 1:169, 200, 367, 2:142; idem, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı,* 205, 311, 328, 337–38, 421–24; H. İnalcık, "Doghandji," in *EI2,* s.v.; A. Özcan, "Doğancı," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* s.v.

155. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts,* 254–55.

156. P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1984), 215.

157. Almond, *Medieval Hunting,* 16.

158. M. M. Ahsan, "A Note on Hunting in the Early ʿAbbasid Period: Some Evidence on Expenditure and Prices," *Journal*

of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 19, 1 (1976): 101–5.

159. Allsen, *Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, 41.

160. Caferoğlu notes a special literary genre called *şikārnāme* that developed during the reign of Sultan Melikşah: see A. Caferoğlu, "Türklerde Av Kültü ve Müessesesi," *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 25–29 Eylül 1970): Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara, 1972), 1:169–75, esp. 172.

161. Allsen, *Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, 95.

162. Only a few treatises on hunting exist in Istanbul libraries: Khalīlullāh b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Fāżil al-Kirmānī, *Ṣaydnāma* (in Persian), Süleymaniye Library, Ms. İzmirli İsmail Hakkı 4175; Anonymous, *Ṣayda dāʾir risāle* (in Turkish), Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Serez 1080.

163. S. Bağcı, "Old Images for New Texts and Contexts: Wandering Images in Islamic Book Painting," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 21–32.

MIKA NATIF

THE SOAS *ANVĀR-I SUHAYLĪ*:
THE JOURNEY OF A "REINCARNATED" MANUSCRIPT

Recognized as one of the masterpieces of early Mughal painting, the manuscript of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (Lights of Canopus) now in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) is the focal point of this essay.[1] The great beauty, elegance, and style of its twenty-seven illustrations have attracted the attention of many scholars of Islamic art. Reputed to embody the fusion of Persianate style with local indigenous Indic motifs, all twenty-seven paintings are dated by art historians, in accordance with the manuscript's colophon, to 978 (1570).[2] A careful inspection of the SOAS paintings, however, yields a somewhat different chronology for the manuscript and its illustrations and by extension forces us to reevaluate the conventional narrative of early-Akbar-period painting. These miniatures also invite a reassessment of the history not only of this book but also, more generally, of illustrated manuscripts in sixteenth-century Central Asia, Iran, and Mughal India; they carry broad implications with respect to style, aesthetic criteria, cultural geography, and the importance of the hand-written word—i.e., the conscious preference for hand-copied, rather than printed, manuscripts.

Scrutinizing paintings for small optical units and engaging in a detailed study of each element in every painting constitutes the core of the methodology that I have been developing and practicing together with Oleg Grabar since our first joint project.[3] The underlying theory holds that nothing in a painting is redundant or accidental; its presence is the result of conscious decisions made by the artist or artists. A meticulous identification and understanding of the functionality of all visual features in any illustration will reveal the processes by which artists formulated specific approaches to their work. This method allows us to reconstruct a history for illustrated manuscripts, and the present essay is a further step in this reconstruction.

After presenting the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, its distinctive and unusual characteristics, and the questions these characteristics pose, I will link this codex to similar books that may shed light on it and explain its peculiarity. Next I will demonstrate the existence of two different styles in the paintings, identify the origin of these styles, and establish a new chronology and history for the manuscript as a whole. Ultimately, I will discuss these ideas in the broader context of the art of the book and consider their implications for our understanding of early-Akbar-period painting.

The stories of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* were written by Kamal al-Din Husayn ibn Ali al-Vaʾiz, known also as Kashifi, by the end of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, probably in Timurid Herat.[4] The work itself is dedicated to Amir Suhayli (hence its title), who commissioned Kashifi to rewrite, in up-to-date language, the stories of *Kalīla wa Dimna*.[5] These fables, involving humans and animals, often have surprising and somewhat harsh conclusions and morals.[6] In this essay I will not deal with the content of these stories, as fascinating as they are, or with their transformation into images, but rather will examine the physicality of the book and the style and layout of the paintings, which will serve as a key for understanding this manuscript and the early period of Mughal painting.[7]

Scholars have tended to approach the twenty-seven miniature paintings in the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* as a homogeneous group and to classify them as still retaining strong Persian characteristics with respect to their style, composition, and palette. Such a categorization conforms only superficially with the master narrative regarding the birth of Mughal painting, according to which this art was developed under the close guidance and supervision of two Safavid painters, Mir Sayyid ʿAli and ʿAbd al-Samad, who were brought to the Mughal court by Humayun, and to whom the establishment of the Mughal atelier is credited.

A closer analysis of the manuscript's illustrations reveals that two of the twenty-seven paintings (folios 28a and 40a, figs. 1 and 2) were painted in a style different from that of the rest of the illustrations and thus
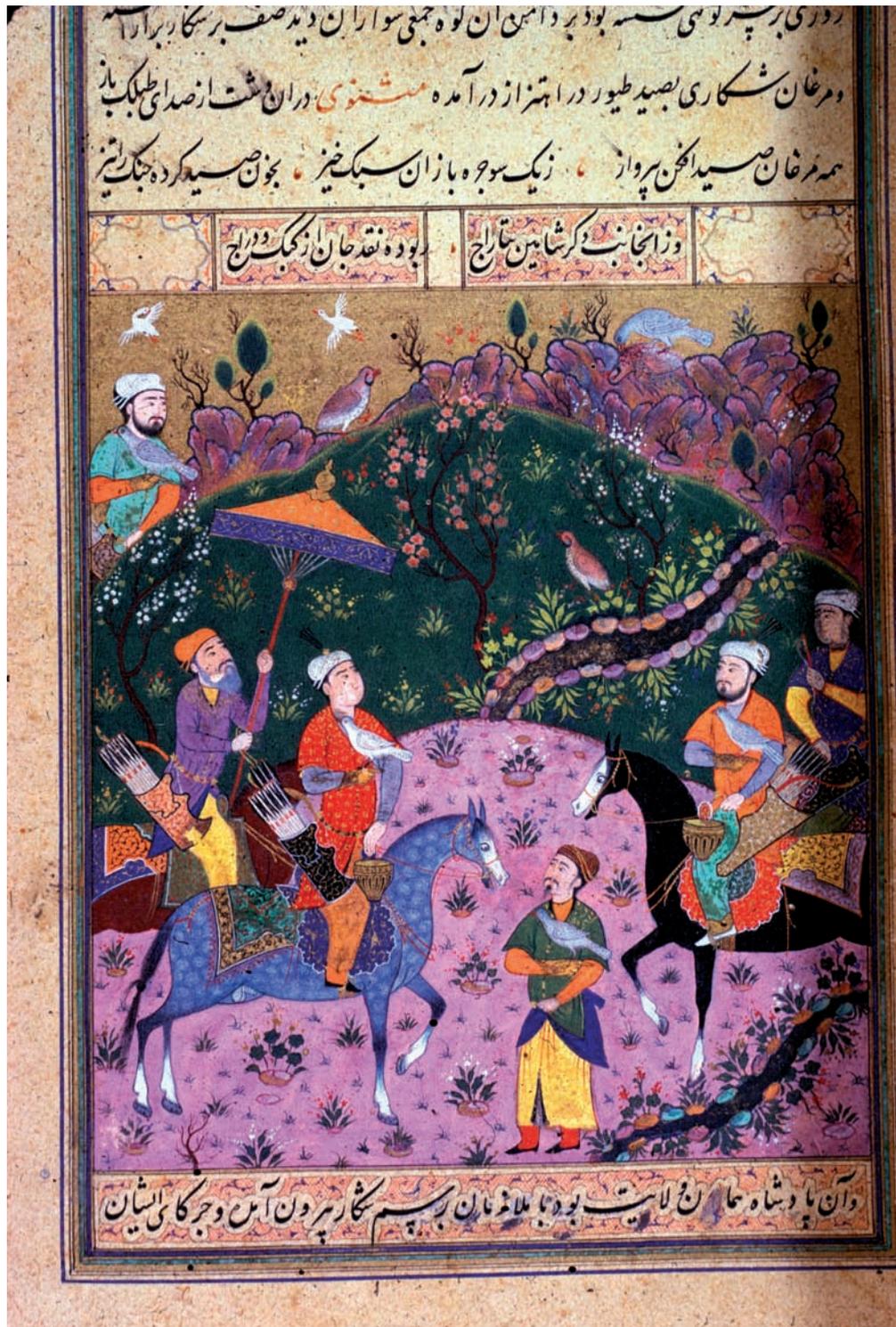
Fig. 1. *The Young Hawk Steals the Bird from the King's Hawk*, fol. 28a, *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, copied in 1570. School of Oriental and African Studies, ms. no. 10102. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

Fig. 2. *The Monkey and the Carpenter*, fol. 40a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

raise fundamental questions regarding the history of the manuscript, the date of the paintings, and their artists.[8] The unusual layout of the remaining twenty-five pictures further indicates a change from the original design of this codex. Although several scholars have noticed the stylistic difference, they have explained it in terms of a change in fashion and taste dictated by Emperor Akbar himself and have portrayed the development of style in Akbar's atelier as a linear progression, moving from a Persianate style into a unified Mughal idiom.

At first glance, the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* paintings appear to embody and exemplify this assumed trajectory of development and evolution. However, this Darwinian approach has prevented scholars from examining the manuscript and its illustrations in a historical and cultural context that might provide a more reliable explanation for the existence of two different styles of paintings in one manuscript. Furthermore, the placement of the two odd paintings in the opening section of the book suggests that changes occurred in the process of the making of this manuscript. I will first deal with the unusual features of the "Mughal-looking" paintings and only then turn to an explanation of the two odd paintings at the beginning of the manuscript.

Striking in their peculiar layout, the twenty-five Mughal-style paintings extend beyond the text or image frame and into the margins (see, for example, figs. 3 and 14). The manuscript contains no attributions, either contemporary or later, to artists,[9] giving pause to art historians working in the so-called connoisseurship tradition, which bestows great importance to the practice of linking artists with specific paintings.

The Mughal-style illustrations form a stylistically coherent group, and they share several distinctive features. Some of their common characteristics can be seen in the treatment of pictorial space and the rendering of landscape. There is an attempt to convey volume, depth, and three-dimensionality in depictions of architecture as well as in landscape. Instead of layering the flat elements of the composition one above the other, as in folios 28a and 40a (figs. 1 and 2), the artists of the Mughal-style paintings created spaces and recessions in which landscape frames the painting and defines the pictorial space and its borders (figs. 3–5). Depth is suggested by rocks that are usually arranged in an encircling composition, separating foreground from middle ground and creating a barrier in front of an opaque background. On a smaller scale, dimensionality is transformed through the rendering of each stone in several tones or shades of color, giving it the illusion of volume and weight (figs. 6 and 7). Depictions of architectural structures in these paintings further suggest that the artists were aware of and interested in conveying the illusion of a three-dimensional environment, using some kind of perspective and foreshortening (figs. 8 and 9).

The layout of the Mughal-style illustrations points to an important feature of their production process. A careful examination of folio 93v (fig. 4) reveals the existence of two frames on a single page. The inner frame includes most of the painted surface as well as a text panel at the lower section of the page. Even though parts of the right side of this frame are covered, having been painted over, its upper right corner is clearly visible below the flying bird carrying a piece of skin. A second, larger, frame encompasses the entire painted area but excludes the text box.[10] Other compositions also extend beyond the outlines of their text panels and make use of them in artful ways (e.g., figs. 6 and 8). This is an unusual layout for Mughal illustrations dated to the 1570s, and the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* paintings stand apart from others produced in that early period.

Scenes that depict architecture in the manuscript are usually contained within the small frame of the text panel, although three have extensions that go beyond that frame (figs. 8–10). In these illustrations, the text panels are manipulated so as to constitute integral parts of the building and are neither superimposed on the page nor blocking parts of the picture (as they do elsewhere—e.g., in fig. 7). When this feature is compared with illustrated pages from a contemporary *Dārābnāma* of ca. 1577–80 (now in the British Library, Or. 4615), the text panels of the latter, like those of the *Bāburnāma* and other Mughal manuscripts, do not interact with or form an organic part of the illustration per se,[11] but rather give the impression of being superimposed on or even pasted over it (which is literally true of some *Akbarnāma* pages).

With this unusual layout, twenty-two of the twenty-seven illustrations of the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* occupy a larger space than the one originally designated for them. Unlike the large text panels of the *Dārābnāma*, the outlines of the text blocks in the SOAS codex leave sufficient space for illustration, so there was no actual need to expand the paintings and make them flow beyond these boundaries. Therefore it is likely that a decision was made to change the format of the manu-

Fig. 3. *The Camel's Sacrifice*, fol. 75a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)
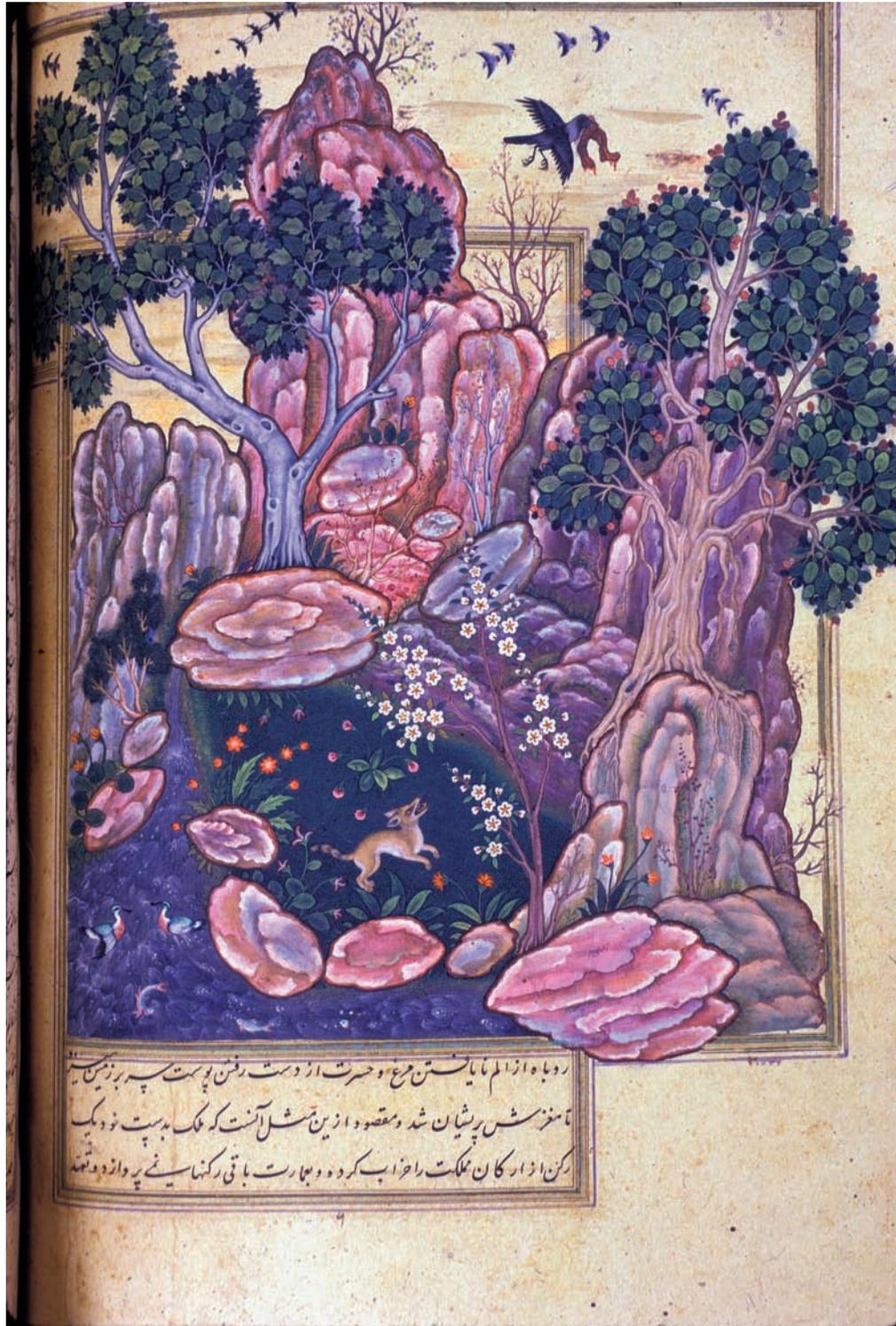
Fig. 4. *The Greedy Fox Watches the Kite Fly Off with a Piece of Skin*, fol. 93b, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)
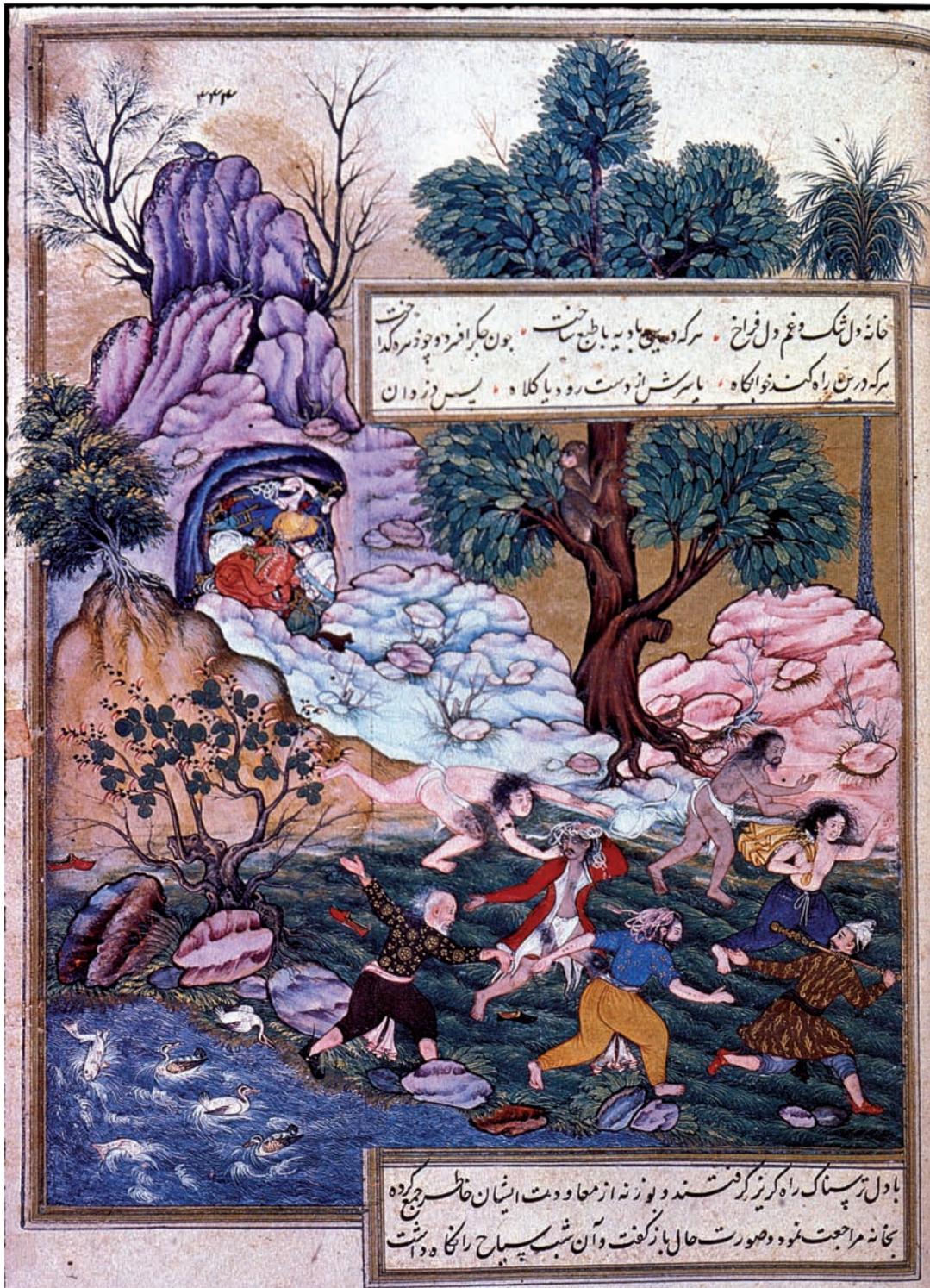
Fig. 5. *The Monkey Steals the Loot from the Bandits*, fol. 333a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

Fig. 6. *The Concerted Action of the Pigeons Caught in the Net*, fol. 123a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

Fig. 7. *The Sick Lion, the Fox, and the Donkey*, fol. 211b, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)
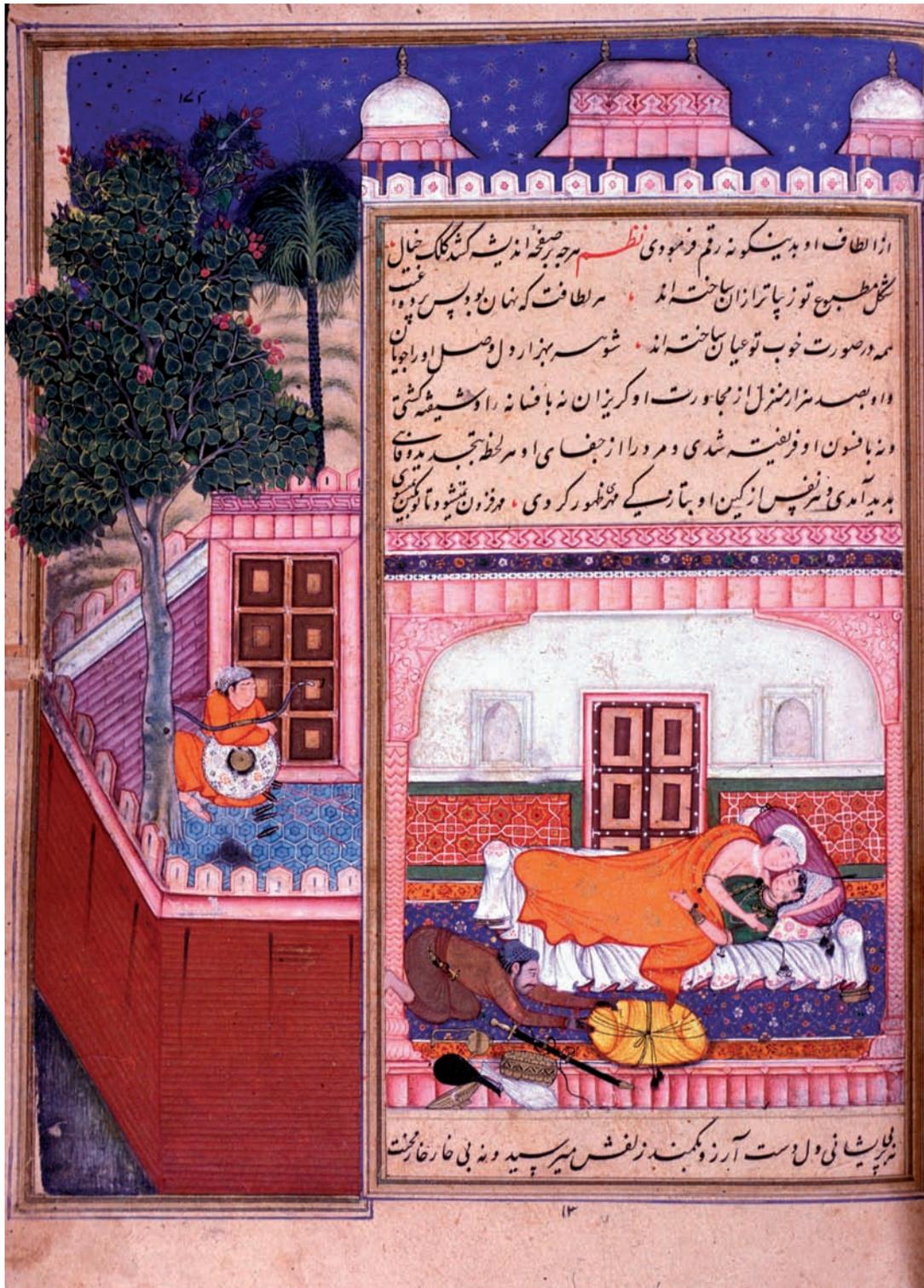
Fig. 8. *The Thief, the Merchant, and His Wife*, fol. 172a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

Fig. 9. *The Thief Who Saved the King from His Foolish Monkey*, fol. 199b, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī.* (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)
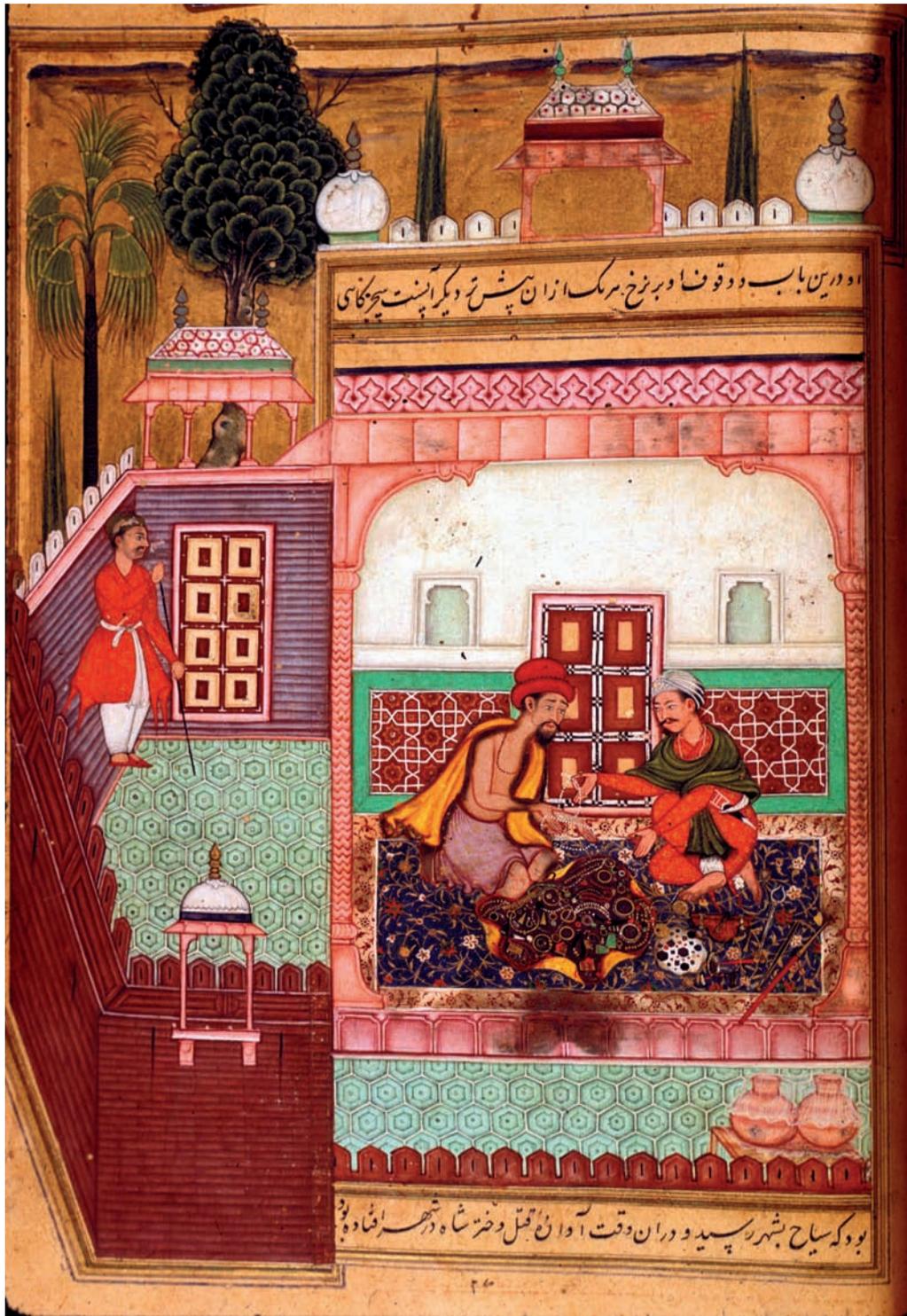
Fig. 10. *The Goldsmith Treacherously Accuses the Pilgrim of the Murder of the Princess*, fol. 334a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

script as originally planned and expand the paintings. John Seyller argues that this elaboration of the compositional field was an experiment that progressed in linear fashion as the manuscript was being created.[12] This argument is not supported by the physical appearance of the manuscript as a whole, however; in contrast to Seyller, Karl Khandalavala and Kalpana Desai claim that the expansion of the paintings was undertaken after the originals were finished.[13]

In spite of the peculiarity of imbedded text blocks, buildings represented in the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* may be linked to actual monuments that served as their models or sources of inspiration. Walls, domes, *chatri*s (domed roof kiosks), crenellations, columns, and the use of red stone point to Akbar-style architecture, and even more specifically to the monuments of Fatehpur Sikri, reduced in scale and monumentality and converted into more personal, intimate spaces. For example, the main iwan wall of the Jamiʿa Masjid in Fatehpur Sikri, topped by crenellations and *chatri*s, as well as the arches and crenellations of the Abdar Khana (water house), resemble the architecture represented on folio 172a (fig. 8). It is clear that in these paintings we are looking at representations of a specifically Mughal world.

Distinctive features of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* such as the treatment of the text panels and their incorporation into the architecture can also be seen in a *Khamsa* of Nizami now in the Keir Collection.[14] Of all early-Akbar-period manuscripts, this is the most important for aiding our understanding of the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* from a historical and visual point of view. Several of its paintings, like those of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, expand beyond the text frame (fig. 11). Not only do the illustrations flow farther away from the text panels, but the text blocks are incorporated into the painted areas in the same manner as in the SOAS manuscript—part of a fence in *Bahram Gur in the Black Pavilion* in the *Khamsa* (fig. 12), or of iwan walls on folios 172a, 199b, and 334a of the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (figs. 8–10).[15] On stylistic grounds, Robert Skelton initially dated the Mughal-style paintings from the Keir *Khamsa* to ca. 1590–95, but after noticing an inscription on one of the paintings, he redated them to 1584–86.[16]

The size of the text blocks on the illustrated pages of the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* and their proportion with respect to the paintings are significant features, according to Seyller. He perceives that the new method of expanding the painted surface beyond the text-block frame was used in the second painting in the man-

uscript (folio 36a, not illustrated here), and after that from the eighth painting onward.[17] Seyller interprets this phenomenon to mean that "the illumination proceeded slowly enough to allow the artists to react quickly to each other's work."[18] He further suggests that because of the increased painted area on folio 36a, the calligrapher decided to leave more free space for the artists and incorporate less text on subsequent pages that were to be illustrated.[19] He explains this alteration as a response to the artists' dissatisfaction with the paintings' appearance, or a reaction to demands made by a patron.[20]

Considering the type of work the artists were producing, the cost, and the careful advance preparations, all of which were factors in the production of such a book, Seyller's argument seems implausible. Why would the artists experiment on a such a precious manuscript when they could test their innovations elsewhere? And why would the calligrapher not leave enough space for all the paintings if he were working very closely with the artists? Seyller furthermore ignores the oddness of the first and third paintings in the manuscript (folios 28a and 40a, figs. 1 and 2), which have little in common with the rest of the illustrations stylistically. He argues that "the steady reduction of text on illuminated pages leaves little doubt that the scribe, Muhibb Allah b. Hasan, was writing out the text of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* even as the paintings were being executed."[21]

This hypothesis stands in contrast to what we actually see in the manuscript, including the strange placement in the text of such images as *The Monkey and the Carpenter* (folio 40a); *The Thief, the Merchant, and His Wife* (folio 172a); or *The Wolf, the Hunter, the Deer, and the Boar* (folio 137b) (figs. 2, 8, and 13). On folio 40a, for example, the illustration represents a later moment in the story and does not correlate to the text: the monkey (with a companion) is shown caught by the carpenter and beaten, although the text around it has not yet reached that point in the story. Seyller explains this oddity as an "iconographic corruption of a familiar motif" that occurs only once in the illustrations of this manuscript, but he fails to remark on the visual peculiarity of this painting with respect to the others.[22]

The Keir *Khamsa* and the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* illustrations share a similar definition and organization of space. Both employ layering and recession to convey depth; in both, trees, rocks, and architecture in the remote background are rendered smaller than

Fig. 11. *Bahram Gur Slays the Dragon*, fol. 177b, *Khamsa* of Nizami, Keir Collection. (After B. W. Robinson, ed., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book* [London: Faber and Faber, 1979], V.22, pl. 114)

Fig. 12. *Bahram Gur in the Black Pavilion*, fol. 195b, *Khamsa* of Nizami, Keir Collection. (After Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, V.26, pl. 115)

Fig. 13. *The Wolf, the Hunter, the Deer, and the Boar*, fol. 137b, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

those meant to appear closer to the viewer. Architectural settings are also very much alike, featuring open rooms with doors in the middle and crenellations and small domes at the top; the framing of these rooms and their inner decoration and furniture, as well as tiled courts, walls, and gates, are all similar and comparably organized spatially.[23]

Some paintings in the *Khamsa* and the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* are so similar in composition that they appear to mirror each other. For example, the composition of *Anvār-i Suhaylī* folio 172a (fig. 8), in which the thief crawls into the couple's bedroom, is a near mirror-image of the *Khamsa*'s Khusraw and Shirin in bed.[24] In setting, the *Khamsa* illustration of *Bahram Gur Slays the Dragon* (fig. 11) corresponds to the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* illustrations of *The King Who Killed His Hawk*, *The Farmer's Unfaithful Wife*, and *The Horseman Shoots the Hunter* (figs. 14–16).[25] The pair of bears in the background of *Layla Meets Majnun in the Wilderness*, attributed in the margin of the painting to Muhammad Sharif, a son of 'Abd al-Samad,[26] find their counterparts in *Maymun the Monkey Approaches the Bears in Order to Trick Them* (fig. 17): they have identical dense, dark coats and long forelegs and snouts.[27]

According to its three colophons, the text of the Keir *Khamsa* was copied in Yazd between 1502 and 1506. Robert Skelton asserts that the calligrapher left empty spaces for the illustrations, which were added ca. 1585 to 1590 at the Mughal atelier.[28] This history explains the tension between the text panels and the illustrations and suggests the reason for the expansion of the pictorial surface far beyond the initial frame, in a manner identical to the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* miniatures. Given the similarities between the manuscripts, it seems that the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* may share an aspect of manuscripts that witnessed their debut at one time and locale and were completed in another: a phenomenon that I call "manuscript reincarnation." This phenomenon reflects the complex intricacies regarding the role of books in the Perso-Islamic world, where, in the course of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, illustrated manuscripts negotiated the long and challenging roads from Central Asia to Iran or India and back.

Throughout the course of my work, I have identified a substantial number of "reincarnated" illustrated manuscripts that, like the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, underwent several stages of production, a process that extended over time and multiple places. We know from historical sources and documents that the Mughals acquired numerous books from Iran and Central Asia and added to them paintings or illuminations, as was the case with the Keir *Khamsa*.[29] Another example of extended production is a *Būstān* of Sa'di dated to 1531–32, copied in Bukhara: its three illustrations, painted by Shaykh-Zada around 1540, were retouched and repainted by Bishandas ca. 1620.[30] A manuscript of Jami's *Tuḥfat al-Aḥrār* initially copied in Bukhara by Sultan Muhammad Nur al-Katib and dated 921 (1515–16) also has three miniatures, which were probably painted in Bukhara ca. 1560.[31] These manuscripts were in the possession of Akbar's son Sultan Murad, after whose death in 1599 they were brought to the royal library.[32] Other examples of "reincarnated" works include a *Khamsa* of Nizami now in the India Office Library (no. 384), copied by Mir Muhammad in 1557–58, probably in Bukhara; its illustrations were added in India about fifteen years later.[33] A *Būstān* of Sa'di now in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Eliot 29) contains four double-page miniatures that were painted in Shiraz around 1560–70 and repainted in India.[34] A *Haft Paykar* of Nizami now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (no. 13.228.13) contains five paintings ascribed to Bihzad and twelve folios written and signed by the Timurid calligrapher Sultan 'Ali; Mawlana Azhar finished copying it in 1580–81. The inscription in its *shamsa* (sunburst ornament) informs us that the manuscript was offered by Mun'im Khan (Khankhanan) to Emperor Akbar.[35]

Priscilla Soucek describes the migration of artists and calligraphers from Central Asia and Iran to the Mughal courts and the importance of these movements to the development of Mughal court painting. While a few masters were invited to the court by Mughal rulers—for instance, 'Abd al-Samad Shirazi, who was asked by Humayun to join his atelier—the majority came on their own initiative, searching for new employment opportunities, their migrations likely spurred by the restless political situation in Iran and Central Asia.[36] In their movements from one place to another, calligraphers and artists brought with them albums, paintings, and illustrated manuscripts, probably not all in finished condition.[37]

As desired as they were by Mughal collectors, Timurid manuscripts were nevertheless subjected to modifications and additions by Mughal artists, probably following their patrons' instructions. For example, a *Khamsa* of Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i (now in the Royal Library, Windsor) was completed by Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi in Herat in 1492 and subsequently taken to the Uzbek royal library

Fig. 14. *The King Who Killed His Hawk*, fol. 222a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

Fig.15. *The Farmer's Unfaithful Wife*, fol. 232a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

Fig. 16. *The Horse Rider Shoots the Hunter*, fol. 280a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)
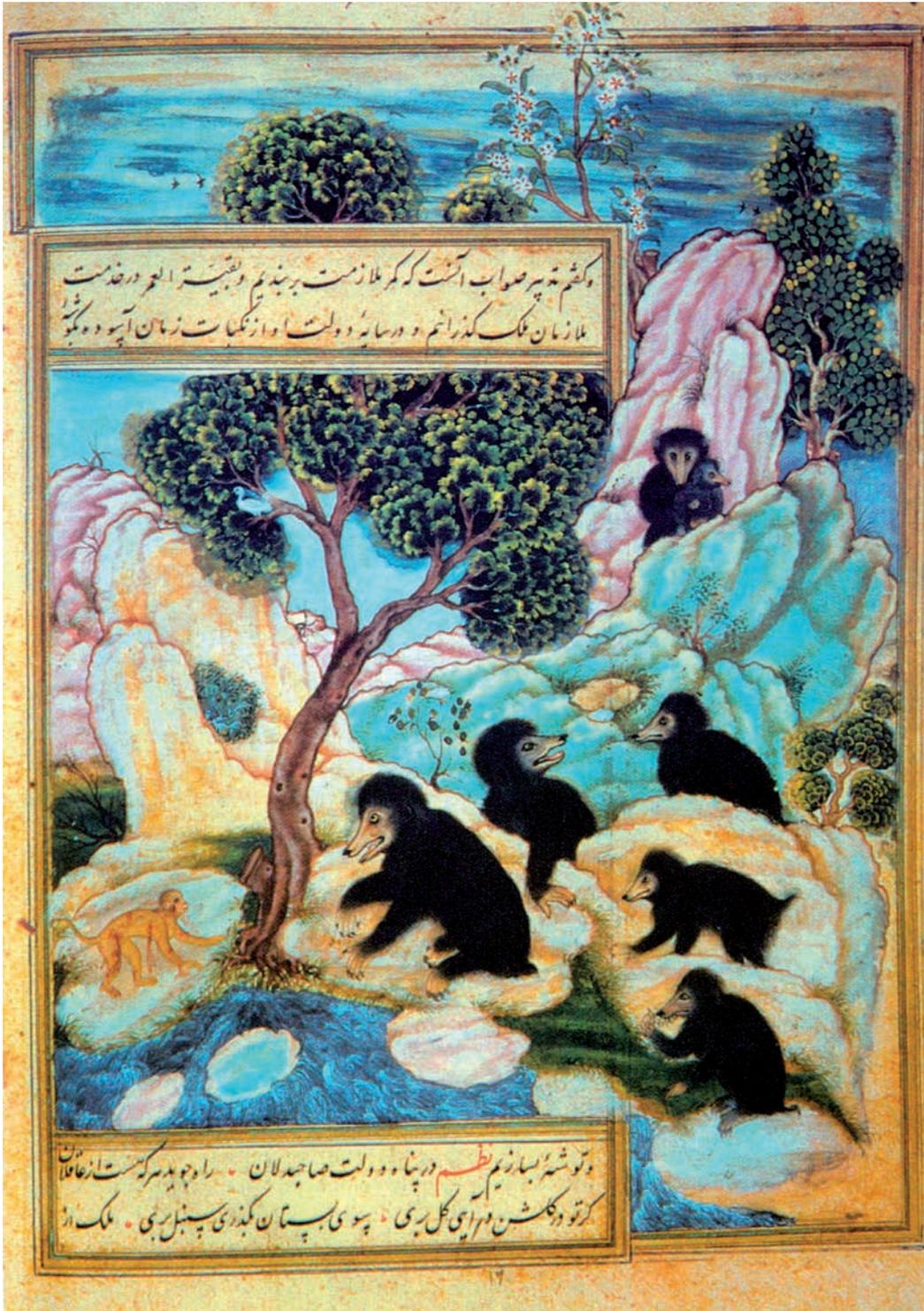
Fig. 17. *Maymun the Monkey Approaches the Bears in Order to Trick Them*, fol. 181b, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

in Bukhara, where six paintings were added, one of them dated 947 (1540–41); all six were repainted in the Mughal atelier, probably around 1605, with special attention given to faces and landscape features. Only one entirely Mughal painting exists in the codex, and it is a copy of a European Christian image.[38]

The first and third paintings in the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (folios 28a and 40a, figs. 1 and 2) show strong stylistic links to Central Asian illustrations of what scholars call the "Bukharan style." Among the distinctive features of folio 28a are the horses—tall, slim, long-legged, and patterned with lighter dots. Such horses can be seen in numerous paintings from sixteenth-century Central Asia—for instance, in a double-page illustration depicting Sultan Sanjar and the old woman, from a Nizami *Makhzan al-Asrār* copied in Bukhara in 1538.[39] Another Bukharan example of exactly the same type of horse, ridden by King Dara, appears in a 1556–57 *Būstān* of Sa'di.[40] Furthermore, the layering of the landscape in these compositions, their tilted, teardrop-shaped trees, their flat golden backgrounds, and the meandering stream bordered with colorful stones in the *Būstān* painting are all features that appear in the first and third *Anvār-i Suhaylī* miniatures but not elsewhere. The boots, robe, and turban worn by the carpenter in the latter illustration are typical of Bukharan costume and can be seen in paintings produced in Bukhara in the 1560s.[41] How can we explain the visual similitude between these two illustrations, which are supposedly Mughal, and paintings produced in Central Asia, and more specifically in Bukhara?

The Mughal library possessed numerous manuscripts that came from Mawarannahr, the motherland of the Timurids, who were the Mughals' ancestors. One such example of a Bukharan illustrated manuscript that entered Akbar's library is a *Gulistān* of Sa'di (British Library, Or. 5302), its colophon bearing the date 975 (1567–68). The manuscript has thirteen paintings, produced in two different phases: six painted in a Bukharan style that seems to be contemporary with the colophon and the other seven produced in the early seventeenth century by various Mughal artists.[42] Four out of the six Bukharan-style paintings are ascribed to Shahm Mudhahhib.[43] In some of these, heads were retouched in order to update them and make them accord with the new Mughal environment and fashion.[44] In one such painting (folio 25b), according to Jeremiah Losty, the face of the prince watching a wrestling match is a portrait of Akbar, who is

identified by an inscription on the canopied throne: "It was ordered in the days of the prosperity of the great king Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar, may God perpetuate his kingship and sovereignty."[45] A similar phenomenon of modifying or repainting faces can be seen in the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* on folios 28a (fig. 1) and 119a (fig. 18), where the figure in the lower right corner is an Indian man whose face seems to be retouched.

Losty, as well as Michael Brand and Glenn Lowry, further observe that the pictures in the British Library *Gulistān* extend beyond the text blocks, and except for one do not include text within the painted areas. Thus they conclude that the Bukharan-style miniatures were added when the manuscript was already in India.[46] In his analysis of the *Gulistān* manuscript, Basil Gray argues that the paintings are in a "provincial Bukharan style" that might have been practiced in the Akbari court.[47] A similar case could be made for the codex of a *Khusraw va Shīrīn* dated to 1568, made for Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda. The manuscript has seven Bukharan-style illustrations which, according to Seyller, differ from other illustrations and paintings produced in the Deccan.[48] Souren Melikian-Chirvani, however, has convincingly pointed out the presence of Central Asian and Shirazi artists in that region.[49]

Another possible explanation for the distinctive features that the *Gulistān* manuscript shares with the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* is that the illustrations were painted in Bukhara when the text was copied, and that changes were made to them subsequently, after the manuscript arrived in India.[50]

The artist Shahm Mudhahhib may also have been involved with the painting of the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*: Losty, Milo Beach, and Barbara Schmitz separately attribute to him the first painting in the manuscript.[51] However, his identity is yet another enigma. Schmitz argues that the name "Šahm," as she renders it, is actually Shaykhem ibn Mulla Yusuf Haravi, who was a painter in the atelier of 'Abd al-Aziz Khan in Bukhara during the 1550s.[52] Robert McChesney argues that the name should be read as "Shahom," a short form for Shah Muhammad.[53] Based on this information, Brand and Lowry argue that the *Gulistān* manuscript was brought to India by Shahm Mudhahhib unfinished or ready to be illustrated, and that all the paintings in both codices were made in India around 1570.[54] Despite Shahm's presumed involvement with the *Anvār-i Suhayli*, however, it is difficult to accept the idea that all twenty-seven of its paintings were made in India, since unity of style in the SOAS manuscript is apparent only in
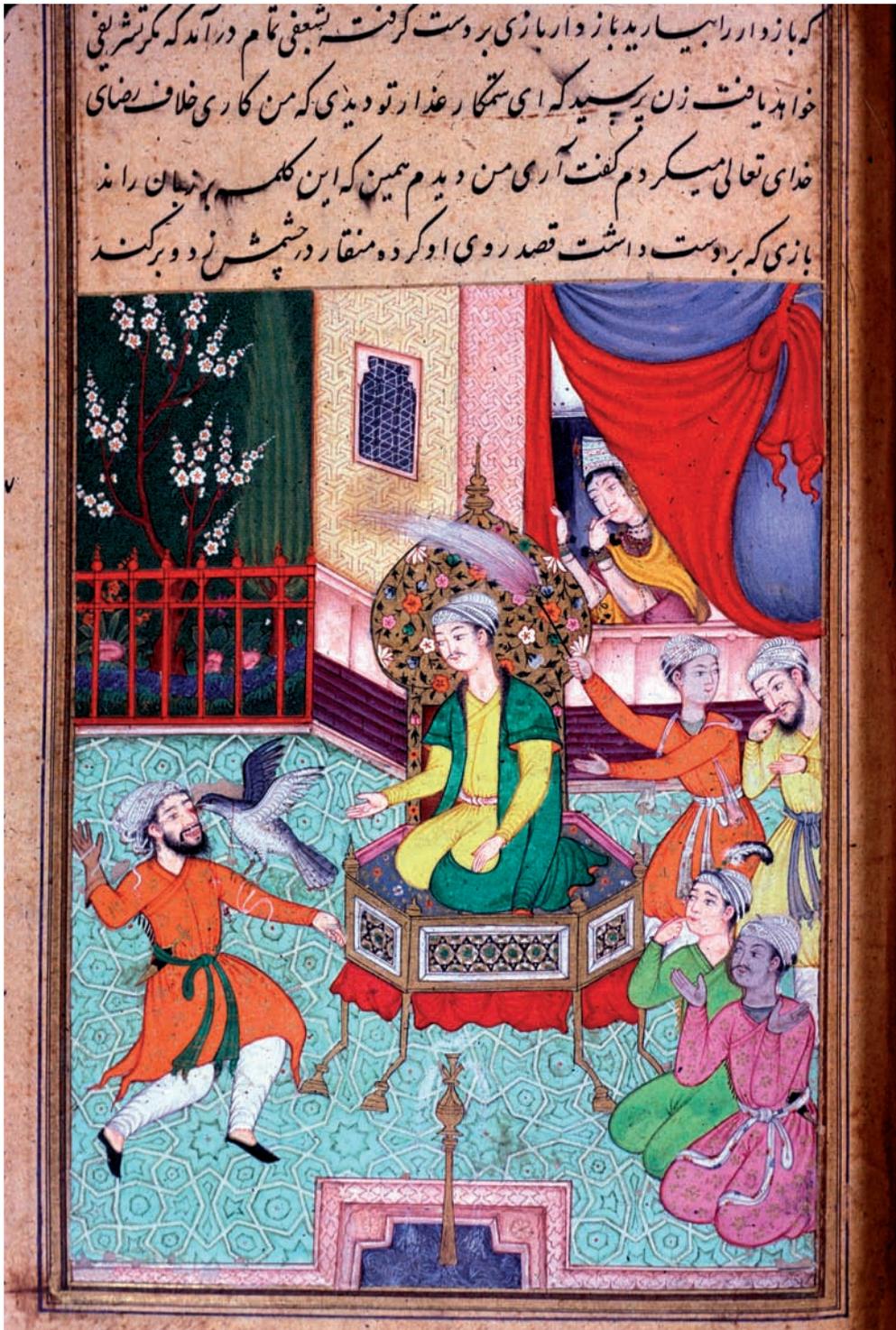
Fig. 18. *The Lying Falconer is Punished for His False Accusation*, fol. 119a, SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*. (Reproduced with the permission of the SOAS Library)

the "Mughal-looking" paintings and not in the first and third illustrations. We have already encountered numerous examples of unfinished manuscripts that were brought from Central Asia, Iran, or even the earlier Sultanates only to be partially retouched, painted over, or completed in the Mughal ateliers.

In the course of this article we have enumerated the main features that differentiate the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* from contemporary Mughal works: Folios 28a and 40a differ from the other paintings, containing elements that do not occur in the Mughalized illustrations but that are prominent in those produced in Bukhara. The illustrations that follow folio 40a extend beyond the text panels and occupy most of the page surface; some integrate the text blocks into their composition.

The overall appearance of the SOAS manuscript is similar to that of illustrated codices that were begun in Central Asia and completed in Mughal India between 1565 and the 1580s. Ultimately, we may conclude that the manuscript had several stages of production. The text was copied in 1570 Central Asia, where two or perhaps more paintings were executed. It then arrived in Mughal India, either through trade or with one of the artists who migrated there from Central Asia, and the rest of the illustrations were completed by other artists working in the Mughal idiom of the time. Because of their similarity to the illustrations in the Keir *Khamsa*, the Mughalized paintings of the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* could, in my opinion, have been made ca. 1585–90 by artists from the same atelier as those of the *Khamsa*.

Why is the redating of the "Mughal-looking" miniatures in the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* so significant to the overall narrative of early Mughal painting, especially when the difference is a mere fifteen or twenty years? Our knowledge of illustrated manuscripts and paintings from Akbar's years as a young ruler is still minimal;[55] we have very little evidence of illustrated manuscripts from his early reign, and it remains unclear how the Mughals became involved in collecting and commissioning illustrated manuscripts.[56] Only from a point commencing in the 1580s is there an abundance of material. The SOAS paintings, dated by scholars to 1570, are therefore said to be among the earliest manuscript illustrations associated with Akbar's patronage and his court. Hence the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* has been considered to be one of the "missing links" in manuscript production during the arid years of book patronage in Mughal India. For this reason perhaps, scholars

have been eager to assign the entire manuscript to the date of the colophon, 1570, without attempting to explain its peculiarities and its two styles of painting. A new dating of the "Mughal-looking" illustrations to the 1580s may influence the chronology of the development of early-Akbar-period painting and emphasize the fact that many books were moving across Central Asia and India in those years. It further underscores our lack of evidence and knowledge of book production in India between 1556 and 1580.

Because of the two miniatures in a different, Bukharan, style, as well as the strange L-shaped compositions of the Mughal-style paintings, we may suggest two stages of production for this manuscript. It is possible that the book was copied in Central Asia in 1570 for a lesser patron and was later transformed in order to meet new demands. It is reasonable to imagine that it was imported into Mughal India with only two paintings completed, and that the rest were not finished until the 1580s.

It is also clear that the artists who produced the first and third paintings employed distinct aesthetic principles with respect to pictorial space, the guidelines of which were different from those used by the artists who painted the remaining illustrations, resulting in two distinct styles of painting within a single manuscript. Ultimately the Central Asian motifs were limited to the compositional concepts and details of folios 28a and 40a, while the rest of the illustrations very clearly indicate a Mughal idiom and identity.

How can we explain this lack of stylistic unity in one book, especially when we tend to think of illustrated manuscripts as entities planned in advance and meticulously executed as uniform, complete objects? How can we reconcile the fact that paintings in illustrated manuscripts from the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods show marked stylistic conformity, while those associated with the Mughals, who viewed themselves as descendants of both the Mongols and the Timurids,[57] do not always evince similar conformity, even within a single book? Whence this aesthetic change?

Perhaps the concept of "style" as we think of it nowadays was not part of the aesthetic judgment of Mughal connoisseurs and consumers of art. "Style," according to James Elkins, is a "term used for a coherence of qualities in periods or people."[58] Hubert Locher argues that in medieval European art, the notion of style was not used for the description, systematization, or historical representation of works of art.[59] The situation may have been more complex in India, since

the idea of style had existed in the past, in notions of regional or patronage-level differences. Sanskrit treatises about Indian painting, such as the *Citrasūtra*s, classified paintings into four styles or types.[60] This notion of style is even visible in the development in India of a *naskhī* script called *bihārī* (of Bihar),[61] or of regional styles in architecture.[62] Moreover, manuscripts painted during the Pala period (ca. eighth–twelfth century) in Bengal or Bihar differ stylistically from contemporary Jain paintings from Gujarat. These stylistic differences were used to create identities. Therefore, we may conceive of the preservation of a Central Asian style and its inclusion in a Mughal context as means of presenting Mughal identity and cultural heritage.

The founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, Babur, originated from Central Asia, and the dynasty and its subordinates adopted these Central Asian cultural roots and links.[63] As a result the Mughals used Persian as their language of administration, adopted Timurid architectural style for their dynastic mausoleums, and built *chahār-bāgh*s (quadripartite-plan gardens), all of which derived from Timurid/Central Asian traditions.[64] Numerous paintings in various historical manuscripts and album pages depict the Mughals' Timurid ancestors. Stephen Dale states that Babur "initiated a conscious Timurid renaissance in South Asia where Timurid culture was not merely replicated but was also transmuted in a new cultural setting quite distinct from its original steppe environment."[65] Akbar's court historian, Abu 'l Fazl, traces the emperor's lineage to Timur and to Alan-qo'a, the mythical Mongol mother, thus repeating Timur's fictitious genealogy linking him to Chinggis Khan.[66]

The deliberate appropriation of Central Asian idioms into Mughal artistic culture did not yield elaborate discussions regarding specific styles in painting.[67] The decision made by artists or patrons in India not to impose stylistic unity within manuscripts must have been a conscious one, however.[68] Preserving two different styles in a single book may have played an important role in maintaining a prestigious Central Asian connection or provenance, thus overriding the objective of aesthetic unity. Furthermore, from the large number of "reincarnated manuscripts" still in existence, we may conclude that there may have been discussion of stylistic and aesthetics principles in the Mughal atelier.

In the eyes of Muslims in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bukhara was particularly esteemed as a center of religious learning, supported by powerful Naqshbandi shaykhs.[69] Hence, the Bukharan-style illustrations in the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* should be seen as both the expression and the continuation of the Bukharan intellectual legacy in Mughal India.

The corpus of "reincarnated" manuscripts may serve as one of the principal keys to understanding the complexity of intellectual life that characterized Persianate societies. These books-in-progress constituted what the literati in Safavid Iran, Mughal India, and Uzbek Central Asia esteemed not only as their written tradition but also as their shared heritage: the Timurid legacy of book culture, which bridged time and space and connected Mughals, Persians, and Uzbeks with their illustrious Timurid ancestors and predecessors, and, more importantly, with one another.

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NOTES

1. Ms. 10102, the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London (SOAS). I would like to thank Ron Sela of Indiana University for commenting on earlier drafts of this paper.

2. According to the colophon, the copying of the text was completed by Muhibb Allah ibn Hasan Sirri on 22 Rabi' II 978 (Sept. 23, 1570). The colophon reads: "This book was completed with the help of the All-Bestowing King on 22 Rabi' al-Akhir. Written by the poor one, the sinner, Muhibb 'Ali, son of Hasan Sirri, may God forgive the sins of both of them, in the year 978." An erroneous date of Apr. 29, 1571, is cited in Wheeler M. Thackston's translation of the colophon in the appendix of Milo Cleveland Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 232. The manuscript consists of 349 folios measuring 33.5 x 21.5 cm. The text block contains nineteen lines of *nasta'līq*, and the text area measures 21 x 11.5 cm.

3. The fruits of this project were presented in our first article, "Two Safavid Paintings: An Essay in Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 173–202.

4. Kashifi died in 1504–5. See Ghiyās̲ al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād bashar*, 4 vols. (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Khayyām, 1954), 4:346.

5. Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Vā'iz̲ al-Kāshifī, *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (Bombay, 1828), 11. On Kashifi's *Anvār-i Suhaylī* see Christine van Ruymbeke, "Kashifi's Forgotten Masterpiece: Why Rediscover the *Anvār-i Suhaylī*?" *Iranian Studies* 36, 4 (2003): 571–88. Kashifi's fables were translated into English by E. B. Eastwick, *The Anvār-i Suhaylī* (Hertford: S. Austin, 1854). The main works dedicated to the study of *Kalila*

wa Dimna illustrations are Ernst Grube, "Prolegomena for a Corpus Publication of Illustrated *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* Manuscripts," *Islamic Art* 4 (1991): 301–481; Bernard O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting:* Kalila and Dimna *Manuscripts of the Late 14th Century* (London: Tauris, 2002); Julian Raby, "Between Sogdia and the Mamluks: A Note on the Earliest Illustrations to *Kalila wa Dimna*," *Oriental Art* 33, 4 (Winter 1987–88): 381–98; Ernst Grube, ed., *A Mirror for Princes from India* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1991); John Seyller, "The School of Oriental and African Studies *Anvār-i Suhaylī*: The Illustration of a *de luxe* Mughal Manuscript," *Ars Orientalis* 16 (1986): 119–51; Jill Sanchia Cowen, *Kalila wa-Dimna: An Animal Allegory of the Mongol Court* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Lights of Canopus* (New York: William Edwin Rudge; London: The Studio, 1929); Mika Natif, "Explaining Early Mughal Painting: The Anvar-i Suhayli Manuscripts" (PhD diss., New York University, 2006).

6. The core stories in the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* were based on the *Panchatantra* (Five *Tantra*), a Sanskrit text written probably ca. AD 300 in Kashmir by a Brahman. The basic work regarding the history of the text, its transformation, and various translations is Johannes Hertel's, *Das Pañcatantra, seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1914). A more recent study is François de Blois's important book *Burzoy's Voyage to India and the Origin of the Book of Kalilah wa Dimnah* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1990). A condensed and clear overview on the various translations and renditions of the text can be found in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2004), s.v. "Kalila wa Dimna" (C. Brockelmann).

7. The relationship of text and image reflected in the manuscript was the subject of the article by John Seyller cited above (n. 5, hereafter "SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*").

8. I use the term "style" here as defined by James Elkins in the *Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1996), s.v.

9. In the *Khamsa* of Nizami now in the Keir Collection (dated to ca. 1585), inscriptions with artists' names were added in the painting margins on several later occasions. See R. W. Skelton, "Indian Painting of the Mughal Period," in *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, ed. B. W. Robinson (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 248. It seems that the system of writing artists' names in the margins began with the *Dārābnāma* (according to John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza* [Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in assoc. with London: Azimuth, 2002], 51).

10. The large outer frame measures approximately 23.8 x 19.3 cm, while the measurement of the small inner frame, including the text box, is about 16.5 x 11.5 cm.

11. See, for example, *Abkarhud Being Acclaimed King*, fol. 74a in the *Dārābnāma*, ca. 1577–80 (London, British Library, Or. 4615). The manuscript is now fragmentary and includes 157 illustrations. On the paintings from the *Bāburnāma* see E. S. Smart, "Paintings from the Baburnama: A Study of Sixteenth-Century Mughal Historical Manuscript Illustration" (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1977); Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of the Book 1560–1660* (London: V and A Publications, 2002).

12. Seyller, "SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*," 126–27.

13. Karl Khandalavala and Kalpana Desai, "Indian Illustrated Manuscripts of the Kalilah wa Dimnah, Anvar-i Suhayli, and Iyar-i Danish," in *A Mirror for Princes from India*, ed. Ernst Grube (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 1991), 133.

14. Catalogued as V.7–41 in R. W. Skelton, "Indian Painting of the Mughal Period," in *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, ed. B. W. Robinson (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 238–48, where many of its paintings are illustrated.

15. The same feature is also used by the artists of an Amir Khusraw Dihlavi *Khamsa* dated to 1581, also in the Keir Collection: on folios 84b, *Shirin's Suicide*, and 102b, *Layla Rejects Ibn Salam*, the text is part of an iwan wall and is topped by crenellations. In this codex there are two sets of paintings, which appear to be of different origin and two distinctive styles. These paintings depict Persian buildings, however, unlike the Keir Nizami *Khamsa* and the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, which both show Mughal architecture. See B. W. Robinson, "An Amir Khusraw *Khamsa* of 1581," *Iran* 35 (1997): 37–40.

16. A note on fol. 73b, which Skelton recognizes as a later addition from the period of Akbar, indicates that the artist Muhammad Sharif, son of ʿAbd al-Samad, participated in this project when he was a young artist at the start of his career. This inscription leads Skelton to redate the illustrations to 1584–86 (Skelton, "Indian Painting of the Mughal Period," 240, 246–47). Milo Beach dates the paintings by their style to ca. 1585–90: see *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, 50.

17. Seyller, "SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī*," 127.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 120, 126–27.

21. Ibid., 127.

22. Ibid., 122.

23. Architecture in the *Khamsa* tends to be more detailed and lavishly decorated, as can be seen in the domes, the richly ornamented throne in the black pavilion, and the tent where Layla and Majnun meet (see *Layla Meets Majnun in the Wilderness*, in Skelton, "Indian Painting of the Mughal Period," V.21, pl. 113). Even the landscape is lusher and more detailed than in the SOAS manuscript: rocks appear to rise higher, and there are more figures and vignettes in the scenes.

24. *Khusraw and Shirin in Bed*, ibid., V.15, pl. 111.

25. Compare with *Bahram Gur Gains the Persian Crown*, ibid., V.23, pl. 114.

26. Ibid., 242, and see illustration V.21, pl. 113.

27. These round, soft bears are quite different from the slim, rough-looking bear who lifts a rock above the gardener's head in another folio of the SOAS manuscript, 88a (not illustrated here).

28. Skelton, "Indian Painting of the Mughal Period," 238.

29. Ibid., 234.

30. Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1985), 94 and n. 25; John Seyller, "The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library," *Artibus Asiae* 57, 3–4 (1997): 281.

31. Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 286.

32. Jahangir inherited these manuscripts from his father when he took the throne in 1605; he himself wrote this information in his newly inherited manuscripts. See Seyller, "Inspection

and Valuation," 281; Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, 94.

33. Priscilla Soucek, "Persian Artists in Mughal India: Influences and Transformations," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 169, argues that the style of the paintings is similar to that of Mushfiq, who worked for the Khan-i Khanan. For a short discussion on Mushfiq see Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1981), 142–45.

34. B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 104.

35. Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 281. Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, 94, conclude that "by around 1580 there were enough high-quality manuscripts on the market to ensure that serious book-collecting was no longer the prerogative of emperors alone."

36. Soucek, "Persian Artists in Mughal India," 166–67.

37. Ibid., 169, gives several examples of calligraphic samples and paintings brought from Bukhara to India—works by Mir ʿAli al-Haravi and Mir Muhammad Baqir. Foltz quotes A. A. Semenov, who argues that Abdallah Khan of Bukhara (r. 1583–98) sent artists, one of whom was Muhammad Murad Samarqandi, from Samarqand and Bukhara to work at Akbar's atelier: Richard C. Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia* (Karachi and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 79 and n. 47.

38. Jeremiah P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London: British Library, 1982), 96 no. 77; Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 295.

39. *Sultan Sanjar and the Old Woman*, fols. 40b–41a, from a *Makhzan al-Asrār*, 1545, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. pers. 985. Published in Francis Richard, *Splendeurs Persanes: Manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 145 no. 95.

40. *King Dara and the Herdsman*, fol. 19b, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. pers.1187. Published in Richard, *Splendeurs Persane*, 147 no. 98.

41. Compare with *The Flight of the Tortoise*, fol. 46a of a *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*, Bukhara, ca. 1560, National Library of Russia (formerly State Public Library [SPL]), Dorn 425. Reproduced in M. M. Ashrafi and A. N. Boldyrev, *Miniatiury XVI veka v spiskakh proizvedenii Dzhami iz sobranii SSSR = XVI Century Miniatures Illustrating Manuscript Copies of the Works of Jami from the USSR Collection* (Moskow: Sovetskii Khudozhnik, 1966), 89.

42. Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, 86 no. 55; Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, 94.

43. Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, 86 no. 55. The reading of this name is still debatable.

44. The painting *The Wrestlers*, ascribed to the artist Shahm Mudhahhib, carefully follows the composition of an illustration of the same subject in a 1554 *Gulistān* of Saʿdi, attributed by Richard to ʿAbdallah, one of the leading artists of the Bukharan atelier (Bibliotèque national de France, suppl. pers. 1958, fol. 20b: see Richard, *Splendeurs Persanes*, 146 no. 96). The latter in its turn follows a painting from a copy of a Saʿdi *Gulistān* possibly made for the Timurid vizier Mir ʿAli Shir Navaʾi that is now in the Freer and Sackler Galleries,Washington, DC. It is illustrated in Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992) 104, cat. no. 36a.

45. Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, 86 no. 55; Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, 94; Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts* (London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1977), 147.

46. Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, 86 no. 55; Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, 94.

47. Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India* (Geneva: Skira, 1963), 81.

48. Seyller, "Painter's Directions in Early Indian Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 59, 3–4 (2000): 304 and n. 5. The manuscript is in Khudabaksh Library, Patna: see Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting* (London: Sotheby Publications and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 157 and n. 18.

49. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "L'école de Shiraz et les origines de la miniature moghole," in *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson (Oxford: Cassirer and London: Faber, 1969), 138–40. The author argues (124–25, 131, 137 and nn. 14–15) that the Shirazi impact in India had already started by the middle of the fifteenth century, and possibly earlier.

50. Some scholars propose that the *Gulistān* was a gift to Akbar from the Shaybanid khan ʿAbd al-Aziz. Losty refutes this hypothesis as presenting "historical difficulties," since at the time the manuscript was copied (1564–67) rebellions in the Uzbek domains created tense relations with the Mughals that would have made such a gift to Akbar by ʿAbd al-Aziz Khan unlikely: see Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, 86 no. 55.

51. Ibid.; Beach, *Early Mughal Painting*, 71; B. Schmitz, "Persian Influences on Indian Painting," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982–) 13:73.

52. Schmitz, "Persian Influences on Indian Painting," 13:72–73.

53. Personal communication.

54. After the *Gulistān* and the SOAS *Anvār-i Suhaylī* Shahm Mudhahhib is not known to have worked on any other project: Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, 94–96.

55. Akbar succeeded his father, Humayun, in 1556, when he was only thirteen years old.

56. There is very little evidence that Babur was involved in collecting or commissioning illustrated manuscripts. For Humayun there is slightly more information, but physical proof of his interest in illustrated manuscripts is similarly scarce. For paintings made during Humayun's reign see H. Elgood, "Who Painted *Princes of the House of Timur*?" in *Humayun's Garden Party: Princes of the House of Timur and Early Mughal Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994), 10–32.

57. For a discussion about the genealogy and ideology of Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, see Maria Subtelny, "Babur's Rival Relations: A Study of Kinship and Conflict in 15th–16th Century Central Asia," *Der Islam* 66 (1989):102–18; Eiji Mano, "The *Baburnama* and the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: Their Mutual Relationship," in *Timurid Art and Culture*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1992), 44–47.

58. Elkins, "Style," 876.

59. H. Locher, "Stil," in *Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. Ulrich Pfisterer (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2003), 336.

60. I. Nardi, *The Theory of Citrasūtras in Indian Painting: A Critical Re-Evaluation of Their Uses and Interpretations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 30–35.

61. Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, 38.

62. For texts dealing with the notion of style in architecture see C. Sivaramamurti, *Citrasūtra of the Vishnudharmottara* (New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1978), 68.

63. Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1483–1530) was a Timurid Mirza on his father's side, from the line of Miranshah (Timur's third son), while Babur's father, ʿUmar Shaykh Mirza, was the fourth son of Sultan Abu Saʿid Mirza, a great-great-grandson of Timur. On his mother's side, Babur was a Moghul (Chaghatay). His mother, Qutluq Nigar Khanim, was the second daughter of Yunus Khan, a direct descendant of Chinggis Khan's second son, Chaghatay.

64. Lisa Golombek, "From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal," in *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture: In Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn,* ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1981), 43–56.

65. Stephen F. Dale, "The Legacy of the Timurids," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 8, 1 (1998): 44. As late as the eighteenth century, the Mughals regularly provided financial support (in the form of *waqf*) to the Gur-i Amir, the Timurid dynastic mausoleum in Samarqand: ibid, 46.

66. The inscription on his tombstone in the Gur-i Amir is analyzed in John E. Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," in *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 85–126; Abū ʾl Fażl ibn Mubārak, *The Akbar-nāma of Abu Fazl: History of the Reign of Akbar Including an Account of His Predecessors*, trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (Lahore: Book Traders, Al-Abbass International, 1977), 1:1780; Dale, "Legacy of the Timurids," 46. Moreover, Abu ʾl Fazl borrows Timur's title *gurgān* (son-in-law) and uses it to describe Akbar as *furūgh-i khāndān-i gurgān* (the glory of the son-in-law): see Abū ʾl Fażl ibn Mubārak, *The Āʾīn-i Akbarī,* vol. 1, trans. H. Blochmann (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927), 17. Later Shah Jahan titled himself *ṣāḥib qirān-i s̱ānī* (Second Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction), Timur having been the first. The seal of the Mughal emperors was inscribed with the Timurid genealogy: see A. T. Gallop, "The Genealogical Seal of the Mughal Emperors of India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 9, 1 (1999): 77–140. Furthermore, the code of etiquette and customs of the Mongol court (*tūra*) was also used in Mughal circles, an ideology that fits well with Babur's dual identity as a Timurid and a Chaghatay: see Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia*, 24–27.

67. In contrast with, for example, European art, certain styles of which were already distinguished in the second half of the fifteenth century: see Locher, "Stil," 337. In the Renaissance there were notions of both historical and individual styles, discussed by Alberti and Vasari: see Ulrich Pfisterer, *Donatello und die Entdeckung der Stile, 1430–1445* (Munich: Hirmer, 2002), 55–91. I would like to thank Nino Zchomelidse for bringing these books to my attention. In Persian literature we have treatises by ʿAbdi Beg Shirazi, Qadi Ahmad, Dust Muhammad, and others, but their discussion of "style," "mode," or "painting principle" is vague. The most important works on this topic are: Yves Porter, *Peinture et arts du livre: Essai sur la littérature technique indo-persane* (Paris: Institute français de recherche en Iran, 1992); idem, "From the 'Theory of the Two Qalams' to the 'Seven Principles of Painting': Theory, Terminology, and Practice in Persian Classical Painting," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 109–18; Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*: *Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 111–24; David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image,* Supplements to Muqarnas, vol. 9 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001); Amy Landau, "*Farangī-Sāzī* at Isfahan: The Court Painter Muḥammad Zamān, the Armenians of New Julfa and Shāh Sulaymān (1666–1694)" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2006), 44–51.

68. Titian used two different styles in a single painting in his *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, ca. 1570, now in the Detroit Institute of Art (35.10). For a discussion of this phenomenon see Valeska von Rosen, *Mimesis und Selbstbezüglichkeit in Werken Tizians: Studien zum venezianischen Malereidiskurs* (Emsdetten: Edition Imorde, 2001), 339.

69. Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia*, 32.

MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON

MOSTLY MODERN MINIATURES: CLASSICAL PERSIAN PAINTING IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Throughout his various writings on Persian painting published from the mid-1990s onwards, Oleg Grabar has explored the place of the medium in traditional Persian culture and expounded on its historiography, including the role played by private collections, museums, and exhibitions in furthering public appreciation and scholarly study of Persian miniatures.[1] On the whole, his investigations have involved works created in Iran and neighboring regions from the fourteenth through the seventeenth century, including some of the most familiar and beloved examples within the canonical corpus of manuscript illustrations and miniature paintings, such as those in the celebrated 1396 *Dīvān* of Khwaju Kirmani, the 1488 *Bustān* of Saʿdi, and the ca. 1525–27 *Dīvān* of Hafiz. In examining these images, Grabar has given particular weight to their compositional details, such as architectural settings and figures, in defining the vocabulary, narrativity, meaning, and universality of the tradition's visual forms and in establishing what has been aptly called "the concept of contemporary judgments," that is, the value that Persian society and culture itself placed on these beautiful artistic productions.[2] Finally, in formulating his notions of an aesthetic of Persian painting, Grabar has asked: "What has made this particular art possible? And especially, what made it succeed?"[3]

While Grabar's questions about the truth and beauty of Persian miniatures have been directed largely towards productions of the distant past, similar concerns also seem to pertain to works created at the very moment when the masters and masterpieces of traditional Persian painting began to be identified, admired, and sought after far beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin—that is, during the first decades of the twentieth century. As has long been recognized, Persian painters of recent times frequently emulated traditional painting styles and "schools" and even imitated specific works by their predecessors of centuries past, often to satisfy the tastes of foreign collectors.[4] One such artist, who signed himself variously *Turābī*

Bek Khurāsānī or *Turābasī Bek Khurāsānī*, seems to have honed to a fine art the practice of creative reuse and replication. Indeed, the quality of his production, represented by paintings in several U.S. collections (including one on Professor Grabar's very doorstep and another not far down the road), seems to warrant designating this seemingly little-known painter as a modern master of classical Persian painting. His oeuvre also prompts reconsideration of notions of authenticity and originality within this venerable art form—issues that Oleg Grabar, even while largely eschewing the practice of connoisseurship himself, recognizes as a "great and honorable tradition within the history of art."[5]

In 1922 the Philadelphia bibliophile John Frederick Lewis purchased a set of seven compositions, mounted as individual album paintings and identified as "Persian, seventeenth century"; today these are part of the extensive Lewis Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia (O 263–268 and O 270).[6] In 1925 the Baltimore bibliophile Robert Garrett purchased a signed and dated sixteenth-century manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi containing eight paintings, one of them inscribed *Turābī Bek Khurāsānī*; this manuscript is now part of the extensive Garrett Collection at the Firestone Library of Princeton University (no. 84G).[7] Lewis must have been aware that two of his acquisitions (O 265 and 266) were essentially duplicates of each other, albeit in different color schemes. Neither he nor Garrett could have realized, however, that the very same composition also appears in the *Khamsa* manuscript, along with five other "shared" scenes. In other words, all of Lewis's seven scenes are also to be found on the folios of Garrett's manuscript. The two American collectors doubtless would have been equally surprised to learn that several of their paintings were artful versions of illustrations in a now-celebrated Persian manuscript of royal Safavid provenance.

To give greater specificity to these overlaps and imitations, we shall now look at the Princeton and Philadelphia works in some detail. This examination gives precedence to and focuses at length on the Garrett *Khamsa* manuscript, since it has the more extensive pictorial program and a somewhat complicated codicology that sheds light on its original production and later history. Discussion of the Lewis album paintings will be intercalcated with that of their counterpart Garrett manuscript paintings, with attention to the subjects and models of the compositions and the similarities and differences between the two sets. In the second part of this essay, the paintings will be discussed collectively, with an emphasis on their salient iconographic and stylistic features and artistic sources, and with the goal of locating these works, and more particularly their artist and his working method and aesthetic, in art-historical time and place. What is assumed at the outset will be argued at greater length there: namely, that Turabi Bek Khurasani was responsible both for the seven paintings now in Philadelphia and the eight in Princeton.

THE GARRETT *KHAMSA* AND THE LEWIS ALBUM PAINTINGS

The bound codex purchased by Garrett and catalogued by Princeton as a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi actually contains only four of the poet's five *masnavī*s (poetic works in rhyming couplets). Its 186 folios open with a large *shamsa* (sunburst ornament) enclosing medallions inscribed with the volume's poetic contents (folio 1a). These are: *Shīrīn va Khusraw* (folios 2b–54a), *Majnūn va Layla* (folios 55b–87a), *Hasht Bihisht* (folios 88b–130a) and *Iskandarnāma* (folios 131b–186b). Each poem begins with an elegant illuminated titlepiece, or *sarlauḥ*. The last two end with a colophon: that on folio 130a is signed by ʿAli al-Husayni "in the royal city of Herat," while the colophon on 186b is signed by ʿAli al-Husayni *al-kātib*, also "in the royal city of Herat," and dated Rabiʿ II 930, corresponding to January–February 1524. As has been generally accepted, ʿAli al-Husayni was one of the various names used by Mir-ʿAli Haravi, the renowned calligrapher who spent much of his early career in Herat until the Shaybanid Uzbeks captured him there in the late 1520s and took him off to Bukhara.[8] Greatly admired in Safavid times for his proficiency in writing cursive script in various sizes from large to minute, and particularly for the refinement

of his calligraphic specimens, or *qiṭaʿ*—which were often gathered into anthologies and albums and frequently imitated by his contemporaries—as well as for his creativity as a poet, Mir-ʿAli also copied a number of literary texts. Most of these manuscripts seem to have been executed in Bukhara, although a few are dated to his period in Herat and, like the Princeton *Khamsa*, even specify their Herat origin.[9]

ʿAli al-Husayni copied the four poems of the Princeton *Khamsa* on cream-colored paper in a fine black *nastaʿlīq*, with twenty-one lines in four columns on the recto and verso of each folio. The written surface is gold-dusted, enframed with gold and blue rulings, and regularly punctuated with rubrics written in multi-colored *tawqīʿ* script.[10] The scribe added a fair-sized catchword in *nastaʿliq* on the diagonal about 3.5 cm below the outer ruling on the verso of each folio. He completed his transcription of *Shīrīn va Khusraw* and the *Hasht Bihisht* on the recto side of each *masnavī*'s final folio, following the last verse of the *Hasht Bihisht* with his first colophon and leaving a pair of blank, facing pages between the end of both poems and the beginning of the next ones—a format commonly found in sixteenth-century Persian manuscripts with multiple texts.[11] He ended the full text of the *Iskandarnāma* on the verso of its last folio, also the last page of the manuscript, where he signed and dated his second colophon. This is likely how ʿAli al-Husayni would have treated the *Majnūn va Layla*, perhaps including yet another colophon following the last verse. In its current state, however, the poem comes to a premature end on the recto of folio 87 and lacks the final thirteen of Amir Khusrau Dilhavi's original verses, which ʿAli al-Husayni would logically have written on the verso of that same folio.[12] Instead, what appears on folio 87b is one of the manuscript's eight paintings.

While these compositions, to be described shortly, constitute the most obvious modification to the volume as initially completed in Herat in 1524, they are by no means the only change. Indeed, numerous folios have been replaced with sheets of paper whiter than the cream-colored ones that ʿAli al-Husayni signed on folios 130a and 186b. In addition, and again in comparison to what can be determined as the original folios, the gold dusting on the written surface of the replacement sheets is darker and denser, the lines of text within the rubrics are spaced further apart, and the catchwords are much smaller and written quite close to the bottom edges.[13] In short, in its present

collation the Garrett/Princeton *Khamsa* codex combines materials and formats from at least two separate phases of production—or rather production and re-production. Both phases were very carefully executed, however, and the overall "look of the book" (to adopt Elaine Wright's felicitous phrase) is consistent enough for its distinctions to have escaped notice hitherto (or so it seems).

The homogeneous visual effect of the volume is reinforced by its four pairs of paintings, which precede each of its *masnavī*s. These images clearly were executed by the same hand—identified though a prominent inscription on one painting as that of Turabi Bek Khurasani. Although for the placement of his pictures the artist took obvious advantage of the original codicology of the Princeton manuscript, using (or, in the case of the break between the second and third *masnavī*s, creating) the facing blank folios that separate the poems, what he painted were not four double-page, unified compositions, as is the norm with "divider" paintings in Islamic manuscripts, in which the two halves form a continuous or at least balanced scene, like a frontispiece.[14] Instead Turabi Bek produced eight individual paintings arranged in thematically and visually complimentary facing pairs, with each separate work enframed in gold and blue rulings similar to those around the written surfaces of the manuscript (figs. 1–4). The eight, along with their mates among the Lewis album paintings,[15] are as follows:

I-1. *Shirin Visits Farhad in the Mountains*
    84G, fol. 1b: 31.5 x 20.4 cm (fig. 5)
    O 265: 32 x 20.5 cm (fig. 6)
    O 266: 32 x 20.8 cm (fig. 7)

I-2. *Hunting Scene*
    84G, folio 2a: 31.6 x 20.4 cm (fig. 8)
    O 264: 33.9 x 20.9 cm (fig. 9)

II-1. *Tavern Scene*
    84G, folio 54b: 31.4 x 20.1 cm (fig. 10)
    O 267: 30.8 x 20 cm (fig. 11)

II-2. *Feast of ʿId*
    84G, folio 55a: 31.4 x 20 cm (fig. 12)
    No Philadelphia mate

III-1. *Mosque Scene*
    84G, folio 87b: 31.5 x 20.2 cm (fig. 13)
    O 263: 30.8 x 20.1 cm (fig. 14)

III-2. *Shrine Scene*
    84G, folio 88a: 31.5 x 20 cm (fig. 15)
    No Philadelphia mate

IV-1. *King Dara and the Herdsman*
    84G, folio 130b: 31.8 x 20.2 cm (fig. 16)
    O 268: 32.8 x 20.8 cm (fig. 17)

IV-2. *Encounter outside a Palace*
    84G, folio 131a: 31.3 x 20.2 (fig. 18)
    O 270: 32.2 x 20.8 cm (fig. 19)

I-1. Shirin Visits Farhad in the Mountains

The scene of Shirin visiting Farhad is most familiar today from its illustration in fifteenth- to seventeenth-century manuscripts of *Khusraw va Shīrīn* by Nizami and, to a lesser extent, in those of *Shīrīn va Khusraw* by Amir Khusraw Dihlavi.[16] Both poets tell essentially the same story, with some slight variation in the sequence of events. One day the Armenian beauty Shirin encounters the sculptor Farhad and commissions him to cut a channel through the mountains so that milk from her flocks grazing in the upper pastures can flow down to her palace. Smitten by Shirin's beauty, Farhad agrees to her request and pursues the project at great speed. Shirin then visits Farhad at his work site on Mt. Bisitun.

The one Garrett and two Lewis compositions (figs. 5–7) set the scene in a steep mountainous landscape, split vertically at the left side by a tiled water channel angling down from a square pool, and in the upper middle by a small ravine. The bearded figure of Farhad stands on the left bank of the channel. He has a sculptor's pick stuck in his sash and extends a double-handled, covered milk jug towards Shirin, who appears on horseback on the other side of the channel. Both she and her mount are depicted in a much larger scale than that of Farhad and the other figures in the scene. Five female attendants, one of them on horseback, follow immediately behind Shirin at the right; two others, also mounted, wait in the lower foreground. The upper right of the painting is anchored by a conical tent, around which several countryfolk tend goats, sheep, and other animals, in obvious reference to Shirin's flocks. Behind the tent is a man with a camel; in front of it a woman milks a horned cow that in turn suckles a calf, while another woman appears behind an animal skin from which a bearded man pours milk into a golden bowl. Meanwhile, across the ravine, a mustachioed man squats to milk a goat straddling the square pool. Above and behind the milker, the landscape rises up to a rocky promontory with a square panel carved in relief, evidently by Farhad, of a man and a woman who represent

Fig. 1. Folios 1b and 2a of a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)

Fig. 2. Folios 54b and 55a of a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)

Fig. 3. Folios 87b and 88a of a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)

Fig. 4. Folios 130b and 131a of a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)
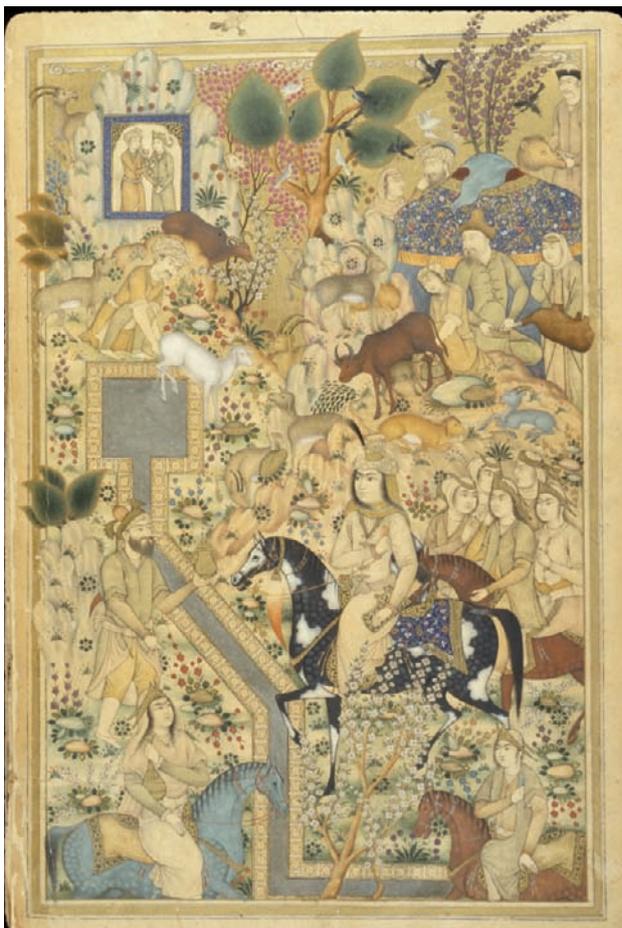
Fig. 5. *Shirin Visits Farhad in the Mountains*. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, folio 1b. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)
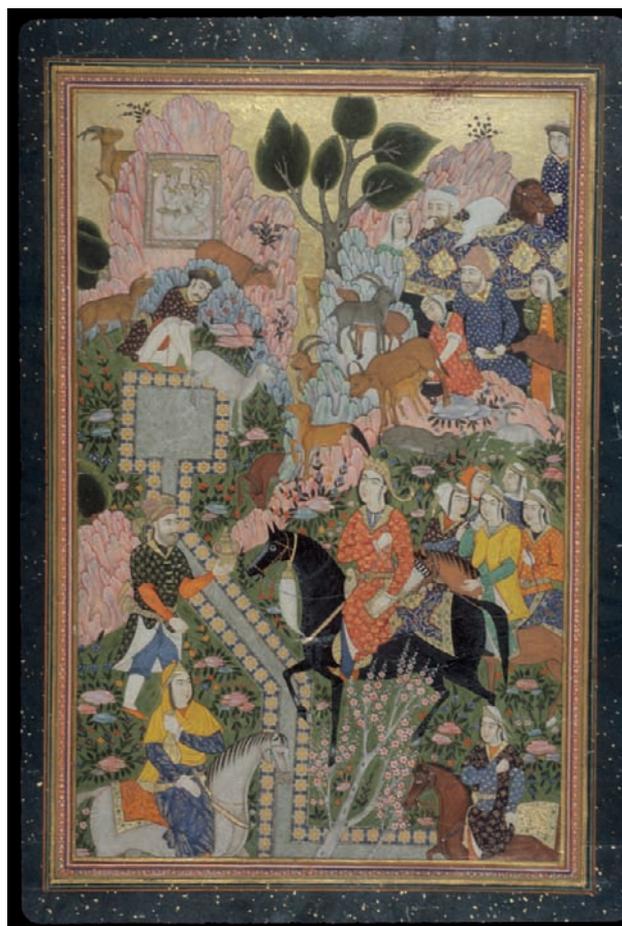
Fig. 6. *Shirin Visits Farhad in the Mountains*. Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, O 265. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

either Shirin and Farhad or Shirin and her future husband, Khusraw.[17]

While the three pictures share their iconography and composition, including the placement and poses of the figures, they differ in many respects. The palette of the Princeton painting, for instance, is extremely subdued, almost monochromatic, with occasional touches of bright color accenting trees, animals, and "architectural" details, including most prominently Shirin's horse and the tent top and sculpture frame. One of the two Philadelphia paintings (O 266, fig. 7) is also chromatically low key, especially in its treatment of the figures and rocky promontories, but the ground is covered with green grass. By contrast, the other Philadelphia composition (O 265, fig. 6) is totally

polychrome, with figures garbed in brightly—almost garishly—colored attire. Numerous details in these three paintings are also distinctive. In the Princeton composition Shirin rides a black and white horse and wears a wrapped-cloth head covering. In the Philadelphia paintings her horse is dappled black, and her headdress consists of a gold crown with a curved "tail." Likewise, the Princeton milker wears a turban, while his Philadelphia confrères wear caps with turned-up and split brims, albeit in different color schemes. Furthermore, the two relief-carved figures in the Princeton painting are standing, while in the Philadelphia scenes they are seated. In addition, both Philadelphia paintings lack some of the landscape features found in the Princeton painting, such as the flowering trees

Fig 7. *Shirin Visits Farhad in the Mountains*. Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, O 266. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

and flying birds around the tent and the racing clouds in the sky above.

Finally, although the figures in all three paintings exhibit identical placement and pose, their anatomy, expressions, and even hairstyles vary in subtle ways. Shirin serves as a prime example: On the Princeton folio her body is solid and her face full, rounded, and framed with long locks of hair (the right one curving across her neck); she stares directly at Farhad with piercing dark eyes. In Philadelphia O 266 her face is less rounded, her gaze is directed upward, and her left lock of hair is a short, curling ringlet. In O 265 her face is slimmer still, her left lock of hair straight, and her right lock hidden behind her back. She looks across at Farhad, but her eyes seem to be focused above his head.[18]

I-2. Hunting scene

Given the recognizable subject of the first painting in the Princeton manuscript and the placement of the initial set of compositions at the beginning of the *Khusraw va Shīrīn* poem, it is logical to identify the princely hunter in the second painting as Khusraw. Indeed, in Amir Khursaw's *maṣnavī*, Shirin and Khusraw first meet while hunting, and later in the story Khusraw goes to the hunt accompanied by servants and his boon companion, Shapur.[19] So there is ample reason to take this scene as a depiction of Khusraw displaying his hunting skills.[20] On the other hand, the hunter could as easily be identified as Bahram Gur, another prominent character in the *Khamsa* of both Nizami and Amir Khusraw—a possibility reinforced by the distinctive, upside-down position of the hunter's principle prey, recalling one of Bahram Gur's celebrated feats as a archer while hunting with his slave girl Fitna.[21] Given the commonplace nature of its theme, however, the painting could simply be a generic scene, as entitled here.

Whatever its specific iconographic or literary referent (if any), the hunt takes place on a sloping, rock-strewn plain—bisected diagonally by a narrow stream flowing into a small pool—that rises up on the left and surrounds a small building on the right. The principal hunter, on horseback in the middle of the scene, jumps towards the right, across the stream. As the raised position of his right arm reveals, he has just taken aim with his bow and shot an arrow into the haunch of a horned gazelle. The impact has knocked the creature head first to the ground, where it lies curled as if on its side. Other animals, including a large hare, flee before the hunter; two ducks take off from the pool in the foreground. Primarily clustered at the left side, a number of male attendants or courtiers, some on horseback and others on foot, observe the hunting activity. The members of one such group gesture upwards in great excitement at the galloping hunter, while another group looks on more impassively from higher up the plain. Four more figures, shown only partially at the painting's bottom edge, seem to react attentively to what it going on above and beside them; two of them hold index fingers to their mouths in the classic gesture of emotion. Meanwhile, in the upper-left reaches of the landscape, four mountain goats graze and gaze about, seemingly oblivious to the fate and flight of the other animals below. To the right is a small, tiled building, consisting of a square

structure with a large entrance, a flat roof, a chimney, and a prominent wind-catcher, flanked by a narrow tower with a projecting room or balcony and another small chimney or wind-catcher on top. A bearded figure stands in the open doorway, seemingly in conversation with another bearded man, who holds a basin to the mouth of a haltered donkey. To the left, a youth rides toward them on a donkey laden with straight branches.

The Princeton and Philadelphia versions of this hunting scene (figs. 8 and 9), like those of *Shirin Visits Farhad*, are virtually identical in composition and iconography. They are also surprisingly similar in terms of overall palette, particularly in the proportion of subdued to bright tones. The coloring of specific elements differs, however: the ground coloring in the Philadelphia composition (fig. 9), for instance, is bright green alternating with lighter green, and that in Princeton (fig. 8) very pale green. The Philadelphia hunter, although he rides a black horse, is otherwise rendered in monochrome, whereas the Princeton hunter, on a black and white horse, is dressed in a bright mauve robe and a blue and gold turban (the size of which makes him appear larger than the other riders). Likewise, several of the other Princeton horses, as well as its two ducks, are rendered in strong colors, while their Philadelphia counterparts are either very pale or monochrome.

The two paintings also diverge in many details of landscape, architecture, and attire. The rocky crags in the upper left of the Princeton scene are edged with small plants whose dark leaves look like spades or pointed caps; these are missing from the Philadelphia painting, as are the racing clouds, two white birds, and white flowering branches in the upper right zone of the Princeton painting. The buildings in the two paintings are tiled in different patterns and colors, although the overall effect is similar, and feature contrasting designs on the projecting rooms or balconies—a cartouche on one and vertical panels, probably meant to suggest inlaid wood, on the other. In addition to coloration, the robes and turbans of the two main figures also differ in style: in the Princeton painting the hunter's mauve robe fastens down the front with gold buttons and wide "frogs," while his turban, made of blue cloth edged in gold, has golden ends fanning out at the back. The robe of the Philadelphia hunter has no fastenings at all, and his turban is low and white, with a small loose end hanging down alongside his face and a smaller, gold end (?)

on top, resting against what looks like a soft, furry cap. With one exception, all the other figures in the two paintings also wear turbans. In the Philadelphia painting these are typically white, with careful folds and an outer length in gold that often ends in a gold fan at the top of the head. The turbans in the Princeton painting are fashioned from gold-striped cloth, with a final length and fanned end of the same fabric (gold in only a single case). Instead of a turban, one of the figures behind the hunter wears a peculiar hat, seemingly a hybrid of a low, fur-trimmed cap and a high-crowned model with a down-turned brim. This special headgear suggests that he may have a higher status than the other men in the scene, and that he perhaps represents Shapur, who accompanies Khusraw on the hunt. Finally, as in the paintings of Shirin and Farhad, there are physiognomic distinctions: the leftmost rider on the white horse at the bottom of the painting is a mature man with a moustache in the Princeton composition and a clean-shaven youth in the Philadelphia one.

II-1. Tavern Scene

If the hunting scene suggests several possibilities in terms of its exact iconography, the next picture, found both in the Princeton manuscript and among the Philadelphia album paintings (figs. 10 and 11), nowadays presents no such ambiguity. Indeed, it is instantly recognizable as a version of an illustration variously known as *A Drinking Scene*, *A Scene of Drunkenness*, *Worldly and Otherworldly Drunkenness*, or *Allegory of Drunkenness*—a depiction of drinking, merrymaking, and spiritual transcendence in a Sufi tavern, signed by the celebrated Safavid artist Sultan Muhammad, in a manuscript of the *Dīvān* of Hafiz commissioned by a member of the Safavid royal family ca. 1525–27.[22] In the context of the present discussion, the Princeton painting is also significant for the prominent inscription, in a rectangular panel over the door leading from the terrace of the tavern to its interior, that reads: 'amal-i [work of] *Turābī Bek Khurāsānī*.

In the original Hafiz painting (see fig. 25) the panel over the main portal of the tavern is occupied by rows of tilework, and Sultan Muhammad's signature ('amal-i Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Irāqī) appears in the central cartouche over the outer door to the left.[23] The Princeton painting retains the cartouches (albeit in different colors), but the central one is blank: Sultan Muhammad's signature has been "removed." In

Fig. 8. *Hunting Scene.* Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, folio 2a. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)

Fig. 9. *Hunting Scene.* Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, O 264. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

the unsigned Philadelphia version of the same scene, the panel over the inner door is filled with tilework in a diamond pattern and the outer one with a floral design in red on a gold ground. Other liberties that Turabi Bek Khurasani has taken with Sultan Muhammad's manuscript illustration, and the "variations on the theme" that he has introduced in his Princeton and Philadelphia versions, include considerably enlarging the dimensions of the original,[24] eliminating the paired text panels of the Hafiz verse at the top of the illustration, and adding a large simurgh in the upper left corner, evidently to fill the area of the original composition that steps down to the left of its text panels. He has painted the Princeton simurgh in purple, mauve, and green with touches of yellow and

white, extended its legs as if in flight, curved its long neck, and positioned the upper part of its body, its wing, and a green tail feather in the upper margin. With less additional space available in the Philadelphia painting, he has given the simurgh there a more compact body, a shorter neck, and tucked-in legs, almost as if it was perched or about to land on the roof. He has also painted the bird in softer tones, primarily rose and light green, with touches of yellow on the upper wing. Altogether this creature looks much flatter and less ethereal than its Princeton counterpart.

In addition, Turabi Bek has slightly shifted the position of many of the original figures. Thus, for instance, the man seemingly passed out or in an ecstatic state
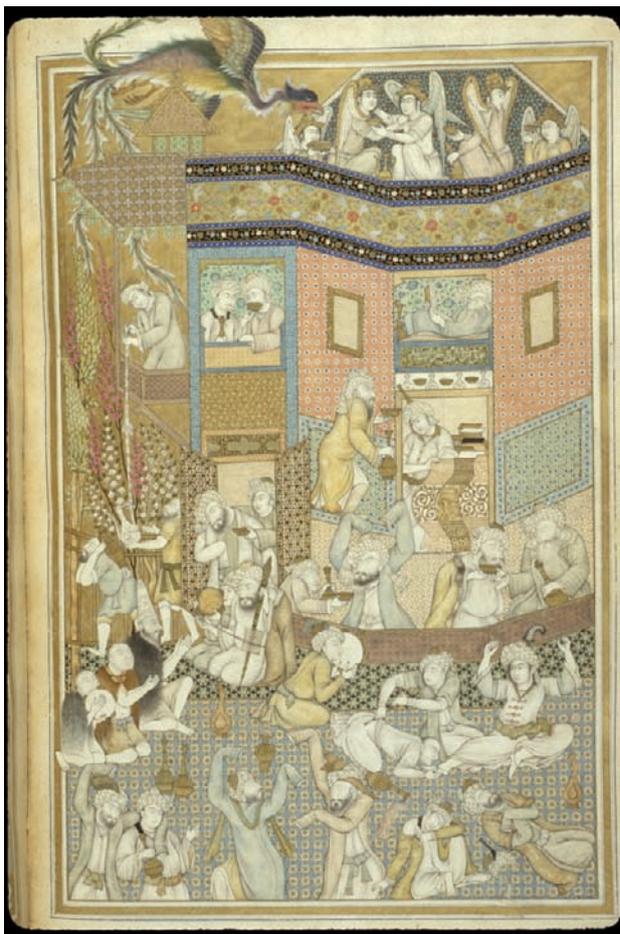
Fig. 10. *Tavern Scene*. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, folio 54b. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)
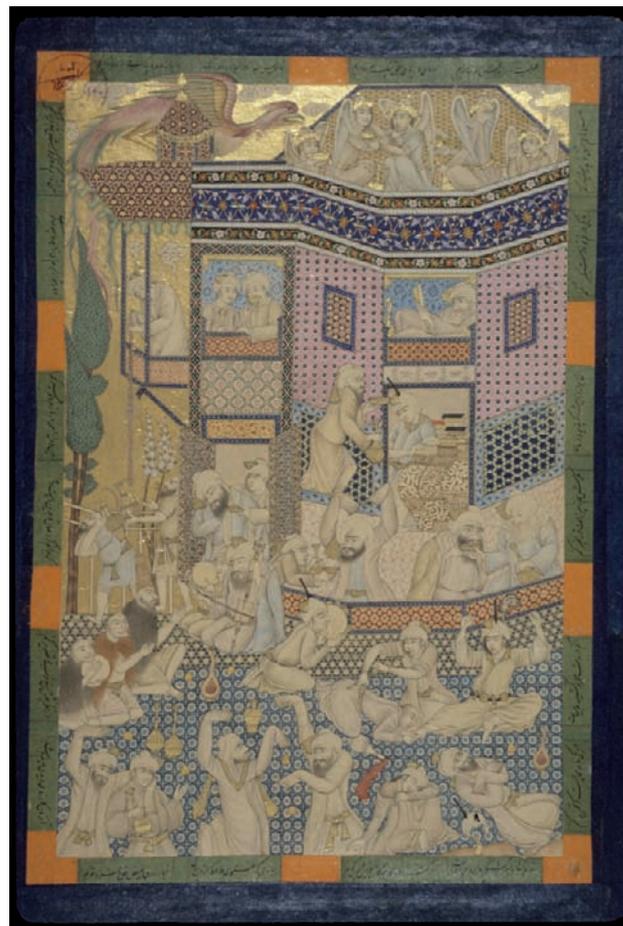
Fig. 11. *Tavern Scene*. Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, O 267. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

and lying flat on the ground at the lower right in Sultan Muhammad's painting is repositioned at an improbable angle in the Princeton and Philadelphia paintings. Likewise, the tipsy man who, in the Hafiz illustration, stands barefoot on the terrace outside the tavern door and proffers a book and a tall-necked vase to the young barman or sommelier within seems in both of Turabi Bek's versions to be floating above the terrace floor, now above the level of the young man he approaches; his book is replaced by a gold wine cup. The sense of levitation is particularly strong in the Philadelphia composition since the drunkard's feet are all but invisible.

Turabi Bek has also transformed the setting in various ways, most noticeably by replacing Sultan Muham-

mad's foreground grass with a tiled terrace on which are placed numerous vessels—including a bottle lying on its side and spilling its contents—and by reworking the garden flora at the left side of the painting. He has lowered some of Sultan Muhammad's compact white clouds in the Philadelphia sky and removed them altogether from the Princeton scene.

Finally, in the Princeton painting Turabi Bek has not followed Sultan Muhammad's bright palette of primary colors but instead has used a subdued color scheme similar to the two previous paintings in the *Khamsa* volume, here with a grayish or grisaille rather than a beige cast. As in the previous paintings, there are bright accents—for instance, in the rooftop terrace, the cornice-framing bands, and the simurgh.

The Philadelphia tavern scene is painted in stronger tones overall: the hues of terrace tiles, for example, create bold contrasts against which the bright red of the spilled wine stands out much more vividly than does Princeton's subdued gray spill. Similarly, the deep blue ground of the Philadelphia cornice has much more visual "pull" than the gold of the Princeton cornice.

Interestingly, the tilework on the angled façade of the Princeton tavern—pink tiles on the window walls and blue and green ones at the dado level—compares closely in color with that of the original painting. The tile colors are somewhat different in the Philadelphia version—with mauve rather than pink tiles above, for instance—but here, too, the overall effect is comparable with the original Hafiz painting.[25]

II-2. Feast of 'Id.

The painting in the Princeton manuscript that faces the tavern scene (fig. 12; it has no Philadelphia mate) is a version of yet another illustration by Sultan Muhammad in the same *Dīvān* of Hafiz (see fig. 26). Here the prototype is the now-famous *Feast of 'Id*, depicting the festivities that follow the sighting of the new moon at the end of the holy month of Ramadan.[26] Unlike the tavern scene, however, the Princeton painting has not retained Sultan Muhammad's original orientation but is instead mirror-reversed, so that the enthroned prince in the center faces toward the right side of the image instead of the left.

Besides this obvious compositional change, Turabi Bek Khurasani has modified the work of Sultan Muhammad in other ways, such as considerably enlarging the picture plane.[27] Along with the upper band of crenelations, he has removed the four panels inscribed with Hafiz poetry from the top of the parapet and has replaced them with an arabesque design; he has also substituted an arabesque panel for the loosely-penned (and today controversial) inscription over the door on the right in the original painting, which invokes the Safavid prince Sam Mirza. Even more significantly, he has eliminated Sultan Muhammad's signature from the diamond-shaped cartouche on the front of the throne and added a spray of pink roses in a panel beneath the prince's feet. The side panels of the throne, adorned in the original with interlaced and knotted gold cloud bands, now feature a tile pattern. Turabi Bek has also altered the position of some figures, most noticeably the eight attendants
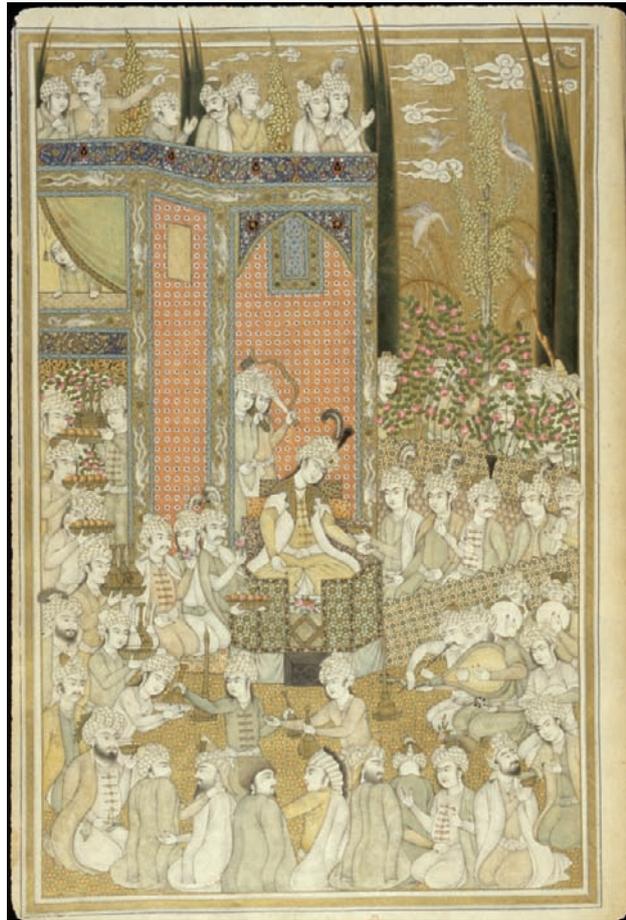
Fig. 12. *Feast of 'Id*. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, folio 55a. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)

carrying platters of food and wine bottles through the side entrance, of which only one spandrel is visible. In Sultan Muhammad's painting these servants move in single file, with the fifth one turning to look upwards, perhaps at the young woman peering out from the curtain above. In Turabi Bek's version a pair of attendants stand in the doorway, of which both spandels are shown. One of their fellow attendants has been removed, so it is the fourth "waiter" who turns outwards, although less obviously upwards towards the lady. In another minor change, the two servants who hold wine bottles in front of the throne have been brought closer together so that their outstretched arms overlap.

Other subtractions from and additions to Sultan Muhammad's composition abound. The original Hafiz

figures all wear classic Safavid turbans with cloth wrapped around red or black batons. The prince's turban is multicolored and adorned with a tall plume and brush. The other turbans are fashioned of white cloth; those worn by the kneeling men immediately to the prince's right and left are edged in gold and also sport feathers or brushes. By contrast, most of Turabi Bek's figures, including the prince, wear gold-striped turbans wrapped around low, rounded caps. The turban cap of one bearded figure at the left appears to be of fur. Likewise, the three figures seated in profile at the painting's lower edge all wear distinctive headgear, including something that looks like an American Indian headdress. A twosome to the right engage in animated conversation, as in Sultan Muhammad's painting, but between them there is now another figure, depicted from the rear, who is not present in the original.

As in the tavern scene, Turabi Bek has also changed various furnishings and architectural elements of the original setting. A small tabouret with three wine bottles immediately at the foot of the throne has disappeared, along with a single bottle nearby. The profuse floral foreground (presumably a carpet) in the Hafiz illustration has been transformed into a tiled terrace in shades of gold, and the original gold wall of the iwan behind the prince has acquired a tile pattern similar to that of the narrow side wall, and a frame of long-tailed snaky or slithery simurghs. Turabi Bek has also extended Sultan Muhammad's cypress trees upwards into the margins and changed the original deep green aspen to a another species with much lighter and more densely clustered leaves (similar to the tree in the facing painting). The creamy roses of the original are here bright pink; the blue sky is now gold; the wispy clouds have become knotted, racing ones; the crescent moon points towards the corner instead of upwards; and four white cranes are new additions to the sky and trees alongside the building.

As in the other Princeton pictures, Turabi Bek here has employed a generally subdued palette, with the exception of gold for the many vessels, deep green for the cypresses, and blue for the ground of the arabesque cornice design. He has retained Sultan Muhammad's pink and blue coloration for the tiles on the side wall of the building (and, as mentioned, extended this tiling to the wall of the central iwan), although he has aligned the tiles on the horizontal instead of the original diagonal, thus creating

the decorative effect of wallpaper rather than defining architectural form.

III-1. Mosque scene

In both the Princeton *Khamsa* manuscript and the Philadelphia album painting (figs. 13 and 14), Turabi Bek Khurasani has again imitated an illustration from the *Dīvān* of Hafiz of ca. 1525–27. His third Hafiz model is the mosque scene signed by the painter Shaykh-Zada, today variously called *A Moving Sermon*, *Episode in a Mosque*, or *Scandal in a Mosque* (see fig. 27).[28] As in the tavern scene Turabi Bek has retained the original orientation of the composition; other modifications include expanding the picture plane[29] and removing the Hafiz verse that appears at the top left side of the original. Through a slight proportional increase of the figures and architectural units on the left side the compostion, the group of figures on the rooftop now appear at the upper edge of the painted area. Turabi Bek has also eliminated Shaykh-Zada's small signature, inscribed in the center foreground of the original, presumably for the same reasons that he removed Sultan Muhammad's from the tavern and feast of 'Id scenes. In the Princeton painting he has also eliminated another Hafiz verse, which appears below the rooftop balustrade of the Shaykh-Zada painting, as well as the short, formulaic inscription directly above the doorway in the center of the iwan. Inscriptions in these locations are retained in the Philadelphia painting, however, although each is written in gold *thuluth* against a gold ground decorated with pinkish leaves, and the wording of the text has been changed.[30] Both the Princeton and Philadelphia versions retain the Hafiz ode (written in the original in white *naskh* on a black illuminated ground) in the large horizontal panel above the iwan.[31] In the Princeton painting this verse is rendered in gold *thuluth* on a gold ground with a light blue scroll, and in Philadelphia in the same form as the other inscriptions.

While Turabi Bek has largely preserved the main structural elements of Shaykh-Zada's mosque architecture, he has transformed its decoration, most noticeably in the iwan spandrels and on the upper back wall. In the original illustration the spandrels are "illuminated" with two gold medallions against a blue ground densely sprinkled with little flowers, and the wall with a delicate blue overall floral scroll on a white ground. In the Princeton painting the spandrels are filled with two monochrome angels holding lengths of pinkish

Fig. 13. *Mosque Scene.* Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, folio 87b (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)
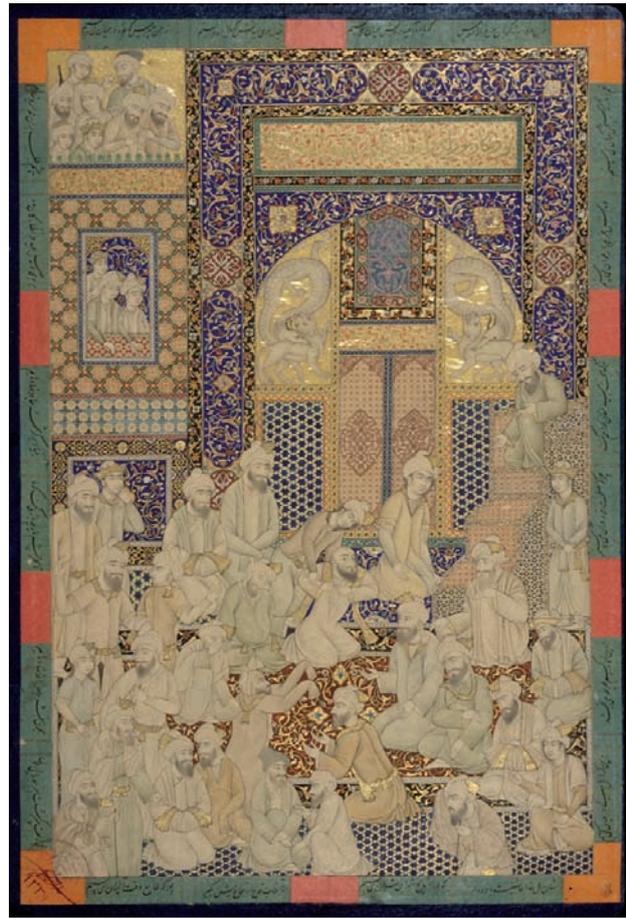
Fig. 14. *Mosque Scene.* Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, O 263. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

cloth against a delicate arabesque scroll on a light turquoise ground, and the wall below features a scene, repeated at both right and left, of a corpulent, twisting dragon attacking a lioness in a pale landscape. The same pair of animals appears in the Philadelphia painting, now set against a gold ground and looking leaner and stiffer (i.e., less "naturalistic"). The spandrel decor here is comparable to that of the original illustration. Also unique to the Princeton painting is the insertion of small faces into the illuminated frame around the iwan.

Overall Turabi Bek has made his figures rather larger and closer together than they appear in Skaykh-Zada's painting. The leading indicator here is the man who

in the original kneels on a pale, folded mat at the left side of the iwan doorway and at a comfortable distance from the minbar. In the Princeton and Philadelphia painting the knees of this figure abut the lower step of the minbar, and he now is silhouetted against the right-hand door panel. In contrast, the two figures—a bearded, bare-headed man tearing at his robe and a turbaned youth leaning over to calm him—who occupy the center of the Shaykh-Zada illustration have been shifted to the left in the Princeton and Philadelphia compositions and have lost the "breathing space" they enjoy in the original.

Numerous other differences further distinguish Turabi Bek's compositions from Shaykh-Zada's and

from each other, including the patterns and colors of the minbar woodwork, façade tiles, terrace tiles, and carpets. A vertical arabesque-design tile panel at the lower left of the iwan frame in the Hafiz painting is no longer visible in the Princeton and Philadelphia versions. The Safavid turban batons of the original have been replaced with rounded caps, although one remains on the leftmost figure on the parapet in the Philadelphia painting. Instead of a turban, the leaning youth in the Princeton painting wears the same odd, fur-lined and half-brimmed hat as does a figure in the hunting scene; another peculiar head covering, adorned with a thin black feather, is worn by the youth at the bottom left.

III-2. Shrine Scene

This painting, present in the Princeton *Khamsa* only (fig. 15), is the most intriguing of the entire Turabi Bek set. It depicts a large crowd of people—male, female, old, young, short, tall—on a pavilion terrace, where they seem to be conversing, gesticulating, and praying. A few others appear on the rooftop, one peers from the pavilion window, and another stares down from a balcony. Prominent among the terrace figures are two bearded men, their hands upraised, standing on the tiled terrace at the edge of the pavilion carpet and facing each other. Rather more unusual are three women in the foreground: one, her hair in long braids, stands with her hands uplifted; a second, bareheaded like the first, kneels and holds out a book; a third, much smaller female, her head covered with a scarf, sits or kneels behind the second. The disproportionate scale of the bareheaded women in relation to their covered sister and to other nearby figures, such as the small youth holding a ceramic vase and the stocky man framed in the terrace gateway to the left, is especially peculiar.

In the center of the pavilion a rather small, beardless youth wearing a plumed hat sits cross-legged on a small rug and gestures to his right. He is flanked by two pairs of smaller males, who seem to return his gesture. From their positions, however—superimposed on the angled walls of the pavilion—these figures seem to be painted representations—suggesting that the central male may also be a simulacrum rather than an actual person. The head and torso of yet another presumably painted youth peers out from the front of a small octagonal structure on top of the roof. These figures recall the idols that are occasionally incorpo-

Fig. 15. *Shrine Scene.* Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, folio 88a. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)

rated into the decor of the palace where, in illustrations to Jami's *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* and Saʿdi's *Būstān*, Zulaykha attempts to seduce Yusuf, as well as those that appear in the temple where the priestess of Kandahar beseeches Iskandar to spare her idol in Nizami's *Iskandarnāma*. An even more likely literary and visual reference, as will become evident in the second part of this paper, again comes from the *Būstān* of Saʿdi— namely, the episode in which the poet visits the temple of Somnath in Gujarat, where an ivory image with upraised arms is the popular focus of veneration and pilgrimage.[32] The Princeton scene too probably represents worship at a shrine or temple, although the painted idols look more like real humans than stone or metal sculptures, and none of the terrace figures
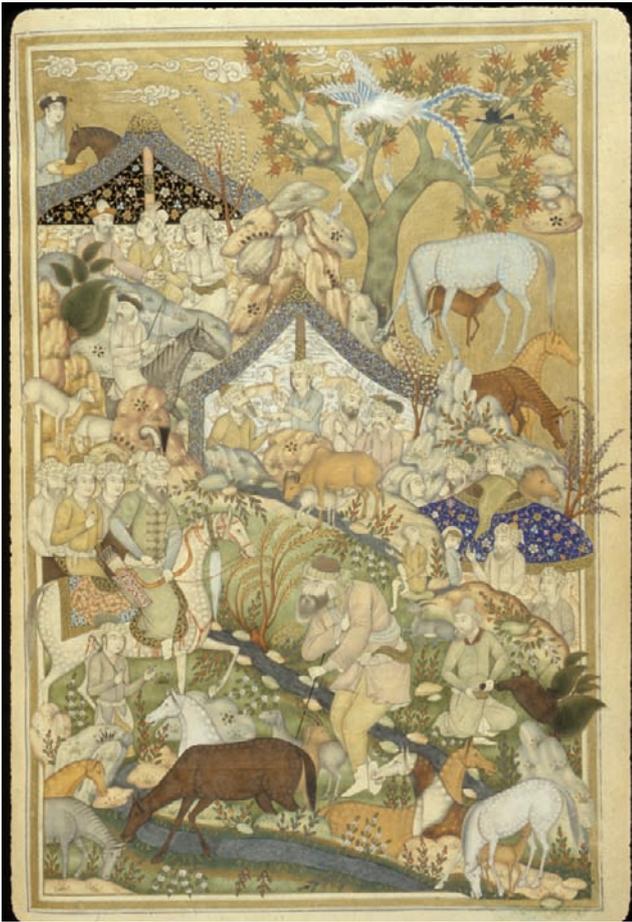
Fig. 16. *King Dara and the Herdsman*. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, folio 130b. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)

Fig. 17. *King Dara and the Herdsman*. Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, O268. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

(with the possible exception of the bearded man standing at center left and glancing upwards) seems to be paying any attention to the presumed objects of devotion.

While the overall iconography of the scene, like the identity and actions of its figures, appears enigmatic, it evidently is set at night, judging from the two lighted candlesticks on the pavilion carpet and the flaming tapers carried by a youth walking though the terrace entrance at right. Otherwise, the painting abounds in incongruities, from the discrepancy in scale of the figures and their awkward placement in relation to one another to the misaligned tilework on the window wall at the left and the splayed, umbrella-like unit topping the central structure on the pavilion roof.

IV-1. King Dara and the Herdsman

As in the first two paintings discussed above, Turabi Bek has set this scene, which is included in both the Princeton manuscript and the Philadelphia album paintings (figs. 16 and 17), in a sloping and rocky landscape, here with multiple diagonal streams—three in the former and two in the latter. In the foreground a bearded giant of a man stands stooped and leaning on a staff, facing a mounted archer whose luxurious turban, ornamented with plume and a brush, indicates his noble status. The rider is accompanied by a small entourage, while the standing figure is surrounded by goats and grazing horses. The upper part of the hillside shelters three tents, pitched among and above the rocks, each surrounded by small groups of per-

sonages engaged in animated conversation and other interactions. Additional animals, including a camel, a cow suckling a calf, and more horses and goats (both domesticated and wild) populate the scene. A bearded horseman, holding a whip and looking backwards, rides up to the middle tent. A large, leafy plane tree fills the golden sky at the upper right. Between the tree and a large pile of rocks a mare nurses her foal. Incongruously, in both the Princeton and the Philadelphia paintings, the mare, the foal, and a rock pile above them seem to be floating in the gold sky, although the mare's forelegs delicately touch the rocks below.

In its basic iconography as well as many compositional details, this scene closely resembles an illustration to the story of King Dara and the herdsman signed by the great master Bihzad and included in the celebrated *Būstān* of Saʿdi dated Rajab 893 (June 1488) and made in Herat for the last Timurid ruler, Sultan Husayn Mirza (see fig. 23).[33] According to the text, the king becomes lost and separated from his companions while hunting. Riding through the countryside, he comes upon an unfamiliar man and, fearing a possible enemy, swiftly fits an arrow to his bow. The man immediately identifies himself as the king's own herdsman in charge of the royal horses, and reproaches Dara for being unable to distinguish friend from foe.

As has long been recognized, Saʿdi's story in general and Bihzad's illustration in particular inspired considerable admiration among post-Timurid painters and patrons, particularly at the Uzbek court of Bukhara and in Mughal India, and various versions (although not exact copies) of the 1488 painting are known today.[34] Like those, Turabi Bek's renditions of the scene in Princeton and Philadelphia retain all the main elements of Bihzad's illustration, but considerably modify, expand, and elaborate upon the original to form a much denser and more populous composition—partly by substituting pictorial elements for the large text panel with two Saʿdi verses to the lower left of the original painting and the smaller panel with one verse at the upper right. Whereas Dara travels solo in Bizhad's painting (in keeping with Saʿdi's narrative), Turabi Bek shows him accompanied by several attendants, one on horseback and two apparently on foot, and a young groomsman holding a crook. Instead of standing up straight and gesturing confidently towards the king, as in the Bihzad illustration, Turabi Bek's "herdsman" hunches over his staff. Evidently, given the staff and the two animals at his feet, he is a shep-

herd or goatherd rather than a tender of horses. Seated close behind him is a man pouring milk from an animal skin, whom Bihzad placed further above the herdsman in his composition. In addition to repositioning this figure, Turabi Bek has reduced the height of the tripod supporting his animal skin and removed his other accessories (saddle, black cooking pot, helmet, and pile of clothes).

Bihzad's painting features three horses in the foreground, including one suckling a foal and another drinking from a stream. Turabi Bek has more than doubled this herd, and in his version it is the suckling mare who drinks at the stream. He also has considerably modified the landscape, adding another stream behind the shepherd and, more significantly, edging the foreground plane with large boulders that rise sharply to the left. Behind this divide are two tents. Around the yurt-like one are clustered a number of animals, men, and women, including a barelegged boy who sits on a rock and looks over his left shoulder; the other tent is a wide canopy sheltering two pairs of men, in front of which a cow suckles her calf. A rocky promontory runs between the canopy and the two horses who occupy the upper center of Bihzad's illustration but are now moved to the far right. Turabi Bek also has added a large plane tree with spreading branches, under which a dappled mare suckles a foal. To the left of the canopy, a backward-turning, noose-bearing herder rides into the scene, as in Bihzad's painting, although here he is accompanied by several sheep. Behind this figure, in the upper left of the composition, Turabi Bek has inserted a second open canopy sheltering three men in conversation; behind it a groom holds a gold basin for a horse.

While Turabi Bek has created basic iconographic and compositional mates in his two paintings of King Dara and the herdsman, he yet again avoids total duplication by significantly varying certain prominent details. The most noticeable difference appears in the avian population in and around the plane tree at the upper right. In the Princeton painting this includes a large white and blue phoenix seemingly feeding a small white fledgling, while two similar white birds swoop in from the left, one flying towards a nest with three eggs. Two more white birds, one perhaps a small crane, sit in the tree, and a black bird flies into the branches from the right. Finally, yet another small white bird perches on a rock to the left of the tree. By contrast, in the Philadelphia painting three small, brownish birds perch on or fly around the tree, while,
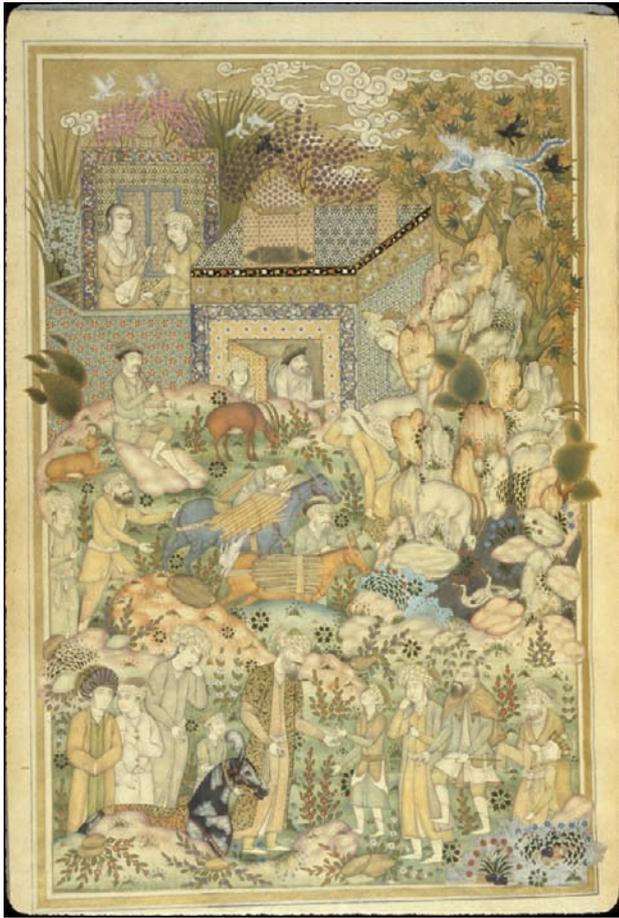
Fig. 18. *Encounter outside a Palace*. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, folio 131a. (Photo: courtesy of Princeton University Library)
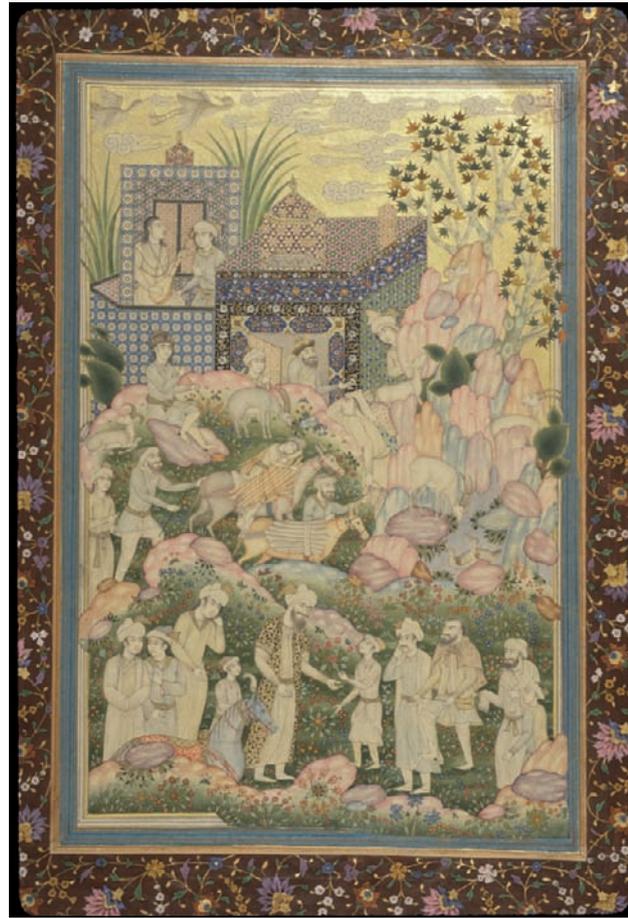
Fig. 19. *Encounter outside a Palace*. Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, O 270. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

at the upper left—an area of the Princeton painting featuring only racing white clouds—two large ducks somersault among the clouds.

Other noteworthy (and by now quite predictable) distinctions include the generally soft palette of the Princeton painting and the bolder one of that in Philadelphia, particularly apparent in the illuminated designs of the tents and saddle blanket. Similar designs adorn the back walls of Philadelphia's open canopies, whereas the central canopy interior in the Princeton painting features animal and birds in grisaille, and a nearby tree has white blossoms rather than green leaves. The nursing mare in the lower right of the Princeton painting (virtually a twin of the one under the tree above) stands on a sandy sward and drinks from the stream; the hind legs of her Philadelphia counterpart

are planted in a small pool, and she grazes on grass; moreover, the suckling foal has disappeared. Also missing in the Philadelphia version is the small snow leopard who peers out from the rocks at the base of the tree in the Princeton painting.

IV-2. Encounter outside a Palace

The setting of the final painting in Turabi Bek's Princeton-Philadelphia corpus is another grassy and rocky landscape with various figural groupings (figs. 18 and 19). In the center foreground two males, distinctly different in age, seem to be engaged in conversation, as can be inferred from their hand gestures and gazes. One is a tall, bearded man, who wears a long robe covered with black scrolls and holds a small

gray, rock-like object; the other is a boy or a young man. Following immediately behind the bearded man is a smaller boy, along with three beardless youths of different heights. A large horse, perhaps the bearded man's steed, stands in front of these figures. Four more males of different ages, including one in rustic attire, accompany the young man to the right.

The middle ground of the composition is marked by a succession of rounded planes and a small pool of water set within a rocky promontory at the right. A clean-shaven man carrying two large jugs emerges from behind the rocks, as if he has just filled the vessels from the pool. Below and to the right, two donkeys laden with faggots, the upper one ridden by a youth bent over as if in exhaustion and the other escorted by a bearded and gesticulating man, move in the direction of the water. They are followed on foot by two other fellows, one of whom places his hand on the rump of the uppermost donkey. Above these figures a young man sits on a rock, playing a pipe; he is flanked by mountain goats. Other animals are around and about: a hare leaps rather improbably between the two donkeys, and two ducks swim in the pond, from which another mountain goat takes a drink. Still other goats are tucked among the rocks above, including a ewe nibbling at the top of a small green bush.

As in his hunting scene (figs. 8 and 9), Turabi Bek has filled the background with a small, square building with a wind catcher and a chimney on its flat roof. This abuts an octagonal, pavilion-like structure that surrounds a tall wall or portal, before which a young woman entertains a young man by playing a lute. Meanwhile, a youth stands in front of the open door of the principal building and a bearded man with a sack on his back appears within the doorway. Both figures gesture toward a youth peering out from the rocks at the side of the building. Finally, in the upper right corner of the composition, a plane tree grows from behind the rising rocky promontory. In the Princeton painting a large white and blue phoenix feeds its white offspring, while a white dove (?) watches from a nearby branch and two black birds swoop in from above, perhaps aiming to raid the nest in a forked branch of the tree.

While the iconography here is less apparent than in the previous painting, it may relate to a passage in Nizami's *Iskandarnāma* in which Iskandar meets an adolescent who refuses the honors that the sovereign offers him, saying that he is satisfied with cultivating the land.[35] As will be discussed below, however, it seems even more likely to refer to yet another story in Sa'di's *Būstān*, concerning the fatal consequences of gluttony.

Once again, despite the compositional and iconographic similarities of the Princeton and Philadelphia versions of the scene, there are many differences between the two. These include the absence of the phoenix, fledgling, nest, and black birds in the Philadelphia painting and the different size and position of the cranes flying over the buildings, whose tilework differs markedly in color and design from the Princeton version. The landscape coloration also varies: in the former the grass is deep green, the rocks pale pastel, and the pool light blue; in the latter the rocks are light brown and gray and the water silver (now oxidized). Likewise all the animals differ; the horse in the foreground of the Princeton painting, for instance, is mottled black and white, whereas the Philadelphia steed is bluish gray.

Finally, certain figures are represented and attired differently: Princeton's lute-playing female has a large, round face shown in three-quarter view, while Philadelphia's is smaller and in profile. Likewise, the Princeton flute player is mustachioed, while his Philadelphia brother is clean shaven. Even more striking is the change in the figure standing at the lower left of the composition, who in the Philadelphia painting wears a unobtrusive, plain white turban but in the Princeton composition sports a far larger turban of elegant blue and gold cloth with a gold end that fans out at the top.

TURABI BEK KHURASANI AND HIS MODUS OPERANDI

Although Turabi Bek Khurasani inscribed only one of the eight paintings in the Princeton *Khamsa* and none of the seven Philadelphia album paintings, the stylistic homogeneity of the signed work and the others leaves little doubt about their common authorship. All fifteen paintings exhibit the same extremely polished and meticulous execution, distinguished in particular by a subtle, stippled, almost pointillist handling of brush and paint. The *Khamsa* paintings share a generally pale, almost monochromatic palette, selectively brightened with touches of deeper, vibrant color that is applied more extensively in several of the Philadelphia works. Turabi Bek has also made lavish use of

gold paint throughout all fifteen paintings: for the sky; for his figures' costumes, including their turbans and accessories; for horse trappings; for architectural features such as door and window frames; and for candlesticks, jugs, and other vessels. He has also edged many forms, frequently in the Princeton paintings and more occasionally in the Philadelphia images, with fine gold outlines. Furthermore, first-hand inspection reveals that he has regularly "pricked" the gold paint of the *Khamsa* paintings, adding obvious texture to the painted surfaces and enhancing the reflective properties of the gold. The pricking marks are clearly visible on the obverse of each painted sheet, forming a braille-like pattern.[36] Finally, Turabi Bek has sprinkled a fine dusting of gold over many, albeit not all, of the figures in the two paintings (folios 87b–88a, fig. 3) that precede the *Hasht Bihist* poem in the Princeton manuscript.

In general, Turabi Bek's figures are well formed and proportioned, with rounded faces, especially for youths and women, and complexions of a pronounced swarthy cast. On the other hand, as pointed out in the first part of this essay, they are sometimes out of proportion in relation to one another and even awkwardly placed. For instance, if the kneeling woman in the immediate foreground of the sixth *Khamsa* painting (III-2, fig. 15) were to stand, she would tower over virtually everyone else in the scene. Likewise, if the shepherd in painting IV-1 (figs. 16 and 17) should straighten up, he would be considerably taller than the mounted nobleman. And just as the drunken reveler at the wineshop door in set II-1 (figs. 10 and 11) seems to be floating over the terrace, so too the rustic villager in the foreground of set IV-2 (figs. 18 and 19) appears to be walking on air. Thus for all his technical prowess at rendering the human form, Turabi Bek was not always in full command of his figural elements, or at least not always able to coordinate their compositional relationships.

Other features that appear most prominently throughout the *Khamsa* paintings and may be taken as specific signs of Turabi Bek's personal style include black (perhaps to indicate henna) fingernails on both male and female figures, and plants with thin stalks and black, heart-shaped leaves that grow in clusters from the rocky promontories in the landscape scenes.

The consistency of Turabi Bek's style in both the Princeton and the Philadelphia paintings is further manifest in the way the artist has tended to repeat certain figures and animals. Sometimes these repeti-tions occur within the same scene, as with the identical white mares suckling fawn colts (one slightly darker than the other) at the top right and bottom right of the *Khamsa* folio 130b (fig. 16) and the top right (but not the bottom) of its Philadelphia mate (fig. 17). More often the duplicate elements turn up in different compositions: the building with the wind catcher and chimney and the youth resting on the back of the donkey loaded with faggots, for example, appear in set I-2 (figs. 8 and 9) and reappear in set IV-2 (figs. 18 and 19). A similar pairing, although more noticeably modified in terms of the figure's age, orientation, and placement, occurs with the male who holds up a basin for a horse in sets I-2 (figs. 8 and 9) and IV-1 (figs. 16 and 17). Likewise, three elements of set I-1 (figs. 5 and 7) can be found in set IV-1 (figs. 16 and 17): the kneeling man pouring liquid from an animal skin into a golden bowl, the suckling cow, and the figures behind the tent. Other repetitions occur only in the *Khamsa* paintings; thus the same row of "slithery" simurghs running along the cornice and down the building frames in folio 55a (fig. 12) also borders the doorway and balcony at the right of folio 88a (fig. 15), just as a plane tree with a distinctive white and blue phoenix and its offspring occurs in the two facing paintings on folios 130b and 131a (fig. 4), although in the latter the birds are somewhat smaller. Sometimes the *Khamsa* duplication takes the form of very specific motifs, such as the elegant blue and gold striped turban worn by the hunter in folio 2a (fig. 8) and by the youth standing at the left in folio 131a (fig. 18), or the more unusual hat with fur brim and floppy half-crown worn by one of the hunter's companions in folio 2a (fig. 8) and by a young man at the left in folio 88a (fig. 15). All these are obvious instances of a type of internal reuse and replication, familiar in the history of classical Persian painting, in which motifs migrate from one painting to another within the repertoire of a single artist or even among different artists' oeuvres.[37]

It is with this latter well-established practice that Turabi Bek's modus operandi really begins to emerge. Obviously he has drawn on one composition originally devised by Bihzad in the late Timurid period and has repeated three others by the early Safavid painters Sultan Muhammad and Shaykh-Zada, slightly elaborating (in the case of *King Dara and the Herdsman*) or modifying (in the case of *Tavern Scene*, *Feast of 'Id*, and *Mosque Scene*) these works and recasting them into his own distinctive style.[38] In addition and more generally,

he has replicated generic figural groupings, such as the men inside the tents in set IV-1 and the people tending animals in I-1, that are familiar from other sixteenth-century compositions.[39] His range of artistic inspiration and sources for individual motifs has also extended forward into the later Safavid period. This is most apparent in the stooped herdsman in set IV-1 (figs. 16 and 17), who is a dead ringer for a shepherd painted ca. 1632–33 by Riza ʿAbbasi (fig. 24), and a mirror-reversed version of a similar figure by Muʿin Musavvir (itself evidently inspired by Riza's original) dated 19 Rabiʿ II 1087 (June 1, 1676).[40] Likewise, the shape, striped material, and projecting "fans" of the fancy turbans that, as already mentioned, Turabi Bek has used twice his *Khamsa* paintings, and the tunics with frogged closures in which he attires many of his figures, including Shirin (figs. 5 and 7), are very close to the turbans and robes found in paintings and drawings signed by or attributed to other artists active during the second half of the seventeenth century, such as Muʿin Musavvir, Shaykh ʿAbbasi, ʿAli-Quli, and Muhammad Zaman.[41] He also seems to have drawn upon additional seventeenth-century painters such as Muhammad-ʿAli and Muhammad Qasim for his soft palette, the stippled brushwork particularly evident in his landscapes, the mottled hide of many horses, the swarthy or shaded complexions of both male and female figures (itself a now-recognized element of Indo-Persian style), and the pointed beards of his mature male figures.[42]

In short, the *Khamsa* paintings feature an eclectic mixture of late-fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century compositions, styles, and motifs, skillfully melded by Turabi Bek Khurasani to create the impression of originality and authenticity. On the whole, he has achieved a novel version of what today is sometimes called (albeit very broadly) the "Safavid revival style."[43] Certainly he succeeded in convincing Robert Garrett, as there is nothing in the surviving correspondence relating to the Baltimorean's purchase of the *Khamsa* that suggests concerns about the chronological relationship of the manuscript's colophon dates and its paintings.[44] Likewise, John Frederick Lewis seems to have accepted his album paintings as originating in the Safavid period, judging from the handwritten notes (possibly by Lewis himself) on the back of the paintings' mounts and the similar handwritten labels now pasted on the front of their display mats, as well as the entries in his 1923–24 exhibition catalogue.[45] Only sometime later, as will be discussed

shortly, were some doubts expressed about the dates of any of the paintings.

In considering the Princeton and Philadelphia paintings as a corpus and bearing in mind the similarities and differences detailed above, it seems fair to say that while the two groups belong to the same formal and iconographic "family," their relationship is like that of fraternal, rather than identical, twins. With their consanguinity of artistic concept on the one hand and their individuality of specific motifs on the other, what the matched sets in Princeton and Philadelphia reveal is the modus operandi of an accomplished and, above all, extremely clever artist.

More specifically, Turabi Bek Khurasani made a series of separate, preliminary paintings of nearly identical size—the ones now in Philadelphia—drawing on and modifying a wide range of late Timurid- and Safavid-period models, including entire compositions such as the Saʿdi illustration first painted by Bihzad and the Hafiz illustrations by Sultan Muhammad and Shaykh-Zada, individual figures such as the Riza/Muʿin shepherd, and other features such as the shape of turbans and the stance of nursing mares. He used these preliminary works to experiment with colors, facial features and expressions, attire, architectural elements, landscape features, tilework patterns, and so forth. Like a printmaker perfecting a composition through various states and adding his signature on the final print, he worked out his scenes until he was ready to produce final versions on the blank folios of the *Khamsa* volume, taking maximum advantage of the generous dimensions of the manuscript and enhancing the paintings still further with a lavish application of gold in pricked and outlined form.[46] These were his best effort (the equivalent of a final print state), and these were the ones he signed (admittedly only once). Part of the development process also involved adjusting the orientation of the iconographically distinct paintings so that they would appear to form coherent double-page compositions in the *Khamsa*. This explains, for instance, the mirror-reversal of *Feast of ʿId* so that it reads as a compositional pendant to the facing *Tavern Scene*.[47] Similarly, the two mounted figures (Shirin on the right and Khusraw or perhaps Bahram Gur on the left) and their attendants in the first pair of *Khamsa* paintings are positioned so as to move towards each other in symmetry.

It is possible, even likely, that the transition from the individual album paintings to the manuscript paintings was facilitated by Turabi Bek's use of a pounced

drawing of each of the same scenes—a time-honored intermediary practice in classical Persian painting.[48] In addition, the artist seems to have engaged in an even earlier stage of experimentation, as may be inferred from a manuscript formerly belonging to Hagop Kevorkian and now to the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art at Shangri La in Honolulu (ms 10.7). In his seminal typescript catalogue of the Kevorkian collection, B. W. Robinson identified this volume as a *Būstān* of Saʿdi and noted its spurious colophon—signed ʿAli al-Tabrizi, dated 779 (1377), and dedicated to Amir Timur Gurgan—and its four illustrations on unfoliated leaves. While not specifying the subjects of these miniatures, Robinson considered them "of splendid quality and in very good condition," and dated them ca. 1575.[49] Based on their surrounding text and iconography, the Duke illustrations now may be identified as:

1. *King Dara and the Herdsman* (fig. 20)
2. *Jesus, the Self-Righteous Man and the Sinner*
3. *Saʿdi and the Idol of Somnath* (fig. 21)
4. *A Greedy Man Falls from a Date Palm, or the Glutton Punished* (fig. 22)

As Robinson noted in his Kevorkian catalogue, the final illustration is signed above the doorway: ʿamal-i Turābasī[?] Bek Khurāsanī.[50] The signature in the Duke *Būstān* does indeed introduce an additional letter (*sīn*, with three points underneath its extended loop) in the first name—an apparent variation of its form in the Princeton *Khamsa* and another possible indication of artistic experimentation. Of equal relevance for our understanding of the artist's working method is the similarity between paintings 1, 3 and 4 in the *Būstān* and sets III-2, IV-1 and IV-2 in Princeton and Philadelphia. For instance, the illustration of King Dara and the herdsman in the Duke *Būstān* (fig. 20) follows the original Bihzadian formulation of the scene, particularly in representing the herdsman as standing confidently upright and gesturing outwards. Other figures and elements here not found in Bihzad's illustration (albeit sometimes present in later Bukharan versions) but shared with the Princeton and Philadelphia paintings (figs. 16 and 17) include, at center right, a bare-legged youth sitting on a rock and turning to look over his left shoulder (a novel addition to the normal iconography of the scene); a goat resting on the ground between this youth and the man pouring milk from an animal skin; a tent with a cloth draped over its smoke hole; in front of

Fig. 20. *King Dara and the Herdsman*, in a *Būstān* of Saʿdi. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Shangri La, Honolulu, 10.7. (Photo: © 2007 David Franzen, courtesy of the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art)

this tent a young woman peeking out from behind a rock while covering her mouth with her sleeve; behind it a beaded man, his finger to his mouth, conversing with a woman depicted in profile; and, at upper right, a leafy plane tree.

Likewise, although the compositions of the shrine scenes in the *Khamsa* (fig. 15) and the Duke *Būstān* (fig. 21) are reversed, they feature the same architectural setting (including the rooftop pavilion); a central idol flanked by two smaller idols; two bearded men facing each other before the idol while a younger man kneels

Fig. 21. *Saʿdi and the Idol of Somnath*, in a *Būstān* of Saʿdi. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Shangri La, Honolulu, 10.7. (Photo: © 2007 David Franzen, courtesy of the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art)

Fig. 22. *A Greedy Man Falls from a Date Palm*, in a *Būstān* of Saʿdi. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Shangri La, Honolulu, 10.7. (Photo: © 2007 David Franzen, courtesy of the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art)

in front and an older one prostrates himself at the side; a youth holding lighted tapers walking through a side door; a figure pulling his cloak over his face at the upper window; a corpulent man framed in the front terrace entrance; and a group of men, women and youths on the side terrace. Conspicuously absent from the *Būstān* illustration, however, are the women in the foreground of the Princeton painting, although the bearded man who gestures at them while turning his head to confer with another greybeard remains. On the other hand, in the lower-left illuminated margin of the *Būstān* folio, outside the picture plane proper, stands a youth with his arms lifted in prayer. This fig-

ure would not fit into the neat rectangular space allocated to the comparable Princeton painting and has consequently been omitted.[51]

More interesting still is the artist's treatment of the scene that he actually signed as Turabasi Bek Khurasani. Its subject is now identifiable, based on the Saʿdi text, as the greedy man who meets his just deserts. This story tells of a group of Sufis passing by a date plantation. One of their number climbs a tree to pluck its fruit and then falls to his death. The village headman demands to know who killed the man, whereupon the group leader and narrator (presumably the poet himself) explains that the deceased was a victim of his

own greed: "His belly 'twas that pulled his skirt down from the branch!"[52] The right side of the *Būstān* illustration features a tall palm tree laden with dates and a man lying face down on the ground underneath, clearly dead, with his unwound turban at his side. These telltale details are missing, however, from the Princeton and Philadelphia scenes, perhaps because Turabi Bek wanted to mask their iconographic origin. Otherwise his three versions have much in common. In the foreground of each painting appear the central figures of a bearded man and a youth in conversation, the rustically attired village headman hovering over the ground, and the pair of youths in conversation at the far left (one with his hands tucked into his sleeves). In the upper-middle ground are the youth prone on his faggot-carrying donkey, the bearded man who prods or guides the beast from behind, and the youthful piper perched on a rock. In the background is the building with a flat roof, chimney, and windcatcher from whose entrance emerge a bearded man with a sack and younger man, as well as a secondary structure with a man and woman (in the *Būstān* illustration minus her lute) on the rooftop.

Turabasi (aka Turabi) Bek Khurasani's *Būstān* illustrations, like his Princeton and Philadelphia paintings, are executed in a consistent, homogenous style. The obvious difference, however, is that here the artist has produced a creditable and convincing form of a classic sixteenth-century painting style with certain touches, such as the round faces of his youths, that could easily pass for Bukharan. Small wonder that neither B. W. Robinson, who catalogued the Saʿdi manuscript for Kevorkian, nor his son William Robinson, the Christie's expert who inventoried the Duke estate, raised any serious questions about the illustrations' authenticity.

It seems, therefore, that the four paintings in the *Būstān* manuscript were Turabi Bek's first essay in the development of scenes that he would subsequently enlarge and embellish for the paintings in Princeton and Philadelphia, evidently taking care as he did so to remove features, such as the date tree and dead glutton in *A Greedy Man Falls from a Date Palm*, that might betray his literary point of departure. Thus, the *Būstān* now in Honolulu represents the first stage in the artist's transformation from a traditional and predictable classic painter into a eclectic and innovative "post-classical" one.

All this raises the question of exactly when and under what circumstances the person signing himself

Turabasi and Turabi Bek Khurasani was working. We know, of course, that Garrett acquired his *Khamsa* in 1925 and Lewis his album paintings in 1922. The Philadelphia works actually provide a slightly earlier terminus ante quem, since each is stamped with the seal of the Iranian customs service and dated by hand in purple ink with the year 1339, corresponding to AD 1920–21. Although very little seems to be known about the dealer—a certain S. Hossein Khan—from whom Lewis made his purchases, it would make sense that Khan might have brought the works out of Iran and immediately set about finding a purchaser.

So, at the very latest, Turabi Bek was active in the first decades of the twentieth century, that is, towards the end of the Qajar period. Such, in fact, was the opinion of the person—perhaps Muhammad Simsar, who catalogued John Frederick Lewis's "Oriental" manuscripts—who prepared the typed labels currently pasted next to the handwritten ones on the display mats in which the album paintings are now stored.[53] Each of these typed labels begins with the heading "Late Qajar Period," followed by a paragraph describing the painting. A second paragraph explicates the initial heading; on all but the tavern scene it is worded:

> This painting is a late nineteenth or early twentieth century copy of a sixteenth century Safavi original. Its facial types, architectural details and its endless ornamented patterns are positive evidence for this attribution, but its coloring and the quality of paper suggest workmanship of modern Persian painters.

The second paragraph of the label for the tavern scene (fig. 11) is even more explicit:

> This painting is a late nineteenth or early twentieth century copy of a sixteenth century Safavi original. See plate 127c [*sic*], Lawrence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford Unversity Press, London, 1933.

This refers, of course, to the catalogue-of-record, long abbreviated as "BWG," published two years after the celebrated international exhibition of Persian miniature painting held at Burlington House in London from January to March 1931. Catalogue number 127 consists of a substantial description of the *Dīvān* of Hafiz and its illustrations, including Shaykh-Zada's mosque scene (127c) and Sultan Muhammad's tavern scene (127e) and *Feast of ʿId* (127d), with reproductions of all.[54]

While the three Hafiz scenes in Philadelphia and Princeton clearly are modified copies of the paintings

long accepted as originals by Sultan Muhammad and Shaykh-Zada,[55] they just as obviously could not have been copied from the reproductions in BWG, since that publication, and indeed the Burlington House exhibition itself, followed by some years the acquisitions made by Lewis and Garrett in 1922 and 1925. It is conceivable that Turabi Bek Khurasani might have had direct familiarity with the *Dīvān* of Hafiz itself, although in the early twentieth century the manuscript was in France,[56] and the Lewis album paintings left Iran only in 1920–21, as documented by their dated customs stamps. It is much more likely that the artist had access to some of the European and British monographs and exhibition catalogues on Persian painting published during the first decades of the twentieth century, and that he copied his Hafiz and Saʿdi compositions and borrowed many of their motifs from these published reproductions.[57] F. R. Martin's 1912 work, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, for example, contains a version of Bihzad's *King Dara and the Herdsman* (fig. 23) as well as Riza's drawing of the stooped shepherd (fig. 24), while Marteau and Vever's *Miniatures persanes… exposées au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, published the next year, includes reproductions of Sultan Muhammad's *Feast of ʿId* and *Tavern Scene* in the *Dīvān* of Hafiz, which then belonged to the French numismatist and dealer Arthur Sambon.[58] For a more complete set of reproductions of the the Hafiz illustrations, including Shaykh-Zada's mosque scene, Turabi Bek may well have drawn on the sales catalogue of the Sambon collection, which was auctioned at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris in May 1914 (figs. 25–27).[59]

While this helps shed light on the probable sources for Turabi Bek's paintings, it still leaves us in the dark about his identity and career. An artist named Turabi has been described as being from Isfahan; he is possibly to be identified with Turabi Balkhi, a mulla highly regarded by Shah ʿAbbas, who worked in the style of the later Safavid painters Riza ʿAbbasi and Muʿin Musavvir.[60] Certainly Turabi Bek Khurasani fits that stylistic characterization since, as the Princeton and Philadelphia paintings demonstrate, his work is resonant with late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century painting in general and, in the form of the stooped shepherd (figs. 16 and 17), includes direct quotations from Riza and Muʿn in particular.

The only work hitherto identified with Turabi is a brightly colored painting of a solitary hermit or ascetic (fig. 28).[61] The bearded figure—eyes downcast, hands

Fig. 23. Bihzad, *King Dara and the Herdsman*, in a *Būstān* of Saʿdi, 1488. (After F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, from the 8th to the 18th Century*, 2 vols. [London: B. Quaritch, 1912], 1: fig. 28)

tucked within the sleeves of his salmon robe and holding a book, and head covered by a conical brown cap criss-crossed with a narrow length of cloth—kneels within a large, hollowed-out green tree trunk. In the fork of the tree's sawed-off upper limbs a white stork stands on a nest and preens itself with its red beak. Two black and white magpies and a small nest with two eggs occupy branches at the left. A wide blue and white bowl containing four quinces or pears rests on the ground outside the tree and may be the focus of the hermit's gaze.

Fig. 24. Riza ʿAbbasi, *The Old Shepherd*, 1632–33. (After Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, 2: pl. 159)

Fig. 25. Sultan Muhammad, *Tavern Scene*, in a *Dīvān* of Hafiz, ca. 1525–27. (After Arthur Sambon, *Catalogue des objects d'art et de haute curiosité…formant la collection de M. Arthur Sambon…* [Paris: Imp. G. Petit, 1914], lot 189)

Presumably conceived and currently mounted as an album painting with surrounding rulings and an outer border, the composition is inscribed in a panel at the upper right: "[This] was painted in the library [or workshop] of his highness [or excellency] Qulbaba Kukaltash." At the bottom edge, a distich, thematically apropos of the seated hermit, reads, "I was sitting alone in seclusion, and thus people forgot me." The two hemistichs of the couplet are separated and ruled in gold lines. A small square box on the left contains the artist's signature on the vertical: *rāqimuhu Turābī* (drawn by Turabi). All these inscriptions are penned in a clear, flowing *nastaʿlīq* (albeit with what appears to be a slip of the pen in the top panel) and would

seem to be contemporary with the painted image. Another inscription, written in a much lighter and sketchier hand, appears on the plain background to the right of the stork: "This also is among the miracles [i.e., miraculous works] of Turabi Bek.[62] In addition, above the fruit bowl are the clear traces of an effaced oval seal; another such seal may have been rubbed out above the tree trunk.

While the overall composition is believable enough as later Safavid work, several physical features suggest it may be a more recent, or at least pastiche, production.[63] The joint between the painted sheet and the surrounding rulings is rather ragged, and the top rulings are lifting from the sheet just above the uppermost branch of the tree. In addition, the verse in the lower panel seems to be pasted on top of the painted

Fig. 26. Sultan Muhammad, *The Feast of ʿId*, in a *Dīvān* of Hafiz, ca. 1525–27. (After Sambon, *Catalogue des objects d'art et de haute curiosité*, lot 189)

Fig. 27. Shaykh-Zada, *Mosque Scene*, in a *Dīvān* of Hafiz, ca. 1525–27. (After Sambon, *Catalogue des objects d'art et de haute curiosité*, lot 189)

sheet and the signature written in a leftover space at the side. In the painting itself, the brown cloak wrapped over the ascetic's shoulders and arms and draped over his clasped hands has an odd mottled appearance, as if from water staining. The lack of similar damage in surrounding areas of the painting suggests that the robe might have been deliberately rendered this way to create an "antique" effect. And while it is not unusual for album paintings to bear seal impressions, the ones here, combined with these other anomalies, lead to the suspicion that the hermit in his tree was painted on a "previously-used" piece of paper, perhaps the flyleaf of an old manuscript.

Representations of seated hermits (often called dervishes) with their hands tucked into their sleeves are by no means uncommon in Persian painting and seem to have been a favorite subject of later Safavid painters such as Riza ʿAbbasi.[64] Likewise, there are examples of figures seated inside hollowed-out trees.[65] One particularly effective composition of an ascetic in such an arboreal hermitage was shown in the 1913 exhibition at the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris and published in Marteau and Vever's accompanying catalogue (fig. 29).[66] Although certain prominent details in that tinted drawing, such as a younger seated figure to the hermit's right, leafier branches growing in

Fig. 28. Turabi, *Ascetic*. Reza ʿAbbasi Museum, Tehran, inv. 633. (After Mohammad ʿAli Rajabi, ed., *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting* [Tehran: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005], 501)

Fig. 29. *Ascetic*. (After G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes tirées des collections de MM. Henry d'Allemagne, Claude Anet…et exposées au Musée des arts décoratifs*, 2 vols. [Paris: Musée des arts décoratifs, 1913], 2: pl. CL)

greater number from the hollowed-out tree, and two ducks flying above, do not figure in the painting now in Tehran, the position, appearance, and distinctive headgear of the ascetic and the configuration of the tree in the drawing strongly suggest that the Marteau and Vever reproduction was Turabi Bek's model. The artist has even taken the two magpies from the right side of the drawing and used them in reverse at the left of his painting.[67] So once again, as in his Philadel-

phia and Princeton paintings, Turabi Bek has made liberal use of an available prototype while introducing enough changes (both by paring down the iconography and adding inscriptions) to give the impression of an original work of art.

There remains to be considered one more work by Turabi Bek, which seems to clinch his versatile and varied artistic persona. The Lewis collection in Philadelphia contains yet another mounted album painting (O 90), depicting a moustachioed man with strong facial features and penetrating eyes, who kneels and faces towards the left in three-quarter view against a plain background (fig. 30). He wears a white robe with

Fig. 30. *Seated Man.* Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, O 90. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

crossed gold fastenings down the front, a white and gold sash, and a turban of white and gold cloth with a gold end rippling out at the top. In his right hand he holds a gold wine cup and in his left grasps the neck of a gold wine bottle decorated with a fat bird. The sheet is signed and dated towards the upper left: "Turabi Bek Khurasani 947" (i.e., 1540–41).[68] Certainly the subject and general pose of the figure are recognizable enough from early- to mid-sixteenth-century painting.[69] Other aspects of the painting, however, seem more typical of the very end of the sixteenth century or the beginning to middle of the seventeenth, particularly the gold fastenings of the robe and the loose folds of the turban, with its broad profile and free end rendered in "spluttered" style.[70] This is also true for the man's moustache, which first calls to mind the handlebar style familiar from representations of Shah ʿAbbas and subsequent Safavids.[71] Upon closer inspection, however, the moustache is much bushier than the typical Safavid variety and sports jaunty unturned ends in Salvador Dali or Hercule Poirot fashion. Likewise, the intense expression of Turabi Bek's seated man is not one that can be easily associated with genuine Safavid paintings, nor with any of his other paintings in Princeton and Philadelphia; the subject also lacks the swarthy complexion characteristic of Turabi Bek's other figures. All and all, his facial features look highly individualized, as if Turabi Bek was seeking to depict an actual person. In stylistic terms, the painting may be a hybrid; in representational terms, it appears close to life-like.

THE "IDENTITY" OF TURABI BEK KHURASANI

When I first encountered the paintings of Turabi Bek Khurasani among the pages of the Princeton *Khamsa* some years ago, I was certain that he was a seventeenth-century or perhaps somewhat later Persian painter who was consciously imitating and modifying works by earlier, revered masters such as Bihzad, Sultan Muhammad, and Riza ʿAbbasi that he actually might have been able to examine and copy at first hand. Subsequent study of more of his oeuvre, and particularly the "repeat" compositions and princely "portrait" in Philadelphia and the manuscript in Honolulu, prompted a more critical evaluation of his style, sources, and place in the history of Persian painting. Even now, however, recognition of his apparent modernity and use of reproductions published in 1912 and 1914 to make paintings that were available for sale six to eight years later does not enable us to pinpoint his "real" identity. Indeed, his nomenclature shifts, from Turabasi to Turabi, make him even more elusive—something of a work in process, like the apparent evolution of his personal painting style from a classic Timurid-Safavid mode (as in the *Būstān* manuscript) to an amalgam of early and later Safavid formulations (as in the Princeton and Philadelphia pairs)[72] to modern touches (as in the Philadelphia seated man). It may even be that Turabasi/Turabi Bek Khurasani was not an actual name at all, but a fictive and impressive-sounding nom de plume—possibly even of an artistic collectivity rather than a single person. If so, this "enterprise" may have

functioned, as suggested at the outset, specifically to create plausible Persian paintings that would appeal to the tastes of refined yet unsuspecting collectors outside Iran. (Combined with what has thus far emerged about Turabasi/Turabi Bek, including his creation of sets of similar images, use of published reproductions for sources, and consistent transformation of borrowed compositions and details to disguise their origin, the possibility that "he" actually may have constituted a workshop with a specific marketing mission and targeted audience offers a striking parallel with the story that has been reconstructed for the more celebrated, albeit to this day anonymous, Spanish Forger, who was active in Paris during the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century and was responsible for over 100 illustrated manuscripts and single miniatures in fifteenth- to sixteenth-century European style, which are now in American and European collections.[73]) Two of the Philadelphia album paintings—the mosque scene (fig. 14) and the tavern scene (fig. 11)—provide a further hint that Turabasi/Turabi and his possible collaborators were perfectly aware of what they were about, and particularly that they recognized the literary context in which their pictorial models originated. Like the other Lewis compositions, these works are mounted with colored borders of various designs. Their borders include, immediately around the painted surfaces, a thin band of orange paper panels separating wider green paper panels inscribed with ten ghazals by Hafiz.[74] While the verses are not the ones that appear on the illustrations by Sultan Muhammad and Shaykh-Zada, their presence on Turabi Bek's copies nevertheless seems deliberate—another sign of the considerable efforts expended to validate "his" production.

Imitation and duplication of past styles, both period and individual, are familiar hallmarks of Persian painting, part of the overall aesthetic of this artistic tradition.[75] This is as true for the Qajar period as for earlier eras, although the manifestation of the phenomenon, especially during the final decades of the Qajar dynasty, awaits comprehensive investigation. Nonetheless, it is evident that calligraphers and painters working in the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth drew general inspiration and specific models from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a practice aptly characterized as "continuity and revivalism," and that their works were made both on commission by specific patrons and for speculation or sale on the open market.[76] Often the quality of such production was very high, with the same kind of meticulous

execution, for instance, that distinguishes Turabi Bek Khurasani's paintings in the Princeton *Khamsa*.[77]

What is equally striking about Turabi Bek is the way the artist (or the artistic collaborative bearing this name) used both literal reproduction and "selective adaptation" (to employ Priscilla Soucek's succinct formulation) to create original compositions evidently intended to be presented, accepted, and valued as dating from the Safavid period. Looked at in terms of both connoisseurship and commerce, the outcome of this endeavor could be characterized in any number of ways: plagiarism, fraud, falsification, fabrication, counterfeiting, deception, etc. "Fakes" and "forgeries" are still other words that come to mind, although, as B. W. Robinson once pointed out with regard to Qajar imitations of Safavid prototypes, and Oliver Watson has opined more recently with reference to medieval Persian ceramics, there is an important distinction to be made between legitimate and illegitimate artistic manipulations.[78] Likewise, the prevailing scholarly view of forgery generally concedes that notions of authenticity are culturally grounded, and that a work regarded as fake in one context may be considered genuine in another. Simply put, the definition of originality, and thus of aesthetic value, can and does vary historically. At the same time, however, the consensus seems to hold that a universal attribute of a fraudulent or forged work, no matter how distinctive or beautiful, is its maker's intention to deceive and to gain from such deception.[79] Although Turabi/Turabasi Bek asserted "personal" identity, and thus claimed artistic credit, by signing "his" name on the paintings he emulated rather than co-opting the name of Bihzad, Sultan Muhammad, or Shaykh-Zada, the fact that he inserted his compositions into otherwise legitimate Safavid-period manuscripts can leave little doubt that fraud was being deliberately perpetrated.

In his most extensive meditation on Persian miniature painting, Oleg Grabar offers yet another perspective on the concept, motivation, and impact of compositions such as those created by the artistic hand(s) signed Turabi or Turabasi Bek Khurasani. Much of Persian book painting is elusive and secretive, requiring a key or code to be revealed. "Each manuscript hides its miniatures. Each miniature, in resplendent color, hides its subject in an atmosphere that is physically and humanly repetitive."[80] All this Grabar quantifies as "an atmosphere of dissimulation" peculiar to the intrinsically private art form that is manuscript illustration. Dissimulation also could be

considered the primary motivation behind the production of works that seek to hide their true origins (as well as the identity of their artist) and that pretend to be something different from—indeed, something older and thus more valuable than—what they really are. In the hands of a modern master such as Turabi/Turabasi Bek Khurasani, amorphous atmosphere is transformed into a conscious attitude and a duplicitous effort or subterfuge aimed at simultaneously preserving and subverting the traditional practices of Persian painting—and thus its privileged aesthetic and aura—to appeal to the collecting sensibilities of another time and place.

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NOTES

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1. Oleg Grabar, "Toward an Aesthetic of Persian Painting," in *The Art of Interpreting: Papers in Art History*, ed. Susan C. Scott (University Park: Dept. of Art History, Pennsylvania State University, 1995), 129–39; revised as "Persian Miniatures: Illustrations or Paintings?" in *The Persian Presence in the Islamic World*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Georges Sabag (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 199–217; *La Peinture persane: Une introduction* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999); English edition *Mostly Modern Miniatures*: *An Introduction to Persian Painting* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000); "Seeing Things: Why Pictures in Texts," in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001), 1–4.

2. David Roxburgh, "Review of Grabar, *La Peinture persane: Une introduction*," *Artibus Asiae* 40 (2000): 350.

3. Grabar, "Toward an Aesthetic of Persian Painting," 139.

4. B. W. Robinson, "Some Modern Persian Miniatures," *The Studio* 135 (1948); repr. in idem, *Studies in Persian Art*, 2 vols. (London: Pindar Press, 1993), 1:151–58. For more on specific artists adept in this practice see idem, "Persian Painting under the Zand and Qajar," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 7, *From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, ed. Peter Avery et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 888–89, repeated verbatim in Willem Floor, "Art (*Naqqashi)* and Artists (*Naqqashan*) in Qajar Iran," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 134; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 4 (1990), s.v. "Behzad, Hosayn," by Layla Diba. For examples of specific manuscripts see Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), cat. no. II.12; Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), cat. no. 1, esp. 12; Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), cat. no. 74. See also n. 78 below.

5. Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures*, 12.

6. John Frederick Lewis Oriental Manuscript Collection, Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia. I am immensely grateful to Karin Rührdanz for originally directing my attention to these works. *Paintings and Drawings of Persia and India [With Some Others] Exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts…From the Collection of John Frederick Lewis…1923–1924* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1923), cat. nos. 12 (O 266), with reproduction on 8; 14 (O 268); 16 (O 264); 18 (O 270); 27 (O 263), with reproduction on 58; and 91 (O 265). It is not easy to correlate the catalogue entries with the existing paintings, and there does not seem to be an entry for O 267. O 263 is also reproduced in *The New Orient* 2, 1 (May–June 1924), unpaged: "The interior of a mosque, Persian XVII century, courtesy of John Frederick Lewis." Lewis's Persian paintings are not included in the better-known catalogue of his "Oriental" collection: Muhammad Ahmed Simsar, *Oriental Manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, 1937). Lewis bought the album paintings in 1922 from S. Hossein Khan at (or through) the Art Alliance, as per handwritten notations pasted onto the mats of the paintings. According to records currently housed at the University of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Art Alliance hosted "the Official Persian Exhibition from the Panama-Pacific Exposition," organized by Hossein Khan in February–March 1919 (letter dated Feb. 7, 1919, from the Office Secretary of the Art Alliance to Mr. James Emott Caldwell). I have not found any further information about Hossein Khan or this 1919 Persian exhibition in Philadelphia. Curiously, the Panama-Pacific Exposition, held in San Francisco in 1915, does not seem to have included a Persian exhibit. In January 1922 the Philadelphia Art Alliance mounted a two-day show of Persian and Portuguese embroidery, but there are no records of the contents of that exhibition or of its connection with John Frederick Lewis. I am grateful to Gay Walling, Executive Director, Philadelphia Art Alliance, and Amey Hutchins, Manuscripts Cataloger, Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania, for searching the Art Alliance records on my behalf. My appreciation also to Laura Uhlman at the Free Library for directing me towards the Lewis papers at the University of Delaware Library, and to Iris Snyder in Special Collections there for her assistance with this material. Additional Lewis papers are housed in the American Philosophical Society, and I owe special thanks to Anna Russakoff for taking the time from her own APS research to look at these holdings for the year 1922. For Lewis's manuscript collection in

general see James R. Tanis, ed., *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), 8–10.

7. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, no. 84G, gift of Robert Garrett, 1942. Mohammad E. Moghadam and Yahya Armajani, *Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Persian, Turkish and Indic Manuscripts including Some Miniatures in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), cat. no. 14 (where the second name of the signature is given as "Bey"); Phyllis Ackerman, *Guide to the Exhibition of Persian Art* (New York: The Iranian Institute, 1940), 214: gallery VII, case 82B; the second edition of this catalogue, published in May 1940, lists Mr. Garrett's *Khamsa* on 200: gallery VII, case 89B. Neither edition mentions the paintings or artist. Previously the *Khamsa* manuscript was exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago (March 1932) and the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore (February 1–21, 1937), although without published catalogues; see also below, n. 44. References to these loans appear in the Robert Garrett Papers, CO 627, Special Collections, Princeton University Library. The same papers contain correspondence with Dr. Ali-Kuli Khan, from whom Garrett acquired the *Khamsa*, along with an invitation to a viewing of Khan's collection of Persian art, held at Parish-Watson and Co. in New York City, Mar. 26 to Apr. 16, 1925, and a newspaper article from the *New York Evening Post* dated Feb. 23, 1926, detailing Khan's diplomatic career, including service during 1910–19 as chargé d'affaires at the Persian legation in Washington, DC. During that time he already was offering manuscripts to American collections and institutions, judging from letters in the archives at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. The 1925 exhibition invitation makes reference to the fact that Khan "has now returned to America on a leave of absence from his Government to liquidate his personal affairs." The newspaper article mentions that he had established the Persian Art Center, as confirmed by the carbon copy of a letter dated April 22, 1925, from Garrett to Khan, c/o Persian Art Center, 707 Fifth Avenue, New York. For more on Garrett's collecting activities, including Arabic and Persian manuscripts, see Robert Garrett, "Recollections of a Collector," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 10 (Apr. 1949): 102–16.

8. The calligrapher has been frequently discussed, although much about his biography (including the year of his death, variously cited as 1544 and 1556 and possibly occurring even later) and oeuvre (including signed paintings) remains to be resolved. For a compilation of sources see Marianna Shreve Simpson, "A Manuscript Made for the Safavid Prince Bahram Mirza," *Burlington Magazine* 133 (June 1991): 382–83 nn. 37–43. To that bibliography should be added *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1 (1985), 864–65; Glenn D. Lowry and Milo Cleveland Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1988), cat. nos. 56 (with a problematic signature), 167 (with a problematic date), 175, 278, 340–43, 365, 437, 439; Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 189, 212–13 (cat. no. 79), 304–5, 306 (cat. nos. 128a, 128d), 319 (cat. nos. 129g–i); Priscilla Soucek, "Calligraphy in the Safavid

Period 1501–76," in *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila R. Canby (New York: Asia Society, 2003), 66, 70; David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 175–79, 202, 221, 229, 252, 258, 262, 294, 319, 323; Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 430–32; Elaine Wright, *Muraqqaʾ: Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 2008), 32, 41, 154–58, 216. For a contrary view of the presumed connection between ʿAli al-Husayni and Mir-ʿAli Haravi see Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, *Le chant du monde: L'Art de l'Iran Safavide, 1501–1736* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007), 213.

9. For a systematic (although no longer current) listing of manuscripts by Mir-ʿAli Husayni/ʿAli al-Husayni see M. Bayani, *Ahvāl va asar-i khusnivīsān* 1 (Tehran: ʿIlmī, 1345 [1966]: 511–16. See also Lowry and Beach, *Checklist of the Vever Collection*, cat. no. 278; Yuri A. Petrosyan et al., *Pages of Perfection: Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Lugano: ARCH Foundation, 1995), cat. no. 40; Barbara Schmitz, *Pierpont Morgan Library*, cat. no. 7; Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persans: Manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), cat. nos. 95–96; Annemarie Schimmel, "A Manuscript of Mir-ʿAli al-Katib: A Poem on the Duties of Prayer," in *Cairo to Kabul: Afghan and Islamic Studies* ed. Warwick Ball and Leonard Harrow (London: Melisende, 2002), 194–200; Mohammad ʿAli Rajabi, ed., *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting* (Tehran: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 1384 Sh. [2005]), 101 and 107; Wright, *Muraqqaʾ*, cat. no. 5. Soudavar has commented on the Mughal practice of adding Mir-ʿAli's name to existing *qitʿa* and even of forging calligraphies with his name wholesale *(Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 10 [2001], 92, s.v. "Forgeries i. Introduction").

10. Average folio dimensions: 36 x 24 cm. The rulings are consistent throughout the manuscript and feature black, gold, and blue lines, often separated by a space that allows the color of the paper to show through. The range of dimensions of the written surface, with rulings, is 22–22.5 cm x 14–14.2 cm.

11. As, for instance, in the *Haft Awrang* of Jami made for the Safavid prince Sultan Ibrahim Mirza in 1556–65. Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang: *A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 349–59 (see blank folios 46b–47a, 139b–140a, 181b–182a, 199b–200a, 272b–273a).

12. The texts of all four *masnavī*s in the Princeton manuscript have been checked against the following edition: *Khamsa-i Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī* (Tehran: Shaqāyiq, 1362 [1983]). The last verse of *Majnūn va Layla* on folio 87a of the Princeton volume compares with verse 25 on 241 of the printed edition, which is thirteen verses before the actual end of the poem on 242.

13. The collation of the manuscript consists primarily of ternions (six leaves per gathering or quire), with occasional binions (four leaves). Most of the replacement folios appear in the *Shīrīn va Khusraw* (fols. 19–20, 24–27, 30–33, 36–39, 42–45, 48–51, 54) and *Majnūn va Layla* poems (fols. 55–57, 60–63,

66–69, 83–87). There are fewer in the *Hasht Bihist* (fols. 88, 90–91, 94–97, 118) and only four in the *Iskandarnāma* (fols. 132–35). Two of the illuminated titlepieces (fols. 55b and 88b) and two pairs of paintings (fols. 54a–55b and 87b–88a) are on replacement leaves. The rubric lines and the text lines on the original folios align precisely one-to-one in spacing and are separated by .8 cm. On the replacement folios, however, the rubric lines are spaced with the equivalent of one text line in between and separated by 1.6 cm. The catchwords on replacement folios are placed 6 cm from the lower ruling of the written surface. This is so close to the bottom edge of the folio that some catchwords are now missing, evidently having been cut off in a later refurbishment of the manuscript (presumably after its second, re-production phase and probably before its acquisition by Robert Garrett or at least before its transfer to Princeton).

14. Such double-page paintings are typically enframed in wide illuminated borders, which add further coherence to the compositions.

15. For the sake of convenience, the subjects, folio numbers (of the Garrett *Khamsa*), and dimensions (without rulings) are first listed here. To reiterate: the Princeton paintings are painted on full-size manuscript folios measuring 36 x 24 cm and, with their rulings, occupy almost the entire surface of the folios. The Philadelphia paintings are mounted on large cardboard sheets measuring 41.2–42.8 x 28.4–29 cm and are surrounded on the front by rulings and margin paper of different colors and designs.

16. For the literary background see *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 9 (1999), 257–58, s.v. "Farhad," by Heshmat Moayyad. For the illustrations see Larisa N. Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami v srednevekovoi miniatiurnoi zhivopisi* (Moscow: Izdvo Nauk, 1985), 148–52 (entry no. 81); Barbara Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting: Illustrations to Amīr Khusrau's* Khamsah (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 8, 269 (SK 16); John Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot of India: The Walters Art Museum Khamsa of Amir Khusraw of Delhi* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum, 2001), 161 (scene identified as "Shirin sees Farhad's sculptures"). For other helpful listings and reproductions see Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizâmi au Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi d'Istanbul* (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1977), 168; Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1977), 325 (including an illustration in a *Kullīyāt* of Sa'di).

17. Priscilla P. Soucek, "Farhad and Taq-i Bustan: The Growth of a Legend," in *Studies in Art and Literature of the Near East in Honor of Richard Ettinghausen*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (Salt Lake City: Middle East Center, University of Utah, 1974), 44–52.

18. In the 1923–24 exhibition catalogue of the Lewis collection, O 265 is entitled "Shirin's Palace" and O 266 "The Palace of Shirin," and similarly (although not identically) described as "Milk is being conveyed from the fields in a channel to her house." *Paintings and Drawings of Persia and India* (as in n. 6 above), cat. no. 12 with reproduction on 8 (O 266) and cat. no. 91 (O 265).

19. Brend, *Perspectives*, 5, 7.

20. The Free Library version of the scene (O 268) is identified as "Son of Khusraw on a hunting party" in a handwrit-

ten note on the back of the painting's original cardboard mount and on a handwritten label affixed to the front of the display mat, as well as in *Paintings and Drawings of Persia and India*, cat. no. 16 (see below for another identification). For listings of illustrations of Khusraw hunting see Titley, *Minatures from Persian Manuscripts*, 279; Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami*, 156, entry 92.

21. A typed label on the mat of O 268 actually identifies the hunter as "Bahram Gur, Persian king (ruled 420–438 A.D.), shooting wild deer." For the story of Bahram Gur hunting with Fitna as recounted by both Nizami and Amir Khusraw see Maria Vittoria Fontana, *La Leggenda di Bahram Gur e Azada* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli, 1986), 109–13 and 114–16. For listings of illustrations to both versions of this scene see Stchoukine, *Khamseh*, 169; Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts*, 216; Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami*, 212–14, entry 178; Fontana, *Bahram Gur e Azada*, 55–57; Brend, *Perspectives*, 275 (HB 5). See also Priscilla Soucek, "Comments on Persian Painting," *Iranian Studies* 7, 1(1974) (*Studies on Isfahan*): 77 and fig. 5; Eleanor Sims, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 308, no. 228; Stchoukine, *Khamseh*, pl. XLIVb; Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des manuscrits Safavis de 1502 à 1587* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1959), pl. LXIX; Stuart Cary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–1576* (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, 1979), cat. no. 65.

22. The literature on this well-known manuscript, including the debate concerning its date and patronage, is extensive and includes several important studies written by Stuart Cary Welch in the 1970s and 1980s. For more recent discussion of Sultan Muhammad's tavern scene, with reference to Welch's fundamental publications, see Priscilla Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi: Painter at the Safavid Court," in *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Persian Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (Bombay: Marg, 1990), 58–60 and fig. 6; Priscilla Soucek, "Interpreting the Ghazals of Hafiz," *RES* 43 (Spring 2003): 155–58 and fig. 5; Priscilla Soucek, "Hafez and the Visual Arts," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 11 (2003), 503; Ebadollah Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1996), 249–50, 255 (where the painting is entitled "The Sufi Ecstasy" and regarded as originally part of a double-page composition; in addition, the previous scholarship on the painting is reviewed and its authorship by Sultan Muhammad disputed); Anthony Welch, "Worldly and Otherworldly Love in Safavi Painting," in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 303 and pl. 11; Mary Anderson McWilliams, "Introduction: Access to Hidden Things," in *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 2002), 9–10, figs. 1–2, and cover; Melikian-Chirvani, *Chant du Monde*, 62–63.

23. Sultan Muhammad's signature in this and his other Hafiz painting, to be encountered in II-2, is discussed in Martin B. Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 1:51B, 54B, and 241A n. 23; Bahari, *Bihzad*, 250 (where its

authenticity is questioned); and Melikan-Chirvani, *Chant du Monde*, 63. It is telling in terms of his evident interest in following the lead of earlier painters that Turabi Bek Khurasani has used the same, admittedly standard, formula for his signature.

24. The dimensions of the original Hafiz painting are 21.5 x 15 cm. The Philadelphia and Princeton versions add between 9.3 and 9.9 cm to the height and 5.0 and 5.1 cm to the width.

25. See n. 59 below for a possible implication of this seemingly minor point of comparison.

26. Soucek, "Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi," 60–61; idem, "Interpreting the Ghazals of Hafiz,"158; idem, "Hafez and the Visual Arts," 503 and pl. III; Bahari, *Bihzad*, 250–51, 255 (where Sultan Muhammad's authorship is debated and the signature style characterized as "alien" to the artist); Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, cat. no. 59 (titled *Celebration of ʿId* and with previous references); Sims, *Peerless Images*, 139–40, no. 55 (titled *The Sighting of the New Moon after Ramadan*); Melikian-Chirvani, *Chant du Monde*, 63–66 and cat. no. 37 (titled *Célébration de la fête de la Rupture du jeûne*).

27. The dimensions of the original Hafiz painting are 20 x 15 cm, to which the Princeton version adds 11.4 cm in height and 5.0 cm in width.

28. Bahari, *Bihzad*, 237 and fig. 130 (with review of previous scholarship and substantial discussion [through 248] of Shaykh-Zada, but strongly questioning that the painter executed this painting and characterizing its style and signature as at variance with other works signed by or ascribed to Shaykh-Zada (254); Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 189–97 (also with substantial discussion of Shaykh-Zada) and fig. 31. For a larger color reproduction see Stuart Cary Welch, *Persian Painting: Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: George Braziller, 1976), pl. 16.

29. The dimensions of the original Hafiz painting are 25 x 14.4 cm, to which the Princeton and Philadelphia versions add between 6.5 and 6.8 cm in height and between 5.7 and 5.8 cm in width.

30. The original inscription in the iwan reads *Yā miftaḥ-i al-bawāb* (O opener of doors). The Philadelphia inscription reads *Al-sulṭān al-ʿādil yad* (The sultan of the justice-dispensing hand).

31. The verses are identified and translated in Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, cat. no. 42.

32. For the Yusuf and Zulaykha illustrations ("Zulaykha takes Yusuf to her palace," "Zulaykha takes Yusuf into the seventh chamber," "Zulaykha threatens suicide," "Zulaykha tries to hold back the fleeing Yusuf") see Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang, 382; B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980), 225, no. 659; Naʿama Brosh with Rachel Milstein, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1991), 74; Sheila R. Canby, *Princes, Poets and Paladins: Islamic and Indian Paintings from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan* (London: British Museum, 1998), cat. no. 98. For the Iskandar scene see Stchoukine, *Khamseh*, nos. IV, 32; XX, 26; XLI, 31; LXI, 5; Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami*, 282 entry 325; Barbara Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's* Khamsa *of Niẓāmī* (London: British Library, 1995), 62 and figs. 42–43. In his *Iskandarnāma* Amir Khusrau Dihlavi has Iskandar denounce Zoroastrians for the practice of fire

worship, but this does not seem to involve actual idols. See Brend, *Perspectives*, 21; Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot*, 20, 165 (*Alexander Denounces the Zoroastrians*). For the Saʿdi text see Saʿdī, *Sharḥ-i Būstān*, ed. Muhammad Khazāʿilī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Jāvīdān, 1383 [1984]), 351–54; G. M. Wickens, trans., *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned: The Būstān of Saʿdī* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 214–19 (tale 140). For some illustrations to this scene see R. H. Pinder-Wilson, "Three Illustrated Manuscripts of the Mughal Period," *Ars Orientalis* 22 (1957): 417 and fig. 11; Ernst J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting* (Germany: Edizioni Oriens, 1968), pl. 97.3; Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 351 no. 137r. For helpful listings of all these scenes see Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manucripts*, 270 ("Iskandar at idol temple"), 317 ("Saʿdi at the idol temple at Sumnath"), 350 ("Zulaykha trying to seduce Yusuf").

33. The illustration has been frequently discussed and reproduced. For recent discussions see Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989), 292–93; Bahari, *Bihzad*, 104–5 (with various previous references cited in 260 n. 4) and fig. 49; Bihnām Ṣadrī, ed., *Kamāl al-Dīn Bihzād: Majmūʿa-i maqālāt-i Hamāyish-i Bayn al-Milalī* (Kamal al-Din Bihzad: Collected Essays of the International Congress) (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Farhangistān-i Hunar, 1383 Sh. [2005]) (in Persian), 29, 172, 186, 383–84 (details), 386, 481, and unpaginated color plate.

34. For the literary reference see Saʿdi, *Sharḥ-i Būstān*, 92–95; Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, 30–32 (tale 2). For some Bihzadian illustrations see Grube, *Classical Style,* 32, 39, and pls. 46.1 and 97.1; Sims, *Peerless Images*, 58; Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, cat. no. 98; Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Court*, 191 cat. 73a; B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), cat. no. 686 and pl. X. See also n. 58 below for another sixteenth-century version of Bihzad's illustration. The connection of O 268 with Saʿdi appears, however, to have escaped Lewis and his dealer, as well as those involved with exhibiting and labeling his paintings, and the painting is identified as *King Khusraw and a Hunting Party* on the note written in pencil on the back of its cardboard mount as well as on a handwritten label affixed to the display mat, and as *Khosrau and a Party of Hunter*s in *Paintings and Drawings of Persia and India*, cat. no. 14. This is hardly surprising given that the *Būstān* illustrations, including *King Dara and the Herdsmen*, were first published in full in J. V. S. Wilkinson, "Fresh Light on the Herat Painters," *Burlington Magazine* 58 (Feb. 1931): 60–69. See also Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), cat. no. 83.

35. Stchoukine, *Khamseh*, 152, ms. LXVI (24). The Philadelphia version (O 270) is identified as *Scene from the History of Khosrau and Shirin* and described broadly as "animals and figures before the gates of a palace" in *Paintings and Drawings of Persia and India*, cat. no. 18.

36. For instance, in the lower margin of 84G fol. 2b, it is possible to see the pricked outlines and folds of the turbans in the painting on folio 2a. Similar pricking is visible on fols. 55b, 56a, and 56b (from the painting on 55a); 84a and b

and 87a (from the painting on 87b; for more on this particular case see n. 46 below), 88b (from the painting on 88a); 130a (from the painting on 130b) and 131b (from the painting on 131a). The only pricking in the Philadelphia paintings appears in Shirin's crown in O 265.

37. As has already been demonstrated (see n. 34) vis-à-vis sixteenth-century scenes after Bihzad of King Dara and the herdsman. For some general remarks on the phenomenon of repetition in classical Persian painting see Marie Swietochowski, "The Development of Traditions of Book Illustration in Pre-Safavid Iran," *Iranian Studies* 7, 1 (1974) (*Studies on Isfahan*): 51; Soucek, "Comments," 72–87; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur*, 376–79; Ada Adamova, "Repetition of Compositions in Manuscripts: The *Khamsa* of Nizami in Leningrad," in Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, eds., *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 67–75.

38. Here it should be noted that Bahari, *Bihzad*, argues, on the basis of a codicological and textual study of the *Dīvān* of Hafiz (250, 254–55), that the mosque, tavern, and ʿId paintings are not "integral with the book but are clearly stuck on to the pages" (255) and, furthermore, that these compositions are not the work of Shaykh-Zada and Sultan Muhammad, who could not have collaborated with one another (237, 250–51, 254, 256), but are "copies of illustrations executed by Bihzad with assistance from his pupils in Herat around 1527" (257). If this is indeed the case, then Turabi Bek would have been copying copies of works by Bihzad. For an even more radical possibility, see n. 72 below.

39. As, for instance, in the *Haft awrang* made for the Safavid prince Sultan Ibrahim Mirza in 1556–63. See Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang, 92 (depicting a male seated on a rock playing a pipe), 124 (depicting three figures in a tent, a man pouring water from an animal skin, and man holding a basin for a horse), 194 (depicting a male seated on a rock playing a pipe and a woman milking a cow). Various of these same motifs reappear in a somewhat later illustration attributed to Muhammadi (Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 232–33 no. 90b).

40. For the Riza painting see Sheila R. Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi ʿAbbasi of Isfahan* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1996), 144, 150, and 197 cat. no. 107; Vladimir Loukonin and Anatoli Ivanov, *Lost Tresures of Persia: Persian Art in the Hermitage Museum* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, Inc., 1996), cat. no. 211 (where the date is given as 25 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1043 [June 22, 1634]) and color reproduction on 206. Canby, *Rebellious Reformer*, 214 cat. no. 70, is uncertain about the authenticity of a very similar shepherd, inscribed with Riza's name and dated 7 Ramadan 1041 (March 28, 1632). See also Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, cat. no. 317 and pl. CXI-B. For the Muʿin version see *Arts of the Islamic World* (London: Sotheby's, 12 October 2000), lot no. 66 with color reproduction.

41. Canby, *Princes, Poets and Paladins*, cat. no. 63, upper right; idem, *Persian Painting* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), fig. 77; Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, cat. nos. 114, 147, 150, and fig. 52; Sims, *Peerless Images*, nos. 81, 232; Anthony Welch, *Shah ʿAbbas and the Arts of Isfahan* (New York: Asia Society, 1973), cat. no. 62. These features also appear in the murals of Isfahan palaces of the same period: see Sims, *Peerless Images*, no. 192.

42. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts,* cat. 128; Canby, *Persian Painting*, fig. 67. See also Sims, *Peerless Images*, nos. 10, 18, 87, 134 for illustrations in a *Shāhnāma* of 1648 with some of these same characteristics, particularly in the landscape and mottled horses. Modern scholarship regards some of these formal features as resulting from the influence of seventeenth-century art, both European and Indian: see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 365; Canby, *Persian Painting*, chap. 6; Sims, *Peerless Images*, 75–77. A more substantive discussion appears in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. 13 (2006), s.v. "India xxi. Indian Influences in Persian Painting," by Barbara Schmitz.

43. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 4 (1990), 114 (as in n. 4).

44. Princeton University Library, Robert Garrett Papers, CO 625, box 1, folder 8. Indeed, one scholar whom Garrett consulted in 1925 about the volume opined that it was "remarkable" and a "unicum" (letter from N[icolas] Martinovitch, Department of Slavonic Languages, Columbia University, dated Sept. 10, 1925). The weight of this opinion is diminished, however, by the fact that Martinovitch identified the poems as being by Jami and the artist's signature as that of Bihzad. That he was looking at the right manuscript, however, is clear from his mention of the rare theme of one painting: "Moslem angels drinking wine!" Twelve years later Garrett lent the manuscript, along with other books and miniatures, for an exhibition at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in his native Baltimore (see above, n. 7). A typed checklist of these loans among the Garrett papers lists the manuscript, still referred to as by Jami, as having eight full-page miniatures "of later date" (folder 15). It may be that the suggestion of a "later date" came from Richard Ettinghausen, who wrote Garrett on Jan. 28, 1937, about some other Persian paintings in his collection. Be that as it may, under the correct title of the *Khamsa-i Amīr Khusraw*, the entry for the manuscript in the 1939 catalogue of the Garrett holdings at Princeton characterizes the eight paintings as "of high quality by Torabi Bey [*sic*] Khurasani." Curiously, no mention of Turabi Bek Khurasani or his paintings was made when the manuscript was shown at the major exhibition of Persian art in New York in 1940 (see n. 7 above for references). The comment about the paintings' quality was repeated verbatim, however, when the volume was exhibited at Princeton in honor of the campus visit of the Shah of Iran in Nov. 1949. See *The Golden Age of Persian Literature, 1000–1500 A.D.: Miniatures, Illuminations and Manuscripts in Persian and Arabic from the Robert Garrett Collection. An Exhibition in Honor of the Visit to Princeton of His Imperial Majesty Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1949), case XVI, no. 52.

45. The handwritten notes date the paintings variously to the sixteenth or seventeenth (sometimes early seventeenth) century. In the catalogue (see n. 6 above), cat. nos. 12, 14, 16, 18, and 27 are dated to the seventeenth century, and no. 91 to the sixteenth. Likewise O 263 is attributed to the seventeenth century in a reproduction caption in *The New Orient* 2 (May–June 1924), unpaged.

46. That he already knew the "destination" of his final versions seems evident from the fact that he made the preliminary paintings close in size to the *Khamsa* folios. As already men-

tioned (n. 36), folios 84a and 84b contain clear traces of the outlines and pricking marks of the mosque scene on 87b (the architectural outlines are particularly clear), suggesting that these replacement sheets were stacked together as Turabi Bek worked and not yet folded or collated in codex form (since the same pricking marks are not visible on folios 85 and 86).

47. As noted above (n. 22), Bahari, *Bihzad*, has suggested that the tavern scene (what he calls *A Sufi Ecstasy*) originally formed part of a double-page illustration, with this scene "representing the outer parts of a palace where, in the normal fashion, the court attendants and servants would gather" (250).

48. Norah Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: British Museum, 1983), 216–18; Canby, *Persian Painting*, 18 and fig. 4.

49. B. W. Robinson, *The Kevorkian Collection: Islamic and Indian Illustrated Manuscripts, Miniature Paintings and Drawings* (New York: Trustees of the Kevorkian Foundation at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), 54 cat. CLXIV (mentioning only three miniatures). Kevorkian may have acquired the manuscript at a sale held in 1935: *Catalogue of a Very Choice Collection of Persian and Indian Manuscripts and Miniatures: The Property of a Lady* (London: Sotheby and Co., Feb. 5, 1935), lot 22 (with reproductions of paintings 1 and 2), in which all four illustrations are described in general terms and the colophon information given without qualification. The volume was subsequently shown at the great Persian exhibition of 1940 in New York. The catalogue describes it as "Extracts from Firdausi and other poets…16th century… Illuminations and miniatures of c. 1550–1560" and suggests that the colophon stating that the manuscript was offered as a present to Timur in 779 "may have been copied from an earlier version of this Anthology" (Ackerman, *Guide to the Exhibition of Persian Art*, 276, gallery IX, case 15D). Doris Duke acquired the manuscript in 1962 from a Kevorkian sale, in the catalogue of which the volume is described as a "Book of Poems…Persian School, XVI Century" and as bearing the date of 979 (1574): *Classical and Near Eastern Art Collected by the Late Hagop Kevorkian* (New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries Inc., Dec. 14–15, 1962), lot 317. In the inventory of Duke's estate prepared by Christie's in Jan. 1995, the manuscript, item 4670, is catalogued as a *Gūlistān* by Sa'di and described as having "four fine early 16th century full-page illuminations [i.e., illustrations] in the text." The entry also notes, "The miniatures in this manuscript are probably Bukharan, mid-16th century." Physical evidence casts further doubt on the colophon's authenticity, since it seems to have been written on a cut and/or mended piece of paper pasted on top of the original(?) written surface—a condition that is clearly visible on the folio's verso. There are numerous other peculiarities about this manuscript, including the fact that the majority of its text pages have been remargined, and that it may have had another illustration, judging from the pigment offset on fol. 97b. All four existing illustrations are on the recto side of their folios and all include two text panels that measure the same from top to bottom as the height of the written surface of the text folios. I owe this information to Amy Landau.

50. Robinson subsequently mentioned the Kevorkian *Būstān* twice in his Bodleian Library catalogue, and gave the same

qualified reading of the artist's name, while dating the manuscript ca. 1590, apparently because of its stylistic similarity to a Bodleian manuscript (MS Elliott 163) dated Rabi' II 1001 (Jan. 1593). More significantly, he took note in this publication of the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw in Princeton "dated at Herat in 930/1524 [that] contains one miniature signed 'Turabi Bey [*sic*] Khurasani' which may well be a variant reading of the same signature [that is, the one in the Kevorkian manuscript]. If so, it is presumably a later insertion." By this Robinson apparently assumed that the miniatures in the Princeton manuscript, which he evidently had not seen, were contemporary with the transcription date of 930 and that the signature had been added in the later sixteenth century. Although Robinson's apparent assumption was wrong, his instinct, as always, was right. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library*, 147 and 150 (for the direct quote regarding the Princeton *Khamsa).*

51. Amy Landau notes that this figure is much fainter than those in the main part of the composition, and that his facial features and costume are also different.

52. For the Sa'di story see Sa'di, *Sharh-i Būstān*, 301–2; Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, 169 (tale 104). For an illustration see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 348 no. 137n.

53. Reproductions of the album paintings and their typed labels appear in an unpublished series of bound albums titled "Oriental Miniatures: John Frederick Lewis Collection, Catalogued and Edited by Muhammad Ahmad Simsar, 1941," and housed in the Free Library's Rare Book Department.

54. Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, cat. no. 127 and pls. LXXV, LXXXIII A and B, and LXXXIV A and B. Catalogue number 127c is actually Shaykh-Zada's mosque scene and not the tavern scene as mistakenly indicated on the label for Lewis's painting O 267. Curiously, there is no comparable reference to the 1933 catalogue on the typed labels for O 263 (cat. no. 127d) or O 268 (cat. no. 83b).

55. For a dissenting opinion on these attributions see above, nn. 22, 24, and 28.

56. See Bahari, *Bihzad*, 253, for a summary of the manuscript's provenance.

57. Robinson, "Zand and Qajar Painting," 889, gives another example of this practice.

58. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, from the 8th to the 18th Century*, 2 vols. (London: B. Quaritch, 1912), 1: fig. 28 (*King Dara and the Herdsman*); 2: pl. 159 (*Man with a Goat* by Riza 'Abbasi); G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes tirées des collections de MM. Henry d'Allemagne, Claude Anet* [et al.] *et exposées au Musée des arts décoratifs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Musée des arts décoratifs, 1913), 2: pls. LXXIV (*Tavern Scene*) and LXXV (*Feast of 'Id).*

59. Arthur Sambon, *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité… formant la collection de M. Arthur Sambon, dont la vente aura lieu à Paris, galerie Georges Petit…les Lundi 25, Mardi 26, Mercredi 27 et Jeudi 28 Mai 1914…* (Paris: Imp. G. Petit, 1914), lot no. 189 and reproductions. Rudolph Meyer-Riefstahl was the expert for "les objets d'art oriental" in this sale and presumably wrote the long entry on the Hafiz manuscript. Given the close similarities in color between the tiled facade

in the Princeton and Philadelphia tavern scenes and that of the Hafiz prototype, as mentioned above, there is also the possibility that the artist, or a colleague or representative, saw the Hafiz manuscript and its illustrations in Paris during the preview days, May 23 and 24, leading up to the Sambon sale. If this were the case, however, then one might expect Turabi Bek to have followed the bright colors of the original Hafiz paintings for his overall palette. On the other hand, his deviation from the classic Safavid color scheme may be yet another indication of his own artistic ingenuity.

60.   Muḥammad ʿAlī Karīmzāda-Tabrīzī, *Aḥvāl va ās̱ār-i naqqashān-i qadīm-i Īrān va barkhī az mashāhīr-i nigār gar-i Hind va ʿUs̱mānī* 1 (London: Muḥammad ʿAlī Karīmzāda Tabrīzī, 1363 Sh. [1985]), 126 entry 210.

61.   Tehran, Reza ʿAbbasi Museum, inv. 633. See Rajabi, *Iranian Masterpieces* (as in n. 9), color reproduction, 501; Melikian-Chirvani, *Chant du Monde* (as in n. 8), cat. no. 78 (titled *Le banquet de l'ascète solitaire* and attributed to Herat between 1587 and 1598). The painting is enframed in a series of gold and colored mounts and mounted on pinkish paper decorated with animals in a landscape.

62.   I am grateful to Maryam Ekhtiar for initially reviewing these inscriptions for me. All have now been published in Melikian-Chirvani, *Chant du Monde*, cat. no. 78, with a detailed discussion of Qulbaba Kukeltash, the milk-brother of the Shaybanid leader ʿAbdullah Khan (b. 1558–59). The more hastily written inscription about the "miracles" of Turabi Bek (or Beg) has led Melikian-Chirvani to suggest that the artist signed another painting in the album from which this folio was removed.

63.   The following comments are based on first-hand examination of the painting as exhibited in Tehran and Paris in May 2005 and Dec. 2007, respectively.

64.   Canby, *Rebellious Reformer*, 139–40 and 196 cat. no. 102; Melikian-Chirvani, *Chant du Monde*, cat. no. 96.

65.   Lowry and Beach, *Checklist of the Vever Collection*, 270–71 cat. no. 319.

66.   Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, vol. 2, pl. CL, no. 211. See also Claude Anet, "Exhibition of Persian Miniatures at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris–II," *The Burlington Magazine* 22 (Nov. 1912): 112 and pl. 11(H), where the caption reads "Grisaille of Shah Abbas Period 1629 A.D." The drawing then belonged to the Smet collection. I have not been able to track its present whereabouts.

67.   He also reversed one of the "dive-bombing" ducks at the top of the tinted drawing for use in his *King Dara and the Herdsman* in Philadelphia (O 268).

68.   Lewis acquired this work in April 1929: *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books and Illuminated Manuscripts…Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London: Sotheby and Co., Apr. 15, 1929), lot 436: "A fine Life Portrait of a Prince seated holding a carafe and wine cup, signed *Narabi* [sic] *Bek Khurasani* and dated 938 A.D. = 1531." A typed label similar to those on the other album paintings that Lewis gave to the Free Liibrary reads the date correctly as 947 and attributes the painting to the "Early Safavid Period…Shah Tahmasp School."

69.   For example, Sims, *Peerless Images,* cat. nos. 186 and 188.

70.   For example, Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, cat. nos. 104, 107, 121–122.

71.   For example, Sims, *Peerless Images*, cat. nos. 36, 128, 191; Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts,* cat. no. 125; Lukonin and Ivanov, *Lost Treasures of Persia*, cat. no. 212; Welch, *Shah ʿAbbas*, cat. no. 85.

72.   Given Bahari's assertion (in *Bihzad*, see n. 38) that the three paintings in the *Dīvān* of Hafiz under discussion here are neither original to the manuscript nor by the Safavid painters whose names are inscribed thereon and his proposal that they are "copies of illustrations by Bihzad…" it is a tempting heresy to speculate that these works too might be modern—perhaps even by Turabi/Turabasi Bek!

73.   William Voelkle, *The Spanish Forger* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978), 9–16. It is now recognized that the nineteenth century witnessed an "unprecedented increase in the production and dissemination of fakes…caused primarily by the heightened demand for artworks from the past to fill the needs of national museums [in the U.S. and Europe] and the desires of individual collectors": Aviva Briefel, *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 3. See also Richard Shiff, "The Original, the Imitation, the Copy, and the Spontaneous Classic: Theory and Painting in Nineteenth-Century France," *Yale French Studies* 66 (1984): 27–54; and additional references for the general subject of forgery, also discussing the nineteenth-century phenomenon, in n. 79 below.

74.   The ghazals have been identified according to the following edition and translation: Hāfiz, *The Divan of Hafez: A Bilingual Text, Persian-English*, trans. Reza Saberi (Lanham and New York: University Press of America, 2002). O 263: seven verses on top, right side, and bottom, 415, ghazal 350, vv. 8, 6, 1, 2, 3, 5, 4; three verses on left side, 423, ghazal 357, vv. 6, 5, 7. O 267: two verses at top, 424, ghazal 358, vv. 1, 2 (the last two words in the first hemistich are reversed); six verses on right and left sides, 403, ghazal 339, vv. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7; two verses on bottom, 440, ghazal 372, vv. 8, 9.

75.   See above, n. 37. Also Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures*, 131–33.

76.   Sims, *Peerless Images*, 83; Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Sussan Babaie, *Persian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), cat. no. 36; ʿAbd al-Majīd Sharīfzāda, "Sukhanī dīgar dar bāra-i Shāhnāma-i Dāvarī," *Mūzihhā* 11 (1370 Sh. [1991]): 6–12, and *Mūzihhā* 12 (1372 Sh. [1993]): 53–63; Maryam Ekhtiar, "Innovation and Revivalism in Later Persian Calligraphy: The Visal Family of Shiraz," in *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2006): 257–79; Maryam Ekhtiar, "Practice Makes Perfect: The Art of Calligraphy Exercises (*Siyāh Mashq*) in Iran," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 116–21; Maryam Ekhtiar and Salwa Mikdadi, "Nineteenth-Century Iran: Continuity and Revivalism," in *Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), http://metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd_crir.htm (accessed May 13, 2008). For some relevant comments regarding the coexistence of imitation and originality in Islamic literature and art in general and Ottoman Turkey in particular see Serpil Bağcı, "From Translated Word to Translated Image: The Illustrated *Şehnâme-i Türkî* Copies," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 162–65.

77.   See, for instance, "The Queen of Sheba Enthroned," in Swietochowski and Babaie, *Persian Drawings*, 1 and fig. 1;

Re-Orientations: Islamic Art and the West in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (New York: Bertha and Karl Leubsdorf Art Gallery at Hunter College, 2008), cat. no. 9; *Timeline of Art History*, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/ho_ 1979.518.1.htm (accessed May 13, 2008).

78. Robinson, "Zand and Qajar Painting," 888; Oliver Watson, "Almost Hilariously Bad: Iranian Pottery in the Nineteenth Century," in Behrens-Abouseif and Vernoit, *Islamic Art in the 19th Century*, 344–45. In general on this issue see *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 16 (1996), 545–46; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 10 (2001), 91–100, esp. "Forgeries i. Introduction," by Abolala Soudavar; "Forgeries iii. Of Islamic Art," by Sheila S. Blair; and "Forgeries iv. Of Islamic Manuscripts," by Francis Richard. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* editor Mohsen Ashtiany has commented (personal communication, June 2007), with reference to the examples discussed by Richard, about the "fiendishly clever early Pahlavi workshops and their productive cottage industry…The 1920s were of course the time when the family forgery business was at its most productive in Tehran." Such activity clearly deserves more detailed investigation, as does its impact on susceptible Americans such as John Frederick Lewis and Robert Garrett, whose collections contain various manuscripts with paintings after older compositions. Examples include Lewis O 68, fol. 185b, with a copy of *Humay and Humayun in the Garden*, attributed to Herat, ca. 1430, in the Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, inv. 3727 (Simsar, *Oriental Manuscripts*, cat. no. 68 and pl. XXIII; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision,* 117 and cat. no. 34); Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, No. 62G, fol. 133a, depicting a mirror-reverse version of *Yusuf Rescued from the Well*, in the Freer *Haft Awrang* of Jami, fol. 105a (Moghadam and Armajani, *Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection*, cat. no. 15, with no mention of the subject or authenticity

of the painting on folio 133a; Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang, 124).

79. The literature on forgery is extensive. For an overview of the art-historical position see *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 11 (1996), 305–11. For other pertinent discussions, including distinctions between different categories of forgery (copy, reproduction, replica, facsimile, imitation, etc.) see Denis Dutton, ed., *The Forger's Art: Forgery and the Philosophy of Art* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983); *Vrai ou faux? Copier, imiter, falsifier* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1988), esp. 15–24; Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1989); Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies and Reproductions*, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 20 (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1989), esp. 61–72 for the phenomenon in medieval manuscripts; Mark Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception* (London: British Museum Publications, 1990); Mark Jones, ed., *Why Fakes Matter: Essays on Problems of Authenticity* (London: British Museum Press, 1992); Ronald D. Spencer, ed., *The Expert versus the Object: Judging Fakes and False Attributions in the Visual Arts* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Elizabeth Cropper, *The Domenichino Affair: Novelty, Imitation and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), esp. 193–207; Jean-Jacques Fiechter, *Faux et faussaires en art égyptien* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), esp. 1–10; Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), chap. 9 ("Imitation, Artistic Competition, and 'Rapen'"), esp. 256–65.

80. Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures*, 146.