

Muqarnas

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# Muqarnas

An Annual on the Visual Cultures  
of the Islamic World

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VOLUME 31

*Sponsored by*

The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture  
at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute  
of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts



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2014

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ISSN 0732-2992  
ISBN 978-90-04-27742-7 (hardback)  
e-ISSN 2211-8993

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Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff and Hotei Publishing.

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SUSANA CALVO CAPILLA

## THE REUSE OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY IN THE PALACE OF MADINAT AL-ZAHRA' AND ITS ROLE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF CALIPHAL LEGITIMACY

The Roman statues and sarcophagi reviewed here were discovered in different areas of the palace of Madinat al-Zahra', the celebrated palace city founded in the 930s at the foot of the Cordoban mountain range by 'Abd al-Rahman III (r. 912–61), the first of the Umayyad caliphs of al-Andalus.<sup>1</sup> The pieces had hitherto been considered irrelevant to the architectural and historical study of the caliphal palace, although their discovery and location in specific buildings of the complex represented an exceptional find within both Islamic and Andalusí architecture of the tenth century. The statues and sarcophagi are essential to understanding and explaining the function of these spaces, and to interpreting their meaning within the Cordoban palatine complex (fig. 1). Their appearance raises several questions: Why were classical spolia employed at a time when they were no longer in popular use? Why reutilize old pieces with so many connotations, featuring scenes and characters (gods and heroes) that were a priori pagan and hardly acceptable in an Islamic context? What meaning was assigned to these figures and what relationship did they have with their designated location?

In order to answer these questions we should first analyze the broader phenomenon of the revival of classical antiquity promoted by the caliphal court of Cordoba in the tenth century. In addition to the growth of knowledge and the sciences—prompted, to a great extent, by the copying and translation of Roman and Greek books—we should highlight the recovery of images of the pagan gods, heroes, and philosophers of antiquity, as well as the evident revival of classical forms in caliphal architecture. This renaissance is visible in the elegant cornice crowning the socle inside the mihrab of the Great Mosque of Cordoba and in the column bases

in Madinat al-Zahra' itself (figs. 2a and 2b).<sup>2</sup> Although we will not go into further detail here regarding this aspect of the reuse of antique forms, the role of sculptures and reliefs found at Madinat al-Zahra' during this revival in classical visual language may have been pertinent. Several authors have also emphasized the similarity between the Roman sarcophagi studied here and the basins created at the end of the tenth century for Madinat al-Zahira, the palace of Abu 'Amir al-Manсур (d. 1002), meant to rival Madinat al-Zahra'.<sup>3</sup> Finally, we propose some hypotheses about the function of the spaces where these Roman sculptures were displayed.

### THE ROMAN SCULPTURE AND SARCOPHAGI COLLECTION

Three miles from Cordoba, Madinat al-Zahra' was founded by 'Abd al-Rahman III following the proclamation of the Caliphate of Cordoba in 929. Once construction began, between 936 and 941, the administration and main state institutions were moved to the palace city; these included the mint and treasury, military barracks, and workshops for the production of luxury goods, such as *tirāz* (inscribed textiles) and ivories. Madinat al-Zahra' was divided into three main areas, with the terraced palace at the center. The new caliphal seat shared the distinction of being the capital city with Cordoba, where the Great Mosque and old Umayyad palace (*alcazar*) continued to play an essential role in the life of the caliphate. Historical accounts recorded by Ibn 'Idhari indicate that Berber troops destroyed Madinat al-Zahra' for the first time in 1009–10.<sup>4</sup>

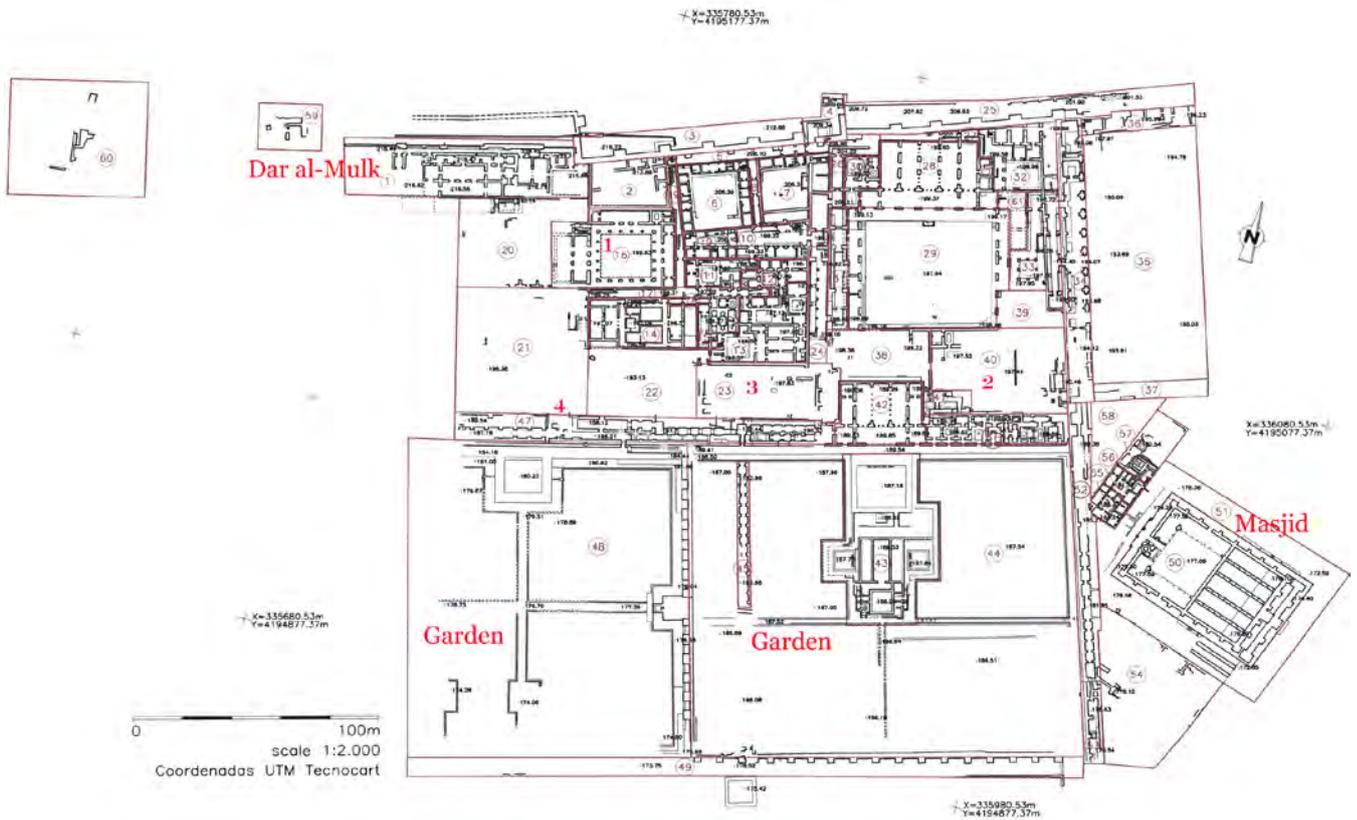


Fig. 1. Excavated areas of the Palace of Madinat al-Zahra': 1) Court of the Pillars; 2) Court of the Clocks; 3) court to be excavated; 4) Camino de Ronda Bajo (Lower Footpath). (Plan: Antonio Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal de Madinat al-Zahrā': Arqueología de su excavación* [Cordoba, 2010], fig. 9 [reproduced with the permission of the author])



Fig. 2b. Left: Base of a column from the sarcophagus found in the vicinity of the Camino de Ronda Bajo, Madinat al-Zahra'. Right: Marble base from the Hall of 'Abd al-Rahman III in Madinat al-Zahra'. Museum of the Conjunto Arqueológico de Madinat al-Zahra', inv. no. 151.57. (Photos: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Conjunto Arqueológico de Madinat al-Zahra')

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Fig. 2a. Top: Roman cornice (first century A.D.) found on Ramirez de Arellano Street, Cordoba (Archeological Museum of Cordoba, inv. no. CE028345). Bottom: cornice inside the mihrab of the Great Mosque of Cordoba (965). (Photos: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Mosque of Cordoba and the Archeological Museum of Cordoba)

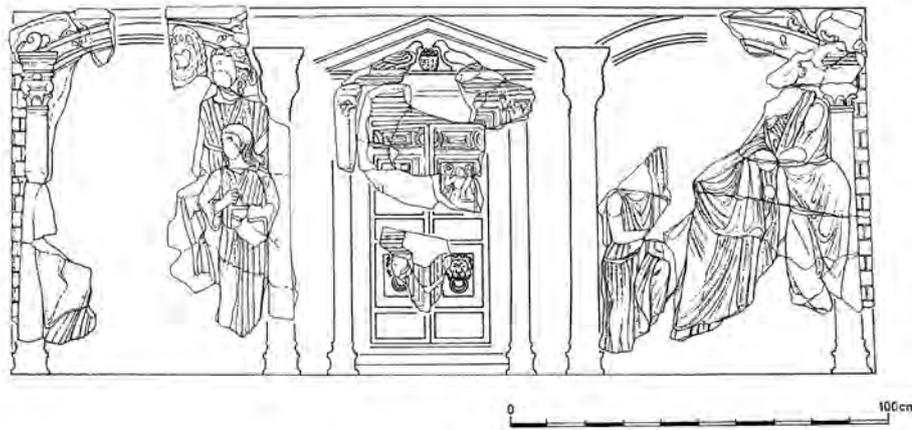


Fig. 3. Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades. (Drawing of reconstruction: E. Candon and J. Beltrán, after José Beltrán Fortes, *Los sarcófagos romanos de la Bética con decoración de tema pagano* [Seville, 1999], fig. 41 [reproduced with the permission of the author])

The Roman sculptures and reliefs from al-Zahra' were discovered over an extended period of time, from the first excavation campaigns, undertaken by Ricardo Velázquez Bosco in 1912, to the most recent ones, under the direction of Antonio Vallejo (until 2012).<sup>5</sup> Each piece was found in advanced stages of deterioration, in some cases impeding the process of gathering all the fragments necessary to reconstruct them.

The fragments of the Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades were uncovered in an area known as the Court of the Clocks, above the vaults of the baths and the rooms adjacent to the Salón Rico, or the Hall of 'Abd al-Rahman III, located in a lower terrace (fig. 1[2]).<sup>6</sup> The sarcophagus, dated around the third century A.D., is made of Parian marble and may have measured 1 meter by 2.2 to 2.3 meters (figs. 3, 4a, and 4b).<sup>7</sup> The scenes depicted are consistent with a model frequently repeated in many other sarcophagi, one of which was found in Cordoba in an excellent state of preservation (fig. 5).<sup>8</sup> At the front, on the two sides of the Gate of Hades or the Tabernacle, we see a couple—most likely the deceased—represented as philosophers and accompanied by two Muses. Each of the other sides features two philosophers, one sitting and the other standing, holding open and folded scrolls (*uolumina*) (figs. 6–8). In the upper part are openings—two on the right and one on the left—made later in order to use the sarcophagus as a fountain.

The Sarcophagus of Meleager was discovered during the earliest excavation campaigns of the palace city during the 1920s (fig. 9). The fragments were found in the drains that run under the Court of the Pillars, in a state that suggests they were deliberately destroyed (fig. 1[1]). The sarcophagus was manufactured in Roman workshops during the second quarter of the third century A.D. Made of Thassos marble, its dimensions are approximately 0.85 meters by 2.05 to 2.10 meters. The scene depicted at the front shows Meleager hunting the Calydonian Boar. According to José Beltrán, among the characters depicted are, from left to right, Heracles (or possibly Ancaeus<sup>9</sup>) dressed in an animal skin, Diana Venatrix, Castor and Pollux, Meleager—though only fragments of his head and left arm remain—and Atalanta (fig. 10). The sides of the sarcophagus are very fragmented, but they seem to feature hunting scenes with trees in the background.<sup>10</sup> The ornamented front faced the western portico of the court.

The fragments of two sarcophagi, one depicting "Philosophers and Muses" and another with a Bacchic scene, were discovered in a mound on the Camino de Ronda Bajo (Lower Footpath), north of the Lower Garden (fig. 1[4]). The different materials that accumulated there probably fell from the upper terraces. Made of Proconnesian marble, the Sarcophagus of Philosophers and Muses is exceptionally large, originally measuring circa 1.40 meters by 2.50 meters (figs. 11 and 12). It was made in



Fig. 4b. Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades. Fragments of the right part of the front, marble, third century A.D. Court of the Clocks, Madinat al-Zahra'. Madrid, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid, inv. no. D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-116-91-10. (Photo: courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)

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Fig. 4a. Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades. Fragments of the left part of the front, marble, third century A.D. Court of the Clocks, Madinat al-Zahra'. Madrid, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, inv. no. D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-117-91-07. (Photo: courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)



Fig. 5. Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades, found in 1958 in the necropolis of Brillante, north of Cordoba, third century A.D. Alcazar of the Christian Monarchs, Cordoba. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla)

Roman workshops around 270–80 A.D.<sup>11</sup> On the front, figures are depicted before a hanging (*parapetasma*), which serves as the background. On each end there is a standing figure of a philosopher; at the center are some fragments of two seated figures wearing sandals; beside them are at least three standing female figures, probably Muses. Most likely the seated figures are either another philosopher and the deceased, or two deceased individuals. Some characters are holding *uolumina* and wearing cloaks (sing. *pallia*), both articles commonly used for the depiction of philosophers and masters. On the sides, another *parapetasma* serves as a background for two figures: on the right side is a standing philoso-



Fig. 6. Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades: left side. Court of the Clocks, Madinat al-Zahra'. Madrid, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, inv. no. D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-116-91-03. (Photo: courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)



Fig. 7. Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades: right side. Court of the Clocks, Madinat al-Zahra'. Madrid, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, inv. no. D-DAI-MAD-WIT-R-116-91-11. (Photo: courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut)



Fig. 8. One of the shorter sides of the Sarcophagus of the Muses, found on the Via Ostiense. Marble, second half of the second century A.D. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inventaire MR 880, N° usuel Ma 475. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Musée du Louvre)

pher and the Muse Polyhymnia; on the left, we can only identify a fragment of the tunic and cloak of a female figure, probably a Muse accompanying another philosopher (similar to fig. 8).<sup>12</sup>

The only part recovered from the second aforementioned sarcophagus found on the Camino de Ronda Bajo is a fragment depicting the image of a female head in profile; she is dressed in a *chiton* (loose woolen tunic) and is shown playing an *aulós* (a type of wind instrument) (fig. 13). This fragment most likely belongs to a scene of Bacchic *thiasos*. Made of Parian marble, the sarcophagus was probably produced in a Roman workshop late in the reign of Septimius Severus (r. 193–211).<sup>13</sup>

More fragments belonging to two other sarcophagi were discovered in the same area as the previous pieces. In both cases, identifying the subject has been a challenge. The first could date back to the third century A.D.; according to Beltrán, it might be a section of a bucolic theme.<sup>14</sup> The second piece, a column sarcophagus (though only the bases of the columns remain), possibly dates to the fourth century A.D. and most likely represents a scene of *adventus* (Roman arrival ceremony). We



Fig. 9. Sarcophagus of Meleager. Marble, third century A.D. Court of the Pillars, Madinat al-Zahra'. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Archeological Site of Madinat al-Zahra')

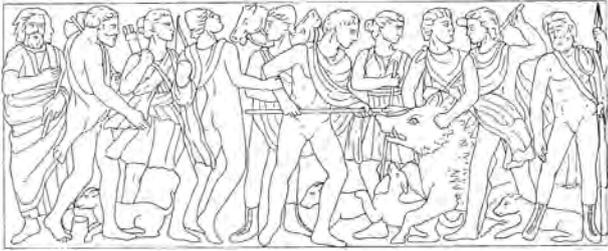


Fig. 10. Sarcophagus of Meleager. Court of the Pillars, Madinat al-Zahra'. (Drawing of reconstruction: E. Candon and J. Beltrán, after Beltrán Fortes, *Los sarcófagos romanos de la Bética*, fig. 63 [reproduced with the permission of the author])



Fig. 12. Sarcophagus of Philosophers and Muses. Madinat al-Zahra'. (Drawing: after José Beltrán Fortes et al., *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía* [Murcia, 2006], 138–41 [reproduced with the permission of the author])



Fig. 11. Sarcophagus of Philosophers and Muses: fragments of the front. Marble, third century A.D. Found on the Camino de Ronda Bajo, Madinat al-Zahra'. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Archeological Site of Madinat al-Zahra')



Fig. 13. Fragment of a sarcophagus with a Bacchic scene. Found on the Camino de Ronda Bajo, Madinat al-Zahra'. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Archeological Site of Madinat al-Zahra')

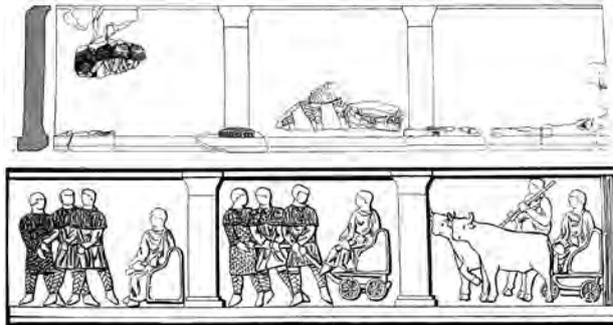


Fig. 15. Sarcophagus with *aduentus* (?) scene: Hypothetical reconstruction. (Drawing: after Beltrán Fortes et al., *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía*, fig. 42 [reproduced with the permission of the author])

can identify two four-wheeled carts, one of which is being pulled by an animal, the other by men clothed in peculiar garments (figs. 14, 15, and 2b).<sup>15</sup>

Another sarcophagus depicting a pastoral theme was discovered in 2003, in the drains of a court yet to be excavated, located northwest of the Hall of 'Abd al-Rahman III (fig. 1[3]).<sup>16</sup> The twenty fragments, flat pieces with reliefs showing animals and shepherds, probably date to the second half of the third century or the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

All the above-mentioned sarcophagi have openings on the bases and sides, as well as new carvings on the



Fig. 14. Sarcophagus with *aduentus* (?) scene. Fragments found in the vicinity of the Camino de Ronda Bajo, Madinat al-Zahra'. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Archeological Site of Madinat al-Zahra')



Fig. 16. Sarcophagus of Meleager. The openings on both ends were intended for its use as a basin. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Archeological Site of Madinat al-Zahra')

upper edges to adapt them to their later use as basins with water fountains (fig. 16). The positioning of these openings has helped researchers determine the exact orientation of each sarcophagus in the courts where they were found.<sup>17</sup> It is interesting to note that some sarcophagi were most probably renovated before being placed in the courts of al-Zahra', as indicated by the stucco layer covering the edges of the Sarcophagus of Philosophers and Muses.<sup>18</sup>



Fig. 17. Herm of Heracles as a child. Court of the Clocks, Madinat al-Zahra'. (Photos: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Archeological Site of Madinat al-Zahra')

With regard to freestanding sculpture, there is an exceptional herm of Heracles as a child,<sup>19</sup> also found in the Court of the Clocks, above the vaults of the baths and the annex spaces to the Salón Rico (Hall of 'Abd al-Rahman III) (fig. 17). It is made of Numidic or *giallo antico* marble. The head and the lower part of the pillar were lost; the remaining piece is 45 centimeters high. This kind of herm of the Hellenistic tradition is quite rare, as is the depiction of Heracles as a child. In addition, small fragments of at least three Roman portraits in marble have been found. In one only is the base recognizable; another is a female portrait dating to the third century A.D., and the third appears to be a male figure.<sup>20</sup>

It is difficult to establish whether these Roman sculptures and reliefs originally came from Cordoba. The enormous expansion of Cordoba during the caliphal period, while a new palace city was being built, may suggest that they were discovered during the development

of the new western and northern extramural quarters, some of which were built on the site of an old Roman necropolis. However, it is not possible to determine whether the pieces had been removed earlier and reused, or if they were excavated in the tenth century. From the unusual abundance of findings in the area of the Roman Cordoba and their extraordinary quality, we may also conjecture that the Muslims might have brought Roman sarcophagi from outside Cordoba, from other Roman capitals such as Seville or Merida, or even from beyond the Iberian Peninsula, as Arab authors claimed.<sup>21</sup> The search for ancient materials in the capitals of Roman Hispania is evident in an anecdote about Merida related by several authors.<sup>22</sup> Al-Rushati attributed the account to 'Umar b. Hashim, who heard it during a meeting held at the residence of Hashim b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 886), general of Muhammad I and also governor of Merida at the time. According to the court historian al-Razi, there was such great interest in gathering

marbles from the monuments of Merida that they were sometimes even wrenched out to be used again in contemporary works.<sup>23</sup>

Some authors mention the use of sarcophagi as fountains in the Alcazar of Cordoba and Madinat al-Zahra' itself. Al-Maqqari (d. 1631) makes two references to these fountains: "The Emirs built genuine marvels in their Alcazar [*qasr* of Cordoba]...[the water ran] through the handsome pools and wonderful ponds (*zafareches*) with Roman marble basins of beautiful designs."<sup>24</sup> The second story concerns two basins brought to Madinat al-Zahra' from Constantinople and Syria, respectively. According to al-Maqqari and the anonymous author of the *Dhikr*, a man named Ahmad, and also known as *al-Yūnānī* (the Ionian or Greek) and *al-Faylasūf* (the Philosopher), arrived with two carved basins (*al-manqūsh*), one a large golden basin from Constantinople (with strange figures), the other a smaller green piece from Syria carved with human figures (*bi-tamāthil al-insān*).<sup>25</sup> However, there is no explicit reference to the significance of these specific spolia within the context of the caliphal palaces. Nor are there any recorded accounts of how the sovereign or any of the people in his entourage interpreted the images depicted on the sarcophagi or the sculptures placed in the palace of Madinat al-Zahra'. In other contemporary cases of reuse, mentioned below, the ancient statues could have acquired an apotropaic character, when placed at the gates of cities, or were simply intended to be used as decoration, when placed in baths.

In fact, hardly any examples of similar use are known in other contexts of the contemporary Islamic world. The reused fragments of a Roman female statue found in the palace of Khirbat al-Mafjar are not comparable, because they were used in the foundations of the building, and were therefore not visible.<sup>26</sup> Herzfeld's photographs of Samarra show the reutilization of architectural materials, in some cases decorated with figural reliefs, originally from the Sassanid ruins of Hatra, among other places, but little is known about their location or the function they served (if any) in the Abbasid city.<sup>27</sup> Excavations at Qasr al-Mshatta, Khirbat al-Mafjar, and Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi found limestone sculptures of classical influence made ad hoc for these palaces at the end of the Umayyad period (eighth century). In these cases,

we are not dealing with the reuse of Greek and Latin sculptures but with manifest evidence of the continuity of the classical idiom and iconography in art designed for the governing elites of a region that was deeply Hellenized; these sculptures indicate a deliberate choice of a visual means of expression of regal grandeur, which is a feature confirmed in Umayyad architecture and urban planning.<sup>28</sup>

However, numerous accounts referring to the cultural environment of the Cordoban court in the tenth century suggest that in intellectual circles there was a certain familiarity with the heroes, philosophers, and Muses of antiquity. I am referring here specifically to the revival of knowledge of Greece and Rome, the translation of works by classical authors, and a profound interest and admiration for the learned men of classical antiquity among Andalusians, who regarded them as models of conduct and wisdom. Thus al-Andalus joined a movement that had started in the Eastern courts of the Umayyads and the Abbasids during the first centuries of Islam. As we shall see, the presence of sarcophagi and classical statues depicting philosophers, Muses, and heroes in the palace of Madinat al-Zahra' should be related, in my opinion, to the intellectual environment of the courts of 'Abd al-Rahman III and al-Hakam II (r. 961–76).

#### CLASSICAL CULTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE EXERCISE AND LEGITIMATION OF POWER

A close reading of the first literary and scientific works written in Arabic between the eighth and the tenth centuries clearly and convincingly reveals the importance of the contributions of the classical and Hellenic legacy to the formation of Arab-Muslim culture. The Greek philosophers and learned men were incorporated into the Muslims' cultural heritage, and used by them as a basis of knowledge and a starting point for the revival of the sciences. Classical works were first recovered and treasured, translated, and assimilated, and then excelled in an unprecedented intellectual process, the first steps of which were taken during the time of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705) and his sons al-Walid (r. 705–15) and Hisham (r. 724–43). These developments

reached their climax with the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33) and the establishment of the Bayt al-Hikma.<sup>29</sup> Philosophy (ethical, moral, and political) was an essential science for the creation of Islamic cultural identity. Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), “the first master” and father of philosophy for the Arabs, played a crucial role in this process, while his pupil, Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.), who evolved into a philosopher and monotheist king in the Hellenistic and Syriac traditions, became a model of the good ruler, leaving his mark in the Koran.<sup>30</sup> In this way, Muslims became the legitimate heirs to the philosophical and scientific tradition of ancient Greece and, consequently, to the Hellenistic empire of Alexander the Great.<sup>31</sup> According to A. K. Bennison, the Abbasids further cultivated this policy of recovering Greek and Latin works and promoting the sciences in order to consolidate caliphal legitimacy through the creation of an Arab-Islamic corpus of knowledge, in short, a new Arab-Islamic culture of their own.<sup>32</sup>

In the first stages of the development of Muslim society, philosophers acted, theoretically at least, as royal counselors and motivators in the education of princes. Arab wisdom literature emerged in the eighth century, at the end of the Umayyad period, drawing inspiration from two great traditions: on the one hand, that of the Greeks, based on philosophical texts that were largely ascribed to Aristotle and connected to his role as master and guide of Alexander;<sup>33</sup> and, on the other hand, Mesopotamian culture, through Persian and Sassanid texts glossing the political virtues of the Iranian kings Ardashir (d. 242 A.D.) and Chosroes (d. 579 A.D.). These traditions coalesced in the first Arab prose texts, such as the widely disseminated *Rasā'il Aristāṭālīs ilā l-Iskandar* (*Epistles of Aristotle to Alexander*).<sup>34</sup> The content was essentially pedagogical and emphasized morality, the purpose being to educate princes in virtues and moral principles and introduce them to the art of war and philosophical knowledge.<sup>35</sup>

With regard to al-Andalus, the tenth century witnessed the accumulation and nurturing of scientific knowledge, probably inspired by a similar phenomenon that had occurred in the previous century in al-Ma'mun's court. This development coincided with the classical renaissance stimulated on one side by the Macedonian dynasty in Constantinople beginning in the late ninth

century, and, on the other side, by the Aghlabids in Ifriqiya, followed by the Fatimids in Egypt, during the ninth and tenth centuries. The Andalusī authors of the caliphal period seemed to know, or were at least acquainted with, the huge corpus of knowledge located in Baghdad that had been created through the translation of Greek and Persian books into Arabic, together with the scientific and philosophical contributions of the Muslim authors. Journeys to the East and the arrival of scholars and books from Byzantium and the territories of the Abbasid caliphate added to the number of ancient Latin books circulating in the Iberian Peninsula since the ninth century. Andalusī authors had access to both Greek and Latin texts, as well as works by Muslim philosophers.<sup>36</sup> This is the only way to explain how the Cordoban physician Ibn Juljul (d. ca. 987) knew the works of Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Plato, Aristotle, Galen, Orosius, Eusebius of Caesarea,<sup>37</sup> Isidore of Seville, and al-Kindi when he wrote his dictionary of physicians and learned men (finished in 377 [987]), and why he decided to include biographies of Socrates, Democritus, Ptolemy, and Euclid in it as well.

The main inspiration behind this intellectual movement in al-Andalus was al-Hakam II (r. 961–76). His interest in the arts and sciences is proof that the Cordoban caliphs—just like the Ptolemaic and Sasanid kings in ancient times, and later the Abbasid caliphs as well—were conscious of the importance of having scholars and philosophers in their retinue in order to legitimize and consolidate their sovereignty—and, in the case of al-Andalus, to stake their claim to the caliphate. “Heir apparent al-Hakam...endeavored to obtain scientific knowledge and surround himself with wise men,” while his father “rivaled his son and heir al-Hakam in his zeal for knowledge (*'ilm*) and his inclination towards the wise.” These were the words of al-Razi (tenth century), as passed on by the Cordoban author Ibn Hayyan (d. 1076), when he described the arrival in 942 of al-Qali (d. 957), a grammarian and philologist from the school of Baghdad.<sup>38</sup>

Andalusī authors portray the first caliph, 'Abd al-Rahman III, as the great architect of the Umayyad caliphal state because his military and political feats allowed him to achieve peace within the territory and to establish a strong and secure centralized power. The figure of al-

Hakam, however, is not associated with great military accomplishments. Instead he is lauded in the same texts for his affinity for learning, his dedication to science, and his patronage of the arts and sciences (including philosophy). Accounts incorporated by Ibn Hayyan confirm that ‘Abd al-Rahman III supported—and probably encouraged—the work of his heir as a promoter of scientific and cultural activities, which contributed to the consolidation of the new Umayyad caliphate. Although scholars and books arrived quite frequently from the East during the rule of ‘Abd al-Rahman III, the ultimate impetus for elevating the cultural landscape of Cordoba came from Prince al-Hakam when he rose to the caliphate with the title of *al-Mustaṣfir billāh*.

Indeed, in his *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-umam* (Book of Categories of Nations), Sa‘id al-Andalusi (d. 1070) noted that al-Hakam II was “inclined towards the study of science and towards those who developed it.” Consequently, he “sent for the most brilliant and prestigious works and the rarest writings related to the ancient and modern sciences, from Baghdad, Egypt, and other provinces of the East.” Because of al-Hakam’s passion for science and preoccupation with developing all virtues and uplifting his spirit, Sa‘id compared him to the Abbasid caliphs and the greatest learned monarchs.<sup>39</sup>

Al-Maqqari quotes several earlier authors in his *Nafh al-tīb* to describe al-Hakam II as “a lover of science who gathered more books than any other sovereign,” and provides details of his passion (*gharām*) for books.<sup>40</sup> According to Abu Muhammad ibn Hazm, one of the authors whose work was copied by al-Maqqari, “the treasure of knowledge and books (*khizānat al-‘ulūm wa-l-kutub*) was in the house of the Banu Marwan, and the catalogue of books, including only the titles and summaries, took up forty-four volumes of twenty pages each.” The caliph sent his emissaries to Baghdad to look for originals and copies, and paid generous amounts of golden dinars: “No one before him had owned a library as rich as his anywhere, except perhaps al-Nasir al-‘Abbasi b. al-Mustadi. At his library he assembled experts in transcription and the copying of books, who were also skilled in preservation and bookbinding,” in addition to correctors and illuminators.<sup>41</sup>

Biographies of several scholars, both Andalusi and foreign, who lived in the tenth century, prove that these

words were not mere exaggeration or an effort to equate the Cordoban court with Baghdad by presenting al-Hakam II as the successor to al-Ma‘mun. Bio-bibliographical dictionaries often name the scholars that the caliph hired in his service or established in the Alcazar of Madinat al-Zahra’ or Cordoba to increase the scientific, literary, and philosophical circles of the court. These learned men could devote themselves to teaching their subject, practicing their science, and composing books that would subsequently enrich the library of al-Hakam II.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, a remarkable translation project was initiated, rendering Latin and Greek works into Arabic, the implications of which have yet to be properly evaluated. Also, there are frequent accounts of the arrival of wise people from the East, sometimes invited by Prince al-Hakam II, as in the previously mentioned case of Abu ‘Ali al-Qali (d. 957), a grammarian and philologist from the school of Baghdad.<sup>43</sup> Many of these wise men were devoted to the “sciences of the Ancients” (astronomy, philosophy, and non-Islamic sciences, in general), as is evidenced by the number of intellectuals who were enlisted for that very reason during the rule of Ibn Abi ‘Amir al-Mansur (r. 976–1002).<sup>44</sup> Al-Hakam II also had male and female slaves devoted to scientific work, whose training he looked after personally.<sup>45</sup>

Although the exact location of the caliphal libraries is still unknown, there is no doubt the books were distributed between the two main caliphal residences of Cordoba and Madinat al-Zahra’.<sup>46</sup> We do, however, know the names of several of the library directors. For example, Talid, a *fatā* (member of the slave elite at court) of Caliph al-Hakam II, directed the library (*ṣāhib ‘alā al-khizānat al-‘ulūm wa-l-kutub bi-dār Banī Marwān*) and compiled registries and catalogues—ultimately completing forty-four lists of fifty-five pages each.<sup>47</sup> A certain Ibn al-Makwi’ (d. 1010) was commissioned by al-Mansur to organize the books in al-Hakam’s library by subject. Al-Makwi’ accepted the job since this was a unique opportunity to work with rare tomes.<sup>48</sup>

Collecting books and building immense libraries, in addition to being surrounded by learned people, was part of a legitimation policy developed by rulers since classical antiquity. The most outstanding and representative example is the Alexandrian library, founded by



Fig. 18. Detail from the front of the sarcophagus of Marcus Cornelius Statius. Marble, ca. 150 A.D. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cp 6547, N° usuel Ma 659. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Musée du Louvre)

Ptolemy I around 295 B.C. The Ptolemaic dynasty saw culture as a means of domination, and they absorbed the knowledge of the regions they ruled. The Alexandrian library was part of a well-defined political strategy aimed at exalting the Greek identity and its cultural superiority over other nations, thus legitimizing its political authority.<sup>49</sup> This was not merely a book depository; in fact, the Arabs referred to the *Museion* as the Bayt al-Hikma.<sup>50</sup> A variety of tasks were carried out there, including the correction of works, the copying and translating of texts, and the preparation of a catalogue of all the works gathered in the library. It is known that many tutors of princes worked in a library, such as Aristotle, the designated tutor to the children of Philip of Macedon (fig. 18).<sup>51</sup>

As with the Ptolemaic dynasty, the admiration, preservation, and promotion of the knowledge of the Ancients comprised an essential part of Andalusian state policy, and the library of Cordoba must have played a role similar to that of the Alexandrian library. The assimilation of the Hispanic Roman and Visigoth heritage and the nurturing of the arts and sciences allowed al-Hakam II to create a corpus of Andalusian knowledge and, consequently, a national and independent identity that served to legitimate his assumption of the caliphal title.

The education of princes played an essential role in this cultural policy. Both al-Hakam II and his son, Prince Hisham, received an exquisite education, following a

curriculum that, as in the Abbasid court, included religious sciences, called *‘ulūm* (plural of *‘ilm*), as well as the encyclopaedic knowledge collected in treatises on *adab*.<sup>52</sup>

Several passages collected by Ibn Hayyan suggest the importance accorded the education of princes in the Cordoban court. His *Muqtabis* mentions ‘Abd al-Rahman III’s dedication to the education of his children on two occasions: “They polished their talent through skilled preceptors (sing. *mu‘allim*) chosen for each child to free them from the darkness of ignorance and draw them towards the light of knowledge (*min ghamrat al-jahl ilā nūr al-ma‘rifa*), depending on the qualities each possessed....”<sup>53</sup> Among those who taught Prince al-Hakam were the legal scholar (*faqīh*) and traditionist Qasim b. Asbagh (d. 951)<sup>54</sup> and the mathematician Muhammad b. Isma‘il al-Hakim (d. 942–43), who was well-versed in the “sciences of the Ancients.”<sup>55</sup>

Al-Hakam II did the same with his own son. Ibn Hayyan quotes an account of the year 361 (972), documented by al-Razi, describing the first lesson given by the *faqīh* Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf, known as al-Qastalli, to Prince Hisham when the boy was only seven. The caliph sent for the new preceptor to give him precise instructions, while he ordered the preparation of several spaces for the lessons:

He decided that a department called *Dār al-Mulk* in *al-qaṣr* of al-Zahrā’ be renovated and embellished; that all things necessary should be arranged and prepared, and an entrance opened west of the *faṣīl al-fityān* (hallway for the slave officers), so that the prince could easily access the aforementioned department. Also, he instructed that the prince’s lessons should take place, for more favorable odds, in the *al-majlis al-sharqī* (eastern part) of the department.

Finally, the chronicler adds a very interesting detail regarding the palace school: the prince would not be alone, but accompanied by other children, “who were educated with him,” probably the offspring of the Umayyad family and the most distinguished dignitaries in the court.<sup>56</sup>

Three years later, in April 975, the caliph sent for another tutor, Ibn Yahya al-Laythi, the prestigious legal scholar and traditionist, to teach the prince all things related to legal science and traditions (hadiths), in les-

sons to be held twice a week. This time, the school was established in the Alcazar of Cordoba, following the caliph, who had recently moved there. The prince studied Malik's *Muwatta'* (Compilation of Hadith), using the annotated copy that belonged to his grandfather, which his father had used before him.<sup>57</sup> There are other documented tutors, such as the Sevillian scholar al-Zubaydi (d. 989), disciple of the above-mentioned al-Qali from Baghdad, who taught Hisham mathematics and Arabic;<sup>58</sup> and Maslama b. al-Qasim al-Qurtubi al-Zayyat (d. 964), trained in the East and author of the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (*Picatrix*), which I will discuss below. Maslama was responsible for the education of Prince 'Abd Allah, al-Hakam II's brother, who was beheaded in 951 after being accused of conspiring against his father, 'Abd al-Rahman III.<sup>59</sup>

The admiration for classical philosophy, particularly the work of Aristotle, probably reached al-Andalus early, and with it the first wisdom literature with Aristotle and Alexander the Great as protagonists.<sup>60</sup> Due to their extensive proliferation, these books, often halfway between history and myth, became the main source of information on the life of the philosopher and the Macedonian conqueror. Aristotle and Alexander appear in most *adab* works, as well as Andalusi bio-bibliographical dictionaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

One of the first examples of *adab* literature is the *'Iqd al-Farīd* (The Unique Necklace), written by the Cordoban scholar Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (d. 940). In the first chapter, entitled "Book of the Pearl on the Ruler," the author gathers a series of anecdotes drawn from the writings presumably addressed by Aristotle to Alexander the Macedonian, with the aim of advising rulers.<sup>61</sup> Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi also mentions the Sasanid king Ardashir, a figure present in Arab wisdom literature since the earliest translations of the *Epistles of Aristotle to Alexander*.<sup>62</sup> In the second chapter, "The Book of the Nonpareil Jewel on Wars and Their Affairs," Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi includes a passage featuring Alexander and "his preceptor" (presumably Aristotle), in which the latter advises him to be magnanimous after conquering a city.<sup>63</sup> These and other passages in the *'Iqd al-Farīd* suggest that the Cordoban author must have had access to the aforementioned Eastern epistolary works.<sup>64</sup>

A significant number of the sources used by Ibn Juljul in the composition of his *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā wa'l-ḥukamā* (Book of Generations of Physicians and Wise Men), a bio-bibliographical dictionary completed in 987, were, Vernet and Sayyid argue, Latin works translated into Arabic, such as Paulus Orosius's *History*, Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica*, and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and *De Natura Rerum*,<sup>65</sup> which, like Hippocrates's *Sections*, must have been widespread among Christian communities in al-Andalus since the ninth century.<sup>66</sup> Many of these were translated into Arabic within the circle of the Cordoban court. Among the translators of Orosius's work were the aforementioned Qasim b. Asbagh, who taught the court historian al-Razi and Prince al-Hakam, and a Christian author who may have been the "kadi of Christians." All the details suggest that the Arabic version of Orosius's book may have been commissioned by Prince al-Hakam for his library, as Ibn Khaldun asserts.<sup>67</sup> Ibn Juljul writes that he participated in the translation of the Greek text written by Dioscorides, along with a monk called Nicholas from Constantinople.<sup>68</sup>

In his dictionary, Ibn Juljul included several Greek and Roman philosophers and physicians, among them Aristotle. All the accounts regarding the latter's life, as well as his missives to Alexander and his testament or list of works, were included in the epistolary texts mentioned above, as well as in other philosophical works, such as the *Risāla* by al-Kindi (d. in Baghdad, ca. 870), quoted by Ibn Juljul.<sup>69</sup> The Cordoban physician includes one of the most famous passages, mentioned above, in which Aristotle counsels Alexander on the need to be magnanimous toward the defeated and to secure the peace after a conquest.<sup>70</sup> In the list of books written by Aristotle, Ibn Juljul refers to "a book on politics regarding the administration of government known as *Sirr al-Asrār*," one of the earliest allusions to the text. He says the book contains an epistle with eight speeches (regarding the state, law, justice, the army, and money), engraved on an octagonal dome built over the tomb of the philosopher.<sup>71</sup>

Further evidence of the possible introduction of the Aristotelian *Epistles* and the mirrors for princes—into al-Andalus is included in the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (as noted earlier, the Arabic origi-

nal of the *Picatrix*), a book on astrology and magic recently attributed by Fierro to Maslama b. Qasim al-Qurtubi (d. 964).<sup>72</sup> In several passages of the *Ghāyat*, al-Qurtubi mentions a series of epistles that specialists have identified as the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity). Allusion is made to the Latin classification of science education known as the *quadrivium*, with the first epistles focusing on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, as well as cosmography; another two epistles are on Aristotle and the division between the theoretical and practical sciences.<sup>73</sup> Maslama may have become acquainted with these philosophical trends, which attempted to combine Greek philosophy with Islamic doctrine, during his stay in Basra in 936, when he also contacted the Harrani school.<sup>74</sup> After his return, Maslama b. Qasim lived in Madinat al-Zahra', where he worked as a tutor at the court.

The cases of Maslama b. Qasim and al-Zubaydi, mentioned earlier, are essential to any discussion of the pedagogical use of mirrors for princes, as well as of (more generally) philosophy and science (largely imported from the East) at the caliphal court of Cordoba. The reference to the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* in the *Ghāya* also confirms that the scientific and philosophical vivacity of the Abbasid East had reached al-Andalus early on. In short, all these works offers a glimpse into the complex intellectual atmosphere of al-Andalus—or Cordoba, at least—in the tenth century.<sup>75</sup>

Sa'īd al-Tulaytuli or al-Andalusi (d. 1070) includes in his *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-umām* (History of Sciences, or, Category of Nations) a laudatory biographical sketch of Aristotle and his pupil, Alexander “of the Two Horns” (*Dhū l-Qarnayn*), depicting the former as the most illustrious Greek and the latter as the sovereign who “banished polytheism from Greece” (*al-shirk fī bilād al-Yūnāniyyīn*).<sup>76</sup> In his translation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, Blachère introduced a series of fragments with anecdotes from Aristotle's life that were apparently lost in the known copies but quoted in Ibn al-Khatib's *Iḥāṭa*. In this paragraph, Sa'īd asserted that “King Phillip had hired him as preceptor for his seven children, of which Alexander was the youngest. Aristotle taught him philosophy and the four disciplines (*quadrivium*).”<sup>77</sup>

In fact, Alexander the Great casts a long shadow in the Arab cultural tradition and in medieval Islam. The Koran (18, 83–98) ascribes a key role to *Dhū l-Qarnayn* in the promotion of the knowledge of the only God and, therefore, in the spread of monotheism.<sup>78</sup> The first caliphs admired Alexander as a model of equity and justice, the ideal sovereign.

Heracles, associated and often mistaken for Alexander, was also included in the Arab tradition.<sup>79</sup> This mythological figure became a historical character both in the East and in al-Andalus. In fact, Jean Seznec underlines that one of the ways in which Greek and Roman mythology survived during the Middle Ages was through the assimilation of its characters as real heroes: mythic sovereigns were glorified and gods were humanized as founders of the main dynasties and precursors of civilizations.<sup>80</sup> In al-Razi's History of the Kings of al-Andalus (tenth century) there is an important chapter on ancient Hispanic history based on Latin authors such as Orosius and Isidore of Seville. The text identifies *Hirqilish* as the first Greek sovereign to rule over the Iberian Peninsula after defeating King Geryon. He then founded Cadiz, had his statue—the “idol”—built in that city, and marked the three angles of the Peninsula.<sup>81</sup>

#### OTHER PAGAN IMAGES IN ISLAMIC CORDOBA

Several sources suggest that the southern gates of Cordoba and Madinat al-Zahra', in both cases called *Bāb al-ṣūra* (Gate of the Image), were crowned by a female statue. Although the Cordoban gate—also known as the Bridge (*al-Qanṭara*)—was documented as far back as the ninth century, we do not know exactly when the sculpture was placed there. The use of statues, as well as talismans, often in the shape of animals, on the gates of a city as a form of protection was a widespread practice in ancient times and at the start of the Middle Ages.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, the Cordoban statues were not the only examples on the Iberian Peninsula, as we know of several Roman statues used for protection on the walls of Eciija when the city was conquered in the eighth century.<sup>83</sup>

The two female statues placed on the *Bāb al-ṣūra* at Cordoba and at Madinat al-Zahra' were most likely pa-

gan goddesses transformed into personifications of the zodiac constellation of Virgo (*al-‘Adhrā’*) or the planet Venus (*al-Zuhara*), protecting stars of Cordoba and al-Andalus according to several Arab authors. “In that year [397H/1006–7],” says Ibn ‘Idhari, “there was a gathering of the seven stars and a conjunction with *al-Sunbula*, that is, *al-‘Adhrā’*, protector of Cordoba, whose image was placed by the wise men (*ḥukamā’*) of Antiquity on a prominent part of the Southern gate.”<sup>84</sup> The statue mentioned in the sources crowned the Bridge Gate until the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty and the *fitna*, which, according to astrologers of the time, were triggered by the conjunction of Virgo in Saturn.<sup>85</sup> If, as al-Biruni (d. 1048) and Ibn Ghalib (twelfth century) maintained, the planet Venus was the protector of al-Andalus,<sup>86</sup> this would lend weight to the argument proposed by authors such as Ruggles and Acién that the name of the madina founded by ‘Abd al-Rahman III near Cordoba—*al-Zahrā’*—had its origins in *al-Zuhara*. This would also explain the placement of the statue on its southern—and most important—gate.<sup>87</sup>

The survival of pagan divinities during the Middle Ages was partly favored by their association with the planets and the stars.<sup>88</sup> Muslim astronomers preserved almost unaltered the images assigned by Greek astronomers to the planets and the constellations of the zodiac, most of which were drawn from mythology.<sup>89</sup> The immense development of astronomy and astrology in the entire *Dār al-Islām* decisively contributed to the preservation of the names, attributes, and images of Greek and Roman deities among Muslim intellectual circles, although the association of paganism with astrology also provoked distrust and attacks from the most orthodox and traditional religious groups.<sup>90</sup>

Images of classical antiquity also survived in illuminated books. Although the earliest illustrated Arab manuscripts have not survived, sources report the presence of miniatures in scientific books circulating around the Islamic world. According to Ibn Juljul, the Byzantine emperor sent ‘Abd al-Rahman III a magnificently illustrated copy of Dioscorides’s *De Materia Medica*, along with the *History* of Orosius. We could assume that these miniatures were mere depictions of the medicinal plants mentioned in the text. However, other Byzantine and Abbasid manuscripts of Dioscorides’s work include an illustrated frontispiece featuring the author and his dis-

ciples. The manuscript produced in Constantinople for Princess Anicia Juliana in 515 (Juliana Anicia Codex, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. med. 1, originally from Anatolia), includes five full-page miniatures: one shows Anicia seated, flanked by the personifications of Prudence and Magnanimity; another two show a group of six physicians each, one surrounding Galen, the other around the centaur Chiron; finally, the last two miniatures show Dioscorides accompanied by nymphs or personifications of Discovery and Intelligence. Galen and the centaur Chiron appear to be teaching the disciples seated around them, dressed in cloaks and tunics like Greek and Roman scholars (fig. 19).<sup>91</sup>

The Arabic notes in the margins suggest that Anicia Juliana’s Dioscorides was in circulation in Islamic territories, and this in turn would explain the presence of similar illustrations in an Arabic manuscript of 1229, possibly illuminated in northern Mesopotamia (currently in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library in Istanbul). It includes a double frontispiece showing the master Dioscorides with two disciples presenting him with a book. Consequently, it should not be surprising to find initial miniatures of this type among those of the *De Materia Medica*, which arrived in Cordoba from Constantinople during the tenth century.<sup>92</sup>

Rice asserts that the oldest scientific illustrations known are those of the *Kitāb Ṣūwar al-kawākib al-thābita* (Treatise on the Fixed Stars), written by ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi around 965, manuscripts of which date to the first decades of the eleventh century.<sup>93</sup> However, the illuminated works were not only scientific (on medicine and astronomy). Rice believes that manuscripts on *adab* must have also included illustrations designed to reinforce the didactic purpose of the stories, and this in turn increased the value of the manuscript. Rice bases this argument on indirect evidence, such as an allusion that Ibn al-Muqaffa (d. ca.757) makes to the existence of illustrations in the *Kalila wa Dimna* at the beginning of his Arabic translation of the work. Also, a History of the Sasanid Kings was translated from Persian into Arabic by order of the Umayyad caliph Hisham in the early eighth century and probably included miniatures with the portraits of twenty-five kings and queens, like the original Persian manuscript Mas‘udi claims to have seen.<sup>94</sup>



Fig. 19. Vienna Dioscorides. Frontispieces of the manuscript produced in Constantinople for Princess Anicia Juliana in 515 (Juliana Anicia Codex). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. med. 1. (Photo: courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

#### THE PALACE SPACES WHERE ROMAN RELIEFS WERE FOUND: A HYPOTHESIS ABOUT THEIR FUNCTION

Although the earlier accounts may seem somewhat anecdotal, they provide valuable information about the cultural and scientific activity that took place in the capital of the caliphate, as well as the operation of the palace library.<sup>95</sup> Various surviving sources confirm the initiation of an ambitious intellectual enterprise spearheaded by al-Hakam II even before he assumed power. There is no doubt that all the intellectual and cultural activities sponsored by the court took place within a specific setting inside the Cordoban caliphal residences, sometimes in the old Umayyad *alcazar* but mainly in the palace of Madinat al-Zahra'. In brief, the new royal city was not just an official residence, a performance stage for the display of caliphal power and a seat where the Umayyad administration and its state institutions were centralized. Madinat al-Zahra' included spaces devoted to the advancement of knowledge, to books (libraries and *scriptoria*), and to the study and training of princes.

At least four of the Roman sculptures studied were found deliberately destroyed in the drainage systems of three buildings of the palace of Madinat al-Zahra' (fig. 20).<sup>96</sup> All of these buildings are located in the middle terrace and at least two of them—those known as the Court of the Pillars and the Court of the Clocks<sup>97</sup>—have a different architectural structure from the rest of the excavated courts (which were used for domestic and ceremonial purposes). The decoration and materials found in these spaces exemplify this difference. The last court, where archeological findings show a similarly unique structure, is located west of the Salón Rico.<sup>98</sup>

The few fragments of ceramics found in the drains of the Court of the Pillars and the Court of the Clocks have traditionally been used to identify the courts as administrative spaces, a label that proves vague enough to include any function. The structure of both courts is also a novelty in the palace; unlike the rest of the complex, their porticoes were constructed using lintelled structures supported by pillars (fig. 21). The Court of the Pillars (a square of approximately 22 meters by 20.5 meters) had four porticoes with five openings that were around



Fig. 20. Aerial view of the excavated area of the Palace of Madinat al-Zahra', with the locations of buildings decorated with sarcophagi. (Photo: courtesy of Córdoba Vuela, Escuela de Paramotor)



Fig. 21. Plan of the Court of the Pillars, with different kinds of paving: violet limestone, alabaster, and marble. (After Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, fig. 43 [reproduced with the permission of the author])

5 meters high, according to Hernández's estimations (fig. 22).<sup>99</sup> Behind the eastern, northern, and western galleries, there are spacious rectangular halls (between 4 and 5.4 meters in depth) with three openings for access; its southern gallery corresponds to the entrance. The Court of the Clocks (approx. 30 meters per side) has only two porticoes, standing on five pillars, and beyond them spacious rectangular halls more than 5.5 meters in depth (fig. 23).<sup>100</sup>

With regard to the decoration, these two courts do not have the carved panels that adorn the walls of the main public and residential halls in the palace. The walls of the halls around the Court of the Pillars were plastered white except for its dadoes, which were painted *a la almagra* (with red clay) to a height of approximately 70 centimeters (fig. 24).<sup>101</sup> The paving, however, was remarkably rich, with violet limestone for the court and marble and alabaster for the halls, and no calcarenite

and brick, the most widely used materials in residential and administrative spaces.

The strategic location of both complexes is also worth mentioning: the Court of the Pillars is at the foot of the caliphal residence (*Dār al-Mulk*) and was connected to the upper terrace by a staircase built in the northwestern corner of the court, the base of which has survived to date (fig. 25).<sup>102</sup> Directly west of the complex, the Hall of the Double Columns, still barely explored, is another space remarkable for its unique decoration (gilded mosaics) and for being so far the only place where Koranic inscriptions have been found, apart from the Great Mosque.<sup>103</sup> In addition, the Court of the Pillars is the result of the remodeling of an area that was previously used as housing; this reconstruction may have followed the building of the Salón Rico (Hall of 'Abd al-Rahman III).<sup>104</sup>



Fig. 22. View of the Court of the Pillars, west side. Above and to the left is the Dar al-Mulk. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla)

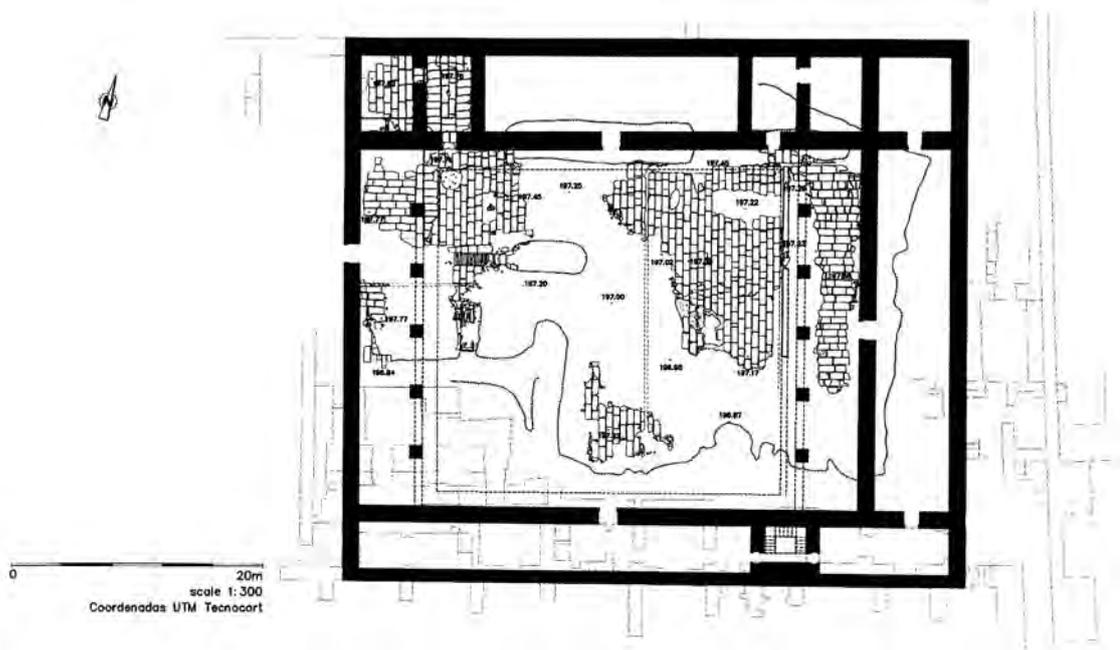


Fig. 23. Plan of the Court of the Clocks. (After Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, fig. 58 [reproduced with the permission of the author])

The Court of the Clocks is located in the southeastern end of the middle terrace, in front of the building known as the Salón Grande (fig. 26). This location offers an unencumbered view of the upper garden in front of the Hall of ‘Abd al-Rahman III, as well of the Great Mosque. The most remarkable find in this space was a series of fragments of three solar quadrants, which suggests it may have been used for astrological studies or, perhaps, for the manufacture of sundials, used to determine the times of prayer (fig. 27). Hernández suspects that the court may have been built “in a location that enjoyed an exceptionally expansive horizon” over the mosque of al-Zahra’, so that the court astronomers could determine the hours of prayer (*mīqāt*) and thus help muezzins, who, due to the location of the mosque in a hollow, did not have access to the sighting of the moon.<sup>105</sup>

The manufacture of solar quadrants featured prominently in the treatises on astronomy and *mīqāt*.<sup>106</sup> Establishing the direction of the qibla wall, determining the five times of daily prayer, and specifying the festivities of the Muslim calendar were an impetus for studies on astronomy in general and religious astronomy (*‘ilm al-mīqāt*) in particular.<sup>107</sup> Due to the influence of reli-



Fig. 24. North hall of the Court of the Pillars. Traces of the white mural plaster can be seen, along with the dadoes painted in red. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla)

gious astronomy, together with the composition of calendars and astro-meteorological treatises (*anwā’*) such as the *The Calendar of Cordoba*, legal scholars were persuaded to accept the rest of the astronomical sciences (theoretical and mathematical), and even astrology (*‘ilm al-nujūm*), which they had previously rejected due to its connection with paganism.



Fig. 25. The palatial complex as seen from the Dar al-Mulk, the caliphal residence located in the upper terrace: 1) Court of the Pillars; 2) Court of the Clocks; 3) court to be excavated; 4) Dar al-Mulk; 5) Salón Rico (Hall of ‘Abd al-Rahman III); 6) upper garden. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla)

In the ninth century, during the Abbasid caliphate, there were major developments in astronomy thanks to the direct observation of the stars as well as to the translation and study of Greek and Persian sources.<sup>108</sup> Many of the Greek and Indian works translated and elaborated upon in the Abbasid lands started reaching al-Andalus during the ninth and tenth centuries. Caliph al-Hakam II had a team of astronomers and astrologers in his service.<sup>109</sup> Ahmad ibn Faris, an Egyptian who joined that group around 968 and worked there until 981, was sent by the caliph to Fuengirola to observe and check the visibility of the star *Suhayl* (Canopus).<sup>110</sup> The discovery of quadrants in Madinat al-Zahra' provides evidence for the practice of the mathematical and astronomical sciences in Cordoba at the time.<sup>111</sup> Therefore it is not too farfetched to assume that astronomers and astrologers also developed their expertise at Madinat al-Zahra'.<sup>112</sup>

The correct orientation of the qibla of the Great Mosque in Madinat al-Zahra' towards Mecca also proves the progress made in astronomical sciences within the caliphal court.<sup>113</sup> When al-Hakam II decided to enlarge the old Great Mosque in Cordoba, his astronomers urged him to reorient and correct the qibla, as they had already done in the palatine mosque under the rule of his father. However, according to al-Maqqari's account, the astronomical calculation came into conflict with religious tradition, and both the ulama and *fuqahā'* opposed the change.<sup>114</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not yet have enough formal or typological examples to identify the buildings described as scientific or intellectual spaces, since there are no material traces of the earliest Eastern institutions—such as the Bayt al-Hikma and other Abbasid centers dedicated to the recovery, preservation, and promotion of the



Fig. 26. Upper garden in front of the Salón Rico, with the ruins of the baths to the right. The Court of the Clocks was above these baths. (Photo: Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza)



Fig. 27. Fragment of one solar quadrant found in the Court of the Clocks (limestone). Museum of the Archeological Site of Madinat al-Zahra', inv. no. 30135. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Museum of the Archeological Site of Madinat al-Zahra')

sciences. Only Arabic sources have passed on valuable descriptions of some of these libraries (fig. 28).

The Bayt al-Hikma of Baghdad was a repository for books and a place for scholarly research, where classical works were translated and annotated, and scientific and philosophical treatises were developed; it also included an observatory (*marṣad*), located near the Shammasiyya Gate.<sup>115</sup> Little is known about Samarra apart from the fact that its royal libraries were slightly separated from the palaces themselves, as claimed by Sourdél.<sup>116</sup> Al-Muqaddasi (d. ca. 990) offers a detailed description of the library of the Buyid sovereign 'Adud al-Dawla (r. 949–83) in his palace in Shiraz (in Khurasan). The author states that he visited the library, which was an independent department located in the upper level of the palace that had 360 rooms surrounded by pavilions, pools, water channels, and gardens.<sup>117</sup>

Following the example of the Abbasids in Baghdad, the Aghlabids (800–909) founded an institution called the Bayt al-Hikma at Raqqada, which included a large

library and a place for producing astronomical instruments. Mathematicians, astronomers, and physicians educated in Baghdad worked at this institution. The library was probably seized after 909 by the Fatimids, who relocated it first to Mansuriyya and then to Cairo (in 969).<sup>118</sup> In 1005, al-Hakim founded an institution in Cairo known as the Dar al-'Ilm (House of Knowledge), to which all the books in the palace library were moved. According to al-Maqrizi (d. 1442), who copied the Fatimid chronicler al-Musabbihi, the library was located in a wing of an ancient hospital inside the great palace and comprised forty rooms lined with books.<sup>119</sup> The library of Sultan Nuh ibn Mansur, in Bukhara, was described by Ibn Sina (d. 1037) after his visit there to treat the sultan for an illness.<sup>120</sup>

In all the cases mentioned above, the libraries are described as having halls or small rooms lined with wooden bookcases, as well as meeting rooms for scholarly circles. In the Cairo Dar al-Hikma “conferences” were organized, and the library at Basra held poetry sessions.<sup>121</sup> The palaces also hosted sessions for literary circles (*majālis*), offering music and wine,<sup>122</sup> as well as meetings for scientific and philosophical debate. These palatine “intellectual salons” were most popular in the Abbasid court during the ninth and tenth centuries, both in Baghdad and Samarra.<sup>123</sup> Scholarly meetings probably took place in the Andalusī caliphal palaces, although the most famous *majālis* in al-Andalus were those promoted by the kings of the Taifas during the eleventh century.<sup>124</sup>

The aforementioned descriptions suggest that in the ninth and tenth centuries no established architectural typology had emerged regarding the function of a library and reading room, as it had similarly not yet been established in Byzantium, as far as we know.<sup>125</sup> In order to find buildings specifically designed to store books and serve as venues for debate, teaching, and studying, we must go back to classical and late antiquity.<sup>126</sup> Focusing on the latter, during the 1960s the University of Warsaw carried out excavations in Kom el-Dikka, located in the urban center of ancient Alexandria (Egypt). Archaeologists unveiled an extraordinary complex of public buildings, erected halfway through the sixth century on the site of a *gymnasion* and an agora dating from Ptolemaic and Roman times. Among the buildings discovered



Fig. 28. Library. From a *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri, copied and illustrated by Yahya b. Mahmud b. Yahya b. Abi al-Hasan b. Kuwarriha al-Wasiti, dated 7 Ramadan 634 (May 4, 1237), Baghdad (?), Iraq. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 5847, fol. 5v. (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

there were an odeon, baths, a portico, and, behind it, twenty small lecture halls between 9 meters and 11 meters long, and around 5 meters wide. This find was important because it confirms what we knew only through texts, i.e., the existence of famous academies/schools of ancient Alexandria.<sup>127</sup> There is no doubt that the Arabs learned of the place after conquering Egypt (in 642), because some of them were still in existence after that time.<sup>128</sup>

Given the absence of any typological equivalent to help us identify the purpose of these complexes in the palace of Madinat al-Zahra', could we consider the presence of ancient reliefs and sculptures with pagan matter

as indications of spaces related to scientific and intellectual activities? The iconography on the statues and reliefs selected for the palace does not seem random. At least two of the pieces selected for the caliphal palace highlight heroes such as Heracles, while two others feature scenes of the Muses and philosophers.

Stirling and Brown underline the significance of classical *paideia* (the Greek system of education and training; Latin *humanitas*) in the education of the aristocratic elite in late antiquity.<sup>129</sup> This training reinforced social status and provided pupils with a coded language only they could understand. Stirling questions our ability to identify the purpose of a space or the identity of the owner of a house through the images used in its decoration. However, she also asserts that statues were not always gathered or collected for religious reasons (as the presence of Diana or Dionysus would seem to indicate that the collector was pagan). She believes that in late antiquity statues may have also had an “academic” meaning, and although this is not easy to prove, the presence of Hermes (patron of education) and of Heracles (patron of the *gymnasion*) seems to suggest that they probably did.

In Roman funerary art, these scenes of Muses and philosophers are linked with a desire to praise the deceased as a learned and wise person, insofar as Wisdom and the path that leads to it, through Knowledge, raises man above himself and brings him closer to divinity and immortality. The deceased man or woman is shown surrounded by Muses and philosophers (Homer, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle), attending one of their lessons as a disciple or teaching as *paedagogus*. In turn, the nine Muses, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, “are personifications of all the types of knowledge which can ennoble the soul and purify it through a sort of spiritual *katharsis* in order for it to access the kosmos and the only wisdom.”<sup>130</sup> The deceased are depicted holding a *uolumen*—an allusion not only to Wisdom and Science, but to their high social status, as only Roman patricians received such a refined education; the deceased were heroized through Wisdom (figs. 3 and 5). According to Zanker, Muses and philosophers were used in this way throughout late antiquity, even after the arrival of Christianity.<sup>131</sup> For the last pagans, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries, the ancient philosophers and Muses



Fig. 29. Philosophy school of Asclepiodotus in Aphrodisias (Turkey). Portraits of Pindar, Pythagoras, and Alexander, early fifth century. Turkey, Aphrodisias Museum. (Photo: Susana Calvo Capilla, with the permission of the Aphrodisias Museum)

were models of wisdom as well as a source of inspiration, hence the presence of their portraits in philosophy schools and other spaces dedicated to education and study. As the learned class started to supplant gods, they became the object of an almost religious devotion as “saintly men.”

In the philosophy school of Asclepiodotus in Aphrodisias (Turkey), active during the fourth and fifth centuries, the exedra of the peristyle was decorated with a gallery of ancient philosophers, as well as Alexander the Great and several Muses (fig. 29).<sup>132</sup> In brief, wisdom was the consequence of divine inspiration and became a means of attaining knowledge of the divine; the same notion drove the early Christians to represent Jesus Christ as a philosopher and master.<sup>133</sup>

Likewise, in ancient Greece, Heracles was the patron of the *gymnasion*, an institution designed for intellectual and physical activities, as well as a meeting place for philosophers and sophists. The *gymnasion* was an entertainment facility connected to physical exercise that ended up becoming a place designed for teaching and medicine. Like the *palaestras* (wrestling schools), porticoes, theaters, and libraries in Greece, *gymnasia* were often decorated with herms with an apotropaic purpose, a tradition subsequently imitated in Rome,<sup>134</sup> as we can see in the scenes of children playing found depicted on sarcophagi made for children in the second and third centuries.<sup>135</sup>

The reutilization of Roman sarcophagi and sculptures in the Cordoban court may have been the result of

a similar desire to introduce a visual reference to classical antiquity in an environment where Greek and Roman texts translated into Arabic were an essential source of knowledge. Located in spaces designed for teaching, the nurturing of the arts, the practice of the sciences, and the preservation of knowledge, the figures of Heracles, along with those of the Muses and philosophers, may have served as inspiration as well as a form of protection. In these palatine environments, sarcophagi lost their value as funerary images and the mythological stories depicted on them were possibly transformed or adapted from their original meanings.<sup>136</sup> However, this did not prevent them from becoming allegories for the “science of the Ancients,” and a visual reference to a past that Muslims had already claimed as their own in the eighth and ninth centuries, and which the Andalusī Umayyads now used as a means to legitimize their accession to the caliphate. In my opinion, only in such contexts, devoted to learning and the practice of knowledge, could the new symbolic meanings of these classical artifacts be appreciated and understood. Beyond these palatine spaces, these artifacts would have been rejected by the Maliki legal scholars and *ulama* because of their pagan origin.<sup>137</sup>

In the previous section I argued that the figures of Greek and Roman philosophers and heroes were not only well known in al-Andalus but represented a model for the most learned elite during the time of al-Hakam II. Surviving Andalusī texts of the tenth century verify that wisdom and educational epistolary literature of Greek and Sasanid origin reached the Iberian Peninsula quite early. If we also consider the survival of certain images from Greek and Roman mythology and cosmology, such as the apotropaic female statues crowning the gates of Madinat al-Zahra' and Cordoba, we have sufficient evidence to conclude that the choice of sculptural reliefs representing scenes of philosophers and Muses surrounded by books in a studious environment was a deliberate action designed to exalt ancient and Hispanic heritage in the legitimation of the Cordoban caliphate.<sup>138</sup>

The exceptional case of the palace of Madinat al-Zahra' underlines the singularity and creative vitality of Andalusī society and culture in the tenth century, and emphasizes the role of Caliph al-Hakam II in promoting and sponsoring the arts and sciences, an effort intended

to be one of the pillars in the construction of political theory in al-Andalus.

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## NOTES

1. This study is part of the National Plan Research Project I+D+I, ref. HAR2009-08901, and its continuation, HAR2013-45578-R. The development of my research benefitted from the invaluable assistance of Alexandra Uscatescu, who guided me in the world of classical antiquity and suggested readings that I found indispensable. I would like to thank Maribel Fierro and Manuela Marín for generously sharing their time and helpful comments. I must also mention Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, since the subject discussed in this article developed from our conversations during several visits to Madinat al-Zahra' and the Alhambra. Finally, I would like to thank Antonio Vallejo for facilitating access to the spaces and materials discussed in this study, as well as Ana Momplet for the translation.
2. Susana Calvo Capilla, “Madinat al-Zahrā' y la observación del tiempo: El renacer de la Antigüedad Clásica en la Córdoba del siglo X,” special issue, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 22, 2 (2013): 131–60. One should bear in mind that around the same time there developed a heightened interest in classical knowledge and imagery in Byzantium, then under the rule of the Macedonian dynasty, which started with Basil I (r. 867–86). The so-called Macedonian Renaissance prompted a return to the Greco-Roman world through the recovery of Greek texts as well as classical forms and aesthetics—particularly *Atticism*—which inspired Byzantine artists. This revival of antiquity in Byzantium was probably a politically motivated response to the pro-Hellenic movement promoted by the Abbasid caliphs during the ninth century. Juan Signes Codoñer, “Helenos y Romanos: La identidad bizantina y el Islam en el siglo IX,” *Byzantion* 72 (2002): 404–48.
3. Suggested by José Beltrán Fortes, “La colección arqueológica de época romana aparecida en Madinat al-Zahrā' (Córdoba),” *Cuadernos de Madinat al-Zahrā'* 2 (1988–90): 109–10.
4. Muḥammad Ibn 'Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib = La caída del Califato de Córdoba y los Reyes de Taifas*, trans. Felipe Maíllo Salgado (Salamanca, 1993), 61–62, 66–67, 89, and 98.
5. Ricardo Velázquez Bosco, *Excavaciones en Medina Azahara: Memoria sobre lo descubierto en dichas excavaciones* (Madrid, 1923); Rafael Jiménez Amigo et al., *Excavaciones en Medina Azahara: Memoria de los trabajos realizados*, Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades 67 (Madrid, 1924); Rafael Jiménez Amigo et al.,

- Excavaciones en Medina Azzahra (Córdoba): Memoria de los trabajos realizados por la comisión delegado-directora de los mismos*, Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades 85 (Madrid, 1926); Félix Hernández Giménez, *Madīnat al-Zahrā': Arquitectura y decoración* (Granada, 1985); Antonio Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal de Madīnat al-Zahrā': Arqueología de su excavación* (Córdoba, 2010).
6. Hernández Giménez, *Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, 54–55.
  7. José Beltrán Fortes, *Los sarcófagos romanos de la Bética con decoración de tema pagano*, Serie Historia y Geografía 40 (Seville, 1999), 93–111. After the publication of this work, new fragments of almost every sarcophagus were found and documented by José Beltrán Fortes et al., *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía*, Corpus de Esculturas del Imperio Romano 1, 3 (Murcia, 2006), 131–34.
  8. The Sarcophagus of the Gate of Hades was found in 1958, in the necropolis of Brillante, north of Córdoba. Studied by Antonio García y Bellido, "El sarcófago romano de Córdoba," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 32, 99–100 (1959): 3–37.
  9. Although this figure has usually been identified as Heracles, he is probably the hunter Ancaeus or Iphicles, the twin brother of Heracles, according to Paul Zanker et al., *Living with Myths: The Imagery of Roman Sarcophagi* (Oxford, 2012), 361–62.
  10. Beltrán Fortes, *Los sarcófagos romanos de la Bética*, 128–41; Beltrán Fortes et al., *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía*, 134–37.
  11. Beltrán Fortes et al., *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía*, 138–41. It is one of the largest sarcophagi documented in the regions of Betica and Hispania.
  12. For a study on the meaning of this type of image, see Miguel Noguera Celdrán, "Algunas consideraciones sobre el sarcófago con musas y pensadores del Museo de la Catedral de Murcia," *Imafrontera* 8–9 (1992–93): 293–311; and Pedro Rodríguez Oliva, "El sarcófago con escenas de enseñanza de la antigua colección Casa-Loring en la Finca de 'La Concepción' de Málaga," *Baetica: Estudios de Arte, Geografía e Historia* 25 (2003): 409–32.
  13. Beltrán Fortes et al., *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía*, 126–27.
  14. *Ibid.*, 143.
  15. *Ibid.*, 145–52, figs. 38–42. It is approximately 0.6 meters tall and seems to have been made up of different pieces. It is worth recalling the similarity between these bases and the ones holding the columns carved by caliphal workshops for Madīnat al-Zahra'.
  16. Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 236–37, 465–504. Court no. 23 on the plan published by this author. Beltrán Fortes et al., *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía*, 144. Unconnected fragments from Christian-themed sarcophagi are in storage in the Museum of Madīnat al-Zahra'. Their exact location is unknown. Beltrán Fortes et al., *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía*, 164–71.
  17. Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 237–41, figs. 191 and 192.
  18. I am grateful to Prof. A. Uscatescu for this detail.
  19. José Beltrán Fortes, "Hermeracae hispanos," in *Estudios dedicados a Alberto Balil in Memoriam* (Malaga, 1993), 163–74.
  20. Beltrán Fortes, "La colección arqueológica," 112–13; Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 262–63, fig. 208.
  21. Discussed in Calvo Capilla, "Madīnat al-Zahrā'" 131–33.
  22. Abū Muḥammad al-Rushāṭī (d. 542 [1147]), *Al-Andalus en el Kitāb Iqtibās al-anwār y en el Ijtisār iqtibās al-anwār*, ed. E. Molina López and J. Bosch Vila (Madrid, 1990), 54–55; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī, *La péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge d'après le Kitāb arrawḍ al mi'tār fi ḥabar al-aḳṭār*, trans. and ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden, 1938), 212 [ed. 177].
  23. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 961), *Crónica del Moro Rasis (Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Andalus)*, ed. Diego Catalán and Soledad de Andrés (Madrid, 1975), 71–72. The romanized version by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī is more prolix than those by al-Rushāṭī and al-Ḥimyarī, which are very similar to each other.
  24. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1968), 1:464 (*al-ṣahārīj al-gharība fi aḥwāḍ al-rukhām al-Rūmīyya al-manqūsha al-'ajība*).
  25. Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, 1:568–69; al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain extracted from the Nafḥu-t-tib by Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkari [sic]*, trans. Pascual de Gayangos, 2 vols. (London, 1840–43), 1:236n9. Similarly, according to the description in the *Dhīkr*, on "the small green basin there were carvings and sculptures of human figures" (*al-ḥawḍ al-aḳḥḍar al-ṣaghūr... wa fihi nuqūsh wa-tamāthīl 'alā ṣūrat al-insān*), and it is specified that it was brought from Syria by the "philosopher Ahmad b. Karam": *Dhīkr bilād al-Andalus. Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus*, ed. and trans. Luis Molina, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1983), 1:163, and 2:173. According to Maribel Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el periodo omeya* (Madrid, 1987), 162, this is one of the first appearances of the term "philosopher" in Andalusī texts.
  26. Gloria S. Merker, "A Statuette of Minerva in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem," *Eretz-Israel: Archeological, Historical, and Geographical Studies* 19 (1987): 15–20; Barbara Finster, "Die Verwendung von Spolien in umayyadischer Zeit," in *Spolien im Umkreis der Macht = Spolia en el entorno del poder: Actas del Coloquio en Toledo del 21 al 22 de septiembre 2006*, ed. Thomas G. Schattner and Fernando Valdés Fernández (Madrid, 2009): 273–86.
  27. Ernst Herzfeld Papers, 1899–1962, Series 4: Photographic Files 1903–1947: Freer/Sackler Archives, Smithsonian Institution Research Information System, SIRIS, <http://www.siris.si.edu>.
  28. Glen W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 1996): 72–73, 81; Hana Taragan, "Atlas Transformed: Interpreting the 'Supporting' Figures in the Umayyad Palace at Khirbat al-Mafjar," *East and West* 53 (December 2003): 9–29; Rina Talgam, *The Stylistic Origins of Umayyad Sculpture and Architectural Decoration*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden,

- 2004), 1:121–25; Alexandra Uscatescu and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, “El ‘occidentalismo’ de Hispania y la *koiné* artística mediterránea (siglos VII–VIII),” *Goya, Revista de Arte* 347 (2014): 95–115.
29. Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbasid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998), 53–60.
  30. Daniel de Smet, *Dictionnaire du Coran*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir Moezzi (Paris, 2007), s.v. “Dhu l-Qarnayn”; Eve Feuillebois-Pierunek, “Les figures d’Alexandre dans la littérature persane: Entre assimilation, moralisation et ironie,” in *Épopées du monde: Pour un panorama (presque) général*, ed. Eve Feuillebois-Pierunek (Paris, 2012), 181–85.
  31. The catalogue of Greek and Persian books translated into Arabic and preserved in the libraries of Baghdad grew into an enormous corpus of knowledge enriched with Muslim scientific and philosophical contributions, as we can see in the *Fihrist* (Catalogue) compiled by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. ca. 998), who around 987 gathered all the books available in Baghdad libraries: Ibn al-Nadīm, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1970), 594–606; Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 95–104.
  32. Amira K. Bennis, *The Great Caliphs: The Golden Age of the ‘Abbasid Empire* (New Haven, 2009), 193–94. On the Abbasid aim for a “universal library,” see Houari Touati, *L’armoire à sagesse: Bibliothèques et collections en Islam* (Paris, 2003), 161–82.
  33. Aristotle’s lessons to Alexander the Great had already become part of the education of princes and members of the elite in Greek and Hellenistic society, and were, together with Homeric texts, integral to the *paideia*: Mario Grignaschi, “La figure d’Alexandre chez les Arabes et sa genèse,” *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 3, 2 (1993): 225–230.
  34. According to Grignaschi, the origin of Arab-Islamic wisdom literature could lie in this collection of epistles ascribed to Aristotle and translated into Arabic, probably by Salīm Abu ‘l-‘Ala’, the secretary of the Umayyad caliph Hisham b. ‘Abd al-Malik: Mario Grignaschi, “Remarques sur la formation et l’interprétation du ‘Sirr al-asrār’,” in *Pseudo-Aristotle, the Secret of Secrets: Sources and Influences*, ed. W. F. Ryan and Charles B. Schmitt (London, 1982), 3–7; Mario Grignaschi, “Les *Rasā’il ‘Aristāṭālisa ‘ilā-l-Iskandar* de Sālim Abū-l-‘Alā’ et l’activité culturelle à l’époque omayyade,” *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 19 (1965–66): 45. Latham believes that these *Epistles* could derive from an entire body of ancient Greek literature of the later periods, which revolved around the figure of Alexander the Great: J. D. Latham, “The Beginnings of Arabic Prose Literature: The Epistolary Genre,” in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. F. L. Beeston et al., vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge, 1983), 154–79.
  35. Several other later works based on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Epistles* may also be classified as secular literature or included in the *adab* genre: the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-rī’āsa*, which focuses on the advice for good governance in the original text, and the famous *Sirr al-Asrār* (Secret of Secrets), which was subsequently translated into Latin. Another collection of epistles of encyclopaedic content was the *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity), which shares similar characteristics with the *Sirr al-Asrār*: Grignaschi, “La figure d’Alexandre,” 205–34; Adeline Rucquoi and Hugo O. Bizzarri, “Los Espejos de Príncipes en Castilla: Entre Oriente y Occidente,” *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 79, 1 (2005): 7–30.
  36. María Jesús Viguera Molins, “Bibliotecas y manuscritos árabes en Córdoba,” *Al-Mulk* 5 (2005): 101–6. In fact, the first emir interested in the “sciences of the Ancients” was ‘Abd al-Rahman II (r. 822–52), who sent his emissaries to Iraq to look for and copy books on medicine, astronomy, philosophy, and the sciences. According to Ibn Hayyan, it was the first time these works were introduced in Al-Andalus, where they were studied by the emir himself and his heir, Prince al-Hakam: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica de los emires Alḥakam I y ‘Abdarrahmān II entre los años 796 y 847 (Almuqtabis II-1)*, trans. Maḥmūd ‘Alī Makkī and Federico Corriente (Zaragoza, 2001), 169–70.
  37. The Greek Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea was translated into Arabic from its Latin version during the rule of al-Hakam II, according to Juan Vernet Ginés, “Los médicos andaluces en el *Libro de las generaciones de médicos*, de Ibn ŸulŸul,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 5 (1968): 450–51.
  38. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica del Califa ‘Abdarrahmān III an-Nāṣir entre los años 912 y 942 (al-Muqtabis V)*, trans. María Jesús Viguera and Federico Corriente (Zaragoza, 1981), 360; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis (V)*, ed. Pedro Chalmeta, Federico Corriente, and M. Ṣubḥ (Madrid, 1979), 323; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb*, 1:386. Most Andalusī texts used in this study employ the Koranic term ‘ilm when referring to science and knowledge. The term *ḥikma* (wisdom) also features in the Koran, but with a slightly more restrictive sense than ‘ilm, and was eventually associated with philosophy: see Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 1970). The word ‘ilm may refer to both secular and religious science, according to Youssef Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen-Âge* (Damascus, 1967), 394.
  39. Ṣā’id al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-umam = Historia de la filosofía y de las ciencias, o, Libro de las categorías de las naciones*, trans. Eloisa Llaveró Ruiz and Andrés Martínez Lorca (Madrid, 2000), 142. For the Arabic text, see Ṣā’id al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-umam = Livre des catégories des nations*, trans. Régis Blachère and ed. Louis Cheikhó (Paris, 1935), 164.
  40. Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb*, 1:395, as cited by Viguera Molins, “Bibliotecas,” 105.
  41. Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb*, 1:385–86, 394 (the books kept at the Alcazar of Cordoba were looted by the Berbers); Julián Ribera y Tarragó, *Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en La España musulmana* (Pamplona, 2008; 1st ed. Zaragoza, 1895), 123–

- 25n244; al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, trans. Gayangos, 2:169; Ruth Stellhorn Mackensen, "Moslem Libraries and Sectarian Propaganda," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 51, 2 (1935): 109. Al-Hakam gathered a team of calligraphers and skilled artists, including a man he sent for from Baghdad, called Zifir al-Bagdadi: Eche, *Les bibliothèques*, 273.
42. At least 897 books from the caliphal library have been documented, according to Maribel Fierro, "Manuscritos en al-Andalus: El proyecto H.A.T.A.," *Al-Qanṭara* 19, 2 (1998): 490–92; David Wasserstein, "The Library of al-Hakam II al-Mustansir and the Culture of Islamic Spain," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–91): 99–105; François Géral, "Les bibliothèques d'al-Andalus," in *Regards sur al-Andalus (VIIIe–XVe siècle)*, ed. François Géral (Madrid, 2006). The most well-known examples are al-Khushani, born in Qayrawan (d. 361 [971]), who produced at least two bio-bibliographical dictionaries preserved to date, and 'Arib ibn Sa'īd, who collaborated with a Christian to write the famous *Calendario de Córdoba*.
  43. Juan Vernet Ginés, *Literatura árabe* (Barcelona, 2002), 125; al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, trans. Gayangos, 2:171; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica*, 360; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas* (V), 323.
  44. Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus*, 163; Ana Echevarría, *Almanzor: Un califa en la sombra* (Madrid, 2011), 209–14.
  45. He once sent a young female servant (*waṣīfa*), a *kātiba* of great intelligence, with an astronomer named al-Qassam to study astronomy (*ta'dīl*) and the use of astrolabes. Another female slave (*jāriya*) of al-Hakam II, called Lubna (d. 984 or 986), was a *kātiba*, grammarian, poet, and mathematician, as well as a good calligrapher: María Luisa Ávila, "Las mujeres 'sabias' en al-Andalus," in *La mujer en al-Andalus: Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*, ed. María Jesús Viguera (Madrid and Seville, 1989), 180 and 166.
  46. Ibn Ḥayyan documents an interesting case regarding the intellectual and administrative work developed by Prince al-Hakam, including the place where this work was carried out: 'Abd al-Rahman offered his son a palace called Dar al-Mulk, which was located beside the river, where he himself resided before his children were born and he moved to the Alcazar. Prince al-Hakam used the palace in Cordoba for "his personal possessions, as a warehouse (*majāzin*) for his things, storage for his books (registries, *dafātirihi*), and offices (*majālis*) for his scribes and service administrators (*dawāwīnihi*), and established his trusted servants and long-serving scribes (*kuttābihi*) there." Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica*, 22–23; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas* (V), 16–18.
  47. Mohamed Meouak, "Les 'marges' de l'administration hispano-umayyade (mileu IIe/VIIIe–début Ve/XIe siècles): Prosopographie des fonctionnaires d'origine Ṣaqlabī, esclave et affranchie," in *Homenaje a José Ma. Fórneas*, ed. Manuela Marín, Estudios Onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus 6 (Madrid, 1994), 321; Ribera y Tarragó, *Bibliófilos*, 124n246.
  48. Susana Peña Jiménez, "Ibn al-Makwī," in Marín, *Homenaje a José Ma. Fórneas*, 353–83 (esp. 359 and 366). The purge of the library ordered by al-Mansur is described by Ṣā'īd al-Andalusī, *Libro de las categorías*, trans. Llavero Ruiz and Martínez, 142–43.
  49. Rudolf Blum, *Kallimachos: The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography*, trans. from the German by Hans H. Wellisch (Madison, Wisc., 1991; 1st ed., 1977), 98–104. On the fate of the two Alexandrian libraries, see Mostafa El-Abbadi, *Vie et destin de l'ancienne Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1992), 145–79. The library of Alexandria, divided into the *Museion* (in the Brucheion palace) and the *Serapeion*, was created to preserve Greek literature and knowledge, at the time admired as a superior and flourishing culture in comparison with Ancient Egypt, which was also admired but regarded as a dead civilization.
  50. Eche, *Les bibliothèques*, 44–45.
  51. Such as Zenodotus of Ephesus, poet and philologist, who was director of the Alexandrian library and tutor of the children of Ptolemy I. The first catalogue, titled *Pinakes*, was compiled by Callimachos (d. ca. 240 B.C.) and included approximately 120 volumes.
  52. Albert Dietrich, "Quelques aspects de l'éducation princière à la cour abbaside," in "L'enseignement en Islam et en Occident au Moyen Age," ed. Georges Makdisi, Dominique Sourdel, and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, special issue, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 44 (1976): 89–104.
  53. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica*, 20–21; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabas* (V), 14–16.
  54. Maribel Fierro, "Qāsim b. Aṣḥab y la licitud de recibir regalos," in *Homenaje al profesor José María Fórneas Besteiro*, ed. Concepción Castillo Castillo et al., 2 vols. (Granada, 1995), 2:977–81.
  55. Miquel Forcada Nogués, *Ética e ideología de la Ciencia: El médico-filósofo en al-Andalus (siglos X–XII)* (Almería, 2011), 185–86. Forcada thinks that this figure played a role in al-Hakam's inclination toward these branches of knowledge.
  56. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Anales palatinos del Califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por 'Isā ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī (360–364 H. = 971–975 J.C.)*, trans. Emilio García Gómez (Madrid, 1967), 98–99; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis fi akhbār balad al-Andalus* (VII), ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ḥājji (Beirut, 1983), 76. This account sets a clear precedent for the Nasrid palace school, located in the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra, according to Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: ¿Madrasa, Zāwiya y Tumba de Muḥammad V? Estudio para un debate," *Al-Qanṭara* 22, 1 (2001): 77–120. In the same way, Cynthia Robinson considers that the Court of the Lions could have been more than a school, and she proposes something similar to a Bayt al-Hikma in "Marginal Ornament: Poetics, Mimesis, and Devotion in the Palace of the Lions," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 185–204.
  57. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Anales palatinos*, 257; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis* (VII), 216–17.
  58. Al-Zubaydi is also the author of a famous summary of the *Kitāb al-Ayn*, the first Arabic dictionary, attributed to al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (beginning of the ninth century). M. G. Carter, "Arabic Lexicography," in *Religion, Learning, and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, ed. M. J. L.

- Young, John Derek Latham, and Robert Bertram Serjeant, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge, 1990), 110–11; J. Haremska, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* (Almería, 2012), s.v. “al-Zubaydi.”
59. Maribel Fierro, “Plants, Mary the Copt, Abraham, Donkeys and Knowledge: Again on Batinism during the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus,” in *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam: Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag = Differenz und Dynamics in Islam: Festschrift für Heinz Halm on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Hinrich Biesterfeldt und Verena Klemm (Würzburg, 2012), 127–31.
  60. Physicians educated in mathematics and philosophy were undoubtedly among the transmitters: see Forcada Nogués, *Ética e ideología*, 164–99.
  61. “Aristotle wrote to Alexander: ‘Rule your subjects with beneficence and you will win their affection, seeking of which by beneficence is more enduring than by oppression. And know that you only rule their bodies, so unite their hearts with their bodies by affection. Know also that if the subjects are able to speak, they are able to act too. Therefore do your best so that they do not speak and you will be safe they will not act.’ Ardashir said to his companions, ‘I only govern the bodies and not the intentions; I only rule in justice and not in order to please; I only examine the deeds and not the consciences.’” Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *The Unique Necklace = al-Iqd al-Farid*, trans. Issa J. Boullata, 3 vols. (Reading, 2007), 3:17.
  62. *Ibid.*, 1:16.
  63. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *Unique Necklace*, trans. Boullata, 1:89. The passage could be drawn from one of the epistles (*Rasā’il*) from Aristotle to Alexander entitled *Sīyāsāt al-mudun* (The Government of Cities): Grignaschi, “La figure d’Alexandre,” 226–27. In the chapter entitled “Book of the Chrysolite on Generous Men and Liberal Givers,” Aristotle said, “He who comes to you from his homeland has begun by thinking well of you and having confidence in you.”; this was one of the pieces of advice he gave to Alexander: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *Unique Necklace*, trans. Boullata, 1:155. In “The Book of the Mother-of-Pearl on Condolences and Elegies,” Alexander comforts his mother after his own death: Josefina Vegli-son, *El collar único de Ibn Abd Rabbihi* (Madrid, 2007), 92–93.
  64. Walter Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen zum Kitāb al-Iqd al-farid des Andalusiers Ibn ‘Abdrabbih (246/860–328/940): Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1983); Grignaschi, “Les *Rasā’il ‘Aristātātīs ‘ilā-l-Iskandar*,” 15–16; C. E. Bosworth, “Administrative Literature,” in Young, Latham, and Serjeant, *Religion, Learning, and Science*, vol. 3 of the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, 166–67. A literary genre exceptionally successful and widespread in Islam, *adab* emerged at the beginning of the eighth century. Encyclopaedic in nature, it includes all the disciplines necessary to acquire a general culture, to create an instructive framework for dealing with court life or a position in public office. However, *adab* was more than just a collection of moralistic anecdotes containing concepts from the sciences, rhetoric, poetry, and history intended to create the “façade” of a learned person without any substance. For Julia Bray, *adab* is saturated with humanism: it is conceived as mythopoesis, a creation or production of myths; thus, a distinctive Arab mythology is created through stories that reflect a wide-ranging truth—not a sacred one—like the truth expressed in human actions. In the case of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, the aim was to use parables to illuminate the relationship between divine will and wisdom, on the one hand, and to comprehend *adab* as human experience, on the other. In this sense, *adab* literature played an active role in society and in the creation of Arab-Islamic culture, in this case, in Andalusia. Julia Bray, “Abbasid Myth and the Human Act: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih and Others,” in *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. P. F. Kennedy (Wiesbaden, 2005), 1–53.
  65. Vernet Ginés, “Los médicos andaluces,” 445–62.
  66. In the same way, Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule Ibérique (IXe–XIIe siècle)* (Madrid, 2010), 158–59, 185–213; Ibn Juljul, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’ wa-l-hukamā = Les générations des médecins et des sages*, ed. Fu’ad Sayyid (Cairo, 1955). When Ibn Juljul wrote his book, there was only one precedent with the same title, written by Iṣḥāq b. Hunayn (d. 910). However, according to Fu’ad Sayyid, it does not seem likely that the Andalusī author knew Ibn Hunayn’s work or handled any other books on the subject written in Greek and translated into Arabic in Baghdad.
  67. Levi Della Vida and Penelas support the hypothesis that the book circulated in al-Andalus before the arrival of the Byzantine embassy in 948–49: Giorgio Levi Della Vida, “La traduzione araba delle storie di Orosio,” *Al-Andalus* 19 (1954): 257–93. For the translations of Latin texts and their promotion within the caliphal court, see the introduction by María Teresa Penelas in Paulus Orosius, *Kitāb Hurūṣyūṣ: Traducción árabe de las “Historiae adversus paganos” de Orosio*, ed. María Teresa Penelas (Madrid, 2001), 30–42.
  68. A partial translation from the Greek text may have been made by a Sevillian botanist and physician at the end of the ninth century, with the help of a female slave named Ana al-Qriqiya (“the Greek”), who was originally from Sicily. See Manuela Marín, *Mujeres en al-Andalus*, Estudios Onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus 11 (Madrid, 2000), 654–56.
  69. José Antonio García-Junceda and Rafael Ramón Guerrero, “La vida de Aristóteles de Ibn Yūlūl,” *Anuario del Departamento de Historia de la Filosofía y de la Ciencia Materias* (Madrid, 1984), 109–23; Rafael Ramón Guerrero, *La recepción árabe del ‘De Anima’ de Aristóteles: Al-Kindi y al-Farabi* (Madrid, 1992); Ibn Juljul, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 119.
  70. Ibn al-Nadim (d. ca. 990) apparently worked with similar information on Aristotle when he compiled the *Fihrist*, the aforementioned catalogue of the books available in Baghdad in 987, around the same time that Ibn Juljul wrote his dictionary: Vernet Ginés, *Literatura árabe*, 127; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, ed. and trans. Dodge, 594.

71. García-Junceda and Ramón Guerrero, "La vida de Aris-tóteles," 121–23.
72. Traditionally, it was thought that Maslama b. Qasim al-Qurtubi of Madrid (d. ca. 1007) was the author of the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*. By moving the date of composition of the *Ghāya* back to the middle of the tenth century, Fierro also moves back the production and distribution of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*: Maribel Fierro, "Bāṭinism in Al-Andalus: Maslama b. al-Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d. 353/964), Author of the 'Rutbat al-Ḥakīm' and the 'Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm' (Picatrix)," *Studia Islamica* 84 (1996): 97–112.
73. Godefroid de Callatāy, "Ikhwān al-Ṣafā': Des arts scientifiques et de leur objectif," *Le Muséon* 116 (2003): 231–58; Godefroid de Callatāy, *Ikhwan al-Safa': A Brotherhood of Idealists on the Fringe of Orthodox Islam* (Oxford, 2005); Julio Samsó, *Las ciencias de los Antiguos en al-Andalus* (Almería, 2011), 498–99. Although the exact date when the epistles were written remains unknown, they may have been the result of a long composition process, spanning from the end of ninth century to the end of the tenth. One or two centuries after the composition of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, this epistolary work—originally didactic—acquired a different character as its esoteric features were reinforced: Fierro, "Bāṭinism," 97–112.
74. Harrani Sabians preserved classical knowledge and took part in the translation and study of the ancient sciences for which the Abbasid caliphs of the ninth century became known. Two Harrani physicists settled in the Cordoban court during the tenth century, but there was already another physician of that origin in Cordoba in the ninth century. According to Samsó (*Las ciencias*, 500), the knowledge of astrology among the Harrani Sabians was fundamental to the composition of the *Ghāya*.
75. These last two texts also seem to verify that al-Andalus was already familiar then with the works of the earliest Arab thinkers, al-Kindi and al-Farabi (d. 950): Rafael Ramón Guerrero, "Textos de al-Fārābī en una obra andalusí del siglo XI: 'Ġāyat al-Ḥakīm' de Abū Maslama al-Ma'yūrī," *Al-Qanṭara* 12, 1 (1991): 3–17; Sara Stroumsa, "Philosopher-king or Philosopher-Courtier?," in *Identidades marginales*, ed. Cristina de la Puente, Estudios Onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus 13 (Madrid, 2003), 433–59, at 443.
76. Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Libro de las categorías*, trans. Llaveró Ruiz and Martínez Lorca, 30, 37, 79–80, 87–88; Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Livre des catégories*, trans. Blachère and ed. Cheikho, 81–82. Ibn Sa'id mentions "the numerous and magnificent epistles" written by Aristotle to the Macedonian king, and details the contents of the "Letter to the Golden Palace," which corresponds with missive no. 14 of the *Rasā'il 'Aristāṭālis ilā l-Iskandar*: Grignaschi, "Les *Rasā'il 'Aristāṭālis 'ilā l-Iskandar*," 69–73.
77. Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Libro de las categorías*, trans. Llaveró Ruiz and Martínez Lorca, 87–88; Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Livre des catégories*, trans. Blachère and ed. Cheikho, 67–68.
78. Grignaschi, "La figure d'Alexandre," 205–34; de Smet, "Dhu l-Qarnayn." "Polytheism banished from Greece by grace of this king," according to Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Libro de las categorías*, ed. Llaveró Ruiz and Martínez Lorca, 79 and 87; Manuela Marín, "Legends on Alexander the Great in Moslem Spain," *Graeco-Arabica* 4 (1991): 71–89.
79. The image of Heracles in ancient times was associated with and mistaken for that of Alexander the Great: e.g., the golden *tetradrachmas* of Philip II of Macedon (r. 359–36 B.C.) and Alexander (r. 336–23 B.C.) show the young Heracles with the lion's skin over his head; the coins of Lysimachus of Thrace and Ptolemy I Soter of Alexandria (end of the fourth century B.C.) include an image of Alexander the Great with Ammon's horns and an elephant's skin over his head: Felix Dürnbach, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, ed. Charles Daremberg and Edmond Saglio, 10 vols. (Graz, 1969), s.v. "Hercules"; François Lenormant, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. "Alexandre"; François de Callatāy, "Royal Hellenistic Coinages from Alexander to Mithridates," and Catharine C. Lorber, "The Coinage of the Ptolemies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. William E. Metcalf (Oxford, 2012), 178 and 211–12, respectively; D. T. Potts, "La renaissance de l'Arabie du Nord-Est à l'époque hellénistique," in *Routes d'Arabie: Archéologie et histoire du royaume d'Arabie saoudite*, ed. Ali Ibrahim al-Ghabbān et al. (Paris, 2010), 380–81.
80. Kurt Weitzmann, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and Their Impact on Christian Iconography," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960): 45–68; Jean Seznec, *La survivance des dieux antiques: Essai sur le rôle de la tradition mythologique dans l'humanisme et dans l'art de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1980).
81. Al-Rāzī, *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, paragraph LXXV, lines 18–19 and 126–27; René Basset, "Hercule et Mahomet," *Journal des Savants* 1 (1903): 391–402. The figure of Heracles was included among the local deities and heroes in Eastern pre-Islamic cultures such as the Parthians and the Sassanids, as well as in the Arab pre-Islamic pantheon: Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, 71–82. About the presence of the Isidorian texts in al-Andalus, see Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 158–59 (the ninth-century manuscript of *De natura rerum* known as the *Códice Ovetense* probably came from Cordoba).
82. Marín, "Legends on Alexander the Great," 71–89; Giovanna Calasso, "Les remparts et la loi, les talismans et les saints: La protection de la ville dans les sources musulmanes médiévales," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 44 (1992): 83–104; Michael Greenhalgh, "Spolia in Fortifications: Turkey, Syria and North Africa," in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo*, 2 vols., Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 46 (Spoleto, 1999), 785–935; Finbarr B. Flood, "Image against Nature: Spolia as Apotropaia in Byzantium and the Dar al-Islam," *The Medieval History Journal* 9, 1 (2006): 143–66. Although we do not know whether any of them were classical, there were statues at the entrances to some Umayyad palaces (Qasr al-Hayr al-Garbi and Khirbat al-Mafjar) and Abbasid palaces

- such as Ukhaydir: see Gertrude Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaydir: A Study in Early Muhammadan Architecture* (Oxford, 1914), as cited by K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1940), 2:51.
83. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica*, 53.
  84. Ibn 'Idhārī, *La caída del Califato de Córdoba y los Reyes de Taifas: Al-Bayān al-Mugrib*, trans. Felipe Maíllo Salgado (Salamanca, 1993), 21. The most literal translation is by Emilio de Santiago Simón, "Unas notas en torno a la 'Bāb al-Ṣūra' de Córdoba," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 18–19 (1969–70): 131–32; Samsó, *Las ciencias*, 80.
  85. According to Ibn 'Idhārī in "Unas notas," trans. Santiago Simón, 131–32.
  86. Luce López-Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Leiden, 1992), 60–62; al-Maqqarī, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties*, trans. Gayangos, 1:121.
  87. D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, Pa., 2003), 64; D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, 1 (Winter 2004): 83–84; Manuel Ación Almansa, "Materiales e hipótesis para una interpretación del Salón de 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir," in *Madīnat al-Zahrā': El Salón de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III*, ed. Antonio Vallejo Triano (Córdoba, 1995), 177–95, at 190. *Zuhra* was a popular name given to women among the Moriscos: see Ana Labarta, *La onomástica de los Moriscos valencianos* (Madrid, 1987), 53. *Al-Zahra'* (the dazzling) was also the surname of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, as pointed out by Maribel Fierro, "Madīnat al-Zahrā', el paraíso y los fatimíes," *Al-Qanṭara* 25, 2 (2004): 316–19.
  88. Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 387. In fact, he quotes the case of Venus, *al-Zuhra* or *al-'uzzā*, "the Strong, the Powerful," worshiped by the Lakhmids during the sixth century.
  89. Virgo was not always *al-'Adhrā'* for Muslim astrologers, who also used the Mesopotamic name *al-Sunbula*: Stefano Carboni, *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic Art* (New York, 1997), 3–6, 15, 35.
  90. For the anti-astrological attitude of legal scholars (*fuqahā'*) and sovereigns in al-Andalus, see Samsó, *Las ciencias*, 75–80; Carboni, *Following the Stars*, 3–6.
  91. Michael J. Rogers, "Text and Illustrations: Dioscorides and the Illustrated Herbal in the Arab Tradition," in *Arab Painting: Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts*, ed. Anna Contadini (Leiden, 2010), 41–47.
  92. The portrayal of the physicist is similar to that of the evangelists in the Byzantine Evangelia of the ninth century: Linda Komaroff, entry no. 288, "De Materia Medica by Dioscorides," in *The Glory of Byzantium*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York, 1997), 429–33.
  93. D. S. Rice, "The Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22, 1 (1959): 207–20; Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam* (New Haven and London, 2011), 50–54, 120–30. Berlekamp gathers accounts on the origin of the illustrations in astronomical works and the highly interesting case of the illuminated manuscript of the Epistles of the Brethren of Purity, completed in Bagdad in 1287: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Esad Efendi 3638, fols. 3b–4a.
  94. Rice, "Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript," 208.
  95. Géal, "Les bibliothèques," 25–29.
  96. Hernández Giménez, *Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, 74–75; Beltrán Fortes, "La colección arqueológica," 111; Serafín López Cuervo, *Medina az-Zahra': Ingeniería y formas* (Madrid, 1983), 79. These authors identify a deliberate action in the greater level of destruction seen in these pieces, and they attribute it to the time of the *fitna* or to the Almohad period: Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 236–37. Plain sarcophagi, also reused in the palace, were destroyed as well, so religious causes are not evident: Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 262.
  97. Antonio Vallejo Triano et al., "Resultados preliminares de la intervención arqueológica en la 'Casa de Ya'far' y en el edificio de 'Patio de los Pilares' de Madīnat al-Zahrā'," *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahra'* 5 (2004): 199–239. For the Court of the Clocks, no. 40 in the Archaeological Ensemble, see Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 236–37, 494–95.
  98. Court no. 23 in the plans of Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 492 and 496.
  99. Hernández Giménez, *Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, 71–73.
  100. Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 491; Antonio Almagro Gorbea, "Análisis tipológico de la arquitectura residencial de Madīnat al-Zahra'," en *Al-Andalus und Europa: Zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Petersberg, 2004), 124. These authors believe the typology of both courts is similar to the one used in later buildings such as *funduqs* (Vallejo) and madrasas (Almagro), but the origin is not clear.
  101. Hernández Giménez, *Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, 74.
  102. Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, fig. 30. The staircase turns around a rectangular core, as in the minarets.
  103. M. Antonia Martínez Núñez, "El Corán en los textos epigráficos andalusíes," in *El Corán ayer y hoy: Perspectivas actuales sobre el islam; Estudios en honor al profesor Julio Cortés*, ed. Miguel Hernando de Larramendi and Salvador Peña (Córdoba, 2008), 136–37. There is no absolute certainty that the epigraphs come from that hall. Vallejo Triano, *La ciudad califal*, 364.
  104. Vallejo Triano et al., "Resultados preliminares," 206–11.
  105. Hernández Giménez, *Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, 54. Vallejo identifies the ruined building no. 40, or Court of the Clocks, as the House of the Viziers (*Dār al-Wuzarā'*) mentioned in the sources. However, three aspects make me question the validity of this theory: the presence of clocks, the sarcophagus, and the herm of Heracles, as well as the features of the southern hall of this court, which is too narrow and seems more like a transition space (divided by a staircase), making it difficult to identify it as the "southern hall" of the *Dār al-Wuzarā'* described by Ibn Ḥayyān, *Anales palatinos*, 69; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis* (VII), 50.
  106. David A. King, "Los cuadrantes solares andalusíes," in *El legado científico andalusí*, ed. Juan Vernet Ginés and Julio Samsó (Madrid, 1992), 89–102; David A. King, "On the Role

- of the Muezzin and the *Muwaqqit* in Medieval Islamic Society,” in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation: Proceedings of Two Conferences on Pre-modern Science Held at the University of Oklahoma*, ed. F. Jamil Ragep and Sally P. Ragep (Leiden, 1996), 285–46.
107. Samsó, *Las ciencias*, 77–80; Ibn ‘Āṣim, *Kitāb al-Anwā’ wa-l-azmīna: Al-qawl fi-l-shuhūr = Tratado sobre los anwā’ y los tiempos: Capítulo sobre los meses*, trans and ed. Miquel Forcada Nogués (Barcelona, 1993); Manuela Marín, “*‘Ilm al-nuġūm e ‘Ilm al-ḥidān en al-Andalus*,” in *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I., Málaga, 1984* (Madrid, 1986), 509–35.
  108. The Abbasid caliph al-Ma’mun founded the first two astronomical observatories (sing. *marṣad*), one in Baghdad and another in Damascus. Although they were temporary, these observatories laid the foundation for other observatories created in subsequent centuries. The Arabs corrected the Ptolemaic dogma through observations and new mathematical calculations, and also incorporated the knowledge of Persian astronomy: David Pingree, “The Greek Influence on Early Islamic Mathematical Astronomy,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, 1 (1973): 32–43; Muammar Dizer, “Observatories and Astronomical Instruments,” in *Science and Technology in Islam*, ed. A. Y. al-Hassan, 2 vols., Different Aspects of Islamic Culture 4 (Paris, 2001), 2:236–39, 246–47.
  109. Samsó, *Las ciencias*, 465–199. Samsó suggests that when Prince al-Hakam ascended to the caliphate, he probably “revived the popularity of astrology in the court.” The presence of astrologers in the palace was closely connected with the promotion of astronomy and the rest of the sciences in al-Andalus throughout the tenth century.
  110. Miquel Forcada Nogués, *Enciclopedia de Al-Andalus* (Almería, 2004–2013), s.v. “Aḥmad b. Fāris”; Miquel Forcada Nogués, “Astrology and Folk Astronomy: The *Mukhtasar min al-Anwā’* of Aḥmad b. Fāris,” *Suhayl* 1 (2000): 107–206; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Anales palatinos*, 187; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis* (VII), 148; Sonja Brentjes, “Courtly Patronage of the Ancient Sciences in Post-Classical Islamic Societies,” *Al-Qanṭara* 29, 2 (2008): 403–440.
  111. Joan Carandell, “Dos cuadrantes solares andalusíes de Medina Azara,” *Al-Qanṭara* 10, 2 (1989): 329–42; King, “Los cuadrantes,” 98–99. Both authors analyze the possible reasons for the crude execution of these sundials.
  112. The hypothesis about an astrological meaning for the vegetal decoration in the Hall of ‘Abd al-Rahman in the Madinat al-Zahra’ (Acién, “Materiales,” 188–91; Fierro, “Plants,” 127–28) is not convincing enough in my opinion.
  113. Monica Rius, *La alquibla en al-Andalus y al-Magrib al-Aqṣā* (Barcelona, 2000), 106; Julio Samsó, “La ciencia árabe-islámica y su papel,” *Revista de Libros* 75 (March 2003): <http://www.revistadelibros.com/articulos/la-ciencia-arabe-islamica-y-su-papel> [accessed February 25, 2014]. The same can be said about palatine oratories in the Alhambra.
  114. Susana Calvo Capilla, “Analogies entre les Grandes Mosquées de Damas et Cordoue: Mythe ou réalité,” in *Umayyad Legacies: Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, ed. Antoine Borrut and Paul M. Cobb (Leiden, 2010), 286.
  115. Heinz Halm, *The Fatimids and Their Traditions of Learning* (London and New York, 1997), 72–73.
  116. Dominique Sourdel and J. Sourdel-Thomine, *La civilisation de l’Islam classique* (Paris, 1983), 313.
  117. It was “a long oblong gallery in a large hall” with rooms on either side, the walls of which were lined with “bookcases made of wood, and decorated”: al-Muqaddasī, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions: A Translation of Ahsan al-Taqaṣim fi Ma’rifat al-Aqalim*, trans. Basil Anthony Collins (Reading, Eng.: 1994), 263–64; D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Islamic Art and Visual Culture: An Anthology of Sources* (Malden and Oxford, 2011), 12–13; Bennisson, *Great Caliphs*, 180–81.
  118. In fact, the scientific activity promoted at Raqqada by Ibrahim II (d. 902) might have served as a model for the caliphs of Cordoba, according to Forcada Nogués, *Ética e ideología*, 163–64; Ḥaṣan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, “Bayt al-Hikma ou ‘Maison de la Sagesse’ d’Ifriqiya,” *IBLA* (Tunis) 28, 112 (1965): 353–72; Nejla M. Abu Izzeddin, *The Druzes: A New Study of Their History, Faith, and Society* (Leiden, 1993), 63.
  119. Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *La civilisation*, 313–14; Abu Izzeddin, *Druzes*, 83–84; Bennisson, *Great Caliphs*, 181. In Halm’s opinion, the Dar al-‘Ilm created by al-Hakim was modeled after the institution founded by the Persian vizier Abu Nasr Sabur ibn Ardashir between 991 and 993 in al-Karkh, a southern suburb of Baghdad inhabited by the Shi’a. Description of al-Maqrīzī in Halm, *Fatimids*, 72–73.
  120. Avicenna, *The Life of Ibn Sīnā*, ed., annot., and trans. W. E. Gohlman (New York, 1974), 35–37.
  121. The Basra library hosted gatherings of dilettante erudites who talked about poetry in meetings where both residents and foreigners were welcome: Mackensen, “Moslem Libraries,” 88–89.
  122. In a study of the painted amphora found in the palace of Jawsaq al-Khaqani in Samarra, Rice identifies a potential location for the majlis in a room adjoining the main hall, which was domed and had a cruciform plan: D. S. Rice, “Deacon or Drink: Some Paintings from Samarra Re-examined,” *Arabica* 5 (1958): 15–19.
  123. Bennisson, *Great Caliphs*, 181; Samer M. Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons in the Islamic Middle Ages: Poetry, Public Performance, and the Presentation of the Past* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2010). In the Abbasid lands, cities also hosted meetings of the *mutakallimūn* (Islamic theologians), who engaged in a kind of scientific and philosophical debate to which non-Muslim learned men were welcome. For *mutakallimūn* meetings and their potential existence in al-Andalus, see Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus*, 164n20; Echevarría, *Almanzor*, 213.
  124. As studied by Cynthia Robinson, “Seeing Paradise: Metaphor and Vision in *Taiḥa* Palace Architecture,” *Gesta* 36, 2 (1998): 145–155; Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in Al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 15 (Leiden, 2002).
  125. In Iraq madrasas appeared as institutions with their own buildings during the tenth century: George Makdisi, *The*

- Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1981), 24–33; Géal, “Les bibliothèques,” 21–22; John Pedersen, “Some Aspects of the History of the Madrasa,” *Islamic Culture* 3 (1929): 529–37.
126. Lionel Casson, *Las bibliotecas del mundo antiguo* (Barcelona, 2003); El-Abbadi, *Vie et destin*, 145–79; *La biblioteca infinita. I luoghi del sapere nel mondo antico*, ed. Roberto Meneghini and Rossella Rea (exh. cat.) (Milan: Electa, 2014).
127. The walls of each auditorium are lined with a double or triple bench on the lower part, and with a prominent seat in the middle of one of the sides, as a sort of a *cathedra*. Grzegorz Majcherek, “The Auditoria on Kom el-Dikka: A Glimpse of Late Antique Education in Alexandria,” in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor, July 29–August 4, 2007*, ed. Traianos Gagos, American Studies in Papyrology (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2010), 471–84. On the architectural typology of ancient libraries, see Gisella Cantino Wataghin, “Le biblioteche nella tarda antichità: L’apporto dell’archeologia,” in *Lecture, livres, bibliothèques dans l’Antiquité tardive* (Colloque international Paris, INHA, 16–17 avril 2010), ed. Jean-Michel Carrié, *Antiquité Tardive* 18 (Turnhout, 2010): 21–62.
128. Ibn Jubayr (twelfth century) still mentions the ancient buildings intended for philosophers and teachers (*ahl al-rī’āsa*), as well as for the observation of the stars. Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla = A través del Oriente: El siglo XII ante los ojos*, trans. Felipe Maíllo Salgado (Barcelona, 1988), 55.
129. Lea Margaret Stirling, *The Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2005), 229–31, and 205; Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, Wis., 1992), 35–70 (examines the devotion to the Muses in scholarly circles trained on *paideia* in late antiquity).
130. García y Bellido, “El sarcófago romano de Córdoba,” 26–30; Noguera Celdrán, “Algunas consideraciones sobre el sarcófago,” 307.
131. Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1995), 307–30; Garth Fowden, “The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 102 (1982): 33–59.
132. R. R. R. Smith, “Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 127–55; Zanker, *Mask of Socrates*, 311–14; Stirling, *Learned Collector*, 205–27. We know another gallery of statues of poets and philosophers from the Ptolemaic period in Memphis, Egypt: Jean-Philippe Lauer and Charles Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis* (Paris, 1955).
133. Zanker, *Mask of Socrates*, 289–307.
134. Cicero mentions the presence of Hermeracleae in Athenian palaestra and gymnasia during the fourth century; he actually bought several *hermae* of Athena for his library. In Pierre Paris, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. “Hermae, Hermulae.”
135. “Child’s Sarcophagus: Athletic Games” (end of second century/beginning of third century A.D.: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MR 775; “Sarcophagus” (s. II): Side, Turkey, Side Archaeological Museum.
136. Taragan, “Atlas Transformed,” 12, 22–27.
137. At the same time that the study of the “sciences of the Ancients” was promoted in the palace, al-Hakam II, disregarding the warnings of the legal scholars (*fuqahā’*) on the dangers of philosophy and astronomy, undertook the enlargement of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, where the religious orthodoxy was publicly ratified through an epigraphic program that emphasized the Maliki creed and “divine determinism.” See Susana Calvo Capilla, “La ampliación califal de la mezquita de Córdoba: Mensajes, formas y funciones,” *Goya: Revista de Arte* 323 (2008): 89–106; Forcada Nogués, *Ética e Ideología*, 185–92.
138. Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 88–95; Salvatore Settis, “Continuità, distanza, conoscenza: Tre usi dell’antico,” in *Memoira dell’antico nell’arte italiana*, ed. Salvatore Settis, 3 vols. (Turin, 1984–86), vol. 3, *Dalla tradizione all’archeologia*, 373–486. The ancient Hispanic heritage was part of this cultural claim: see Janina Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate: The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in al-Andalus* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 164–65; and Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 208–9.



STEFAN HEIDEMANN, JEAN-FRANÇOIS DE LAPÉROUSE, AND VICKI PARRY

## THE LARGE AUDIENCE: LIFE-SIZED STUCCO FIGURES OF ROYAL PRINCES FROM THE SELJUQ PERIOD

Two iconic stucco sculptures of the Middle Islamic period (eleventh to fifteenth century) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) are by far the largest and most embellished of their kind (figs. 1 and 2).<sup>1</sup> Both arrived from private collections via the antiquities market of the early twentieth century. The diademed figure was in the possession of Hagop Kevorkian (1872–1962) in 1931,<sup>2</sup> while the figure with the winged crown was owned by Cora Timken Burnet, a close friend to whom he may have sold it. Since none of the known stucco figures or related stucco heads has been recovered from controlled excavations, iconographic and spatial contexts have been lost. Close parallels in terms of garment and execution are found in the less-than-life-sized royal figure with winged headgear at the Detroit Institute of Arts and the lively though differently posed figure in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin (figs. 3 and 8). Both of these were acquired from Kevorkian, the latter in 1913. The three figures of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) were purchased by Sir Charles Murray Marling (1863–1933), a British diplomat in the Middle East, on the antiquities market in Tehran between 1916 and 1918 (figs. 4–6).<sup>3</sup> One standing figure entered the collection of the Worcester Art Museum in 1932 (fig. 7),<sup>4</sup> and in 1926, Henry Walters acquired a standing stucco warrior for his collection in Baltimore, originally called the Walters Art Gallery and now known as the Walters Art Museum.<sup>5</sup> A comparable figure in the Sabah Collection in Kuwait is a recent addition to the collection (fig. 9).

One can imagine that when a mud-brick building decays over time or collapses, stucco—where it is not protected by overlaying debris—falls off the wall and is smashed into many pieces. The raised areas are easily damaged, especially faces and hands, and floors get clut-

tered with stucco fragments of inscriptions and miscellaneous parts of the decoration, including arabesques, decorative fresco painting, and parts of rosettes. Over the centuries, sand, dust, and debris settle on top. Eventually, dealers or their workers take what they regard as suitable merchandise.<sup>6</sup> Large fragments such as heads and occasionally torsos are easily found intact within the rubble, but the detailed background of geometrical figures and foliage, delicate epigraphic bands, and other embellishing details are left behind. The spolia may be reassembled later as a freestanding figure or as an invented composite stucco revetment for the market.<sup>7</sup> Several single heads and figures have survived in this way. The isolation of the MMA figures as freestanding sculptures today distorts our understanding of the artists' original intent in placing them within the dazzling decorative revetment program of a reception hall.

In 1931 Rudolf Riefstahl, a classical archaeologist, attempted to collect all the Islamic stucco figures known at his time and suggested dating them to the later Seljuq period, about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Although the MMA figures have often been published as illustrations, little research has been done on them or on the related figures in other museums.<sup>9</sup> Estelle Whelan and, more recently, Melanie Gibson proposed that these figures served as royal guards.<sup>10</sup>

After a brief introduction to the tradition of stucco figures from the Ancient Orient to the Middle Islamic period, a revision of the dating will be attempted. The question of whether these are royal guards or princely figures will also be examined, as will their architectural context and function, with special reference to their posture and their placement within the mural tradition. Finally, in the technical examination in part V the details



Fig. 1. Figure with winged crown. Stucco; free formed, incised, painted, gilt; H. 47 in. (119.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 57.51.18. Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, N.Y.



Fig. 2. Figure with jeweled diadem. Stucco; free formed, incised, painted, gilt; H. 56 3/4 in. (144.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 67.119. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Lester Wolfe, 1967. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, N.Y.



Fig. 3. Figure. Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 25.64. (Photo: courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts)



Fig. 4. Standing figure with winged crown. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A.21-1928. (Photo: courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)



Fig. 5. Standing figure with jeweled crown. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A.22-1928. (Photo: courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)



Fig. 6. Cross-legged figure. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A.20-1928. (Photo: courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

of their manufacture, condition, and polychromy will be discussed, along with the pigments used.

The temptation to include in this study all figural stucco from the Seljuq period was resisted because some examples, such as those from Seljuq Asia Minor, which depict hunting or courtly scenes, differ in composition and style, and others obviously belong to a different iconographic program. The figure from Berlin (fig. 8) and the crouching figure (fig. 6) from the Victoria and Albert Museum, however, are included here.<sup>11</sup> Single Seljuq stucco heads survive in Berlin, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the David Collection in Copenhagen, and other museums, but this group provides even less or no iconographic context.<sup>12</sup>

## I. THE TRADITION

### I.1. *From the Ancient Orient to the Seljuqs*

Despite their late date at the beginning of the Middle Islamic period, life-sized figures of royal personages are part of a tradition going back to the ancient Near East.<sup>13</sup> We find figures standing in a frontal position in Hatra (Iraq) in the second century, others of the *shāhānshāh* (king of kings) in Taq-i Bustan (near Kirmanshah, western Iran) in the seventh century, and still others in Nizamabad (about 80 km southeast of Tehran, Iran) in the seventh or early eighth centuries. A life-sized image of the caliph from the early eighth century is preserved from Khirbat al-Mafjar in Palestine. In the British Museum we even have a large stucco warrior from sixth- / seventh-century Chinese Turkestan, a region where the Chinese tradition of standing figures reigned.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, lavish vegetal polychrome stucco wall panels and ceiling decorations were integral parts of architectural decorative programs. From the Abbasid period on, we know almost only of vegetal and geometric incised or carved stucco panels from the palaces and mosques in places such as al-Raqqa (Syria),<sup>15</sup> Samarra (Iraq),<sup>16</sup> Fustat (Egypt),<sup>17</sup> and Nishapur (eastern Iran).<sup>18</sup> The tradition of “post-Samarran” non-figural stucco was continued in Iran, for example, in the Ghaznavid palaces at Lashkar-i Bazar (near Bust in present-day Afghanistan), and in the Kashan region, until the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>19</sup> A time gap of several centuries, therefore, lies

between the last figural stuccos from the Umayyad palaces and the figures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. They highlight a new context to which these figures also belong. From the centuries in between, figural images are known, at least from the frescoes from Samarra<sup>20</sup> and Nishapur,<sup>21</sup> but we do not have any three-dimensional human figures. To our present knowledge human figures in relief emerge in the Ghaznavid palatial context on marble slabs from the vicinity of Ghazna. They were most probably once polychrome.<sup>22</sup> In eastern Iran and Central Asia princely imagery in polychrome wall frescoes continued almost uninterrupted from the pre-Islamic Soghdian period to the Middle Islamic period. Most prominent are those found in Lashkar-i Bazar from the mid-eleventh century, and from the Qarakhani reception building (*kūshk*) in Tepe Afrasiyab, Old Samarra, from the middle decades of the twelfth century.<sup>23</sup> Artistically connected to the architectural decoration are the later paintings on *mīnā’ī* and luster-painted ware and early manuscript illustrations from the second half of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.<sup>24</sup>

### I.2. *Stucco figures of the Middle Islamic period*

While figurative art was always present from the time of the Umayyads to the Seljuqs, we see a resurgence of it in the Ghaznavid and Seljuq periods, mostly as architectural decoration on ceramics and metal ware, as well as on circulating coins and in book painting.<sup>25</sup> The two figures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art are by far the largest and most embellished figures of their kind. They were all made by modeling and carving gypsum-based plaster.<sup>26</sup> After drying, the figures were most likely painted and partly covered with gilt.<sup>27</sup> As noted earlier, one of the two figures in the MMA’s collection wears a winged headdress, the other a jeweled diadem. As important as the headgear are the garments and other accoutrements. Both figures are shown in a frontal position wearing open-buttoned caftans,<sup>28</sup> their upper sleeves embroidered with *ṭirāz* brassards with inscriptions. This type of caftan is rarer than the better-known tunic-like garments (*qabā*)<sup>29</sup> frequently depicted in a more abstract fashion on *mīnā’ī* and luster-painted ware; it was perhaps called a “special court *qabā* with *ṭirāz*” (*qabā-yi khāṣṣ-i muṭarrāz*).<sup>30</sup> The open caftans are held together with golden<sup>31</sup> belts or sashes (*kamar* or *kamar-band*)<sup>32</sup>

ending in two long ribbons dangling in the middle of the body, which are described by Bayhaqi as part of a robe of honor.<sup>33</sup> These coats or tunic-like garments (*khaftān* and *qabā*, the first with buttons) were common in the Turco-Iranian world for a long time. A round gilt and embellished protector—presumably meant to depict metal—rests on each shoulder of the diademed figure, similar to the protectors on the shoulders of the smaller figures in Detroit and in Berlin. The figure with the winged crown wears an embroidered shoulder piece instead. The golden belt, ostentatious metal accoutrements, and unusually rich embroideries point to an elevated rank. From the hemline of the coat to the top of the crown, both figures measure 115 to 116 centimeters (46 inches), thus affirming their supposed origin from the same decorative stucco revetment. The figure with the jeweled crown wears boots with broken-off tips, giving it a total height of 144 centimeters. The space between the bootlegs is embellished with an asymmetrical five-leafed palmetto, which is the only remaining trace of the former background of the revetment. The two figures have the same round beardless “moon face,” with a small dimpled mouth and a delicate nose; the latter is fashionable in eastern and western Iran and generally associated with Turks. The images of the two humans were only minimally gendered; their sabers and crown-like headgear indicate that both are male.

As mentioned above, the closest parallel in size and decoration is the figure in the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 3), which also wears a richly embroidered caftan with *ṭirāz* brassards but is shorter, measuring 101 centimeters (40 inches) from the sole of the boots to the top of the crown.<sup>34</sup> This figure retains some of the original floral and ornamental background of the revetment at the sides and between the legs. Unlike the other standing figures, this one holds not a saber but another object, perhaps a bag of money or a *mandīl* (royal napkin),<sup>35</sup> while his left arm projects outward and presumably held something important in the outstretched hand, which has now disappeared.<sup>36</sup> While this might have been a lance, staff, or sword, it was most likely a ceremonial mace, as seen on the mural of Lashkar-i Bazar, the aforementioned marble slabs from Ghazna, and *mīnā'ī* and luster-painted ware. Three smaller figures and two fig-

ural stucco elements form a group of fragments at the Victoria and Albert Museum (figs. 4–6).<sup>37</sup> All three of these figures came from the same revetment, or at least from the same architectural program. One is standing and wears a caftan and an abstracted winged crown while holding a flower in his hand (height: 52 cm); the second is standing with his left hand on his hip (height: 46 cm); and the third is seated and also holds a flower (height: 42.5 cm). The latter two wear tunics and jeweled diadems and none of them holds a sword or a saber. The figure in the Worcester Art Museum (height: 86 cm), one of the tallest in this group, wears a type of crown, but it is too poorly preserved to allow for a closer identification (fig. 7). It seems to be a palmetto, perhaps winged. He holds a flower in his right hand and a *mandīl* in the left.<sup>38</sup> The figure at the Walters Art Museum (height: 60.4 cm) has a number of unusual features that have to be carefully studied before it can be included in this comparative sample.<sup>39</sup> Another standing figure wearing a caftan was recently acquired by the al-Sabah collection in Kuwait; it is heavily restored, especially in areas of interest, such as the crown and the hands (fig. 9).<sup>40</sup> The figure with a seemingly vivid sense of motion (height: 60 cm) now in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin also belongs to this comparative group (fig. 8).<sup>41</sup> It is unique in the way it seems to capture movement through its long wavy braids of hair and upraised arm and raised foot; it is also without a saber. The impression of movement might, however, come from viewing the figure in isolation. Images of attendants on *mīnā'ī* ware and luster-painted ware from Iran have a similar three-quarter profile, with one foot often slightly raised off the ground and a hand open in a gesture of servitude.<sup>42</sup> The same pose can be found in a smaller-than-life-sized figure (height: 130 cm) seen in a mural on the eastern wall of the court of the Qarakhani *kūshk* of Old Samarqand. The figure, an attendant, holds an arrow in his hand and turns to the throne niche.<sup>43</sup> The Berlin figure, acquired from Hagop Kevorkian in 1913, was said to have come from Rayy. Obviously connected to the MMA figures is a stucco panel with two symmetrical mirror-shaped figures that was published by Riefstahl. Said to have come from Rayy, its whereabouts are now lost but it was in Kevorkian's possession in 1926 (figs. 19 and 20).<sup>44</sup>



Fig. 7. Standing figure. Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum, 1932.24. (Photo: courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum)



Fig. 8. Figure. Museum für Islamische Kunst / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, I. 2658. (Photo: Ingrid Geske, courtesy of the Museum für Islamische Kunst / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)



Fig. 9. Standing figure. Kuwait, al-Sabah Collection, inv. no. LNS 2 ST. (Photo: Walter Denny)

## II. DATING

### II.1. Overview

Riefstahl attempted to date these figures to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on the basis of stylistic analysis, at a time when the study of Islamic art was in its infancy. However, we propose a slightly earlier dating based on two details of the epigraphy and armor.

### II.2. Epigraphy

An important clue for dating the MMA figures is provided by the calligraphy of the *ṭirāz* brassards. The cartouches on their upper sleeves each show parts of an inscription that share the same calligraphic details. Although the inscription of the figure with the winged crown is divided between the cartouches on both sleeves, it may be interpreted as part of a continuing Koranic phrase: *'alayk[um] bil- / mu'minīn* (fig. 10). Read in this way, it would be a defective two-word inscription, missing a *mīm*. Abdullah Ghouchani has suggested that it could be a section from Koran 9:128: “[he is deeply concerned] about you [plural], toward the believers [full of kindness and mercy].”<sup>45</sup> But *ṭirāz* inscriptions on paintings and murals are not expected to bear any meaningful texts.<sup>46</sup> Known *ṭirāz* inscriptions on textiles usually carry a eulogy of the ruler or a very general religious inscription, and do not run from one sleeve to the other. The *ṭirāz* inscription on the figure with the jeweled crown is simply a part of an often-repeated standard eulogizing phrase: *al-mulk* (translation: The sovereignty [belongs to God]), with the same word on each sleeve (figs. 2 and 23). The calligraphy on the *ṭirāz* brassards of the Detroit figure shares a similar design. One can read *al-mu'* on the left sleeve, followed by *minīn* on the right one (translated as “the be / lievers”). The similarity in style is also apparent in the scrolling treatment of the *wāw* and the exaggerated pointed tops of the lower vertical letters. The figure in Detroit is thus probably contemporary with the pair at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The letters on the *ṭirāz* brassards of the two MMA figures and the one in Detroit have triangular fins at the top of the vertical parts of each letter and swan-shaped *nūns* and *wāws*. This simple way of adorning the letter-



Fig. 10. Detail of figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18): *ṭirāz* cartouches.

ing started in the late ninth century and was common during the tenth century. The type of little flower above the *ʿayn* is also frequently attested on Ghaznavid gold coins of the tenth century and later.<sup>47</sup> The high-rising “shadows” above every low vertical letter are abraded stumps of exaggeratedly pointed letter tops and are helpful for dating the figure. These pointed tops had been evolving since the early tenth century, allowing low vertical letters to rise, even to the height of long vertical letters. This style was popular from the eleventh century until the middle decades of the twelfth century. Early examples include inscriptions in Lashkar-i Bazar from the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>48</sup> A tombstone in Ghazna dated 530 (1136),<sup>49</sup> another one attributed to Yazd and dated 516 (1122),<sup>50</sup> and a minbar panel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art also carved in Yazd and dated Jumada I 546 (August–September 1151)<sup>51</sup> are all fine examples of this calligraphic feature (fig. 11). By this

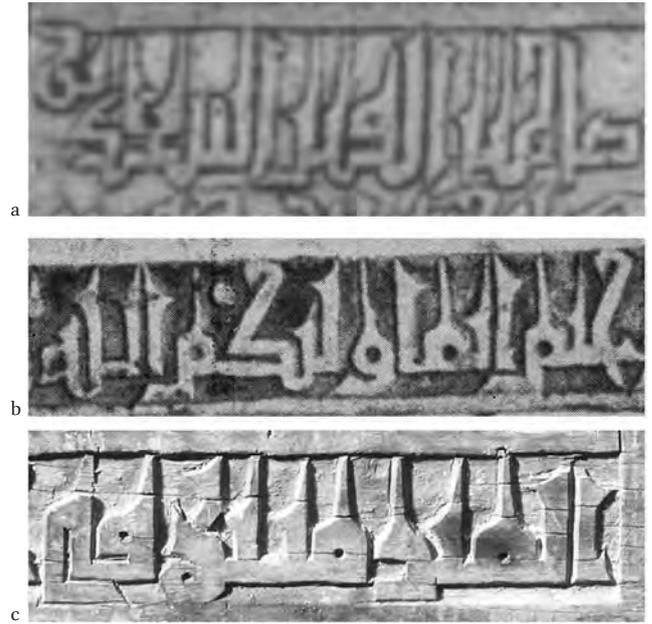


Fig. 11. Comparative calligraphy: a) tombstone, Ghazna, 530 (1136) (Samuel Flury, “Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna,” *Syria* 6 [1925]: pl. 19 [detail]); b) tombstone, Yazd, 516 (1122) (Iraj Afshar, “Two 12th Century Gravestones of Yazd in Mashhad and Washington,” *Studia Iranica* 2, 2 [1973]: pl. 21 [detail]); c) wood panel, Yazd, 546 (1151): New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 34.150.2.

epigraphic reasoning, the MMA and Detroit figures can be assumed to date to the decades between 1050 and 1150, but probably more toward the first half of the twelfth century, when we also find this style in western Iran. Thus the figures might predate the rise in the second half of the twelfth century of polychrome *mīnāʿī* ware, which, it has been suggested, may have been inspired in part by wall paintings.<sup>52</sup>

### II.3. The saber

The sabers are another datable feature on these figures. The left hands of both MMA figures either rest on the hilt of or hold large, slightly curved swords or sabers in richly studded scabbards. Although the Abbasid armies did not use them, sabers are known at least since the sixth century among the Turks outside the Islamic Empire, as seen on almost life-sized stone stelae from the Central Asian steppes (fig. 18).<sup>53</sup> A Turkic-influenced

sword of the ninth century was excavated in Nishapur, but it is long and straight.<sup>54</sup> The curved saber does not seem to have entered the Islamic Empire before the intrusion of the Türkmen tribes in the eleventh century and the subsequent Seljuq conquest. The earliest known dated appearance of a saber in Islamic art is on a Qarakhanid coin, a *fals* from Samarqand from 415 (1024–25),<sup>55</sup> and, within the Seljuq Empire itself, on a gold dinar from Herat dated 439 (1047–48) (fig. 12).<sup>56</sup> As a *terminus post quem* this would just correspond with the epigraphic style of the *ṭirāz* brassards, and date the figures to the Seljuq period. The excavation conducted by the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nishapur yielded another early depiction of a saber on a fresco in a room that was sealed by an earthquake in 1145.<sup>57</sup> A horseman in a caftan with *ṭirāz* brassards is shown hunting with a slightly curved sword with a lozenge-shaped pommel.

### III. THE ROYAL IMAGE

#### III.1. *The cross-legged ruler*

While the earliest Umayyad figures of caliphs are shown standing and enface, beginning in the late ninth century, royal and princely figures in the Islamic world were typically depicted in a cross-legged seated position that came from Central Asia, beyond the Islamic Empire. The earliest dated cross-legged figure in the Islamic world is on a presentation coin of the caliph al-Muqtadir Billah (r. 908–32).<sup>58</sup>

Katharina Otto-Dorn has traced the invention of the Islamic cross-legged ruler with a wine cup in his right hand to the Old Turkic stelae, in particular to the stela of Chöl Asgat in Mongolia, which is dated, according to a recent new reading of the inscription, to the 720s.<sup>59</sup> The depiction of a cross-legged ruler without a wine cup, however, goes even further back in time, to at least the Kushans, as seen on coins of the second century A.D. In *mīnā'ī* and luster-painted ware of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries rulers in the cross-legged posture usually wear a felt cap, often fur trimmed, or a mitre-like *sarpūsh*. The ruler in the aforementioned mural from Old Samarqand is also cross-legged and seated on a throne, but instead of a wine cup he holds an arrow.<sup>60</sup>

Standing figures shown frontally with swords in a



Fig. 12. Gold dinar, Herat, 439 (1047–48). Sabers on either side of the central inscription. Private collection. (Photo: courtesy of Michael Bates)

similar posture as our stucco figures are also known from other visual media and architectural contexts, such as carved stone niches in Sinjar in northern Mesopotamia, which can be dated to the period 1220 to 1229. Estelle Whelan and Melanie Gibson have each identified these figures as royal guards (*khāṣṣakiyya*; *ghilmān-i khāṣṣagī*). Gibson also includes the two figures of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in her argument.<sup>61</sup> While the figures in Sinjar clearly function as guards, we propose, however, that the figures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art depict princes or royal personages, based on the crowns and the Turkic Central Asian tradition of standing royal figures, neither of which has previously been considered.

#### III.2. *Royal crowns, hairstyle, and jewelry*

The two MMA figures are distinguished by their crowns, headgear, and hairstyles. Rather than the ordinary *kulāh* (felt cap), pointed *qalansuwwa*, or mitre-like *sarpūsh*, both figures wear elaborate crowns (*tāj*)<sup>62</sup> that appear to have been partly gilded and lavishly studded with jewels. One has a winged crown (fig. 13), the other a jeweled, triple-lobed diadem (fig. 14). The better-preserved headgear of the latter consists of three parts, beginning with a felt cap, which was originally worn by Turks but became an ordinary part of the headdress of the ruling military class.<sup>63</sup> Felt caps are also commonly worn by figures on *mīnā'ī* ware. Next, a pleated veil (*dastār*?)<sup>64</sup> covers the top of the cap (fig. 15) on both of the MMA figures, as well as on at least two of the V&A figures. It is uncertain whether the gilding of the central figure on a *mīnā'ī* bowl of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century represents a “golden veil” over a felt cap or is a crude



Fig. 13. Detail of figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18): winged crown and jewelry. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, N.Y.



Fig. 14. Detail of figure with jeweled diadem (fig. 2, MMA 67.119): jeweled diadem and jewelry. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, N.Y.



Fig. 15. Detail of figure with jeweled diadem (fig. 2, MMA 67.119): pleated veil. (Photo: Stefan Heidemann)



Fig. 16. Detail, showing the golden veil, of bowl with a ruler and attendants. Attributed to Iran, twelfth to thirteenth century. Stonepaste; polychrome in-glaze and overglaze painted and gilded on an opaque monochrome glaze (*mīnā'ī*).  $3 \frac{1}{4} \times 7 \frac{3}{8}$  in. ( $8.3 \times 18.7$  cm),  $7 \frac{3}{8}$  in. ( $18.7$  cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 57.36.5. Purchase, Rogers Fund, and Gift of The Schiff Foundation. (Photo: Stefan Heidemann)

depiction of a standard halo (fig. 16). Both interpretations, nevertheless, would distinguish the figure in the center as a ruler.<sup>65</sup> A veil covering the braids of a cross-legged ruler is clearly depicted on a luster-painted plate in the Iran-i Bastan Museum in Tehran.<sup>66</sup> The third component of the better-preserved MMA crown is the triple-lobed jeweled diadem, which also appears on two of the V&A figures. In each example, the three “panels” of the diadem are distinctly adorned. Clearly, these diadems are meant to look as if they are made of metal, and those of the V&A figures suggest a repoussé work. This form of paneled crown seems to be more common among the Chinese-influenced nomads in eastern Central Asia than in the western parts of the Islamic Empire, and is also found among the contemporary Northern Song and Khitan in Central Asia.<sup>67</sup> It does not—to the best knowledge of the authors—seem to have any parallel in *mīnā'ī* and luster-painted ware.

The hair on both MMA figures is bundled and braided, with the braids bound back into impressive loops (figs. 13 and 14). The Detroit, Worcester, and V&A figures (with the exception of the sitting one), have the same long braids doubled back into loops. The seated figure of the V&A and the Berlin figure have long flowing braids under their crowns, which were fashionable among the Turks. Looped braids—round and thicker at the bottom of the loop—may be depicted in a more cursory fashion in Kashani *mīnā'ī* ware, as seen on a bowl in the MMA (fig. 17), but there are many other examples on luster-painted and *mīnā'ī* ware.<sup>68</sup>

A pair of pearls dangles from the ears of the diademed figure, and two chain necklaces embellish his chest. The lower chain has a large almost rectangular bead at its center, which might represent an amulet box. While earrings and necklaces are common as signs of royalty on



Fig. 17. Detail, showing looped braids, of bowl with a ruler and attendants (see fig. 16, MMA 57.36.5). (Photo: Stefan Heidemann)

Sasanian images, they are rarely seen on later *mīnā'ī* and lusterware.<sup>69</sup>

The right hand of the diademed figure grasps an object, which can probably be identified as a *mandil*—another symbol of royalty.<sup>70</sup> The winged-crown figure may have held something similar in his right hand, which is only partially preserved. The figures in Detroit and Worcester, along with the figure with the winged crown in the V&A, also appear to be holding a royal *napkin* in their left hand. Surprisingly, except for the figure in the al-Sabah collection (fig. 9) and the pair in the Kevorkian panel (fig. 19), none of them holds the usual Iranian symbol of royalty, the wine cup of Jamshid, well known from generic depictions.<sup>71</sup>

The other MMA figure has the same hairstyle and composition of headdress as his companion, but the crown itself features two wings pointing in opposite directions and a central teardrop-shaped palmetto projecting upwards in the middle. The Detroit figure,<sup>72</sup> the Worcester figure, and one of those at the V&A (fig. 4)

each wear a similarly stylized winged crown. Renowned from the Sasanian period onwards as the symbol of Verethragna or Vahram, the god of war and victory, it became an icon of Iranian royalty.<sup>73</sup> As far as we know, winged crowns were not used for Islamic royalty in the first three centuries of the Islamic Empire except for some early coin issues, which continued to use the distinct designs of late Sasanian coins. Winged crowns reappear as adornment in the iconography of rulers in the tenth century. We know that the Ziyarid ruler Mardawij ibn Ziyar (r. 927–35) had commissioned a crown in the Sasanian fashion, which implies one with wings.<sup>74</sup> The first known dated renderings of such crowns are found on presentation coins of rulers of the Buyid dynasty (945–1045) such as Rukn al-Dawla (r. 947–77) and 'Adud al-Dawla (r. 952–83) in western Iran and Iraq. The Samanids (819–1005), and the successive Ghaznavid dynasty (977–1117) in eastern Iran, also re-enacted pre-Islamic Sasanian, and even Soghdian forms and iconography.<sup>75</sup> These images were meant to shed a favorable light on

the new dynasties of Iranian and Turkish origin as revivers of past glory, which the Abbasids in Iraq failed to provide after the political collapse in the core lands of the empire in the early tenth century.<sup>76</sup> A number of silver bowls from eastern Iran that presumably date to the tenth and eleventh centuries feature a ruler sitting in cross-legged fashion and a Sasanian-style winged crown.<sup>77</sup> We also find winged crowns in other media such as polychrome *mīnā'ī*<sup>78</sup> and luster-painted pottery, as well as, unexpectedly, on Mediterranean Tell Minis luster-painted ware from Syria (outside the Iranian world proper)—always associated with the depiction of a ruler.<sup>79</sup>

The top of the head of the MMA figure with the winged crown is covered, as already mentioned, with the same pleated veil as its diademed twin (fig. 15). His braids were gathered to match those of the diademed figure, but the necessary loopholes were not carved, suggesting a hasty termination to the carving. Similar to the Iranian-Sasanian fashion,<sup>80</sup> each of the earrings has three large pearls and the figure wears necklaces consisting of three chains of beads with what seems to be a cross suspended from the lowest one.<sup>81</sup>

To summarize, two forms of crowns are consistently used within this royal group, a winged crown or a triple-lobed metal diadem, and all the figures have beads dangling from their ear lobes and multiple strands of pearls draped around their necks.<sup>82</sup> The dubious figures are excluded here. All of these characteristics are consistent with an older Sasanian model for depicting royalty, allowing us to identify these two figures as rulers in the Iranian tradition, despite the fact that Sasanian *shāhanshāhs* are almost always bearded. For example, representations on coins show the Buyids bearded like Sasanian emperors,<sup>83</sup> and the Turkish rulers depicted on the Central Asian stone stelae all have mustaches—a tradition that was continued by early Seljuq rulers such as Alp Arslan, Malikshah, and Sanjar, as we know from literary sources.<sup>84</sup> However, rulers depicted on later twelfth- and thirteenth-century *mīnā'ī* ware, luster-painted ware, and turquoise underglaze-painted ware are mostly beardless with some exceptions.<sup>85</sup> The clean-shaven, moon-shaped faces of these stucco figures most likely represent youthful and powerful rulers.

### III.3. *The standing ruler*

While models for the image of the standing ruler may be found in Sasanian and early Umayyad stucco reliefs, the influence of eastern Turkish depictions of royalty in the conception of these figures appears to have been strong and may have come from a class of Old Turkic stelae found in the Central Asian steppes<sup>86</sup> and dating from the sixth to tenth century. The figures on these stelae are standing frontally, right arm over left; in some cases the left hand rests on a dagger, sword, or saber (fig. 18).<sup>87</sup> These stelae served as funeral memorials of rulers and dignitaries, and may have also played a role in religious rituals. The Seljuqs originated from these Central Asian steppes, east of the Syr Darya. The tradition of erecting huge stone stelae of a different type was later continued in the Polovtsian steppes until the early thirteenth century.<sup>88</sup>

Stripped of their traditional functions, the representations of these stelae may have been adopted as a model for depicting Turkish rulership in palatial contexts with clean-shaven,<sup>89</sup> round faces that corresponded more closely to Turkish concepts of beauty as we find them depicted on Kashani *mīnā'ī*, and luster-painted and other contemporary pottery.

### III.4. *The awkward posture*

The left hand of the winged crown figure, which holds the saber beneath the cross guard, bends unnaturally, and the saber itself is inaccurately depicted, raising doubts about the authenticity of both figures. However, art historical analysis seems to support the theory that the two figures are a matching pair intended originally to mirror one another in posture, and this may explain these anomalies. Changes in the composition provide us with clues about the decorative function of the figures. The positioning of their forearms indicates that the figures were intended to be a symmetrical pair. As one would expect according to the prevailing convention, the diademed figure has his left arm below the right one. All comparative stucco figures have the same arm position. This tradition can be traced back at least to the numerous depictions of attendants in Sasanian reliefs and on coins. The same arm position, with the left hand resting on a dagger, sword, or saber is also found on all



Fig. 18. Old Turkic stelae with sabers, seventh to eighth century: a) and b) from Kypchyl, Russian Altai (Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Zentralasien: Archäologische und Historische Studien, Nomaden und Sesshafte 6* [Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2008], illus. 45); c) Aerkate, Kyrgyzstan (Alisa Borisenko et al., “Die Bewaffnung der alten Turkvölker, der Gegner der Sasaniden,” in *Arms and Armour as Indicators of Cultural Transfer: The Steppes and the Ancient World from Hellenistic Times to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Markus Mode and Jürgen Tubach, *Nomaden und Sesshafte 4* [Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2006], 128).

Old Turkic stelae (fig. 18).<sup>90</sup> The arms of the winged crown figure follow this arrangement in principle but are necessarily reversed, with the right arm below the left, an uncommon position.<sup>91</sup> The initial necessity for a symmetrical pair might be explained by both being set up on one wall within an axial hall rather than as figures on the opposite walls of a hall or court. At the same time, their royal attire was intended to be a realistic symbol for their rank. As a result, the sabers of both figures had to be positioned correctly on the left side in order to be regarded as acceptable representations by members of the military elite. This dilemma during the design or modeling process might have caused the aesthetically unsatisfactory changes that were made.

The mirrored representation of a pair of princes is also found on a heavily restored stucco panel that was, as mentioned earlier, in Hagop Kevorkian’s possession in 1926 but whose present whereabouts are unknown (fig. 19). Although it is impossible to assess its authenticity and distinguish between original and restored sections based solely on the photograph, the panel depicts a pair of courtiers, each wearing a jeweled *kulāh*, and

holding beakers and probably napkins in their hands, if we can trust the restoration.<sup>92</sup> The right figure has his right hand over his left hand, while the left figure has his left hand over his right hand. If the MMA figures followed this order, the winged crown figure would be on the left side and the diademed figure on the right side. Since seemingly neither figure in the Kevorkian panel has a saber, the issue of its placement does not arise.<sup>93</sup>

For the winged MMA figure, the only way to adjust the mirrored arm position with the saber on the correct left side was to redirect the position of the hands with the left one rather awkwardly resting on the upper part of the scabbard, which has been pulled up against the chest, resulting in an unusually long saber (fig. 21). Although the jeweled pommel and cross guard each correspond to the depiction of a saber on a dinar from Herat (fig. 12), this composition does not leave any space for a hilt in between.

Further alterations in the region of the chest hint at a sequence of changes in the design of this figure until the finishing (see section V.4). A buttoned caftan ought to be worn open and with an embroidered button border,



Fig. 19. Stucco relief with two figures in the Kevorkian Collection in 1926 (from H. Kevorkian, 1926, frontispiece). (Photo: unknown)

as it is shown on the diademed twin, so that the rich embroidery of the undergarment becomes visible. Looking from the hemline of the winged crown figure up to the belt, the caftan is open and two golden sashes are presented similar to its pendent figure. However, above the belt line, we unexpectedly find a single unbuttoned chest area of finely woven textile that does not continue the caftan concept and the button border of the lower part. This obvious change in design resulted in the chest piece being slightly more raised—possibly over an earlier design—than the lower parts of the caftan. It thus



Fig. 20. Detail of fig. 19, showing the figure on the right.



Fig. 21. Detail of figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18): hand and saber. (Photo: Stefan Heidemann)



Fig. 22. Detail of figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18): chest piece with unrelated “bow-tie” lace joints, numbered 1 to 4. (Photo: Stefan Heidemann)

lacks the natural flow from the hemline to the chest seen in the profile of the diademed figure. To the right of the left hand are the remains of four red “butterfly”- or “bow-tie”-shaped raised ornamentations (fig. 22). A parallel row of ornamentations can also be found to the left of the left hand, the parallel third and fourth invisible, but possibly with a lower fifth ornament (fig. 21). These elements may represent the remains of “bow-tie” lace joints or buttons of a dismissed earlier, possibly open caftan design. They do not serve any function in the current composition. A raised elongated element running between both hands, behind the left hand, is painted red and may have represented an element in the earlier scheme whose function is no longer apparent (figs. 21

and 26). Further alterations of the “textile” pattern, such as incised wavy stripes in a vegetal ornament, also suggest that an adjustment was made to the design (fig. 26). Given that the right hand is largely missing, we cannot tell how it may have been employed. Areas of the diademed figure show that there were similar, though fewer, instances of adjustments and remodeling. The right upper arm was already carved and incised when a second layer was applied to strengthen the proportionate features of the figure (fig. 23) (see section V.3 below for further detail). With the help of a CT scan similar additive applications of layers of plaster in the modeling process were observed on the V&A figures and also on the Detroit figure.<sup>94</sup>

## IV. THE AUDIENCE HALL

IV.1. *The polychrome mural tradition*

While figural stucco decoration depicting humans was, with few exceptions, not continued after the eighth century, almost life-sized depictions of courtly figures on murals were continuously known in Central Asia.<sup>95</sup> For western Iran, Iraq, and Syria, evidence of murals is still largely missing. The closest parallels within an architectural context are provided by the frescoes of Central Asian palaces such as the one in Lashkar-i Bazar or in Tepe Afrasiyab, Old Samarqand. If we see the MMA figures in this mural tradition, then it becomes apparent that their polychromy was more important than their sculptural aspect. Indeed, the figures should be seen as three-dimensional substrates for a mural painting. The above-mentioned unprovenanced smaller relief figures (height about 40 cm) on marble slabs from the vicinity of Ghazna, presumably from around 1100, point to a similar direction.<sup>96</sup>

The palace complex of ancient Bust is located in the Helmand province in present-day Afghanistan. This palace was built during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 998–1030) and expanded by his son Mas'ud



Fig. 23. Detail of figure with jeweled diadem (fig. 2, MMA 67.119): right upper arm. (Photo: Stefan Heidemann)

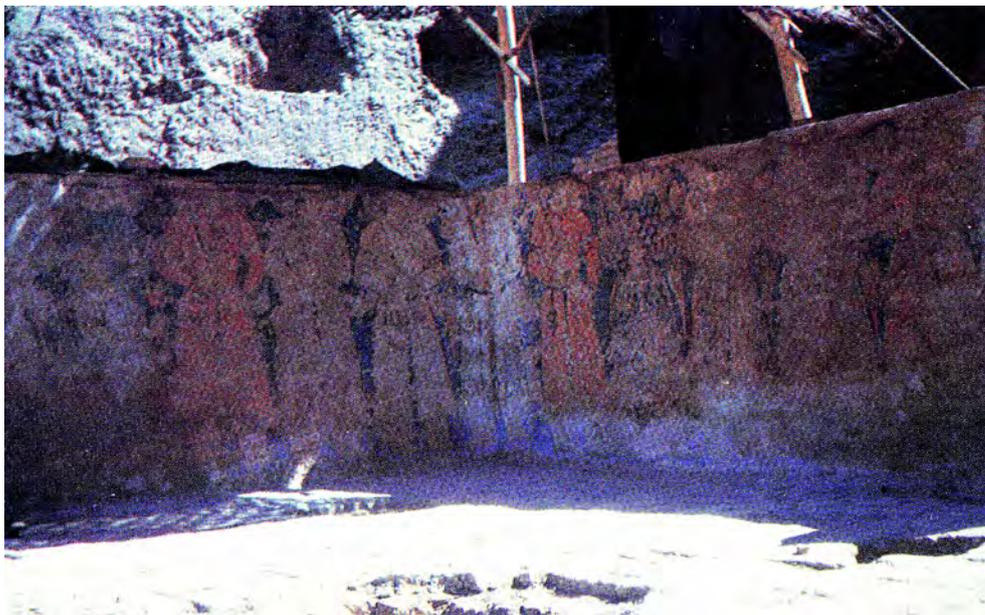


Fig. 24. Mural in the audience hall in Lashkar-i Bazar. (*Lashkari Bazar, une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride*, t. 1A: *L'architecture*, ed. Daniel Schlumberger [Paris, 1978], pl. 122.a)



Fig. 25. Detail of fig. 24, mural in the audience hall of Lashkar-i Bazar.

(r. 1031–40), who took up residence there in 1036–37. In about 1150, during the Seljuq conquest by Sanjar (r. 1118–57), the palaces were pillaged and Bust was destroyed.<sup>97</sup> A famous fresco in the reception hall has been interpreted as a royal audience; it shows forty-four standing courtly figures almost the same size as the MMA figures (figs. 24 and 25). All these figures have a beardless Turkic “moon face” and wear *qabās* in blue and red with *tirāz* brassards and belts ending in two long sashes.<sup>98</sup> The chronicler Bayhaqi (d. 1066) describes similarly lavish receptions at the Ghaznavid court.

On the lower terrace of the citadel in Samarqand was a *kūshk* with a courtyard for receptions, decorated with murals of the same color scheme. Karev has suggested that the *kūshk* was built by either the Qarakhanid ruler Mas‘ud ibn Hasan (r. 1150–71) or his son Muhammad (r. 1170–79). To the left of the ruler’s niche, on the eastern wall, is an almost life-sized attendant in three-quarter profile, and on the northern wall a cross-legged ruler sits on a throne; both hold an arrow in their hands as a sign of power.<sup>99</sup>

The MMA figures appear to have been brightly painted and gilded. As will be discussed below (see section V.4), recent analyses of their pigments, as well as of those on the related figures in Berlin and Detroit, have revealed that many if not all are of modern origin. It is beyond doubt, however, that vivid colors originally endowed these figures with a striking visual power and it is possible that the modern pigments were added to revive the faint traces that remained after centuries of being buried.

The palette, which was restricted to blue, red, and gold, with black outlines and elements in white, was used with a different emphasis on each figure. The same color scheme is found in the murals of Lashkar-i Bazar. The background color of the caftan of the winged-crown figure is blue with white floral ornaments arranged in wide bands between red stripes (fig. 26). Some of these stripes are separated by incised grooves (fig. 27). Special attention was taken with the cuffs of the figure with the winged crown. They were each “embroidered” with a carved cartouche showing an arabesque and three



Fig. 26. Detail of figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18): the embroidery on the chest piece. (Photo: Stefan Heidemann)

raised gilded studs (now abraded) between the wavy incised grooves (fig. 21). This caftan is worn over a red undergarment. The scrolling tendrils may have represented silver wefts. Textiles shown in Lashkar-i Bazar and those depicted on polychrome *mīnā'ī* ware have a similar pattern. The hem area of the caftan is also richly embellished with studs in the form of rosettes.

The main color of the caftan worn by the figure with the diadem, on the other hand, is defined by the wide red bands that appear between narrow blue stripes; this garment is worn over a blue robe. The separating grooves serve as proof of a similar original textile pattern. The sashes and much of the raised embroidered decoration and studs appear to have been gilded, adding to the opulence of the clothing. This caftan seems richer, with a larger number of studs, than that of its pendant with

the winged crown. From a distance, the two figures might have appeared as a contrasting pair. In this context, it is interesting to note that at the Ghaznavid court, as witnessed by Bayhaqi, clothing served as an indicator of one's place in the court hierarchy.<sup>100</sup>

#### IV.2. *The architectural context*

Polychromed relief figures impart a sense of drama and verisimilitude to flat mural decoration. These figures would have created the illusion of an increased presence at the hall, thus fulfilling a function similar to the reflective surfaces found in the Great Hall of Mirrors at Versailles and in numerous other palaces. In a reception area already filled with ostentatiously dressed dignitaries, these lavishly painted and gilded figures enhanced the splendor and largess of the receiving ruler. But where would the MMA figures have been placed? All of the figures in Lashkar-i Bazar are shown in a three-quarter profile looking at a central figure who is now missing, and who probably faced the audience. In Samarqand we have attendants in three-quarter profile turning to the throne niche.<sup>101</sup> *Mīnā'ī* and luster-painted ware of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries always show one ruler sitting cross-legged and facing forward while the attendants stand in three-quarter profile. The Berlin figure in three-quarter posture might have served as an attendant in such a position. It seems unlikely that the MMA figures stood beside the ruler's throne; therefore, they would have been turning toward him. In addition, as a pair they could not be central figures. It seems more likely that they stood opposite the ruler's throne, standing at attention and within his sight. Their youthful power, as reflected in their round beardless faces, complements their royal presence, manifested in their crowns and accoutrements. More than a single princely figure, the presence here of two royal princes might have reinforced the sultan's claim as *shāhānshāh*, king of kings, in an artificially enlarged royal audience. The proposed time frame of 1050 to 1150, with a likely dating to the first half of the twelfth century, suggests that Sanjar, who ruled as supreme sultan between 1118 and 1157, might have been the patron of these revetments. These royal figures could be representations of subdued kings<sup>102</sup> serving as vassals or royal princes of the Seljuq



Fig. 27. Detail of figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18): the embroidery on the right arm. (Photo: Stefan Heidemmann)

family. Individual representations were most probably not intended; the *ṭirāz* brassards would have been a likely place for such an identification.

While these figures seem to indicate a royal audience hall, the setting and location of such a venue remains open. Our knowledge of Seljuq palatial architecture is limited. No Seljuq palace has yet been excavated in Iran, which could provide a useful comparison. A small structure in the Shariyar Ark in Marv was cautiously identified as an audience hall but no architectural decoration remained.<sup>103</sup> Stucco-relief figures need to be affixed to rigid structures such as walls. If these figures had come from an urban context the chances of their survival would have been minimal, due to the cycle of destruction and rebuilding in subsequent centuries and various periods of iconoclasm.

David Durand-Guédy recently analyzed the literary sources on audiences and lodgments of the Seljuq sultans.<sup>104</sup> The Seljuq court was itinerant and usually camped away from city centers, holding audiences in

tent enclosures (*surādiq* [Arab.] or *sarāparda* [Pers.]), either outside under a canopy or within trellis tents (sing. *khargāh*). Nevertheless, outside their main cities, such as Hamadhan, Isfahan, Sava, and Baghdad the Seljuqs erected more substantial temporary structures, referred to as *kūshks* in the literary sources. For most of the time these lands were under the rule of the subordinate Western Seljuq sultan.

A *kūshk* was a kind of pavilion, and could be synonymous with *dār* or *sarāy*. Unlike *khargāh* tents, they may have been built with wooden beams, adobe, or mud bricks, all of which create rigid walls. These were light structures of up to two stories and intended for temporary use. Perhaps we should see these royal stucco figures as a hastily formed part of the decorative program of just such a reception structure, which was not meant to last.

A direct comparison can be made with the seven Qarakhanid *kūshks* on the elevated northern citadel plateau of Samarqand and the reported palaces in Bukhara.

One of them was carefully excavated. As far as we can discern from the texts and the archaeological evidence, these were light structures, constructed with adobe using a wooden frame technique (*Fachwerk*) and intended for receptions by the ruler.<sup>105</sup>

Ironically, this suburban context for *kūshks*—as proposed by Durand-Guédy—may have helped to preserve these figures until the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when expanding urban development began to encroach on peripheral areas. This was precisely the moment when such objects were to be discovered, and when a market was created for Persian antiquities in Europe and North America. From our knowledge of Seljuq building activities, it seems likely that the figures come from western Iran. This is also the period when Hagop Kevorkian was excavating in Rayy, which may explain why he is so closely connected with this material.<sup>106</sup> It should be noted as well that Lord Marling was in Tehran, which is close to Rayy, when he was offered the figures that his widow, Lady Marling, later sold to the V&A. Compared to Hamadhan or Isfahan, the historical sources for Rayy are scarce. The supreme sultan Sanjar visited there in 1117–18 and 1148–49, but no building activity is mentioned.<sup>107</sup> Zahir al-Din reports that Sultan Arslan ibn Tughril (r. 1161–76) stayed in a pavilion within a walled garden (*kūshk-i bāgh*) of a powerful local amir.<sup>108</sup>

## V. TECHNICAL EXAMINATION

### V.1. Overview

All of the objects selected for exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Islamic art galleries, which opened in 2011, were subject to art historical and technical examinations. Few works of completely dubious authenticity were discovered in this process, but several examples of pastiches were identified, composed of fragments from different if contemporary objects, as well as objects enhanced for the market with modern embellishments. With its rich figural imagery, the art of the Seljuq period has been highly valued in Western Europe and North America since the early part of the twentieth century, as evidenced by the extensive and sometimes deceptive restorations that were performed on *mīnā'i* ware.<sup>109</sup> Since no information had come to light re-

garding the recovery of the two painted figures under consideration here, an in-depth technical study was urgently required. Similar examinations are being performed on the comparable figures in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin, the Detroit Institute of Art, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>110</sup>

### V.2. Stucco composition

The term “stucco” is rather imprecise and can refer to either lime or gypsum-based plasters mixed with temper and other additives to achieve the desired working qualities.<sup>111</sup> The approximate age of lime plasters can be determined at least theoretically by radiocarbon dating, provided that they are free of organic contaminants and/or not tempered with carbonaceous minerals. Lime plaster, a mixture of water and calcium oxide obtained by the roasting of a calcium carbonate rock such as limestone, sets in a process known as carbonation, in which atmospheric carbon dioxide reacts with calcium hydroxide to reform calcium carbonate. Determining the ratio of the absorbed carbon-14 isotope fraction remaining in the plaster to that normally expected can provide the basis for dating. In the Middle Eastern tradition, however, stuccos are often based on gypsum plaster. Heating above 300° Celsius converts gypsum rock, which is commonly found across the region, from calcium sulphate dihydrate to a hemihydrated form, while higher temperatures produce calcium sulphate anhydrite. When the calcined mineral is pounded into a powder and mixed with water, it readily reverts to the dihydrate form in an exothermic reaction. Temper and prolonged stirring serve to improve its working qualities and extend the time available until the plaster sets and hardens. Unfortunately, there is currently no scientific method that can be used to date gypsum plaster unless there are embedded charcoal fragments remaining from the calcining process.

Although more brittle and softer than stone, gypsum stucco provides a durable surface well suited for architectural decoration. Stucco has numerous advantages over stone: its components can be easily carried to the site where it is needed, and it can conform to any surface and be carved and smoothed readily before it has dried using very simple tools. Stucco also permits alterations and additions if the original concept of the artist changes over time, as we see in both figures. Despite its slight

solubility in water, early Islamic stucco has survived burial for centuries at sites such as Nishapur with much of its surface detail and traces of applied paint still preserved.

An examination of the bottom edge of the figure with the winged crown reveals that at least two plaster mixtures were used in its creation. The basic form was obtained using plaster mixed with a rather coarse temper, while the upper layer and surface details were executed using a fine-textured plaster that was more suitable for carving and burnishing. Open-architecture X-ray diffraction (XRD) analysis of the coarse lower layer indicated a mixture of gypsum with traces of quartz, anhydrite, and calcite.<sup>112</sup> Microscopic examination combined with Fourier-transform Infrared Spectroscopy (FTIR) allowed for the identification of the temper as coarsely-ground gypsum with quartz, feldspar, sedimentary rock fragments, and vegetal remains, but with no charcoal present. Analysis of the surface plaster layers on both figures indicates the presence of gypsum dihydrate with traces of anhydrite and quartz. Although anhydrite will convert to gypsum over time when exposed to moisture, it has been found in ancient plasters recovered from dry environments.<sup>113</sup>

### *V.3. Condition of both figures*

No written examination report accompanied the acquisition of either figure, but black and white photographs taken at that time indicate that structural damage was repaired before they entered the Museum's collection, including the horizontal fractures visible in the photograph of the figure with the jeweled diadem found in Riefstahl's article.<sup>114</sup> Recent X-radiographs made of both figures reveal that fractures were repaired using long metal tubes, pins, and large staples. Losses along these break lines were filled with plaster and disguised with paint.

Of the two figures, the one with the diadem crown has suffered more extensive damage (fig. 29). Horizontal break lines run across the figure at the level of the shoulders, at the waist, and at the juncture between the caftan and the lower legs. The fracture at the waist caused the loss of the proper left hand and part of the saber, including the top of the scabbard and the hilt. The outer edges of both upper arms, particularly the proper right one, have been shattered into many pieces and reattached.

Based on the variations in opacity seen in the radiographs, it appears that the upper body of this figure was enlarged after the previously modeled plaster had hardened, resulting in a structural weakness at the interface between the two applications (fig. 23).<sup>115</sup> A vertical seam also runs up the center of the lower caftan section. Unlike all the other break lines, this seam is very straight, is not pinned, and is virtually undetectable on the surface. Given the radio-transparency along this seam line, it is probable that a modern organic adhesive was used in this join. The bottom section with the boots has been reassembled using several fragments that have been pinned together. Losses between these fragments suggest that this section either was extensively shattered or is a pastiche of disparate fragments. Whether or not this bottom section originally belonged to this sculpture or another figure of the original revetment cannot be ascertained without disassembly.<sup>116</sup> By contrast, the figure with the winged crown was only fractured at the waist, resulting in the loss of a part of the right hand, the lower edge of the proper right cuff, and part of the scabbard.

The surfaces of both figures exhibit a considerable amount of modern scraping and knife marks that appear to be related to the removal of apparent burial incrustations. The stucco has suffered erosion at high spots as well as scratching and shallow pitting that could be consistent with the proposed age of these figures (figs. 21–23). The contention that these figures were designed for placement in a larger wall composition is supported by details such as the unfinished surfaces at the tops of the heads, as well as the remnants of a background plane extending out from the edges of the figures—under the proper right elbow of the figure with the winged crown (fig. 28) and around the legs of the jeweled diadem figure (fig. 2). At the same time, in accordance with the presence of anhydrite in the surface plaster, there is surprisingly little evidence of aqueous erosion on the surface of either figure.

### *V.4. The color scheme*

Before any pigments were analyzed partial reconstructions of the present traces of polychromy on each figure were made (figs. 30 and 31). On both figures, the surface decoration is limited to various shades of red and blue—



Fig. 28. Detail of figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18): the background wall surface preserved under proper right arm of the figure with the winged crown. (Photo: Jean-François de Lapérouse)

often painted over a thin layer of white—with black and traces of gilding.

The figure with the winged crown wears a blue caftan with a repeating motif of leaves and tendrils outlined in black and aligned between thin orange-red stripes. Faintly incised scribe lines are still visible on the surface of this figure outlining the vegetal ornaments—a feature also noted in the layout of the painted plaster wall panels from Nishapur.<sup>117</sup> The spaces around these vegetal elements are filled with a circle and dot motif (fig. 30). In the chest area, the red stripes were cut through the vegetal ornaments after they had already been painted, which is consistent with the alterations in this area that were already noted (fig. 21). Under the caftan this figure wears a red skirt with a repeating cross motif that is largely obscured by surface dirt. The same motif is found on the coat of the right-hand figure in a relief said to have come from Rayy that was in the Hagop Kevorkian collection in 1926 (fig. 20).<sup>118</sup> Similar, but not identical is the cross pattern on the squatting figure from the V&A.

The bottom edge of the undergarment of the figure with the winged crown (fig. 1) features “embroidered” seven-petalled golden blossoms or appliqués with black tendrils thinly outlined on a blue field. Very faint traces of gilding are found on the wide sash ends that hang down over the skirt, as well as on raised elements of the jewelry and crown.

The figure with the jeweled crown wears a caftan featuring thin blue stripes alternating with wider bands decorated with black crosses on a red field (figs. 2 and 31). The vertical border of this caftan is decorated with embroidered or applied gilded quadripartite elements, with a central boss on a wide red border with a finely beaded edge.<sup>119</sup> The two ends of the sash hang down over a blue skirt with a raised embroidered or applied palmetto design rising from the bottom edge, with a row of closures in a chevron-shaped formation on the chest of the caftan (fig. 2). *Ṭirāz* brassards with carved inscriptions against red or blue fields are found on the upper arms of both figures. The long hair braids as well as de-

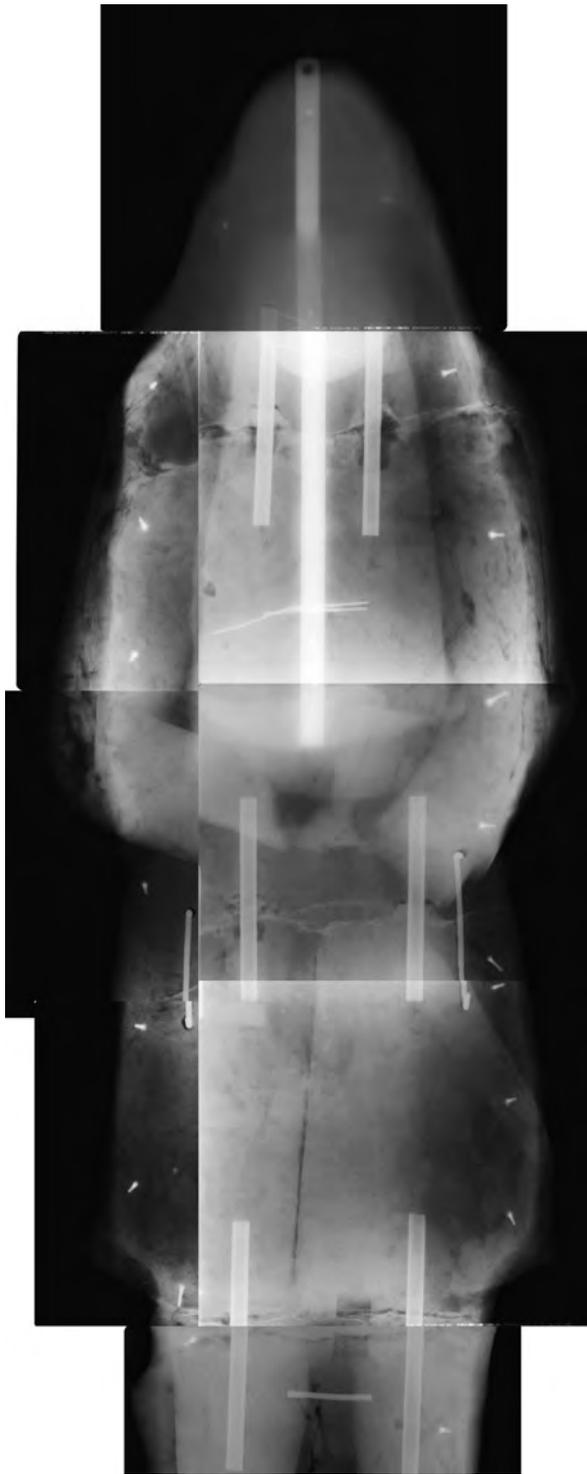


Fig. 29. Composite X-radiograph of the figure with jeweled diadem (fig. 2, MMA 67.119). (Photo: Jean-François de Lapérouse)

tails of the eyes and eyebrows are rendered in black. The color of the veil has not yet been determined. Although the face and hands presumably were painted, it has so far been difficult to differentiate between burial dirt and vestiges of paint in these areas.

#### V.5. Pigment analyses

Numerous pigment samples were taken for analysis by energy dispersive spectroscopy, FTIR, X-ray diffraction (XRD), and polarized light microscopy (PLM).<sup>120</sup> Care was taken not to take samples from obvious areas of previous restoration. All of the pigments were thinly applied and are extremely friable, and FTIR analyses have not yet detected the presence of any binding media. Charcoal black was used extensively to color the hair, indicate the pupils and eyebrows, and add linear decoration to the garments worn by both figures. All of the blue samples obtained from both figures were found by EDS to be chemically consistent with ultramarine over a layer of lead white. Ultramarine is a complex sulphur-containing sodium silicate that could only be obtained from the processing of lapis lazuli, which was procured from the Badakhshan region in present-day Afghanistan until the 1820s, when the synthetic process was first developed.<sup>121</sup> Visual examination of over twenty samples of blue pigment by polarized light microscopy revealed that they are morphologically similar and consist of large, irregularly shaped mineral particles (fig. 32). Although synthetic ultramarine is normally finely ground, the FTIR spectrum of this blue pigment did not match the reference spectrum for Afghan lapis lazuli; the complete absence of calcite, which is always found as an impurity in lapis lazuli, was confirmed by X-ray diffractometry. These findings, as well as the fact that this pigment's large particles tend to be rounded and deeply colored, indicates that the blue pigment is a coarsely ground, synthetic product.<sup>122</sup>

The primary red pigment was found to be red lead—a lead tetroxide obtained by the calcination of lead white. The production of this pigment in both the East and the West predates the proposed provenance of these figures by many centuries and its use in early Persian manuscript painting has been confirmed, though it is often found in association with cinnabar (mercuric sulphide), which was not found on either figure.<sup>123</sup>



Fig. 30. Reconstructed detail of the polychromy on the figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18). (Painting: Jean-François de Lapérouse)



Fig. 31. Reconstructed detail of the polychromy on the figure with jeweled diadem (fig. 2, MMA 67.119). (Painting: Jean-François de Lapérouse)

Crudely applied bright orange splashes of red lead on eroded surfaces contrast with darkened red lead pigment on smooth, undamaged surfaces (fig. 33). This darkening may represent the alteration of this pigment to plattnerite, a phenomenon observed in the wall paintings in the cave temples of Mogao, near the Dunhuang oasis in northwestern China.<sup>124</sup> However, the rate at which plattnerite forms depends on many variables and its appearance cannot be used as a proof of age. Red earth was present in some samples, but it is not clear to what extent this iron oxide was actually a contamination from the overlying dirt layers. In several red samples—particularly those taken from the figure with the jeweled crown—the red lead is mixed with barium sulphate, an inorganic compound not normally found as a main constituent in pigments before the late eighteenth century.<sup>125</sup> FTIR analysis of these samples also revealed the presence of an azo dye—sodium lithol rubine (Color Index Name Code: PR57)—that was not formulated before the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>126</sup> Microscopic examination of this red pigment reveals that the red dye stained the barium sulphate, forming a red lake pigment (fig. 34). The same red lake pigment has been identified on the Detroit figure, and barium sulphate was also found in the red pigment on the Berlin figure by X-ray fluorescence analysis.<sup>127</sup>

The gilding is only discernible when viewing flat surfaces at an angle and is not found on eroded surfaces. Given that there is no sign of an underlying ground layer that would be required for burnishing or any sense of physical cohesiveness between the gold particles, it appears to have been applied as a ground pigment rather than as leaf or foil. EDS analyses of samples of the gold indicate that it contained 11–14% silver and 2–2.5% copper. Since the gold is so difficult to detect visually, XRF scans of the surface were made in several locations to determine if any trace of it was present.<sup>128</sup> Traces are also found on the cross-legged figure of the V&A.

It is possible that these two figures were found with only traces of their original polychromy remaining and that they were subsequently enhanced to make them more attractive for the art market. If so, the painted reconstructions may hint at the original appearance of authentic relief sculptures from the Seljuq period. However, since these pigments provide the only material

basis for authenticating these sculptures given that the plaster itself cannot be dated, the fact that modern pigments were not only used extensively but were also distressed to give them an archaeological appearance is a cause for concern.<sup>129</sup>

#### V.6. *Plans for further technical research*

Despite the compelling art historical evidence that has been presented, no material observation or analytical result obtained so far can confirm or disprove conclusively that these figures date to the Seljuq period and it is possible that this issue will not be fully resolved unless and until similar figures or fragments are recovered from controlled excavations. This case illustrates the difficulty of authenticating works of art whose original context has been lost and which have been the subject of modern interventions. It is hoped that continuing technical analysis of the entire corpus of related Middle Eastern stucco figures, including an in-depth examination of the plasters used, will provide further insight into this question.

#### CONCLUSION: THE AUDIENCE HALL

Based on the particular calligraphic style of the bracers and, as a *terminus post quem*, the first appearance of sabers in Islamic art, the two stucco figures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art can be ascribed to the time period between 1050 and 1150, with a likely date of production in the early twelfth century. The crowns mark them clearly as royal representations, although they do not follow the Islamic model of a cross-legged sitting ruler. With parallels found in Old Turkic stone stelae of Central Asia, the figural marble slabs of the Ghazna area, murals from Lashkar-i Bazar and Samarqand, and triple-lobed diadems from eastern Central Asia, these figures have several features pointing to a Central Asian origin. However, our knowledge of the building activities of Seljuq rulers and the origin of similar figures apparently from the western Iranian antiquity market of the early twentieth century point to their creation in western Iran. Figures in high relief endowed a decorative pro-

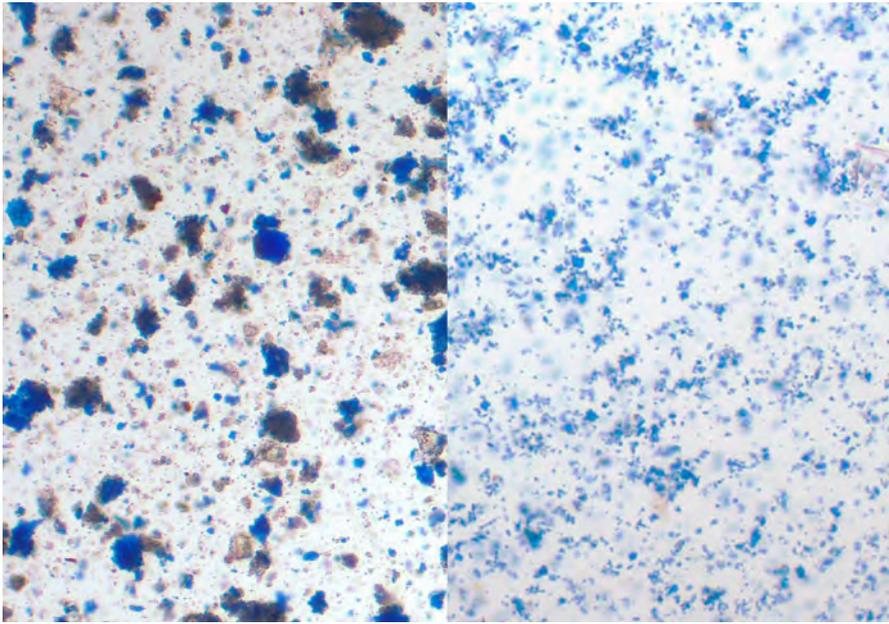


Fig. 32. Left) Sample of blue pigment from the figure with winged crown (fig. 1, MMA 57.51.18); right) finely ground synthetic ultramarine, magnified 600x. (Photo: Jean-François de Lapérouse)



Fig. 33. Detail of palmetto near the bottom hem of the figure with jeweled diadem (fig. 2, MMA 67.119), with bright orange and darkened red lead. (Photo: Jean-François de Lapérouse)

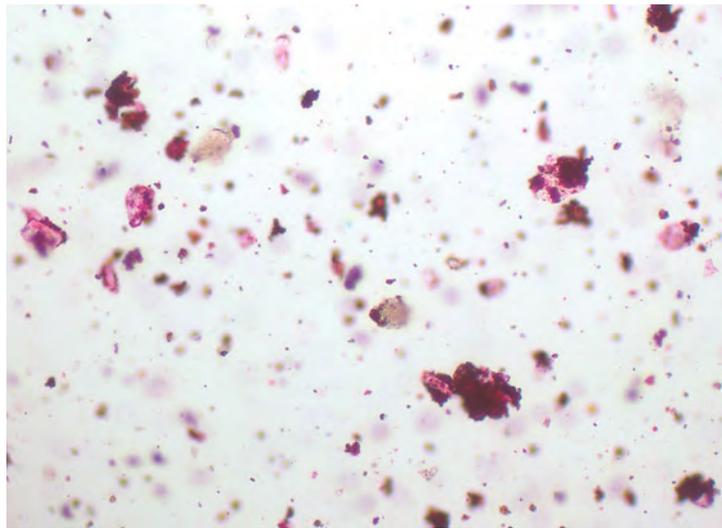


Fig. 34. Bright red pigment sample from the figure with jeweled diadem (fig. 2, MMA 67.119), consisting of barium sulphate stained with a red azo dye, magnified 600x. (Photo: Jean-François de Lapérouse)

gram with a greater verisimilitude than two-dimensional wall paintings. With their dazzling polychromy, these life-sized figures effectively augmented the gathering of ostentatiously dressed dignitaries already assembled in an audience hall, thus enhancing the splendor and the largesse of a receiving ruler. It was suggested that the postures and arm positions of the MMA figures were meant to mirror each other, but their respective swords were realistically placed at the left side of each figure. This resulted in an awkward hand position for the figure with the winged crown, while his saber was without a hilt, something that was technically impossible. All of the figures in the murals of Lashkar-i Bazar are shown in a three-quarter profile, as are the attendants of the murals of Samarqand; the former are presumably looking at a central figure, which did not survive, the latter at a throne niche. Since the MMA figures are not turning in this way, it seems unlikely that they formed part of a similar composition. They were meant to be viewed as a pair, and thus cannot be the central figures. Instead, it is proposed that they originally stood opposite and with-in the gaze of a ruler. Having two clearly marked royal personages in attendance enhanced the sultan's claim of being the *shāhānshāh*. While the representation of specific individuals was most likely not intended, the youthfulness of their beardless moon faces complemented the royal power manifested in their crowns and accoutrements. Given the date proposed, it is possible that Sanjar, the supreme sultan (r. 1118–57), was the patron of the artists responsible for their creation.

These stucco figures would have required a rigid framework and protection from the elements. To date our knowledge of Seljuq palatial architecture is limited, as no relevant structure has been excavated in Iran. Indeed, if they had been created for palaces that were situated within urban centers, the chances of their survival would have been minimal due to the waves of subsequent destruction and iconoclasm. It is known, however, that the Seljuq court was itinerant and often camped away from cities, with the sultan holding audiences in tent enclosures known as *surādiq* (Arab.) or *sarāparda* (Pers.). On the outskirts of their capitals, including Rayy, Hamadan, Isfahan, Sava, and Baghdad, the Seljuqs erected more solidly built but still temporary pavilion-like structures known as *kūshks* for receptions. These

would make it likely that the figures came from western Iran. The archaeological remains of such structures had a better chance of survival until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the aforementioned cities expanded beyond their earlier borders.

The technical study of these figures has not been able to provide conclusive proof of their authenticity on material grounds. While modern pigments similar to those found on related figures in other collections have been identified in their decoration, it is possible that these were applied to heighten original patterns that had largely been lost over time. Further compositional analysis of the stucco mixtures used to produce these figures and related examples in other collections will hopefully provide further insight into these impressive vestiges of Islamic architectural decoration.

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## NOTES

*Authors' note:* The historical and art historical aspects of this study (sections I–IV) are by Stefan Heidemann, University of Hamburg; the technical analysis (section V) was conducted by Jean-François de Lapérouse and Vicki Parry, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. We are extremely grateful to David Durand-Guédy and an anonymous reviewer for their critical comments, and to Melody Lawrence for her careful revision of the English draft. We also wish to express our gratitude to Sheila Canby, Patty Cadby Birch Curator in Charge of the Department for Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for permission to publish the figures and for her kind support during the entire project.

1. Figure with winged crown: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 57.51.18. Stucco; free formed, incised, painted, gilt; H. 47 in. (119.4 cm). Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956. Figure with jeweled diadem: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 67.119. Stucco; free formed, incised, painted, gilt; H. 56 3/4 in. (144.1 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Lester Wolfe, 1967.
2. Hagop Kevorkian excavated in Rayy in northwestern Iran but also acquired objects from Anatolia, the Levant, Iraq, and western Iran. In the first half of the twentieth century, European dealers still rarely had the opportunity to acquire objects from eastern Iran and Central Asia. Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 69–89, esp.

- 72–73. Large stucco panels of royal images of the so-called princely cycle were said to be from late twelfth-century Seljuq palace complexes in Rayy, and perhaps also from Sava, in northwestern Iran. While some of them certainly integrate original material, their authenticity is disputed. For these figures, see n. 11 below.
3. We are grateful to Mariam Rosser-Owen, curator of Islamic art at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for this information.
  4. Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum, inv. no. 1932.24. P. B. Cott, "A Persian Stucco Figure," *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* 23 (1932): 104–10.
  5. The Walters Art Museum, [art.thewalters.org/detail/13647/standing-warrior-holding-a-sword](http://art.thewalters.org/detail/13647/standing-warrior-holding-a-sword), accessed March 21, 2014. Dimensions: 60.4 cm × 25.1 cm. It was acquired by Henry Walters on December 16, 1926, from Dikran Kelekian, New York and Paris. This figure was not personally studied for this article. Published also in Eva Baer, *The Human Figure in Islamic Art: Inheritance and Islamic Transformations* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2004), 21, fig. 27.
  6. For the head and torso from Nizamabad, see n. 12 below. For the Seljuq period, see *Islamische Kunst in Berlin: Katalog*, ed. Klaus Brisch (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1971), 106, nos. 405, 406, illus. 55.
  7. The frieze in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is at best regarded as just such a composite. See Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "A Persian Stucco Frieze, and Other Fragments," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 28, 170 (December 1930): 104–7. The object was deaccessioned in the 1930s, probably due to questions of authenticity.
  8. Rudolf M. Riefstahl, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures," *The Art Bulletin* 13, 4 (December 1931): 438–63.
  9. Regarding fig. 1 (MMA. 57.51.18), see Stefan Heidemann, "62. Princely Figure with Winged Crown," in *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Maryam D. Ekhtiar, Priscilla P. Soucek, Sheila R. Canby, and Navina Najat Haidar (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 102–4. Oya Pancaroğlu in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, ed. David J. Roxburgh (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 86–87, 386–87, no. 39, suggests twelfth-century Afghanistan or Iran as the origin of the winged-crown figures. See also Celâl Esad Arseven, *Menşeinden Bugüne kadar Heykel, Oyma ve Resim, Türk Sanatı Tarihi* 3, 3 (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, n.d. [ca. 1960]), 11 (photo: Riefstahl). Regarding fig. 2 (MMA 67.119), see Stefan Heidemann, "63. Princely Figure with Jeweled Crown," in Ekhtiar et al., *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art*, 102–4. See also Eleanor Sims, with Boris I. Marshak and Ernst J. Grube, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 38, fig. 52 (dating it to the twelfth to thirteenth century), and Farhad Daftary and Zulfikar Hirji, *The Ismailis: An Illustrated History* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2008), 107 (dating it to Seljuq Persia, around 1200). Baer, *Human Figure*, 23, recently dated the group of stucco figures to the late twelfth century on the basis of *mīnāʿī* ware. Surprisingly, she does not include the two figures of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in her study.
  10. Estelle Whelan, "Representations of the *Khāssakīyah* and the Origins of Mamluk Emblems," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2–4 April 1980*, Planned and Organized by Carol Manson Bier, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 219–43, figs. 9–12; Melanie Gibson, "A Symbolic *Khassakiya*: Representations of the Palace Guard in Murals and Stucco Sculpture," in *Islamic Art, Architecture and Material Culture: New Perspectives*, ed. Margaret S. Graves, British Archaeological Reports: International Series 2436 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 81–91. See also Martina Rugiadi, *Decorazione architettonica in marmo da Ġaznī (Afghanistan)* (Ph.D. diss., Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"; Bologna: Routes Associazione Culturale, 2012), 1302–3, on the human figures on the Ghaznavid marble slabs, from the vicinity of Ghazna (available online at [http://www.academia.edu/3312644/2012\\_Decorazione\\_architettonica\\_in\\_marmo\\_da\\_Ghazni\\_Afghanistan\\_Tesi\\_Dottorale\\_Bologna\\_Bradypus\\_Communicating\\_Cultural\\_Heritage\\_ISBN\\_978-88-908109-0-9](http://www.academia.edu/3312644/2012_Decorazione_architettonica_in_marmo_da_Ghazni_Afghanistan_Tesi_Dottorale_Bologna_Bradypus_Communicating_Cultural_Heritage_ISBN_978-88-908109-0-9)).
  11. Cf. other stucco panels: most recently, Robert Hillenbrand, "A Monumental Seljuk Stucco Panel," in *Treasures of the Islamic and Indian Worlds*, Christie's, London, October, 5, 2010, pp. 95–99, no. 99; Arthur Upton Pope, *Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford, 1939), 1305–8, pls. 516–18; Arthur Upton Pope, "Some Recently Discovered Seldjuk Stucco," *Ars Islamica* 1 (1934): 110–17; Coomaraswamy, "Persian Stucco Frieze" (see n. 7 above); Friedrich Sarre, "Stuckdekorationen und Lüstervasen der persischen Mongolenzeit," *Pantheon* 5 (1930): 172–78.
  12. For the lesser-known stucco figures of Nizamabad (south-east of Tehran), see, recently, Jens Kröger, "Kopf eines Großkönigs" and "Relieffigur eines Caftanträgers," in *Heroische Zeiten: Tausend Jahre persisches Buch der Könige*, ed. Julia Gonnella and Christoph Rauch (Berlin, 2011), 88–89; Jens Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor* (Mainz, 1982), 162–64. See also the carved stucco head with a felt cap, MMA 42.25.17. The MMA also owns a very rare stone head (MMA 33.111). Two stucco heads are preserved in the David Collection in Copenhagen: see Kjeld von Folsach, *Art from the World of Islam in the David Collection* (Copenhagen, 2001), 230, 248–49, nos. 397 and 398 (inv. nos. 44/1978; 5/1976).
  13. Sheila Blair, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (New York, 1985–2012), s.v. "Gač-Bori"; Neilson C. Debevoise, "The Origin of Decorative Stucco," *American Journal of Archaeology* 45, 1 (1941): 45–61.
  14. London, British Museum, inv. no. MAS.1061 (height: 43 cm), excavated in Mingoi, Xinjiang, China.
  15. Michael Meinecke, "Early Abbasid Stucco Decoration in Bilād al-Shām," in *Bilād al-Shām during the 'Abbāsīd Period (132 A.H./750 A.D.–451 A.H./1059 A.D.)*, *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference for the History of the Bilād al-Shām, March 4–8, 1990* (Amman, 1991), vol. 2, ed. Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt and Robert Schick, pp. 226–37.

16. Stucco friezes of camels were also found in Samarra. Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1927), 100ff., illus.; 78ff., pls. 75ff.
17. Cf. the Ibn Tulun Mosque in Cairo. While Fatimid stone and wood sculpture is richly decorated with images, stucco—which may have included figural images—did not survive.
18. Charles K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur: Some Early Islamic Buildings and Their Decoration* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986).
19. Raya Shani, “On the Stylistic Idiosyncrasies of a Saljūq Stucco Workshop from the Region of Kāshān,” *Iran* 27 (1989): 67–74; and Samuel R. Peterson, “The Masjid-i Pā Minār at Zavāreh: A Redating and an Analysis of Early Islamic Iranian Stucco,” *Artibus Asiae* 39, 1 (1977): 60–90.
20. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, pls. 60–71.
21. Wilkinson, *Nishapur*, 245–50.
22. Alessio Bombaci, “Summary Report on the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan, I: Introduction to the Excavations at Ghazni,” *East and West* 10, 1–2 (1959): 3–22, esp. 9–16. The figures are in flat relief and appear clumsy and awkward. For the polychromy of the stucco of that time, see Martina Rugiadi, “‘As for the Colours, Look at a Garden in Spring’: Polychrome Marble in the Ghaznavid Architectural Decoration,” in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 12 April–16 April 2010, British Museum and UCL, London*, ed. Roger Matthews and John Curtis, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), vol. 2, *Ancient and Modern Issues in Cultural Heritage; Colour and Light in Architecture, Art and Material Culture; Islamic Archaeology*, 254–73.
23. Yuri Karev, “Un cycle de peintures murales d’époque qarākhānide (XIIe–XIIIe siècles) à la citadelle de Samarkand: Le souverain et le peintre,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 147, 4 (2003): 1685–731; Yuri Karev, “Qarakhānid Wall Paintings in the Citadel of Samarkand: First Report and Preliminary Observations,” *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 45–84; Yuri Karev, “Les palais de Samarkande à l’époque islamique: Le souverain et le peintre,” *Les Dossiers d’Archéologie* 341 (2010): 62–67; and Yury Karev, “From Tents to Cities: The Royal Court of the Western Qarakhānids Between Bukhārā and Samarkand,” in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy, Brill’s Inner Asian Library 31 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 99–147.
24. See, for example, Oya Pancaroğlu, “Socializing Medicine: Illustrations of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq*,” *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 155–72. Most of the known early manuscripts seem to have come from the Jazīra and Iraq.
25. Robert Hillenbrand, *The Dictionary of Art* (London: Macmillan, 1996), s.v. “Islamic Art, §II,9(i)(b): Architectural Decoration: (b) Figural Sculpture”; Oya Pancaroğlu, “A World Unto Himself: The Rise of a New Human Image in the Late Seljuk Period (1150–1250)” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000), at 25–35. See also Joachim Gierlich, *Mittelalterliche Tierreliefs in Anatolien und Nordmesopotamien: Untersuchungen zur figürlichen Baudekoration der Seldschuken, Artuqiden und ihrer Nachfolger bis ins 15. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1996); and Joachim Gierlich, “A Victory Monument in the Name of Sultan Malikshāh in Diyarbakir: Medieval Figural Reliefs Used for Political Propaganda,” *Islamic Art: Studies on the Art and Culture of the Muslim World* 6 (2009): 51–79. For metalware, see Oleg Grabar, “The Visual Arts, 1050–1350,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. J. A. Boyle, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 5:626–58, at 645; Oleg Grabar, “Les arts mineurs de l’Orient musulman à partir du milieu du XIIe siècle,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 11 (1968): 181–90, at 186.
26. The use of cast plaster and models is unlikely for singular figures. This technique ended in the Umayyad period. See Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor*, 213; Jens Kröger, “Werkstattfragen iranisch-mesopotamischen Baudekors in sasanidisch-frühislamischer Zeit,” in *Künstler und Werkstatt in den orientalischen Gesellschaften*, ed. Adalbert J. Gail (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1982): 17–29, at 25–26.
27. Currently none of the pigments on the MMA figures and the others could be scientifically verified as being consistent with the proposed dating of the figures (see section V.4 of the present article).
28. Cf. Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Jean Müller, 1845), 1:162–68; and Soheila Amirsoleimani, “Clothing in the Early Ghaznavid Courts: Hierarchy and Mystification,” *Studia Iranica* 32, 2 (2003): 213–42, at 219.
29. Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire*, 354–62.
30. Priscilla Soucek, “Ethnicity in the Islamic Figural Tradition: The Case of the ‘Turk,’” *Tārīḥ* 2 (1992): 73–103, at 86, citing a document for the ‘Izz al-Dīn Tughra’i, in Heribert Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosseljuqen und Ḥōrazmšāhs (1038–1231), Eine Untersuchung nach Urkundenformularen der Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1964), 100.
31. For the material evidence for gilding, see section V.3.
32. Soucek, “Ethnicity in the Islamic Figural Tradition,” 83; Amirsoleimani, “Clothing in the Early Ghaznavid Courts,” 225 (complete list of references for *kamar* in Bayhaqī), 230. See also Ḥāhīr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Zayd al-Bayhaqī, *Tārīḥ-i Bayhaqī*, ed. Qāsim Ghanī and ‘Alī Akbar Fayyāḍ (Tehran, 1324 [1945]), 155 (describing a delicate, gold-threaded silken robe with a belt, studded with 1,000 *mithqāl* [a unit of measurement of 4–5 gr.] of turquoise in the year 422 [1031]: *va-kamar-i az hazār miṣqāl-i pīrūzhā*); 266 (a golden belt: *kamar-i zar*); 492 (robes of honor with golden belts in the year 426 [1035]: *va-kamar bi-zar hum bi-rasm-i turkān*). See as well al-Bayhaqī, *The History of Beyhaqī*, trans. and ed. C. E. Bosworth, rev. Mohsen Ashtiany, 3 vols. (Boston, Washington, D.C.: Ilex Foundation, 2011), the same quotations on 1:244, 1:372, and 2:157.
33. We find two such ribbons on Sasanian reliefs from Taq-i Bustan in the seventh century. They were also commonly depicted in various media on eastern Iranian frescoes (see, for example, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [henceforth

- MFA], inv. no. 63.1363), such as those at Lashkar-i Bazar of the eleventh century; on *mīnā'ī* ware of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and even on a small, contemporary bronze figurine (MMA, inv. no. 68.67).
34. Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 25.64. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "Polychrome Stucco Relief from Persia," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 11, 1 (1929): 41–42; and Riefstahl, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures," fig. 5.
  35. Franz Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Leiden, 1954–2002), s.v. "Mandīl." The Persian word for *mandīl* is *dastār*. In the Sasanian period, *dastār*, as the ribbon of victory, was almost synonymous with the royal aura (*farr*), in the time of the Islamic empire often called *dastārcha*, as opposed to to *dastār*, or turban; see Abolala Soudavar, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Farr(ah) II. Iconography": [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farr-ii-iconography](http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farr-ii-iconography), accessed March 20, 2014; Abolala Soudavar, *The Aura of Kings: Legitimacy and Divine Sanction in Iranian Kingship* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 9–16; and Amirsoleimani, "Clothing in the Early Ghaznavid Courts," 225 (references). See also Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Das islamische Herrscherbild im frühen Mittelalter," in *Das Bildnis in der Kunst des Orients*, ed. Martin Kraatz, Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, and Dietrich Seckel, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 50, 1 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1990): 71–78, esp. 64; and Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Das seldschukische Thronbild," *Persica* 10 (1982): 14–94, 157–58. The *mandīl* can be traced to the time of al-Muqtadir billah (r. 908–929), where it appears on a presentation coin: Heinrich Nützel, "Eine Portraitmedaille des Chalifen el-Muktadir billah," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 22 (1900): 259–65 (where it is misidentified as a dagger). On the bag of money as royal paraphernalia, see Abbas Daneshvari, "Cup, Branch, Bird and Fish: An Iconographical Study of the Figure Holding a Cup and a Branch Flanked by a Bird and a Fish," in *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O'Kane (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), 103–26, at 116.
  36. Aga-Oglu, "Polychrome Stucco Relief," 43, interprets the object in the left hand as a "drinking horn (oliphant)." This suggestion of a rhyton is unlikely for Iran during that time, and lacks parallels.
  37. Riefstahl, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures," fig. 8 (standing figure, diademed), fig. 9 (squatting figure), fig. 10 (standing figure, winged crown). In addition, the gift included a stucco face fragment and a harpy. Inv. nos. A.20 to A.24–1928, gift of Lady Marling. Her husband, Sir Charles Murray Marling (d. 1933), a British diplomat in the Middle East, bought them in the Tehran market between 1916 and 1918. Stylistically, this group belongs together. A wedge-like triangular piece is the only original part of the face, most of which is invented. The "wedge" might have belonged to a similar figure.
  38. Baer, *Human Figure*, 22, interprets the object in the hand as a "scepter."
  39. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum: see references in n. 5 above. The figure holds a straight sword in front, almost imitating Sasanian models, which were well known in the 1920s. Its helmet headgear is unusual for this group. The composition looks similar to the guard in Sinjar; see Gibson, "A Symbolic *Khassakiya*," 86, fig. 2a (the "lance bearer"). Only a detailed scientific study can distinguish the authenticity of the parts of the figure.
  40. Kuwait, al-Sabah Collection, inv. no. LNS 2 ST; photo courtesy of Walter Denny. The figure in the Sabah Collection seems to have been heavily restored. It might even be questioned whether the head and body once formed one figure; moreover, certain details might be interpreted as having been added by the restorer, such as the beaker or the empty left hand, where one would expect a saber or a sword.
  41. Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. no. L.2658. See Friedrich Sarre, "Figürliche persische Stuckplastik in der Islamischen Kunstabteilung," *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 35, 6 (1914): 1–5, columns 181–89; and Riefstahl, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures," fig. 1. Cf. Volkmar Enderlein, Almut von Gladiss, Gisela Helmecke, Jens Kröger, and Thomas Tunsch, *Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2001), 55–56. The cataloguers date the figure to about 1200.
  42. For example, MMA 57.36.5. Esin Atıl, *Ceramics from the World of Islam*, Freer Gallery of Art Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1973), 82–83, cat. no. 35 (inv. no. 37.5). See Oya Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory: Medieval Islamic Ceramics from the Harvey B. Plotnick Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 109, cat. 67. Baer, *Human Figure*, 23, was the first to identify the Berlin figure as an attendant.
  43. For references, see n. 23 above.
  44. Hagop Kevorkian, *Special Exhibition: The Arts of Persia and Other Countries of Islam* (New York: The Anderson Galleries, 1926), frontispiece; Riefstahl, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures," fig. 11.
  45. Personal communication: Abdullah Ghouchani, Dec. 2010.
  46. On the murals in Lashkar-i Bazar, the arabesques on the brassards could hardly be script. The letters of the brassards on the Berlin figure are blundered.
  47. See, for example, Florian Schwarz, "Ġazna/Kābul XIV d Ḥurāsān IV," in *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 2002), nos. 260, 302.
  48. Note also the calligraphic style of the stucco from the southern Great Palace of Lashkar-i Bazar, which was probably carved after the destruction of the palace ca. the 450s (1056–1165); see Janine Sourdél-Thomine, "Le décor non figuré," in *Lashkari Bazar: Une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride, t. 1B: Le décor non figuratif et les inscriptions*, ed. Jean-Claude Gardin, Daniel Schlumberger, and Janine Sourdél-Thomine (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1978), 7–50.
  49. For Ghaznavid inscriptions, see Samuel Flury, "Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna," *Syria* 6 (1925): 61–90, esp. no. 12; and Roberta Giunta, *Les inscriptions funéraires de Ġaznī (IVe-LXe/Xe–XVe siècles)* (Napoli: Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale," Dipartimento di studi asiatici, 2003), 126–34 (no. 21), 403, pls. XXXIX–XLI, the

- tomb of a certain As'ad ibn 'Ali, which is dated Shawwal 530 (July 1136).
50. Iraj Afshar, "Two 12th Century Gravestones of Yazd in Mashhad and Washington," *Studia Iranica* 2, 2 (1973): 203–11, at 208, pl. 21.
  51. MMA inv. no. 34.150.2. Cf. especially the rendering of the word "al-mu'minīn" in the last line.
  52. The *mīnā'ī* beaker in the Freer Gallery with motifs from the *Shāhnāma* is thought to have its models in Central Asian wall painting. Marianna Shreve Simpson, "The Narrative Structure of a Medieval Iranian Beaker," *Ars Orientalis* 12 (1981): 15–24, at 22.
  53. Alisa Borisenko, Kubat Tabaldiev, Oroz Soltobaev, and Yulij Chudjakov, "Die Bewaffnung der alten Turkvölker, der Gegner der Sasaniden," in *Arms and Armour as Indicators of Cultural Transfer: The Steppes and the Ancient World from Hellenistic Times to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Markus Mode and Jürgen Tubach, Nomaden und Sesshafte 4 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2006): 107–28, at 118 (with extensive literature), pl. III.1 (shows the only saber which was found in the Tien Shan), pl. V (images of stone babas with sabers); Sören Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien: Archäologische und historische Studien*, Nomaden und Sesshafte 6 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2008), 155, pl. 66.
  54. Found in Nishapur, it is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (40.170.168). It is dated to the ninth century, showing Turkish influence. James W. Allan, *Nishapur: Metalwork of the Early Islamic Period* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 56–57, 108–9, no. 208; and James W. Allan, "The Nishapur Metalwork: Cultural Interaction in Early Islamic Iran," in Soucek, *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, 1–12, at 5–6. In eastern Iranian buff ware of the ninth and tenth century we find straight swords: see Jan Fontein and Wu Tung, gen. eds., *Oriental Ceramics: The World's Great Collections*, 11 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980–82), vol. 4, *Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran*, ed. Firouz Bagherzadeh et al., fig. 23 (inv. no. 3909). Still, a straight sword can be found in late twelfth-century Iranian luster-painted ware: Ernst Grube, *Islamic Pottery of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), fig. 151, between 216 and 217.
  55. Boris Dmitrievich Kochnev, *Numizmaticheskaja istoriia Karakhanidskogo kaganata, 991–1209 gg.*, vol. 1, *Istochnik-ovedcheskoe issledovanie* (Moscow: Sofia, 2006), 56. A similar coin is located in the Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik at Tübingen University, inv. no. 2006-15-17. We express our gratitude to Lutz Ilisch, Tübingen University, for this information.
  56. The second known dated occurrence of a saber in Islamic art is on a gold dinar of Herat from the year 439 (1047–48) by the Seljuq Yabghu al-Malik al-'Adil Abu 'Ali al-Hasan b. Musa (www.zeno.ru, no. 45966). Although sabers have been known in Central Asia for a long time, before these the images of swords on coins always showed only straight ones. Later numismatic depictions of two sabers include a dinar from Zanjan, 494 (1100–1); Coşkun Alptekin, "Selçuklu Paraları," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3 (1971): 435–591, at 518, no. 148, pl. 5. I am grateful to Aleksandr Naymark, Hofstra University, and Michael Bates, American Numismatic Society, New York, for providing me with this information.
  57. Wilkinson, *Nishapur*, 205–214, at 212. This fresco was said to have been brought to Tehran. It is frequently incorrectly cited in the literature as being from the ninth century; see, for example, Sims, *Peerless Images*, 29, fig. 38 (ninth–tenth century).
  58. Nützel, "Eine Portraitmedaille des Chalifen el-Muktadir billah."
  59. Otto-Dorn, "Das islamische Herrscherbild," 64. About this stela, see also Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien*, 502, fig. 36a; and Takashi Ōsawa, "Revisiting Khöl-Asgat Inscription in Mongolia from the Second Turkic Qaghanate," *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 25 (2010): 1–73.
  60. For references, see n. 23 above.
  61. Gibson, "A Symbolic *Khassakiya*"; Whelan, "Representations of the *Khassakiyah*," 222.
  62. Amirsoleimani, "Clothing in the Early Ghaznavid Courts," 225.
  63. Soucek, "Ethnicity in the Islamic Figural Tradition," 80–81.
  64. Amirsoleimani, "Clothing in the Early Ghaznavid Courts," 225, with all references from Bayhaqi. She translates *dastār* as "headscarf." These headscarves could be used as turbans. Bayhaqi does not mention a golden *dastār*.
  65. MMA 57.36.5. Whereas on the bowl of the MMA it appeared to be a veil on his head, similar scenes on *mīnā'ī* ware clearly show a golden halo; see, for example, Boston MFA 63.1391. For a similar interpretation of the MMA bowl, see R. Meyer Riefstahl, *The Parish-Watson Collection of Moham-madan Potteries* (New York: E. Weyhe, 1922), 105, fig. 26.
  66. Bagherzadeh, *Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran*, fig. 35 (inv. no. 3181).
  67. See, for example, a crown for a Khitan envoy, Northern Song dynasty, gilt silver in repoussé, early eleventh century, Boston MFA, inv. no. 40.749 (William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, by exchange). The attribution is based on a similar crown unearthed in the northeastern Chinese province of Liaoning. Jan Fontein and Wu Tung, *Unearthing China's Past* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1973), 185–87, cat. no. 97. In Central Asia in general, and in Mongolia in particular, the paneled diadem as a sign of rulership might go even further back, as the paneled crown of the Bilgä Kagan of the eighth century in Archangaj Province might show: *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen* (exh. cat.) (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2005), 75, cat. no. 45.
  68. See, for example, Boston MFA 63.1393.
  69. For an example showing earrings, see Pancaroğlu, *Perpetual Glory*, 130–31, cat. no. 83.
  70. For references, see n. 35 above.
  71. An exception might be the heavily restored and remodeled figure in the Sabah Collection in Kuwait. Panel in Kevorkian's possession: Kevorkian, *Special Exhibition*, frontispiece;

- Riefstahl, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures," fig. 12. While there are a number of royal paraphernalia, the generic depiction of a ruler in that time includes a wine cup. For the cup, see Otto-Dorn, "Das islamische Herrscherbild," 64–65; Otto-Dorn, "Das seldschukische Thronbild" 154–57; Daneshvari, "Cup, Branch, Bird and Fish." A study on the paraphernalia of Seljuq kingship remains a desideratum.
72. In addition, the Detroit figure wears a diadem richly studded with jewels on which the wings rest. Whether it has a palmetto cannot be determined due to damage.
73. Touraj Daryaee, "The Use of Religio-Political Propaganda on the Coinage of Xusrō II," *American Journal of Numismatics*, 2nd ser., 9 (1997): 41–52, pl. 1 on p. 43; Jens Kröger, "Vom Flügelpaar zur Flügelpalmette," in *Rezeption in der islamischen Kunst*, ed. Barbara Finster, Christa Fragner, and Herta Hafenrichter, Beirut Texte und Studien 61 (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), 183–205, pls. xxv–xxvii; and Soudavar, *Aura of Kings*, 19–25.
74. Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb Miskawayh, *Kitāb Tajārib al-umam wa-'awāqib al-himam = The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate: Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century*, ed. and trans. A. H. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, 4 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1920–21), 1:116–18 (*wa-kāna fi naḥsihi an yamlaku Baghdāda wa-ya'qida l-tāja 'alā ra'sihī wa-yu'īdu mulka l-fursi fa-'ūjila bil-qaṭl [...]* *wa-kāna qad ṣāgha tājan 'azīman wa-raṣṣa'a bil-jawharī...*). Ibn al-Athīr explains that it was a Sasanian crown (*qad 'amala tājan muraṣṣa'an 'alā ṣifati tāji Kīsrā*). 'Alī 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *Al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh*, ed. Carl J. Tornberg, 13 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1851–74), 8:226; ed. Beirut VIII, n.d., 302.
75. George C. Miles, "A Portrait of the Buyid Prince Rukn al-Dawlah," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 11 (1964): 283–92; Luke Treadwell, "Shāhānshāh and Malik al-Mu'ayyad: Legitimation of Power in Sāmānid and Būyid Iran," in *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung*, ed. Farhad Daftary and Josef W. Meri (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 318–37.
76. The Abbasids never embraced the winged crown as their symbol.
77. For the dating of a whole group of Sasanian-style silverware to the Buyid period of Iran, see Ernst J. Grube, *The World of Islam* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 41. By referring to the Central Asian look of these images, Grube also implicitly allows for their Ghaznavid origin.
78. The *mīnā'ī* ware of the Boston MFA 63.1386, for example, dates to Kashan from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.
79. The David Collection, Copenhagen; Folsach, *Islamic Art*, 142, no. 135 (Isl. 195).
80. The iconic image of a Sasanian ruler is derived from the portraits of the abundant coins of Khusrāw II.
81. Though a cross, it presumably has no Christian connotation. The V&A seated figure also shares a cross-shaped pendant. Here it seems to represent a square amulet box with deep grooves at each corner, resulting in a cross-like appearance.
82. Cf. Soucek, "Ethnicity in the Islamic Figural Tradition," who cites Sayyid Hasan Ghaznavi (d. 1153–54), who in his poems distinguishes between the *kulāh* (cap) of an amir and the *tāj* (crown) of a ruler.
83. For the references, see n. 75 above.
84. Zahr al-Dīn Nishāpūrī, *The Saljūqnāma of Zahr al-Dīn Nishāpūrī*, ed. A. H. Morton (Chippenham: The E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004), 21, 42, and 49; Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, *Saljūq-nāma = The History of the Seljuq Turks, from the Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh: An Ilkhanid Adaptation of the Saljūq-nāma of Zahr al-Dīn Nishāpūrī*, trans. Kenneth Allin Luther, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001), 47, 72, 95.
85. But some bearded royal figures do exist; cf. the underglaze-painted turquoise-blue bowl in Atil, *Ceramics from the World of Islam*, 118–19, cat. no. 62 (inv. no. 67.25); Grube, *Islamic Pottery*, fig. 183, after p. 232 (Keir Collection). For a luster-painted tile, see the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 40.181.1, in Stefano Carboni, *Persian Tiles* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 12n7.
86. That is, the region from the Caspian Sea to the Altai Mountains.
87. I would like to thank Aleksandr Naymark, who first suggested this idea. See Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien*, 128–37, 463; and Borisenko et al., "Die Bewaffnung." It is interesting to note that Aga-Oglu was the first to suggest a connection with the stone stelae, in 1929: see Aga-Oglu, "Polychrome Stucco Relief," 42.
88. While we have a lacuna for this type of stone statue for about two centuries in Central Asia, another similar but distinct type of life-sized stone figure was made mainly north-east of the Black Sea, in the heart of the Polovtsian-Kiptchak steppes. They date from the second half of the eleventh century to the beginning of the thirteenth. Pletneva focuses on the northern and eastern region of the Black Sea, and does not extend her study to the area east of the Caspian Sea. The Cuman-Kiptchak confederation expanded the regions where they roamed into Central Asia, making them northern neighbors of the Turkmen tribes. This later type of figure differs from earlier Central Asian statues, both in their dress and in their symmetrical hand position instead of the classical left-arm-under-right-arm position. They are all distinctively gendered by their dresses. At least eight statues carry a saber at their left side. Svetlana Aleksandrovna Pletneva, *Polovetskie kamennye izvaianiia* (Arkheologiiia SSSR, E 4-2) (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1974), esp. 29–39; G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Iskusstvo kochevnikov i Zolotoi Ord* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1976), 85–103. For the Cuman-Kiptchak confederation, see Peter Golden, "The People of the South Russian Steppes," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, ed. Denis Sinor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 256–84, esp. 280.
89. Only the figure in the Sabah Collection and the one in the Walters Art Museum have mustaches, but the reconstruction of both appears to be inventive.
90. Stark, *Die Alttürkenzeit in Mittel- und Zentralasien*, 128–37, 463; Borisenko et al., "Die Bewaffnung."

91. A small bronze figurine of a standing ruler (MMA 68.67) also shows the “wrong” order of the arms.
92. The lower part gives the impression of a considerable amount of inventive restoration; compare especially the caftan at the hemline and the position of the tips of the boots. See n. 44 above.
93. Riefstahl, “Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures,” fig. 11.
94. Visual inspection of the V&A figures with Mariam Rosser-Owen and Victor Borges (V&A) on January 17, 2014. Cathy Selvius DeRoo kindly reported a CT scan of the head of the Detroit figure; the stucco figures appear to have been formed by an additive modeling process.
95. Cf. Alexander J. Kossolev and Boris I. Marshak, *Murals Along the Silk Road* (Saint Petersburg: Formica, 1999).
96. Bombaci, “Summary Report on the Italian Archaeological Mission,” esp. cat. nos. I, II, III, and VI; Rugiadi, *Decorazione architettonica in marmo da Ġaznī*, 1177–87, 1237–40.
97. Daniel Schlumberger and Jean-Claude Gardin, “Tableau chronologique pour l’histoire du site de Bust-Lashkari Bazar,” in *Lashkari Bazar, une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride, t. 1A: L’architecture*, ed. Daniel Schlumberger (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1978), 97–98.
98. Geneviève Casal, “Description des peintures de la grande sale d’audience de château de sud à Lashkari Bazar (automne, 1949),” in Schlumberger, *Lashkari Bazar, t. 1A*, 101–8, pls. 13–15, 121–24. Some of the figures carry a kind of rod or mace over their right shoulder. These murals were brought to the National Museum of Afghanistan in Kabul, and destroyed during the Taliban regime.
99. For references, see n. 23.
100. Amirsoleimani, “Clothing in the Early Ghaznavid Courts,” esp. 221.
101. For references, see n. 23.
102. Within the structure of the Seljuq empire were realms of kings, such as that of the king of Ghazna and Sistan, the Khwarazm-Shah, and others who served as vassals: C. E. Bosworth, “The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000–1217),” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 1–202, at 120.
103. Georgina Herrman, *Monuments of Merv: Traditional Buildings of the Karakum* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1999), 97–99, 170–74.
104. David Durand-Guédy, “Ruling from the Outside: A New Perspective on Early Turkish Kingship in Iran,” in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 325–42; David Durand-Guédy, “The Tents of the Saljuqs,” in Durand-Guédy, *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, 149–89.
105. Karev, “From Tents to Cities,” esp. 110–11.
106. Kevorkian, *Special Exhibition*; Riefstahl, “Persian Islamic Stucco Figures,” fig. 11.
107. Zāhīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq-nāma*, ed. Morton, 55, 59; trans. Luther, 82, 86.
108. *Ibid.*, 145.
109. See Jean-François de Lapérouse, Karen Stamm, and Vicki Parry, “Re-examination and Treatment of Mina’i Ceramics at The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” in *Glass and Ceramics Conservation 2007: Preprints of the Interim Meeting of the ICOM-CC Working Group, August 27–30, 2007, Nova Gorica, Slovenia*, ed. Lisa Pilosi (Nova Gorica: Goriski Muzej Kromberk, 2007), 112–19.
110. We are grateful to our colleagues in those institutions for sharing their findings with us. In particular we thank Stefan Weber and Jens Kröger for providing us with the detailed report on the pigments; Birgitta Augustin, curator for Asian arts, Cathy Selvius DeRoo, research scientist, and John Steele, object conservator, Detroit Institute of Arts; and Mariam Rosser-Owen, curator of Islamic art, and Victor Borges, senior sculpture conservator, both of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and Stefan Simon, director, and Stefan Röhrs, scientist, at the Rathgen Research Laboratory, Berlin, for their kind cooperation in this project.
111. An argument against the continued use of this term appears in Claire Gapper and Jeff Orton, “Plaster, Stucco and Stuccoes,” *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 17, 3 (2011): 7–22. For a study of lime-based Seljuq period stucco fragments, see Evin Caner, “Archaeometrical Investigation of Some Seljuk Plasters” (M.S. thesis, Natural and Applied Sciences, Middle East Technical University [Ankara], 2003). For a general discussion of stucco production and use in Iran, see Hans E. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966), 125–27, 133–35. Two interesting studies on Nasrid stucco should also be noted: Carolina Cardell-Fernández and Carmen Navarete-Aguilera, “Pigment and Plasterwork Analyses of Nasrid Polychromed Lacework Stucco in the Alhambra (Granada, Spain),” *Studies in Conservation* 51, 3 (2006): 161–76; and Victor Hugo López Borges, María José de la Torre López, and Lucia Burgio, “Characterization of Materials and Techniques of Nasrid Plasterwork Using the Victoria and Albert Museum Collection as an Exemplar,” in *Actas de Congreso REMAI: I Congreso Internacional Red Europea de Museos de Arte Islámico* (Madrid, 2013), 571–96.
112. XRD and FTIR analyses of the stucco samples performed by Federico Caro, associate research scientist, Department of Scientific Research, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
113. M. Uda, “In Situ Characterization of Ancient Plaster and Pigments on Tomb Walls in Egypt Using Energy Dispersive X-Ray Diffraction and Fluorescence,” *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research, Section B: Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms* 226, 1–2 (2004): 75–82.
114. Riefstahl, “Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures,” 441. Recent treatment on both of these figures has been limited to local consolidation and toning of discolored restoration paint on the modern plaster fills.
115. Gypsum plaster shrinks slightly when setting and unless the previously set plaster is scored to improve adhesion, newly applied plaster may spill over under mechanical pressure.

116. At the present time, both figures are backed with modern plaster and composition board, preventing access to the reverse surfaces.
117. The use of these inscribed lines was noted by Amy Jones, associate conservator, when she worked on two painted wall fragments (MMA 40.170.176) excavated at Nishapur.
118. See frontispiece to Kevorkian, *Special Exhibition*. Also see Riefstahl, "Persian Islamic Stucco Sculptures," 446–47, fig. 12, who relates this pattern to designs from the Sasanian period.
119. An offset at the bottom of the vertical border of the caftan where the edges are not well aligned is the result of a modern join of a vertical break in the lower caftan (fig. 2).
120. EDS and FTIR analyses performed respectively by Mark Wypyski, research scientist, and by Adriana Rizzo, associate research scientist, Department of Scientific Research, Metropolitan Museum of Art; the PLM analysis was done by the authors.
121. See Joyce Plesters, "Ultramarine Blue, Natural and Artificial," in *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics*, 4 vols. (New York, 1993), vol. 2, ed. Ashok Roy, pp. 37–66.
122. Synthetic ultramarine has been found on the figure in Berlin: see Stefan Röhrs and Stefan Simon, *Stuckplastik Iran*, SMB, ISL-MI, Inv. Nr. I.2658 (Untersuchungsbericht 101\_11709), Rathgen-Forschungslabor (December 11, 2009), 4. While ultramarine has been identified by Ramen Spectroscopy on the Detroit figure, as per personal communication with Cathy S. DeRoo on August 25, 2012, this method cannot distinguish between the synthetic and natural varieties.
123. See Elizabeth West Fitzhugh, "Red Lead and Minium," in *Artists' Pigments*, vol. 2 ed. Roy, 109–40.
124. See Ian N. M. Wainwright, Elizabeth A. Moffatt, P. Jane Sirois, and Gregory S. Young, "Analysis of Wall Painting Fragments from the Mogao and the Bingling Temple Grottoes," in *Conservation of Ancient Sites on the Silk Road: Proceedings of an International Conference on the Conservation of Grotto Sites*, ed. Neville Agnew (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 1997): 334–40. Also see Sébastien Aze, Jean-Marc Vallet, and Olivier Grauby, "Chromatic Degradation Processes of Red Lead Pigment," in *ICOM Committee for Conservation, ICOM-CC: 13th Triennial Meeting, Rio de Janeiro, 22–27 September 2002; Preprints*, ed. Roy Vontobel (London: James and James, 2002): 549–55.
125. See Robert L. Feller, "Barium Sulfate: Natural and Synthetic," in *Artists' Pigments*, vol. 1, ed. Robert L. Feller (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 47–64.
126. FTIR analysis performed by Adriana Rizzo, associate research scientist, Department of Scientific Research, Metropolitan Museum of Art. For a history of the development of artificial dyes, see Peter J. T. Morris and Anthony S. Travis, "A History of the International Dyestuff Industry," *American Dyestuff Reporter* 81, 11 (November 1992): www.colorantshistory.org/HistoryInternationalDyeIndustry.html, accessed July 30, 2014.
127. Röhrs and Simon, *Stuckplastik Iran*, 5. Note: XRF analysis will not identify organic compounds such as the azo dye.
128. EDS and XRF analyses performed by Mark Wypyski.
129. See Lucia Burgio, "Dating Alhambra Stuccoes," *V&A Conservation Journal*, 49, 1 (Spring 2005): 2–3.



BRILL



BENJAMIN ANDERSON

## THE COMPLEX OF ELVAN ÇELEBI: PROBLEMS IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

The fourteenth-century complex of Elvan Çelebi (fig. 1), located in rural north-central Anatolia (fig. 2), has figured prominently in discussions of the reuse of Byzantine structures and building materials and the survival of Christian beliefs in later medieval Anatolian Muslim contexts. However, it has resisted incorporation into synthetic accounts of architectural production in the period between the collapse of the Rum Seljuk state in the thirteenth century and the consolidation of Ottoman power in the fifteenth.<sup>1</sup> Thus the complex's scholarly reception has emphasized its diachronic rather than synchronic significance.

In what follows I argue that there is no evidence for the preservation of Byzantine structures within the fourteenth-century complex and that prominent interpretations of the reuse of Byzantine building materials within the complex are based on an incomplete understanding of the multiple phases of construction. The argument for the survival of Christian religious beliefs among the members of a local dervish community is based upon an insufficiently critical reading of two sixteenth-century sources. However, arguments regarding the reuse of materials and the persistence of religious beliefs have served to reinforce each other. Many interpreters have assumed that Byzantine building materials reused in the fourteenth-century complex “stood for” Byzantine culture or Christian religion, following a common assumption of “a metonymic relationship between recycled elements and the broader cultural formations that they are made to stand for.”<sup>2</sup> Thus, the reuse of Byzantine stones is believed to support the theory of the survival of Christian beliefs. In fact, the most prominent spolia at the site, which probably did come from nearby Byzantine structures, have been interpreted by the local

audience not as references to a pre-Islamic past but as elements in the story of the founder's family.

At the same time, the architectural, epigraphic, and textual evidence regarding Elvan Çelebi and his family forms an underutilized resource for illuminating the dynamics of architectural patronage in later medieval central Anatolia. Consideration of the complex's patronage and appearance provokes broader questions involving the relationship between state and non-state actors in architectural production, and the relationship between patronage and architectural style. The synchronic significance of the complex is thus greater than has been appreciated.

The following investigation begins with a brief history of the scholarly reception of the complex, followed by an assessment of the physical and epigraphic evidence for the history of the building. After considering the two sixteenth-century sources on the dervish community then resident at the complex, I return in the conclusion to the question of the complex's significance within the broader history of architectural production in Anatolia in the fourteenth century.

### I. HISTORY OF THE SCHOLARSHIP ON THE ELVAN ÇELEBI COMPLEX

On April 5, 1555, the Habsburg ambassador Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (d. 1591) and his traveling companion Hans Dernschwam (d. 1568) visited the complex of Elvan Çelebi on their way to the court of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66) in Amasya. Busbecq's memories of the site were recorded in his “Turkish letters,” first published in Antwerp in 1581.<sup>3</sup> Dernschwam also left a substantial



Fig. 1. The complex of Elvan Çelebi from the northeast. Town of Elvançeşme, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)



Fig. 2. Map of Anatolia, showing locations mentioned in the text. (Map: C. Scott Walker, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard College Library)

account of the visit, together with a sketch plan of the site (fig. 3), in his diary, excerpts from which were published in 1873. It was edited and published in its entirety by Franz Babinger in 1923.<sup>4</sup> The accounts of Busbecq and Dernschwam, in particular their discussions of the local dervishes' stories regarding the prophet Khidr, said to have slain a dragon in the vicinity of the complex, have played a large role in twentieth-century appraisals of the site.

The seventeenth-century travelers Katib Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi both recorded brief visits to the site, and William Hamilton described a visit made in 1836.<sup>5</sup> More influential has been J. G. C. Anderson's account of his visit to the complex in 1899. Anderson proposed that the complex stood on the site of the Byzantine city of Euchaita, home to an important cult of Saint Theodore, which was known to lie in the region, but whose precise location had not been identified. He was familiar with the accounts of Busbecq and Dernschwam regarding the dervishes' stories of Khidr, and argued that they provided evidence for "the worship of St. Theodore...clothed in a Mohammedan form." Anderson also emphasized the large number of spolia that he saw at the site.<sup>6</sup>

These suggestions were soon taken up by the British archaeologist and folklorist F. W. Hasluck (1878–1920). Although he never visited the site, his brief remarks on it have reached a wide audience. Hasluck first mentioned the complex in passing in 1914, in an article that cited Anderson's account: "at the *tekke* [lodge for dervishes] of Sheikh Elwan in Pontus Khidr seems certainly to have supplanted St. Theodore."<sup>7</sup> A more extended discussion appears in his *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, published posthumously in 1929. Here Hasluck, again relying entirely on Busbecq, Dernschwam, and Anderson, included the complex among a "group of apparent or reputed instances of the imposition of Mohammedan on Christian cults."<sup>8</sup> By this time Anderson's identification of the site with Euchaita had been convincingly countered by Henri Grégoire, who argued that the Byzantine city had occupied the site of the village of Avkat (now officially Beyözü), nine kilometers to the northeast.<sup>9</sup> Still, Hasluck proposed that Elvan Çelebi "may represent, if not the great shrine [of St. Theodore], at least a subsidiary one of importance." He then offered a reconstructed "history of the sanctuary":

"The site of the church of S. Theodore was at some time taken over by the Mohammedans, who identified the saint on the ground of his *eikon*-type (he is generally represented on horseback) and dragon-legend, possibly helped by his name, with their own Khidr."<sup>10</sup>

Hasluck thus introduced a new argument: not only had the dervishes preserved a memory of the Byzantine saint, but the complex itself occupied the site of an earlier "church of S. Theodore." This hypothesis was not based on any archaeological evidence. It rested entirely on the religious survivals Hasluck perceived in the accounts of Busbecq and Dernschwam.

Hasluck was a perceptive critic of naïve theories of "survival," which he attributed to "the overworked idea that every holy place has always been such."<sup>11</sup> There is thus a certain irony involved in the enthusiastic reception of his theory of a persistence of cult at the complex of Elvan Çelebi, which quickly acquired the status of fact. A 1930 visit by the Anatolian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, led by Henning von der Osten and accompanied by Paul Wittek, resulted in the first published photograph of the building (fig. 4), accompanied by the statement that "the oldest part of the structure is a Byzantine burial chapel, which shows that the place was once a Christian shrine."<sup>12</sup> The photograph features a portico that was built in the sixteenth century.

Up to this point there had been hardly any study of the complex itself as a substantial, preserved, later medieval monument. The site was admittedly familiar to two local historians from Amasya, Mustafa Vazıh (d. 1831) and Hüseyin Hüsameddin (d. 1939). Both provided accounts of its founding, but neither discussed the material remains or epigraphy.<sup>13</sup> The inscriptions were not included in İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's corpus of medieval inscriptions of central Anatolia, nor was the building discussed in Albert Gabriel's volumes on the medieval architecture of the region.<sup>14</sup> The omission of the complex from these two standard works may help to explain its absence from synthetic studies of later medieval Anatolian architecture.

The two inscriptions preserved in the complex were first published by Neşet Köseoğlu in the journal of the Çorum Halk Evi in 1944.<sup>15</sup> The first widely distributed account of the site's epigraphy and architecture,

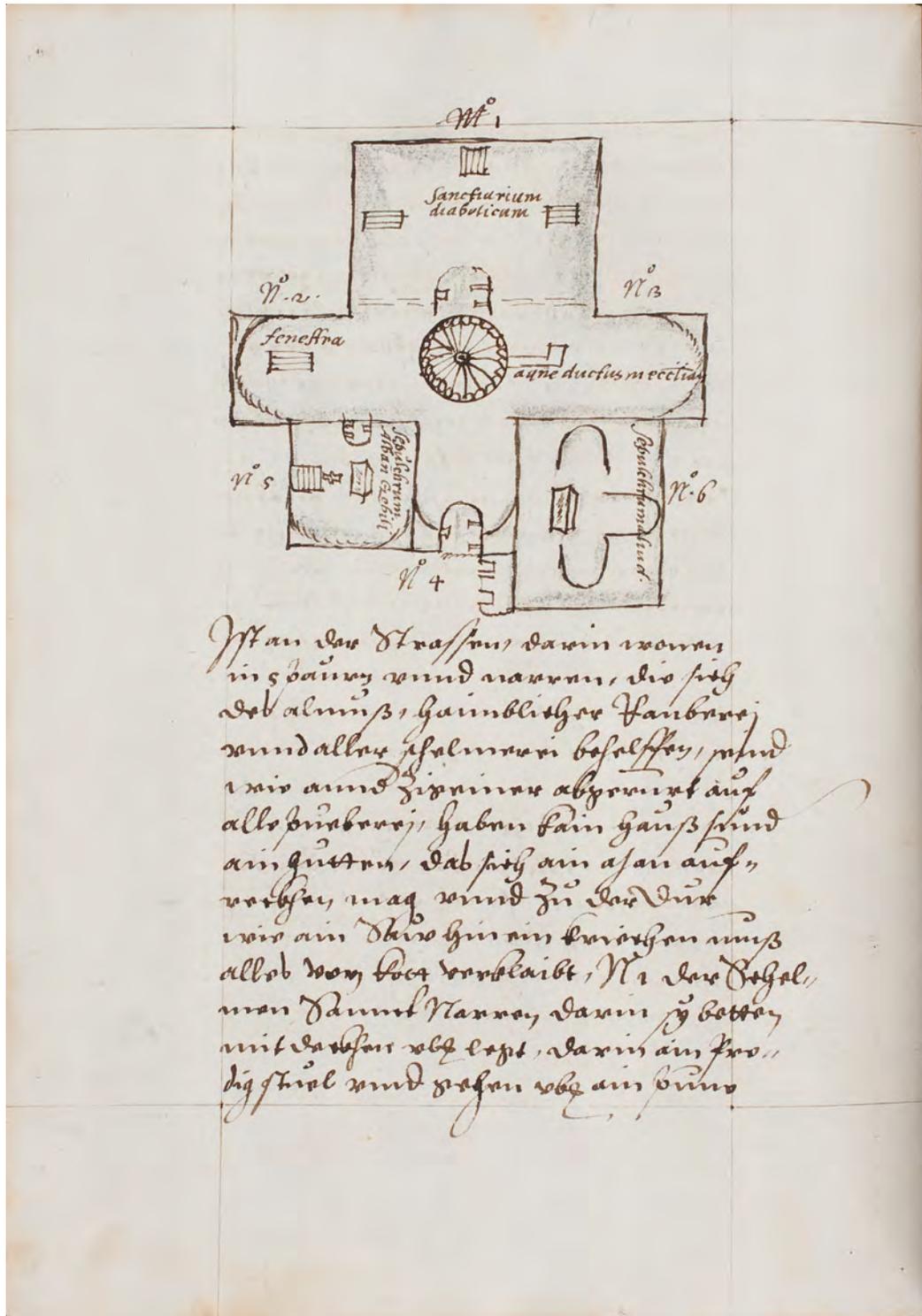


Fig. 3. Hans Dernschwam's sketch plan of the complex of Elvan Çelebi. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 77.1 Aug. 2°, fol. 246v. (Photo: courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek)



Fig. 100.—Elvan-Çelebi. Byzantine chapel re-used in mosque

Fig. 4. Detail of wall 1 (portico before the four-iwan structure), complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelebi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (After Hans Henning von der Osten, *Discoveries in Anatolia, 1930–31* [Chicago, 1933], fig. 100)

including a ground plan, was published by Franz Taeschner in 1960, based on his visit in 1951.<sup>16</sup> Far more substantial is a study published in 1968 by Semavi Eyice, who visited the site in 1965. This last work constitutes the most thorough and considered evaluation of the complex's history and analysis of the building fabric. Eyice endorsed and elaborated upon Hasluck's theory of the transference of the cult of Theodore to the dervish community of Elvan Çelebi, and proposed that the site had previously housed a monastery dedicated to the saint. Furthermore, he suggested that a section of the complex that displays a four-iwan ("cruciform") ground-plan might stand on the foundations of a Byzantine martyrion, possibly one built to house relics of St. Theodore.<sup>17</sup>

More recent discussions of the complex have continued to endorse the theories of the survival of cult and the continuity of site, while introducing a further argument regarding the spolia that are integrated into the building fabric. In an article published in 2000, Ethel Wolper wrote that "the reports of travelers and scholars are consistent in pointing out sections from a Byzantine church and ancient fragments" within the complex.<sup>18</sup> She accepted that it was "built on a site associated with St. Theodore," and linked the display of spolia to this presumed history of the site: "These fragments added another layer of association to the tomb of Elvan Çelebi

by locating his tomb within a local spirituality that was neither Islamic nor Christian but embodied a range of values .... In fourteenth[-century] Anatolia, the prominent display of building fragments broadcasted the genealogy of the structure and its inclusion of Christian believers. This was done to create a visual link between newly sanctified holy figures and historical saints."<sup>19</sup>

In summary, three primary theories have shaped the scholarly reception of the complex of Elvan Çelebi. The earliest is the theory of a survival of the Byzantine cult of St. Theodore, based in Euchaita, in the beliefs of the dervishes whom Busbecq and Dernschwam encountered at the site in the sixteenth century. This was followed by a second theory, first advanced by Hasluck and not based on physical examination of the site, that the complex occupied the site of a former sanctuary dedicated to St. Theodore. Only Eyice has endorsed this theory on architectural grounds, suggesting that the ground-plan of one section of the complex might reflect the foundations of a martyrion. The third theory, introduced by Wolper, asserts intentional use of spolia in the fourteenth-century structure to announce the site's presumed Christian past, to establish a connection between a "historical saint" (Theodore) and a modern "holy figure" (Elvan), and to promote the "inclusion of Christian believers."

By arguing that the fourteenth-century deployment of Byzantine architectural fragments constituted a "genealogy," this third theory assumes that material remains served as readily identifiable metonyms for cultural/religious identities. The assumption of an isomorphism between material remains and religious practices is already present in earlier accounts of the monument, especially in J. G. C. Anderson's argument that Busbecq and Dernschwam's descriptions of the beliefs of the sixteenth-century dervishes provided evidence for the physical location of ancient Euchaita.

It remains to ask if the complex is capable of supporting these theories. We will begin with an appraisal of the architectural evidence, in particular as it bears on the history of the site before the fourteenth century and on the fourteenth-century deployment of spolia. We will then consider the accounts of Busbecq and Dernschwam, in particular as they pertain to the theory of survival of cult.

## II. THE EVIDENCE OF THE BUILDING

The complex of Elvan Çelebi stands in the village of the same name (Elvançelevi, earlier known as Tekke Köy), approximately eighteen kilometers east of the provincial capital, Çorum (fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> The complex, which has undergone a number of alterations since its construction, today consists of four primary elements: a three-iwan structure, a four-iwan structure, a large rectangular structure now used as a mosque, and a series of three rooms (fig. 5). For reasons that will become clear, I refrain from referring to these structures with the functional terms conventionally used in the literature on the complex: *zâviye* (dervish lodge) for the three-iwan structure, “cruciform *türbe* (mausoleum)” for the four-iwan structure, and so forth. The central structure consists of three iwans arranged about a closed courtyard, in the center of which stands a *şâdurvân* (ablution fountain). It is entered through a door at the north end of the north iwan. To the west of the three-iwan structure, and sharing walls with its west and north iwans, stands a four-

iwan structure with a dome over the central bay, which today houses seven sarcophagi. It is entered through its north iwan; no door communicates between the three- and four-iwan structures. To the south of the three-iwan structure, and entered through its south wall, stands the present-day mosque. It features a simple rectangular plan, a flat ceiling, and a pitched roof. To the north of the three- and four-iwan structures three spaces are aligned on an east-west axis. The easternmost space forms an entry hall, with one door in its north wall, which leads outside, and another in its south wall, which communicates with the three-iwan structure. A third door in its western wall communicates with the second of the three rooms, which houses a single sarcophagus. The westernmost of the three spaces forms a portico before the four-iwan structure, opening to the outside on the north via a double arch. Finally, a minaret stands at the north-western corner of the complex, its base occupying the space between the north and west iwans of the four-iwan structure.

A wealth of fundamental observations regarding the

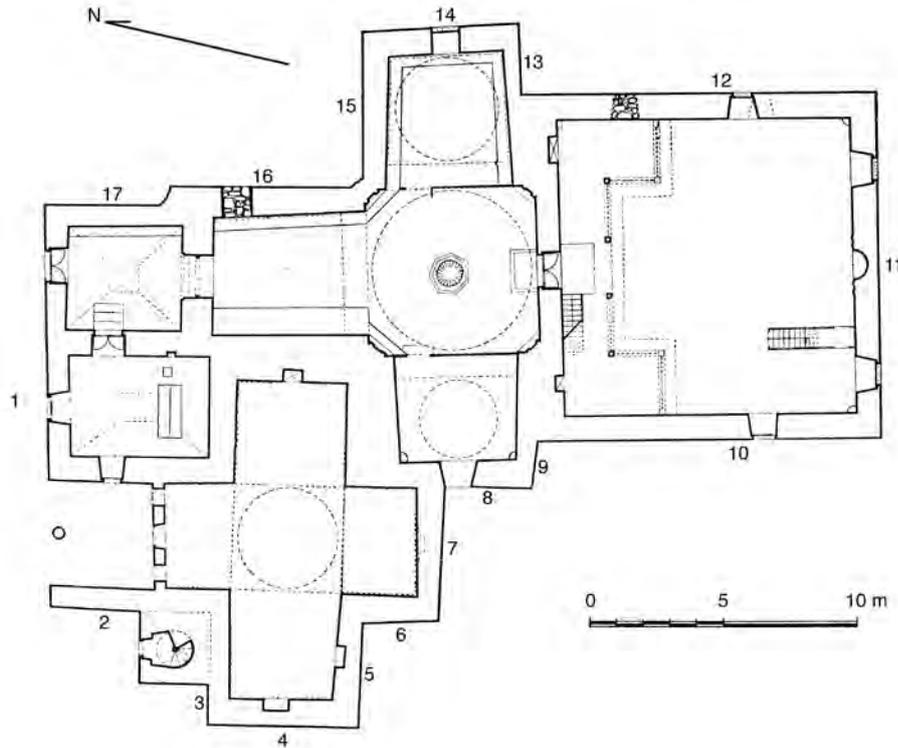


Fig. 5. Ground plan of the complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelevi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (After Semavi Eyice, “Çorum’un Mecitözü’nde Âşık Paşa-oğlu Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 15 [1968]: pl. XIV, modified by Benjamin Anderson)

phasing and dating of the complex were made by Eyice in his 1968 study, although numerous questions remain, some of which cannot be solved without a systematic archaeological investigation of the building and its foundations.<sup>21</sup> The following account is based on three sources of evidence: the fabric of the building, the plan drawn by Hans Dernschwam in 1555, and the two inscriptions. The conclusions regarding relative and absolute chronology are in general agreement with those reached by Eyice.

From the physical evidence of the building it is clear that the three- and four-iwan structures were built at the same time. The exterior walls of both display uncoursed, unhewn stones with sparing use of brick, as around the window in wall 8 (all wall numbers refer to the plan [fig. 5]), as well as a fairly extensive use of masonry blocks for added stability in the corners and at the base of some walls. The apparently seamless join of walls 7 and 8 confirms that the two structures were contemporaneous, at least so far as can be determined given the lack of regular coursing. In what follows these two structures will be jointly described as the “core” of the complex.

The relationship between the core and the mosque is less clear. The joins between walls 9 and 10 and between walls 12 and 13 appear to be seamless, again allowing for the irregular construction. However, certain portions of the mosque walls display a markedly different construction technique, with far more regular coursing of stones, among which more reused pieces are visible, and more brick, which at some points is laid in regular courses alternating with the stone. Especially noteworthy in this regard are the upper southern portion of wall 10 and the entire corner constituting the join between walls 11 and 12. There is also a very high density of spolia throughout the south wall of the mosque (wall 11), which is not limited to the strategically placed masonry blocks found in the core. In general, these observations suggest that a structure was attached to the south wall of the three-iwan structure in the core phase (due to the seamless joins), but that it underwent substantial renovation at some point, particularly in the south (i.e., the southern ends of walls 10 and 12, and the entirety of wall 11).

The relationship between the core and the three rooms to the north (the entry hall, mausoleum, and portico) is much clearer. There is no join between walls 16

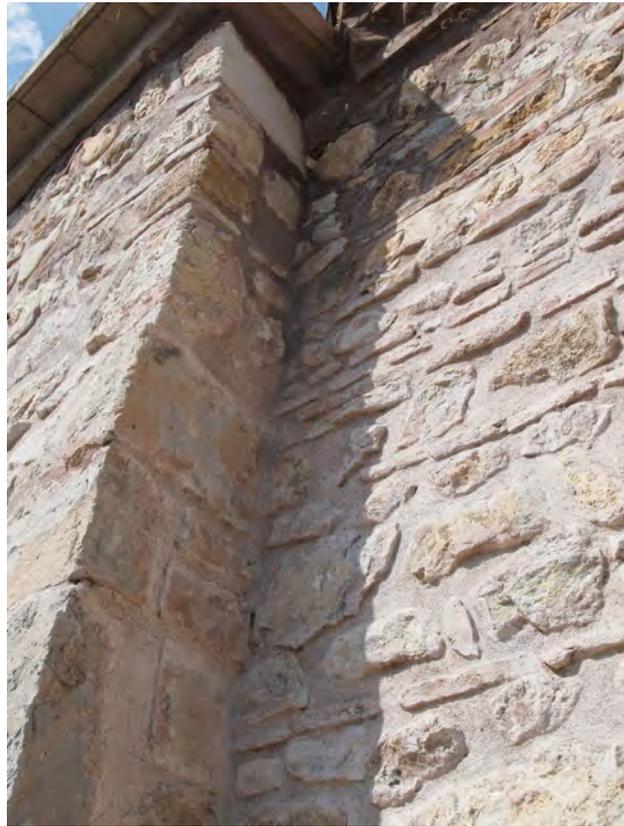


Fig. 6. Walls 16 and 17 of the complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelesi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

and 17 (fig. 6). Wall 17 was clearly built against the pre-existing north iwan of the three-iwan structure, a portion of which juts out to the east. This emerges in particular from the regular brick courses of wall 17, which terminate without fail when they meet this pre-existing wall (fig. 7). The construction technique employed in walls 17, 1, and 2 is markedly different from that seen in the core section of the complex. It is characterized by extensive use of brick, laid in semi-regular courses, alternating with unhewn stones. Wall 1 shows a still more sophisticated employment of brick. In the uppermost four courses the unhewn stones are surrounded by bricks on all four sides, and there is decorative brickwork around the arches above the windows (fig. 8). Eyice considered the construction of these walls to be characteristic of the sixteenth century, a suggestion that can be supported by local comparanda.<sup>22</sup>



Fig. 7. Wall 17 of the complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelevi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)



Fig. 8. Wall 1 of the complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelevi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

The theory that these rooms were built as a later addition against the north façade of the core is bolstered by the design of the door leading from the entry hall into the three-iwan structure. Here, behind the modern plaster, portions of a proper later-medieval entry are still visible, including a pointed archway constructed from well-cut stones (fig. 9). The alternation of light and dark stones is a hallmark of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century structures in the region, as in the more elaborate portal of the madrasa/mausoleum complex of Hüseyin Gazi outside of Değirmenderesi (fig. 10).<sup>23</sup> Thus the north wall of the north iwan probably formed the original entry, and the present entry hall is a later addition, contemporary with the mausoleum and portico to the west.

To summarize: three distinct building phases can be discerned within the Elvan Çelebi complex (fig. 5). The first, core phase comprises the three- and four-iwan structures. These two elements were originally joined to a third element, situated where the mosque now stands. However, the walls of the mosque, particularly at its southern end, show signs of a major later restoration. The three northernmost rooms, on the other hand, consisting of the entry hall, the single-bay mausoleum, and the portico leading into the four-iwan structure, are clearly later additions. For the sake of completion it should be noted that the minaret is a much later addition.



Fig. 9. Entry to the north iwan of the three-iwan structure, complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelevi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

These observations are confirmed by the second major source of evidence, namely, the plan of the complex drawn by Hans Dernschwam on the basis of his visit in 1555 (fig. 3) and the accompanying description.<sup>24</sup> In its depiction of the core and the mosque, Dernschwam's plan corresponds well to the current complex, allowing for some confusion regarding the precise relationship between the three- and four-iwan structures. However, two major differences stand out. Dernschwam did not record the three northernmost rooms, and he noted an



Fig. 10. Entry portal to the madrasa in the complex of Hüseyin Gazi, Değirmenderesi, Alaca, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)



Fig. 11. Detail of repair in wall 15 of the complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelesi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

additional structure in the space between the east and north iwans of the three-iwan structure that is not present today.

This both confirms what can be gleaned from the physical evidence of the complex and contributes some new information. The core was already joined to a mosque in the sixteenth century. On his plan, Dernschwam labels this structure as a “sanctuarium diabolicum,” and in the text of his diary he describes it as a prayer hall (“ein schelmen sanctuarium, doryn sy bethen”), unvaulted (“nit gewelbt”), with a wooden roof (“oben ein hulczen poden ... vnd khain ander dach”). He furthermore saw a Greek inscription high up, where more old broken stones and columns were incorporated into the building fabric (“auswendig ist ein grosser stain in der hoche mit eingemawert, darauff krichisch epitaphia gestanden, scheint ein newer stok sein, dan dorin mer altte zerbroche staine und sewlen mit koth gemawert sein”).<sup>25</sup> This inscription can no longer be seen today, nor would one today remark that the upper level contains more spolia than the lower.<sup>26</sup> All of these points support the hypothesis that the present-day mosque occupies the same space as a structure original to the building, but that it has undergone substantial renovation. The disparities between Dernschwam’s description

and the present state of the mosque give a *terminus post quem* of 1555 for this renovation.

The second point to be gleaned from Dernschwam’s plan is that the three northernmost rooms were not present at the time of his visit. He furthermore describes the north iwan of the three-iwan structure as “der eingang.”<sup>27</sup> This confirms our deduction from the physical evidence that the north wall of the north iwan constituted the original entrance, and that the northernmost rooms were later additions. It also provides a *terminus post quem* of 1555 for their construction.<sup>28</sup>

The final point is that in 1555 a structure stood in the space between the north and east iwans of the three-iwan structure. This no longer exists, but has left a trace in the form of an arch-shaped repair that is visible on the exterior of wall 15 (fig. 11). This presumably marks the location of an earlier doorway leading into the missing structure, which indeed Dernschwam’s plan places on this wall. It furthermore emerges that the missing structure and the three-iwan structure did not share a wall, since otherwise more extensive repairs would have been necessitated by its removal or destruction. Thus it can be hypothesized that the two structures were not bonded, but rather abutted each other. They may therefore have been constructed at different times.

Dernschwam's plan depicts the missing structure as roughly square in plan and vaulted (the inverted arch at the bottom of the square seems to be Dernschwam's shorthand for a vaulted space). He labels the structure as the tomb of Elvan Çelebi, but in his text cryptically describes it as "an old, heathen, Pharisaic temple" ("eine alte, haidnische, phariseische hailikeit").<sup>29</sup> This impression of pagan antiquity might suggest a masonry structure whose construction was clearly distinct from that of the rest of the complex. Square-plan mausolea were extremely common in later medieval Anatolia, and a specific local comparandum might be offered, once more from the Hüseyin Gazi complex, where the mausoleum exhibits a square plan and a vaulted interior, and is constructed entirely from masonry (fig. 12).

The existence of an earlier mausoleum, since disappeared, provides a partial explanation for the later addition of the three northernmost rooms, the central room of which is today understood to be the mausoleum of Elvan Çelebi. This serves, then, as a replacement for the earlier mausoleum. As for the possible circumstances of the disappearance of the original mausoleum, I can do no better than to repeat Eyice's hypothesis of damage sustained in an earthquake.<sup>30</sup>

Dernschwam's plan and diary support the hypotheses derived from the physical evidence of the site and provide additional proof for an earlier structure, since disappeared. They help little, however, in the absolute dating of the complex, aside from providing a *terminus ante quem* for the core complex and a *terminus post quem* for the restoration of the mosque and the construction of the three northernmost rooms (in both cases, 1555). For the absolute dating it is necessary to turn to the epigraphic and historical evidence.

Two Arabic inscriptions are preserved in the complex. The first, consisting of two lines, stands above the original entry to the four-iwan structure, that is, the door in the north wall of the north iwan (fig. 13). The most recent and complete reading was published by Ethem Erkoç in 2005.<sup>31</sup> The second line names as the builder one Elvan, son of 'Ali, son of Muhlis, son of Shaykh Ilyas. Elvan Çelebi was the author of a *menâkıb*, a laudatory history in verse, on the subject of his family, that was composed in the year 1358–59 (760).<sup>32</sup> He seems to have died in 1368.<sup>33</sup> His father was 'Aşık 'Ali Pasha (d. 1332), a



Fig. 12. Mausoleum, complex of Hüseyin Gazi, Değirmentepe, Alaca, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

significant poet who is buried in an impressive masonry mausoleum in Kırşehir (fig. 14).<sup>34</sup> Elvan's grandfather was Muhlis Pasha, a charismatic figure of considerable political and religious importance who for six months in 1273 ruled a portion of southern Anatolia from the former palace of the Seljuks in Konya.<sup>35</sup> We do not know the date of his death or the location of his tomb. Elvan's great-grandfather, finally, was Baba Ilyas (or "Baba Rasul"), a Turcoman shaykh who came to Anatolia from Khurasan in the early thirteenth century and established a *zāviye* in the vicinity of Amasya. He then proclaimed himself a prophet, launched a revolt against the Seljuk state, and was killed in battle in Amasya in 1240.<sup>36</sup> His mausoleum, to all appearances an entirely modern construction, is claimed by the village of İlyas some ten kilometers southeast of Amasya.<sup>37</sup>

This family history matches the genealogy recited on the inscription of the four-iwan structure, and thus gives us a historical context for the construction of the core complex. At the end of the second line of the inscription



Fig. 13. Inscription at the entry to the four-iwan structure, complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelevi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

appears a date, introduced by the formula *fī sana*, but the year itself has been crammed into the remaining space and is difficult to read. Köseoğlu, followed by Taeschner, read 707 (1307), while more recently Erkoç has read 780 (1378).<sup>38</sup> The former is difficult to reconcile with the biography of Elvan Çelebi, who would have been very young in 1307, while the latter would suggest that the inscription was completed after the patron's death. That both dates can plausibly be read into the tangle at the close of this line may indicate the unlikelihood that a clear reading will emerge.<sup>39</sup>

For a plausible date of construction we may turn to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, who records that in 753 (1352) Elvan Çelebi constructed a mosque, *türbe*, *zāviye*, *imārethāne* (charity soup kitchen), and hamam in the village now bearing his name.<sup>40</sup> Hüsameddin does not provide a source for his information, but it is commensurate with the other information available to us in terms of both chronology and the description of the patron's activities. A medieval hamam is preserved in the village of Elvançelevi, and the question of the various other functional structures will be addressed below.<sup>41</sup>

The second inscription consists of three lines and is set on the east end of the façade of the building (wall 1), above the door leading into the entry hall (fig. 15).<sup>42</sup> As we have seen, this portion of the complex was built after 1555. The first line of the inscription contains the *bas-mala* (invocation of God), the second invokes the pre-eternal perfection of God, and the third contains Sura

1:5–6, concluding with the word *al-mustaqīm* (the straight path). This final word was interpreted by Köseoğlu as a chronogram corresponding to the year 681 (1282), but this reading seems arbitrary and has been rejected by Erkoç.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, the inscription might predate the construction of the façade, as it seems to have been reassembled from four distinct pieces before being set into its present location. It may have been associated with the original mausoleum of Elvan Çelebi, salvaged following the destruction of this building, and reused above the entry that leads to the new mausoleum.

It remains to consider the date of the renovation of the mosque, whose interior decorations, in particular its carved ceiling, wooden gallery, and carved stone mihrab are clearly much later than the core of the complex. Eyice proposed that this renovation of the interior coincided with the renovation of the mosque itself, which he suggested might have followed upon damage caused by an earthquake in 1793–94.<sup>44</sup>

In summary, the core of the complex, comprising the three- and four-iwan structures, was constructed under the patronage of Elvan Çelebi in the mid-fourteenth century. This original complex also included a structure on the location of the present mosque, but this structure was substantially renovated, probably in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The northernmost rooms were constructed after 1555, perhaps as early as the late sixteenth century, and served in part to replace



Fig. 14. Entry portal, mausoleum of 'Aşık Paşa, Kırşehir. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)



Fig. 15. Inscription in wall 1, complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvan-çelebi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

the square-plan mausoleum of the founder that previously stood at the northeast corner of the complex.

What, then, can be said about the history of the site before the fourteenth century as well as about the spolia built into the complex? We should first consider Eyice's proposal that the four-iwan ("cruciform") structure might be built on the foundations of an earlier Byzantine martyrion.<sup>45</sup> As we have seen, the three- and four-iwan structures were constructed simultaneously in the building campaign of the mid-fourteenth century. A sondage might reveal traces of an earlier foundation, but the visible lower courses of the walls of the four-iwan structure show no sign of an earlier phase. Indeed, Eyice's argument is not based on archaeology, but on typology. A cruciform ground plan would be unique among later medieval Anatolian mausolea, the great majority of which consist of a single, vaulted space and exhibit a tower-like, vertical emphasis. While horizontally-oriented mausolea are known, these are usually composed of a single iwan.<sup>46</sup>

The identification of the four-iwan structure as a mausoleum is based on its contemporary use as the location of seven sarcophagi. These are today identified as belonging to the wife and children of the founder.<sup>47</sup> In 1555 Dernschwam recorded only one sarcophagus in this structure, whose inhabitant was, like Elvan Çelebi, supposed to be a "friend of St. George," but to whom the dervishes gave no name.<sup>48</sup> There is, in fact, no reason to think that the complex was originally outfitted with two

mausolea, especially as there is no compelling candidate for the occupant of the second.<sup>49</sup>

The four-iwan structure is typologically problematic only if we assume that it originally functioned as a mausoleum. Four-iwan buildings organized around a central, domed space are known from medieval Anatolia, including the so-called Khanqah of Sahib Ata built in 1279 in Konya.<sup>50</sup> As mentioned above, Hüsameddin's account of Elvan Çelebi's building campaign mentions a mosque, *türbe*, *zāviye*, *'imārethāne*, and hamam. Let us assume that the mosque is identical with the present-day mosque, that the *türbe* is the square-plan mausoleum drawn by Dernschwam, since destroyed, and that the hamam is the medieval bath preserved in the village. This leaves the core of the fourteenth-century complex, consisting of the three- and four-iwan structures. While the four-iwan structure resembles a known khanqah/*zāviye* plan, the three-iwan plan is typical of fourteenth-century *'imārets*, for example, those preserved in Komotini and Iznik.<sup>51</sup> I do not wish to suggest a rigid connection between function and architectural typology, and would hesitate to "rename" the three-iwan structure as the *'imāret* and the four-iwan structure as the *zāviye*. However, if we do not assume that the four-iwan structure always served as a mausoleum, then it becomes possible to understand the core complex as a multi-functional structure whose elements can be comfortably accommodated within the current understanding of medieval Anatolian architectural typology, even if their combination is unusual.

The second factor that has been understood to suggest a pre-fourteenth-century structure at the site is the presence of spolia in the complex. However, it should be emphasized that the mere presence of spolia in a building does not prove that it stands on the site of an earlier structure. There is ample evidence for the wide dispersal of reused building materials in central Anatolia. Stones from the Roman and Byzantine site of Tavium in central Anatolia have been documented by archaeologists in villages and towns in all directions, at distances of up to twenty-six kilometers.<sup>52</sup> In 1836, William Hamilton was told that the reused stones in the *kale* (fortress) at Çorum had been brought from a building called "Kara Hissar, on the road to Yeuzgatt"—the site, now known as Kalehisar, is located some 37 kilometers to the southwest of



Fig. 16. Detail of wall 1 (portico before the four-iwan structure), complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelesi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

Çorum.<sup>53</sup> In 1900, the Cumont brothers encountered a village of “industrious Circassians” south of Sulusaray who had a good business transporting stones from a nearby Byzantine cemetery north to Zile, a trek of thirty-eight kilometers across a low ridge of mountains.<sup>54</sup> In the following I will argue that those spolia in the complex of Elvan Çelebi whose origins can be identified probably came from the site of Byzantine Euchaita (Avkat), located a mere nine kilometers to the east.<sup>55</sup>

Wall 1, the north façade of the complex as it stands today, contains the most striking assemblage of spolia. The north wall of the portico that stands in front of the four-iwan structure incorporates a double arch (fig. 16). The arches, today covered in brick, are seen in earlier

pictures (e.g., fig. 4) to consist of finely hewn stones with molding, probably reused. These rest on the outside on stacks of reused masonry blocks, built seamlessly into the fabric of the wall. The fourth block from the bottom on the western end of the façade appears from its rectangular molding to be a late Roman chancel post.<sup>56</sup> The two arches meet at and rest upon an assemblage of three pieces: at the top a reused column base, in the center a downward-tapering column shaft of *lapis atracius/verde antico*, and at the bottom a late Roman impost capital whose trapezoidal panels are decorated with rows of simply delineated and highly stylized leaves (German: *Pfeifenfriese*) (fig. 17).<sup>57</sup> The four sides of the abacus are decorated with a herringbone pattern extending out-



Fig. 17. Late Roman capital, reused in the portico before the four-iwan structure of the complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvan-çelebi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)



Fig. 18. Late Roman capital, Beyözü, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: courtesy of the Avkat Archaeological Project)

wards from central medallions, one of which seems originally to have been filled with a cross, partially chiseled away.

The capital deserves particular attention as a clue to the origin of the spolia. The closest comparandum in the standard catalogues is a capital found today in the first court of the Topkapı Palace. However, this contains a lower Ionic zone, and has a plain abacus and squatter dimensions. It has been provisionally dated to the early sixth century.<sup>58</sup> The capital at Elvan Çelebi is better understood in the context of the inner-Anatolian production of architectural sculpture. Philipp Niewöhner has identified a related type that was produced in late antique Phrygia, and is also found in Ankara, for which he has coined the term *Pfeifenkelchkapitell*.<sup>59</sup> Similar examples are found further to the east, for example, in the late Roman baths at Beke Kaplıcası, in the area of ancient Hadrianopolis, at Çeltek near Zile, and at the foot of Muşalım Kalesi.<sup>60</sup> Closer still, however, is a capital now found in the village of Beyözü (formerly Avkat, Byzantine Euchaita), which shares with the Elvan Çelebi capital not only the *Pfeifenfriese* but also the decorated abacus with cross medallion (fig. 18).<sup>61</sup> The Elvan Çelebi capital is best understood as a product of a highly local tradition represented also by the Beyözü capital.<sup>62</sup> It thus presumably originated from the immediate area.

The cross medallion suggests that it was originally used in a church.

The *verde antico* column has assumed a prominent role in the local reception of the structure. A local explanation for its presence at the site was already recorded around 1800 by Mustafa Vazır, and was still being told when Eyice visited the site in the 1960s.<sup>63</sup> According to this story, the column was sent to Elvan Çelebi by his father, 'Aşık Pasha, from Kırşehir on the back of a camel. The exhausted animal died upon delivering its cargo and was buried on the very spot where the column was erected. The column is thus known as the *deve mezarı* (camel's grave).

Other spolia are visible at various points in the site. On the interior of wall 16, a window is bracketed by two masonry blocks with molding. Its lintel is a carved stone, set on its side, featuring an arch resting on two columns at the bottom and a blank *tabula ansata* (tablet with handles) at the top (fig. 19). This is probably an unfinished tombstone of the Roman or Byzantine era.<sup>64</sup> This window would originally have faced the wall of the original mausoleum, and may thus be a later addition following removal of that structure. In addition, two reused columns are visible behind the plaster in the west iwan of the three-iwan structure.

The exterior walls of the complex incorporate a num-



Fig. 19. Window on interior of wall 16, complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelevi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

ber of masonry blocks, presumably reused, that serve as structural reinforcements at corners and joins. It is not possible to discern any patterning or decorative intent in these assemblages, and the blocks themselves are quite plain. The south wall of the mosque (wall 11) forms an exception, with a much higher percentage of spolia incorporated into the fabric, some of which contain traces of molding; in some cases these spolia have been arranged to form patterns that work in concert with the brick coursing. For the sake of completion we should mention a fragment of an abacus from a capital of the local type discussed above, which is set into wall 14.

As noted above, Dernschwam saw spolia in the mosque that are no longer visible today, including, most notably, a Greek inscription.<sup>65</sup> The stone that most attracted the attention of Dernschwam and Busbecq was the marble basin of the *şādirvān* in the center of the three-iwan structure, which is still found there today, and which Busbecq described as “a fountain of the purest water, constructed of excellent marble” (fig. 20).<sup>66</sup> The basin, whose polylobed shape would be unusual for a Roman or Byzantine piece, may be later medieval.<sup>67</sup> In local accounts of the site, beginning already with Mustafa Vazıh, it is identified, like the green column, as a gift sent by ‘Aşık Pasha from Kırşehir.<sup>68</sup>



Fig. 20. *Şādirvān* basin, complex of Elvan Çelebi, Elvançelevi, Mecitözü, Çorum. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

The great majority of spolia in the older sections of the complex (the masonry blocks in the fourteenth-century sections, the columns in the iwan) serve a primarily functional role. They do not possess any particular decorative value, nor do they have a clearly identifiable source. The more “representative” assemblages, the portico and the window in wall 16, seem to



Fig. 21. Portico before the complex of Seyyid Gazi, Seyitgazi, Eskişehir. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

date to after 1555, and the spolia arrangements in wall 11 must date to the renovation of the mosque around 1800.

On these grounds it is difficult to agree with Wolper that the spolia used in the fourteenth-century structure “broadcasted the genealogy of the structure and its inclusion of Christian believers ... to create a visual link between newly sanctified holy figures and historical saints.”<sup>69</sup> Of the spolia present in the fourteenth-century building, only the Greek funerary inscription seen by Dernschwam in the wall of the mosque could have been understood as a reference to the region’s Christian past. However, Dernschwam relates that this was mixed in haphazardly with broken stones and bits of columns—hardly a representative assemblage.<sup>70</sup>

The arrangement of spolia in wall 1 can be compared with other sixteenth-century spolia compositions re-

cently studied by Zeynep Yürekli Görkay. Of particular note is the portico in front of the primary shrine at Seyitgazi, constructed as part of an extensive building campaign of the early sixteenth century and prominently incorporating reused columns and capitals (fig. 21). Görkay suggests that this prominent display of spolia reflected nostalgia for the heroic exploits of the medieval ghazis, as also expressed in the church conversions described in the ghazi epics.<sup>71</sup> As we know nothing about the patronage of the additions at Elvan Çelebi, we can only speculate if related motives might have been involved, although the effacement of the cross medalion does suggest a similarly anachronistic rhetoric of “triumph” in an era when Islam had long been established as the hegemonic religion. However, it is striking that the local traditions regarding the green column

contain no reference to Christian origins. They rather invent a familial origin for the piece, integrating it into the illustrious genealogy of Elvan Çelebi, which is recited on the inscription that stands behind the column.

### III. THE ACCOUNTS OF BUSBECQ AND DERNSCHWAM

It remains to consider the sixteenth-century accounts of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq and Hans Dernschwam, in which first Anderson, followed by many others, discovered the “worship of St. Theodore clothed in a Mohammedan form.”<sup>72</sup> Busbecq was the Habsburg ambassador to the Ottoman court, and Dernschwam was a humanist scholar accompanying him.<sup>73</sup> On April 5, 1555, while the two were traveling overland from Istanbul to Amasya, they spent the night with a community of dervishes who lived by the complex of Elvan Çelebi.

Busbecq’s account is the more literary of the two, being contained within his “Turkish letters,” descriptions of Ottoman lands composed in a refined Latin. His version of the visit to the complex is almost entirely devoted to the figure of “Chederle,” who, according to the dervishes, was the same as the Christian St. George, and performed the same feats as him, in particular slaying a dragon.<sup>74</sup> Although Chederle himself was immortal, the tombs of his “companions, groom, and nephew” were found nearby.<sup>75</sup> At the conclusion of his account Busbecq writes that “the Turks shake with laughter when they see pictures of St. George in the Greek churches ... with a boy sitting behind him on the horse’s haunches, mixing wine and serving it to him. For St. George is usually painted in this manner by the Greeks.”<sup>76</sup>

Dernschwam’s account is stylistically quite distinct from Busbecq’s, forming part of a diary in colloquial German, but the two agree in most particulars. Dernschwam first mentions Elvan Çelebi and the anonymous occupant of the four-iwan structure as purported friends of St. George.<sup>77</sup> He then explains that the dervishes called St. George “Chodir Eles.” He was a famous knight in Capadocia who never died but still lives, and helps whomsoever might call on him.<sup>78</sup> In fact, the dervishes, who could not have known the hagiography of St. George, nevertheless repeated “many of the same lies” that were

found therein. In particular, they spoke of a dragon that he slew high on a nearby mountain. There a row of stones represented the beast, and at the foot of the mountain a white block of marble with traces of horse-shoes and a saddle was understood to represent “St. George’s miracle.”<sup>79</sup>

Busbecq’s “Chederle” and Dernschwam’s “Chodir Eles” are to be identified with the figure known in Arabic as Khidr or Khidr-Ilyas, a benevolent immortal about whom a complex body of narratives and beliefs has accumulated in many Islamic cultures.<sup>80</sup> Khidr plays a prominent role in the *menākib* of Elvan Çelebi, at one point saving the author’s grandfather, Muhlis Pasha, by lifting him out of a dangerous battle and causing his opponents to “fall to the ground like ashes.”<sup>81</sup> These passages from the major literary work of the community’s founder are sufficient to explain the sixteenth-century dervishes’ references to Elvan Çelebi as a friend of Khidr. The story of Muhlis Pasha suggests that the family’s devotion to Khidr predated their arrival in the region of Euchaita.

The identification of Khidr with St. George, which the sixteenth-century dervishes propounded, seems to have been widespread in Anatolia. Already in the fourteenth century, the Byzantine emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54), in an anti-Islamic polemic composed after his retirement to monastic life, wrote that Muslims referred to St. George as *Chetēr Êliaz*:<sup>82</sup> at the time of the founding of the complex of Elvan Çelebi, the identification of Khidr with St. George was such a widely recognized phenomenon that an aristocratic Byzantine monk in Constantinople had heard of it. The propagation of this belief by the sixteenth-century dervishes need not be explained as a local survival of the cult of St. Theodore. It is furthermore noteworthy that those dervishes actually identified Khidr with St. George, and not with the local Christian hero, St. Theodore.

The primary similarity that Hasluck identified between the cult of St. Theodore and the dervishes’ stories of Khidr is that both were said to have slain a dragon.<sup>83</sup> A Byzantine tradition recorded in the life of St. Theodore located the slaying in a wood some four miles outside of Euchaita.<sup>84</sup> Dernschwam, on the other hand, was told that Khidr had slain the dragon on top of a mountain. The two sites are clearly distinct, and the tales of Khidr’s



Fig. 22. Icon of Saint George. Tokat, Tokat Müzesi. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

exploits need not represent a “survival” of older stories about Theodore.

It would be tendentious to insist too firmly on the distinctions between the sixteenth-century veneration of Khidr/St. George at Elvan Çelebi and the Byzantine cult of St. Theodore at Euchaita. Both draw on a common symbolism, and it is likely that the points of overlap facilitated communication between local Muslims and Christians. This shared symbolism was, however, hardly unique to Elvan Çelebi, and its appearance there in the sixteenth century cannot be used to identify the site with that of an earlier Christian sanctuary.

Furthermore, this symbolism, while shared between Muslims and Christians, could also be contested. This becomes clear from Busbecq’s remark that the dervishes “shake with laughter” upon seeing icons of St. George in which a boy sits on the back of the saint’s horse mixing

water and wine. This is a precise description of a common later medieval and early modern icon type of St. George, in which the “pillion rider” is understood to be a youth who was rescued by the saint (fig. 22).<sup>85</sup> Thus this passage attests to the close familiarity of Anatolian dervishes with Christian iconography. Their laughter also shows that there were elements of the “Christian” George that could not be assimilated to the “Muslim” Khidr. The two figures were cognate, but not identical.

The accounts of Busbecq and Dernschwam constitute a significant source of evidence for the potential for symbolic mediation between Islam and Christianity in sixteenth-century Anatolia, but there is no reason to think that this potential was unique to the complex of Elvan Çelebi. What is unique is rather the vividness of their descriptions. This is best explained not by the persistence of local custom but by the unique status of the sources as early modern records of attempts by Anatolian Muslims to explain their beliefs and traditions to foreign Christian visitors.<sup>86</sup>

#### IV. CONCLUSION

I hope to have shown that the complex of Elvan Çelebi cannot support certain diachronic narratives that modern scholars have constructed around it. The stories of Busbecq and Dernschwam, instead of testifying to a survival of local cult, provide an unusually thorough testament to a widespread Anatolian phenomenon. There is no archaeological evidence for the presence of an earlier Christian sanctuary on the site, and the architectural-typological argument disappears if the four-iwan structure was not originally a mausoleum. The use of spolia in the fourteenth-century complex, in contrast to the sixteenth-century phase, is unremarkable, yet another example of the “reuse of architectural elements [that] was ubiquitous in those parts of the pre-modern Islamic world (primarily Anatolia, Egypt, Syria, and north India) where stone was the principal medium of construction.”<sup>87</sup>

However, the complex of Elvan Çelebi possesses a profound synchronic interest, in particular through its ability to provoke questions about the dynamics of architectural production in later medieval Anatolia. A first



Fig. 23. Foundation inscription, mausoleum of ‘Aşık Paşa, Kırşehir. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

clue to this synchronic interest is provided by the local stories regarding the green column (fig. 16) and the marble *şādırvān* basin (fig. 20), both of which are said to have been sent by the patron’s father, ‘Aşık Pasha, from Kırşehir.

The complex of Elvan Çelebi and the mausoleum of ‘Aşık Pasha in Kırşehir (fig. 14), constructed at some point after the latter’s death in 1332, are linked by more than local lore. The foundation inscription of the mausoleum of ‘Aşık Pasha (fig. 23) emphasizes the occupant’s descent from Baba Ilyas, naming him as “Shaykh Pasha ibn Muhlis ibn Shaykh Ilyas,” thus anticipating the inscription of Elvan Çelebi, which simply adds another name to the chain.<sup>88</sup> Also like the foundation inscription of Elvan Çelebi, the 1332 inscription makes no reference to a local sovereign or political authority. The social significance of the two patrons is established solely by reference to genealogy, not to local political structures. The nominal sovereigns, both in Kırşehir in 1332 and in the hinterland of Amasya in the mid-fourteenth century, were the Eretnid emirs. They patronized dervish lodges and mausolea, most notably in Kayseri and the surrounding region, but do not seem to have been involved in the construction of either monument discussed here.<sup>89</sup>

Indeed, it appears that both the mausoleum of ‘Aşık Pasha and the complex of Elvan Çelebi were elements in the consolidation of the power of a leading family in

north central Anatolia in the fourteenth century, a family with both spiritual and economic claims to prominence.<sup>90</sup> This consolidation of family power in a period of relatively weak state power seems to have been successful and lasting. The historian ‘Aşıkpaşazade, great-grandson of ‘Aşık Pasha, was living in the complex of Elvan Çelebi in 1422, and knew of a man in the area of Osmancık whose social standing rested on his claim to be a descendant of Elvan Çelebi.<sup>91</sup> The extensive landholdings of the complex of Elvan Çelebi are detailed in a *vakfiye* dated to 1451, whose text (still) begins by invoking the names of ‘Aşık Pasha and his son.<sup>92</sup>

Although these two buildings are connected by genealogy and ambition, they could not be more different in construction and appearance. The mausoleum of ‘Aşık Pasha has justly been described as “a tomb absolutely unique in the context of Anatolian Turkish architecture.”<sup>93</sup> Its northwestern façade is entirely covered in marble veneer and features a remarkable projecting portal with a conch set in the niche above the entrance (fig. 14). The complex of Elvan Çelebi is much less formally ambitious. As we have seen, the most striking element of its façade, the portico featuring the green column, is an addition built two hundred years after the fourteenth-century core. The primary entry to the original complex was relatively plain (fig. 9).

Most striking is the difference between the immediate visual impressions made by the two buildings, be-



Fig. 24. Detail of the entry portal to the Çöreği Büyük Camii, Niksar, Tokat. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

tween the gleaming white, finely cut marble veneer of the mausoleum of ‘Aşık Pasha and the humble brick and unhewn stone of the complex of Elvan Çelebi. Granted, the latter may have been covered in plaster, but it still cannot have matched the sheen of the father’s tomb. The material splendor of the Kırşehir mausoleum may have given rise to the local account of the provenance of the green column and *şādırvān* basin at the complex of Elvan Çelebi, which are the only two conspicuous pieces of marble in the building. The story would thus represent an attempt to read the genealogical connection between the patrons of the two structures, so prominently announced in the inscription of the Elvan Çelebi complex, into their material qualities. The attribution of the *şādırvān* basin to Kırşehir may have received further impetus from the similarity between its polylobed form (fig. 20) and the conch above the entry to the tomb of ‘Aşık Pasha (fig. 14).<sup>94</sup>

The comparison of these structures points towards two broader issues in the study of the fourteenth-century architecture of Anatolia. First, the level of involvement of fourteenth-century states in architectural patronage was a variable, not a constant, and in some cases religious or genealogical networks (or both) took priority over state actors.<sup>95</sup> Certainly the descendants of Baba Ilyas were not the only example of this phenomenon. In the early 1330s, as Ibn Battuta passed through Sunisa, some fifty kilometers to the east of Amasya, he encoun-

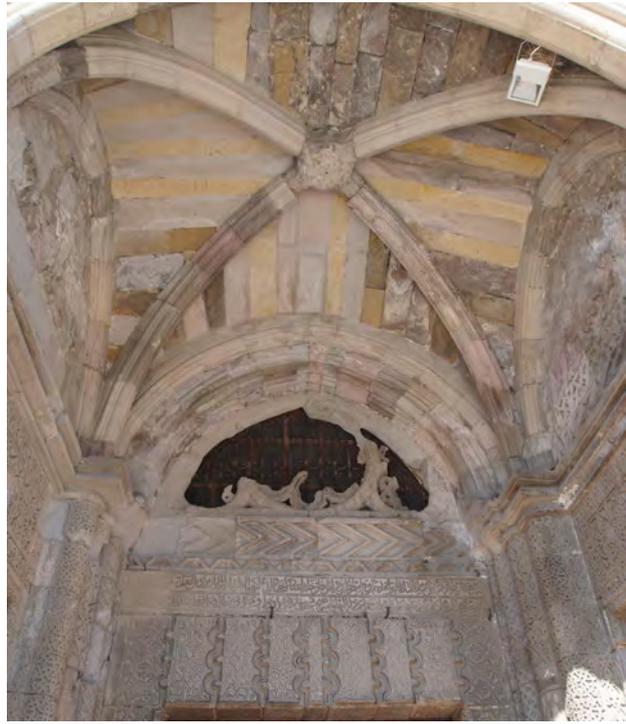


Fig. 25. Detail of the eastern portal to the Sungur Bey Camii, Niğde. (Photo: Benjamin Anderson)

tered a thriving Rifa’i lodge whose residents claimed descent from the saint himself.<sup>96</sup>

Second, neither fourteenth-century states nor contemporary religious or genealogical networks are necessarily commensurate with typological and stylistic developments in architecture, even if viewers will frequently attempt to fashion connections between patronage and appearance. Instead, fourteenth-century Anatolia is marked by a multitude of workshops trained in different (in many cases probably multiple) traditions, few if any of which were consistently associated with a single patron or patronage network.

The first development, namely, the decoupling of architectural patronage from state structures, stands in contrast to the continuing involvement of Mongol officials in architectural patronage in north-central Anatolia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>97</sup> Notably, however, the decrease in direct state patronage of architecture in this period did not lead to stagnation, but rather to a period of experimentation and innovation. The mid-fourteenth century is a period rich in

formal unica, with regard to both ground plan and decoration. The combination of four-iwan and three-iwan structures at the complex of Elvan Çelebi is just as striking in this respect as the portal of the mausoleum of 'Aşık Pasha. These examples can easily be multiplied; consider, for example, the figural portal of the Çöreği Büyük Camii in Niksar (fig. 24) and the rib vaults of the Sungur Bey Camii in Niğde (fig. 25).<sup>98</sup> Taken in isolation, such unica resist programmatic interpretation, but viewed together they point to a dynamic set of relationships between decentralized patronage networks and itinerant architectural workshops. These issues indicate both the challenge and the reward that may be expected from a synthetic study of later medieval Anatolian architecture, and the role that the complex of Elvan Çelebi might play within such a project.

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#### NOTES

*Author's note:* Much of the research for and writing of this article was facilitated by a fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. I first visited Elvan Çelebi in the summer of 2008 as a member of the Avkat Archaeological Project. I wish to thank the project directors, Hugh Elton, John Haldon, Jim Newhard, and Lale Özgengel, for their assistance and conversation. The first draft of the article was written at the British Institute at Ankara in the summer of 2010, and I wish to acknowledge the generous assistance of Andrew Peacock and Yasin Tamer during my stay there. I am most grateful to Gülru Necipoğlu and the anonymous reader for their thorough critiques of an earlier draft.

1. It is not mentioned in Howard Crane, "Art and Architecture, 1300–1453," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 1: Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge, 2009), 266–352, nor in Gönül Öney, *Beylikler Devri Sanatı, XIV.–XV. Yüzyıl (1300–1453)* (Ankara, 1989), or M. Oluş Arık, "Turkish Architecture in Asia Minor in the Period of the Turkish Emirates," in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*, ed. Ekrem Akurgal (New York, 1980), 111–36. An exception is the study of Semavi Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dinî-İçtimai Bir Müessesesi: Zâviyeler ve Zâviyeli Camiler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (1962–63): 20.
2. Finbarr Barry Flood, "Appropriation as Inscription: Making History in the First Friday Mosque of Delhi," in *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Farnham, 2011), 122.
3. There are numerous editions of Busbecq; here I cite *Omnia Quae Extant Opera* (Graz, 1968), in which the visit to the complex is related on pp. 81–83. Cf. the English translations by Charles Thornton Forster and Francis Henry Blackburne Daniell, *Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, 2 vols. (London, 1881), 1:148–50; and by E. S. Forster, *Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554–1562* (Oxford, 1927), 54–56.
4. For the excerpts, see H. Kiepert, "Hans Dernschwam's orientalische Reise 1553–1555," *Globus* 52 (1887): 186–90, 202–5, 214–20, and 230–35; abridged account of the complex at 231–32. In the following I cite Hans Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, ed. Franz Babinger (Munich, 1923), with an account of the complex at 201–5. Cf. the translation into modern German by Hans Hattenhauer and Uwe Bake, eds., *Ein Fugger-Kaufmann im osmanischen Reich: Bericht von einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien 1553–1555 von Hans Dernschwam* (Frankfurt, 2012), 261–67.
5. Katip Çelebi, trans. Armain, in M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Description historique et géographique de l'Asie Mineure, comprenant les temps anciens, le moyen-âge et les temps modernes; avec un précis détaillé des voyages qui ont été faits dans la péninsule, depuis l'époque des croisades jusqu'au temps les plus récents; précédé d'un tableau de l'histoire géographique de l'Asie, depuis les plus anciens temps jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1852), 2:681. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, gen. ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, 10 vols. (Istanbul, 1996–2007), vol. 2, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı, p. 214; English translation by Joseph von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century, by Evliyâ Efendî*, 2 vols. (London, 1834–50), 2:223. See also William J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia, with Some Account of Their Antiquities and Geology*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), 1:376.
6. J. G. C. Anderson, *A Journey of Exploration in Pontus*, *Studia Pontica* 1 (Brussels, 1903), 9–12, and 18.
7. F. W. Hasluck, "Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda," *Annual of the British School of Athens* 20 (1913–14): 102.
8. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1929), 1:47–49.
9. Henri Grégoire, "Géographie byzantine," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 19 (1910): 59–61. The identification of Euchaita with Avkat (now officially called Beyözü) received substantial confirmation from the publication of an inscription found there celebrating the elevation of Euchaita to the status of a *polis*: Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, "Three Inscriptions of the Reign of Anastasius I and Constantine V," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 65 (1972): 378–82. From 2007 to 2010, the region of Beyözü was investigated by the Avkat Archaeological Project, which, on the basis of epigraphic, topographic, ceramic, and architectural evidence, was able to confirm the identification of Beyözü with Euchaita. See the preliminary account of Hugh Elton et al., "Avkat Archaeological Project, 2007–2008," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 27, 3 (2009): esp. 36–37, and 44.

10. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:48-49.
11. For this aspect of Hasluck's work, see David Shankland, "The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920," in *Archaeology, Anthropology, and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck*, ed. David Shankland, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 2004), esp. 1:18-22. For the quote, see F. W. Hasluck, "Graves of the Arabs in Asia Minor," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 19 (1912-13): 184.
12. Hans Henning von der Osten, *Discoveries in Anatolia, 1930-31*, Oriental Institute Communications 14 (Chicago, 1933): 102-3.
13. Vazih's history has not been published; for my knowledge of his account of the complex I am dependent upon Ethem Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa ve Oğlu Elvan Çelebi* (Çorum, 2005), esp. 241-59. For Hüsameddin, see his *Amasya Tarihi*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1909-35), 1:394-95; and Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, ed. Ali Yılmaz and Mehmet Akkuş (Ankara, 1986-), 1:321.
14. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1927-29); Albert Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1931-34).
15. Neşet Köseoğlu, "Elvan Çelebi," *Çorumlu* 46-47 (1944): 1374-75.
16. Franz Taeschner, "Das Heiligtum des Elvan Çelebi in Anatolien (Wil. Çorum, Kaza Mecitözü)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes* 56 (1960): 227-31.
17. Semavi Eyice, "Çorum'un Mecitözü'nde Âşık Paşa-oğlu Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 15 (1968): 211-46.
18. Ethel Sara Wolper, "Khidr, Elvan Çelebi and the Conversion of Sacred Sanctuaries in Anatolia," *Muslim World* 90 (2000): 313.
19. Wolper, "Khidr, Elvan Çelebi and the Conversion of Sacred Sanctuaries," 316-17. See now Ethel Sara Wolper, "Khidr and the Changing Frontiers of the Medieval World," *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011): 142-44. Relying on Wolper's account of the site, Zeynep Yürekli Görkay suggests that spolia were displayed within the fourteenth-century complex at locations that would be judged significant by pilgrims: Zeynep Yürekli Görkay, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme: Gazilerin Alamet-i Farikası," in *Gelenek, Kimlik, Bireşim: Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat; Günsel Renda'ya Armağan = Tradition, Identity, Synthesis: Cultural Crossings and Art; Essays in Honor of Günsel Renda*, ed. Zeynep Yasa Yaman and Serpil Bağcı (Ankara, 2011), 275. Oya Pancaroğlu limits her remarks to the sixteenth-century phase, where she does see a parallel between material remains and cult practices: "aspects of the cult that had once flourished at the nearby sanctuary of St. Theodore had been absorbed locally into Turco-Islamic beliefs and practices together with some inscriptional and decorative remains of the sanctuary, which were reused...in the architecture of the lodge.": Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia," *Gesta* 43, 2 (2004): 151. Later in the same article she repeats Hasluck's proposal that the site of Theodore's dragon slaying was "possibly the site appropriated for the Sufi lodge and tomb of Elvan Çelebi" (p. 158).
20. The following account is based on visits to the site made in the summers of 2008, 2009, and 2010, and in January 2013.
21. Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," esp. 234-39.
22. Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," 235. For a local comparison, see the sixteenth-century mosque in Oğuz, Kargı, Çorum: Önder İpek et al., *Çorum Kültür Envanteri* (Çorum, 2008), 301.
23. On the site, see Aptullah Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri* (Ankara, 1969), 46-49, dating the madrasa to the thirteenth century on typological grounds; İpek et al., *Çorum*, 313.
24. For reproductions of the plan from the autograph manuscript in the Fugger Archiv, see Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 203; and Hattenhauer and Bake, *Fugger-Kaufmann*, 262.
25. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 202.
26. Dernschwam's reading of this inscription is given at *Tagebuch*, 204. It seems identical to the one that eventually found its way, under a different and less complete reading attributed to Busbecq, into the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. Augustus Boeckh (Berlin, 1828-77), no. 9256.
27. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 202.
28. Thus also Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," 236.
29. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 203.
30. Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," 237.
31. Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 247.
32. Elvan Çelebi's text has been edited twice: first by İsmail E. Erünsal and Ahmet Y. Ocak, *Menâkubu'l-kudsiyye fî menâsib'l-ünsiyye: Baba İlyas-ı Horasânî ve Sülâlesinin Menkabevî Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1984); and, more recently, by Mertol Tulum, *Tarihî Metin Çalışmalarında Usul: Menâkubu'l-kudsiyye üzerinde bir Deneme* (Istanbul, 2000). Most recently on the life of Elvan Çelebi, see Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 239-56. Note also Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, 1995), 73-74; and Ahmet Y. Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle* (Ankara, 1989), 7-8.
33. Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 255.
34. For his life, see, most recently, Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 51-67. For the *türbe*, see Crane, "Art and Architecture," 308-9; Ali S. Ülgen, "Kırşehir'de Türk Eserleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 258-59, and pl. 2.
35. Ocak, *La révolte*, 96-99.
36. *Ibid.*, 50-70.
37. Visit of August 19, 2010.
38. Köseoğlu, "Elvan Çelebi," 1374-75; Taeschner, "Heiligtum," 230. Köseoğlu's reading is also reproduced by Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," 217. See also Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 247-48.
39. I wish to thank the numerous friends and colleagues who have taken the time to look at this inscription at my request; the (non-)conclusion presented here is my own.
40. Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi* (1909-35), 1:394-95; and Hüsameddin, *Amasya Tarihi*, ed. Yılmaz and Akkuş, 1:321.
41. For the hammam, see Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," pls. XII and XXVIII (plan). A photograph is published by Ethem Erkoç, *Elvan Çelebi: Hayatı, Zaviyesi, Eseri, Düşünceleri* (Çorum, 2004), 21.
42. For the most recent reading, see Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 247.

43. Köseoğlu, "Elvan Çelebi," 1374; followed by Taeschner, "Heiligtum," 288. See also Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 247.
44. Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," 238. Emily Neumeier, with whom I visited the complex in January of 2013, provides the following commentary (personal communication, June 9, 2013): "Many features of the building's interior decorations correspond to a number of other small mosques in the region (the Ottoman *sancak* [province] of Bozok). The stone mihrab resembles in size and profile those found in the Kulaksız (1230 [1815]) and Ulu (ren. 1206 [1792]) Camii in Çorum. The carved wooden ceiling especially resembles that of the Hacı Mahmut Camii (1244 [1829]) in İskilip."
45. Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," 233–34.
46. On the typology of medieval Anatolian *türbes*, see M. Oluş Arık, "Erken Devir Anadolu-Türk Mimarisinde Türbe Biçimleri," *Anadolu* 11 (1967): 56–100; English version, "Türbe Forms in Early Anatolian-Turkish Architecture," 101–19.
47. Erkoç, *Elvan Çelebi*, 63.
48. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 203.
49. Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," 236, suggests that it might have been the *türbe* of Baba Ilyas or Muhlis Pasha, but this is pure conjecture.
50. Eyice, "Zâviyeler," 19–20, and 65.
51. See, most recently, Suna Çağaptay, "The Road from Bithynia to Thrace: Gazi Evrenos' Imaret in Komotini and Its Architectural Framework," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 30 (2011): 429–42, with references to the extensive earlier literature.
52. Karl Strobel and Christoph Gerber, "Tavium (Büyüknefes, Provinz Yozgat): Bericht über die Kampagnen 2000–2002," *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 53 (2003): esp. 159–60, for dispersal. Yozgat, located 26 kilometers southeast of Tavium, incorporates substantial amounts of building material from the ancient site: Karl Strobel and Christoph Gerber, "Tavium (Büyüknefes, Provinz Yozgat): Bericht über die Kampagnen 2003–2005," *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 57 (2007): 555.
53. Hamilton, *Researches*, 1:379. For Kalehisar, see İpek et al., *Çorum*, 138 and 257.
54. Franz Cumont and Eugène Cumont, *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et le Petite Arménie*, *Studia Pontica* 2 (Brussels, 1906), 208. Despite having witnessed this remarkable example of the mobility of reused building materials, when the Cumonts visited the *tekke* of Malumseyit, a dervish lodge that lies along the same road from Zile to Sulusaray, they concluded from the Byzantine funerary inscriptions built into the wall of the mosque that the site had previously housed a Christian monastery: *ibid.*, 197.
55. For the identification of Beyözü with Euchaita, see n. 9 above.
56. Cf. Philipp Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien: Stadt und Land, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 2007), cat. no. 280.
57. For related types, see Thomas Zollt, *Kapitellplastik Konstantinopels vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: Mit einem Beitrag zur Untersuchung des ionischen Kämpferkapitells* (Bonn, 1994), 46–81. For the *Pfeifenfriese*, see *ibid.*, e.g., 20, 30, and 32.
58. *Ibid.*, 19–20 (cat. no. 24), and Taf. 8.
59. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi*, 173–75, with cat. nos. 35–40 (Phrygia), and 396–400 (Ankara).
60. Beke Kaplıcası: İpek et al., *Çorum*, 249; Hadrianopolis: Ergün Laflı and Alexander Zäh, "Archäologische Forschungen im byzantinischen Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonien," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101, 2 (2008): 708 and Abb. 38; Çeltek: Ersal Yavi, *Tokat (Komana)* (Tokat, 1986), 171; Muşalim Kalesi: visit of August 18, 2010.
61. Elton et al., "Avkat," 46, fig. 3.
62. For a different type of impost capital, also incorporating the *Pfeifenfriese*, found in Beyözü and today in the garden of the Çorum Museum, see Christian Marek, *Pontus et Bithynia: Die römischen Provinzen im Norden Kleinasien* (Mainz, 2003), 123 Abb. 180.
63. Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 257–58, for the version of Vazılı; Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi," 235.
64. Cf. Sencer Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von İznik (Nikaia)*, pt. 2, vol. 2, *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 10, 2 (Bonn, 1982), Taf. XX, no. 1392. The form is probably best understood as a variant of the *Türstein*; for the form of the arch, cf. Marc Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine: Typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür* (Mainz, 1986), e.g., cat. nos. 108 and 205.
65. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 201–2.
66. Busbecq, *Omnia Opera*, 82, "fons aquae purissimae, eximio marmore constructus." Cf. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 205. On the *şâdırvân*, see Günkut Akın, "The *Müezzîn Mahfili* and Pool of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 68.
67. Cf. the Roman fountain basins (*labra*) collected by Annarena Ambrogı, *Labra di età romana in marmi bianchi e colorati* (Rome, 2005). A similar polylobed motif (rosette) is found on some late antique Anatolian ambo podiums, but these are invariably carved into the center of round or polygonal slabs, whereas the *şâdırvân* basin's rim reflects its internal form. For the ambos, cf. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi*, cat. no. 328.
68. Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 257. For further traditions regarding the *şâdırvân* basin, see pp. 259–60.
69. Wolper, "Conversion of Sacred Sanctuaries," 317.
70. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 202.
71. Görkay, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Aleni Devşirme Malzeme," 278–80; and see Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age* (Farnham, 2012), 93–97.
72. Anderson, *Journey of Exploration in Pontus*, 10.
73. On Busbecq, see Z. R. W. M. von Martels, *Augerius Gisenius Busbequius: Leven en werk van de keizerlijke gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote* (PhD diss., Groningen, 1989). Cf. Ignace Dalle, *Un Européen chez les Turcs: Auger Ghiselin de Busbecq (1521–1591)* (Paris, 2008). For Dernschwam's biography, see Babinger's introduction to Dernschwam,

- Tagebuch*, pp. xiii–xxx, as well as Hattenhauer and Bake, *Fugger-Kaufmann*, pp. xiv–xvii.
74. Busbecq, *Omnia Opera*, 81: “Hic multa didicimus à monachis Turcicis, quos *Deruis* vocant, qui eo loco insignem habent aedem, de heroe quodam Chederle summa corporis atque animi fortitudine, quem eundem fuisse cum nostro D. Georgio fabulantur; eademque illi ascribunt quae huic nostri; nimirum vasti & horrendi draconis caede servasse expositam virginem.”
  75. *Ibid.*, 82: “Narrant praeterea multa de Chederlis comitibus, de stabulario eius, deque nepote ex sorore, quorum sepulchra vicinis locis ostendunt ....”
  76. *Ibid.*, 83: “Ne hoc quidem praetermittam, Turcas magno cum risu spectare in Graecorum templis D. Georgium, quem (ut dixi) suum Chederlem esse volunt, ita in tabellis depictum, ut illi puer ex equi clunibus, in quibus post dominum sedet, vinum misceat ac ministret.”
  77. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 203: “Sol S. Jorgens freundt sein gewesen, wie der ... welchen sy Alwan Czelebi nennen, der S. Jorgen noch nechner befreundt sol sein gewest.”
  78. *Ibid.*, 205: “Von khainem hailigen haltten noch wissen die turkhen nicht als von S. Georgen, den sy nennen Chodir Eles, das er sey gewesen in dem landt Cappadotia ein berumbter rittersman vnd daz er nicht gestorben sey vnd noch lebe. Vnd wer in anrufft, was glaubens er sey, dem selbigen hilfft er.”
  79. *Ibid.*, 205: “Wiewol sy von der lügenhafftigen historia S. Georgij nichts wissen, doch confirmirn sy vjl die selben lügen. Sy sagen auch von einem drako, der alda gewont hab. Vnd adì 6 Aprill hot man den h. bischoff auff den selbigen bergk gefurt, alda der drako gewesen sol sein .... Vnder dem berge ist ein sellzam gewachsener weisser marmelstain, doran sicht man 2 huffeysen vnd darnach wie ein satel. Sol S. Georgens mirakel sein, hot khain gestalt darczw.”
  80. See Patrick Franke, *Begegnung mit Khidr: Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam* (Beirut, 2000).
  81. Erünsal and Ocak, *Menâkıbu'l-kudsîye*, 80–82; Tulum, *Tarihî Metin Çalışmalarında Usul*, 389–97; an excerpt translated in Franke, *Begegnung mit Khidr*, 467–68.
  82. *Contra Mahometem Apologia II*, in *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum ... Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66), 154:512.
  83. For a compelling study of the motif of the dragon slayer as a nodal point in the “multiple intersections of image and identity” in medieval Anatolia, see Pancaroğlu, “Itinerant Dragon-slayer.”
  84. The text is edited by Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), 127.
  85. Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot, 2003), 130.
  86. Jerry Brotton also emphasizes the hermeneutic role of the Khidr/St. George equation: see Jerry Brotton, “St. George between East and West,” in *Re-orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, ed. Gerald MacLean (Houndmills, 2005), 54.
  87. Flood, “Appropriation as Inscription,” 121.
  88. For the inscription, see Erkoç, *Âşık Paşa*, 66; V. A. Gordlevskii, “Pamiat’ ob Ash’ik-Pashe v K’irshekhire,” in *Izbrannye sochineniia*, ed. V. A. Gordlevskii, 6 vols. (Moscow, 1960), 1:379.
  89. For documentary evidence relating to Eretnid architectural patronage, see Kemal Göde, *Eratnallılar (1327–1381)* (Ankara, 1994), 157–73.
  90. This aspect of the significance of the complex of Elvan Çelebi has recently been highlighted by Hasan Karataş, “The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries” (PhD diss., Berkeley, 2011), 17: “The foundation of this lodge is one of the earliest instances in Anatolia where the issues of family, property, and mysticism intersected in the establishment of a Sufi brotherhood.”
  91. ‘Âşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. Çiftçiöğlü N. Atsız (Istanbul, 1949), 158 and 170; and see the translation by Richard F. Kreutel: *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte: Frühzeit und Aufstieg des Osmanenreiches nach der Chronik ‘Denkwürdigkeiten und Zeitläufte des Hauses Osman’ vom Derwisch Ahmed, genannt ‘Asik-Paşa-Sohn* (Graz, 1959), 137 and 158–59. For a succinct biography of the historian, see Halil İnalçık, “How to Read ‘Ashik Pasha-zâde’s History,” in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul, 1994), 139–43. İnalçık suggests that the recruitment of Aşıkpaşazade into the army of Murad II (r. 1421–51) reflects the continuing prestige of the family of Elvan Çelebi.
  92. Adnan Gürbüz, “Elvan Çelebi Zaviyesi’nin Vakıfları,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 23 (1994): 27.
  93. Crane, “Art and Architecture,” 308.
  94. This portal may represent a unicum in the architecture of medieval Anatolia. Arık, “Turkish Architecture,” 134, proposed that it reflected Fatimid influence. A more local source may be proposed in the architectural fantasies of Roman tombs: cf., e.g., Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, cat. no. 768.
  95. Note here Cemal Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum,” *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25, esp. 8: “Even if ‘state’ remains a significant category of historical understanding ... the cultural space and configuration that we are studying are not subsumed by state control and state patronage.”
  96. Ibn Batuta, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325–1354*, trans. and rev. from the Arabic text by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, ed. H.A.R. Gibb, 5 vols. (London, 1958–2000), 2:436.
  97. For the late thirteenth century, see Howard Crane, “Notes on Saldjūq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36, 1 (1993): 23. For the early fourteenth century, consider, e.g., the Darüşşifa in Amasya: Gabriel, *Monuments turcs*, 2:46–50.
  98. For Niksar, see Gabriel, *Monuments turcs*, 2:123–25; for Niğde, see Mehmet Özkarcı, *Niğde’de Türk Mimarisi* (Ankara, 2001), 50–72.

HAMIDREZA JAYHANI

*BĀGH-I SAMANZĀR-I NŪSHĀB: TRACING A LANDSCAPE,  
BASED ON THE BRITISH LIBRARY'S MAṢNAVĪ  
OF HUMĀY U HUMĀYŪN*

Depictions of open spaces are a recurring motif in the *Humāy u Humāyūn*<sup>1</sup> by Khvajū Kirmani (d. 1352).<sup>2</sup> A retelling of an ancient love story, the work is a *maṣnavī* in the *mutaqārib* meter consisting of 4,407 verses. Completed in Baghdad in 1331,<sup>3</sup> it follows in the footsteps of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami (d. ca. 1209).<sup>4</sup> Khvajū's narration is dramatic in structure, and as a *maṣnavī* the work has strong visual properties. In order to understand and elucidate the characteristics of the garden as depicted in this fourteenth-century work, this article specifically examines the features of a place introduced in the text known as *bāgh-i Samanzār-i nūshāb* (Garden of Jasmine Beds of the Water of Eternal Life), referred to here as Samanzar Garden.

The *Humāy u Humāyūn* was considered a poetic text with mystical elements.<sup>5</sup> The theme of this story is found in other works such as the *Samak-i 'Ayyār* and *Zāt al-Ṣuvar*: each recounts the tale of a prince (or princes) falling in love with the daughter of the *Faghfūr*, that is, the Emperor of China. However, while thematically similar, these three narrations fall into three different genres. The *Samak-i 'Ayyār*<sup>6</sup> is a folk tale related to the nature of the *'ayyār* (i.e., *futuwwa* [brotherhoods])<sup>7</sup> and *Zāt al-Ṣuvar*, the last story in Rumi's *Maṣnavī*, is didactic in scope.<sup>8</sup> Of these works, only the *Humāy u Humāyūn* contains depictions of garden scenes. It has been illustrated several times and the earliest version, a manuscript of three *maṣnavīs* produced for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (r. 1382–1410) and now in the British Library, has been echoed widely in Persian painting.<sup>9</sup> Dated 798 (1396), this manuscript, which was copied by Mir 'Ali ibn Ilyas al-Tabrizi al-Bavarchi, includes ninety-three folios, three illuminated ex libris (sing. *ūnvān*), one ornamental medallion (*shamsa*), and nine paintings,<sup>10</sup> one of which (on

fol. 45b) was signed by Junayd Naqqash-i Sultani.<sup>11</sup> The spatial aspects of Samanzar Garden can be discerned through close scrutiny of Khvajū's poetry and of the depicted scenes inspired by it.<sup>12</sup>

SCENES INVOLVING *BĀGH-I SAMANZĀR-I NŪSHĀB*

Descriptions of *bāgh-i Samanzār-i nūshāb* can be found in seven scenes of Khvajū's *Humāy u Humāyūn*. In the story, the garden is located in China (*mulk-i Chīn*), and we first encounter it as Humay finishes his journey there from Syria (*Shām*).<sup>13</sup> Four scenes depicting this garden appear one after the other in the midst of the narrative after Humay's arrival in China: these are "Humay goes hunting with the Faghfur"; "Hunting scene and Humay's malingering"; "Humay in *bāgh-i Samanzār* and Humayun's palace"; and "Humay is captured in *bāgh-i Samanzār*." Two other scenes, "Humay at the gate of Humayun's palace" and "Battle of Humay and Humayun," concern events that take place six months later,<sup>14</sup> when Humay has been released from the fortress of Turan. The last scene in which the garden appears, "Feast and music at *bāgh-i Samanzār*," comes as the story concludes, after Humay defeats the Faghfur and assumes his throne. The last three were illustrated in the British Library's *Three Maṣnavīs*. Three scenes occur outside of Samanzar Garden,<sup>15</sup> and three others take place within the *bāgh* and include interior sequences.<sup>16</sup> The remaining painting, "Humay at the gate of Humayun's palace," depicts a scene just in front of the *bāgh*. These tableaux may, therefore, help us to understand various aspects of the garden, including its interior and exterior spaces and also its surroundings.

*“Humay goes hunting with the Faghfur”*

Even though this scene does not take place in Samanzar Garden or the vicinity, but rather in the iwan or palace of the Faghfur, it nevertheless includes important details about the garden. Some of these become apparent in the description provided by the Faghfur’s messenger, who alludes to the distance of “one *manzil*” (one-day’s ride) between Samanzar Garden and the king’s royal seat (*ārāmgāh*),<sup>17</sup> where the Faghfur and Humayun, his daughter, live.<sup>18</sup> The messenger says that one of the best times to visit the garden is in the spring, especially in the month of Urdibihisht (April 21–May 21), when the plants start their new life and create a beautiful scene similar to Paradise.<sup>19</sup> The garden is located on the way to the Faghfur’s hunting grounds (with which it probably had some connection), next to a field (*dasht*) and a foothill meadow (*rāgh*), venues suitable for sightseeing, walking, and leisure.<sup>20</sup>

*“Hunting scene and Humay’s malingering”*

Hearing the messenger’s explanation, Humay realizes that he will be away from Humayun during the hunting season. When the hunt is over and the hillside turns red with blood, the horsemen head to a prairie (*marghzār*).<sup>21</sup> They gallop to the other hunting ground but Humay feigns illness and remains where he is. The king tells him to stay in this soothing field of tulips (*lālazār*) and to join them the next day.<sup>22</sup> After the Faghfur departs, Humay quickly leaps up and heads to Samanzar Garden. On his way, he passes by the field of tulips, as well as a spring, and a mountain.<sup>23</sup> These elements help us to understand the ambience of *bāgh-i Samanzār-i nūshāb* and to visualize the natural setting of the surrounding areas.<sup>24</sup>

*“Humay in bāgh-i Samanzār-i nūshāb and Humayun’s palace”*

When Humay arrives at Humayun’s palace in Samanzar Garden,<sup>25</sup> he throws a lasso and climbs up to the roof of a structure known as a *ṭāram*,<sup>26</sup> where he finds a guard and kills him.<sup>27</sup> Although the term *ṭāram*<sup>28</sup> has several different meanings, its association here with the guard leads us to conclude it refers in this instance to an enclosure. The painter of this scene, Junayd, clearly inferred this meaning of *ṭāram* when he depicted an

enclosure around the palace in the image on fol. 18b (fig. 1). Nevertheless, it is possible that the poet here intended *ṭāram* to refer to an interior space to focus attention on those attending the soirée inside, including Humayun. After this event, Humay approaches the “*parda sarāy*” (a designation for the harem)<sup>29</sup> and hears the sound of the “*parda sarāy*” (a singer)<sup>30</sup> coming from the harem.<sup>31</sup> Khvaju continues his story, mentioning that the drunken residents of the iwan (palace) had caused a ruckus.<sup>32</sup> Either the harem (*parda sarāy*) is a part of the palace of Humayun or her palace constitutes a *parda sarāy*.

After killing the guard, Humay takes his *chūbak* (similar to a drumstick)<sup>33</sup> and climbs to the top of a building, where he plays a melody in the *maqām-i ḥijāz*.<sup>34</sup> His music echoes throughout the *ṭāram*, and the musician in the palace (*sarā*) falls silent.<sup>35</sup> Here the word “*ṭāram*” refers to a place with a lofty ceiling, in an allusion to heaven’s dome.<sup>36</sup> Humay continues his melody, singing a ghazal in “*bām-i ḥiṣār*,” a phrase that has two meanings, both applicable in this scene.<sup>37</sup> In terms of music, it is a melody at the climax of the *maqām-i ḥijāz*, but it can also refer to the roof of the palace.<sup>38</sup> When those drinking in the *bustānsarāy* (a building inside a garden or adjacent to it)<sup>39</sup> hear the song, the beautiful musician in the *ṭāram* leaves her instrument.<sup>40</sup> All listen to Humay’s song and swoon. When he finishes, he walks around the roof and glimpses into the *shabistān* through a hole in the roof.

The poet specifies that this private quarter is out of the sight of strangers.<sup>41</sup> Khvaju refers only to one particular building despite using various terms for it.<sup>42</sup> This building has a *ṭāram*, a high-ceilinged space, but Khvaju uses different words to refer to the building as a whole. He sometimes uses the general term *iwan* but at other times alludes to the specific building type: *sarā*, *shabistān*, *khalvat*, or harem. Occasionally, he refers to an interior space, known as the *ṭāram*, which is suitable for merriment, feasting, and listening to music. From time to time he uses terms that identify the building’s location, such as *bustānsarāy*, which refers to a mansion or pavilion facing or surrounded by an impressive garden.

Having stayed in Humayun’s palace during the night, Humay leaves the *shabistān* in the morning and goes from the harem to the *chaman* (a parterre or garden bed

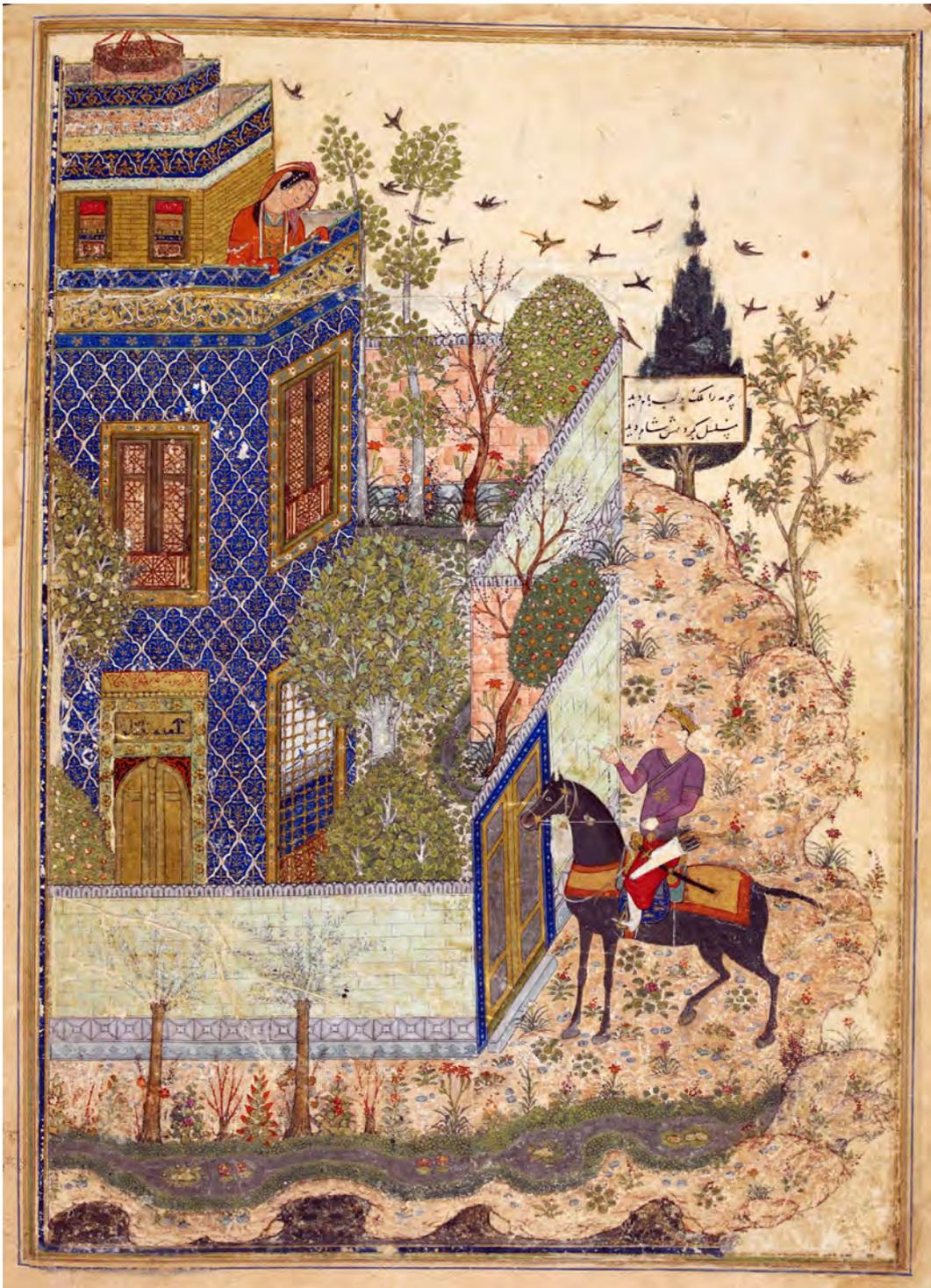


Fig. 1. "Humay at the gate of Humayun's palace." Khvaju Kirmani, *Three Masnavis*, Baghdad, 798 (1396), produced for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir. London, British Library, Add Ms. 18113, fol. 18b. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)

area).<sup>43</sup> He gets on his horse and is attempting to ride away when an old farmer (sometimes also referred to as a gardener)<sup>44</sup> suddenly approaches from the *būstān* (another part of the *bāgh*) and detains him.<sup>45</sup> Humay kills the gardener and gallops toward the plain (*ṣaḥrā*).<sup>46</sup> This scene indicates that the “*chaman*”<sup>47</sup> might be an area around or beside the palace and that the palace is a *shabistān*, a private quarter. At least one type of *chaman* has an actual connection with the palace and is also connected in some way to the exterior of the garden. The term can thus be understood to designate the central part of the garden’s court, which was close to the palace. The poet does not explicitly define the relationship between the interior and the exterior of the garden. However, something the gardener says shows that the garden had an enclosure, since “nobody can enter Samanzar Garden but the daughter of the Faghfur.”<sup>48</sup> Humay wants to stealthily flee, but he must pass through the garden first. The poet thus wants to depict the palace as a pavilion, or at least as surrounded by green space in front of the enclosure. This enclosure is overlooked in another description in the *Humāy u Humāyūn*, when the poet discusses the *bāgh-i parīyān* (the fairies’ garden), as well as a garden in *mulk-i khāvar* (the Eastern dominion). Khvaju says that Humay went toward the *bustān* and saw a palace inside whose walls and adobe were made from agate and gold.<sup>49</sup> A fairy saw Humay close to the *bārgāh* (which here means palace) and asked him how he had come there and whether he had been there the previous night or was just coming then.<sup>50</sup> According to the poet’s description and the dialogue between the fairy and Humay, the garden could not have been enclosed. Khvaju also describes another scene in the royal garden in the *mulk-i khāvar* when Humay and his companions go from the harem to the *būstān*. In that case, the poet’s description implies an enclosure.<sup>51</sup>

“*Humay is captured in bāgh-i Samanzār*”

After slaying the old gardener, a bewildered Humay rides into the desert and decides to return to Samanzar Garden when he sees the Faghfur approaching on his horse. He prostrates himself before the Faghfur.<sup>52</sup> One of the attendants at the royal tent (*bārgāh*)<sup>53</sup> whispers to the king about the previous night’s adventure, though without mentioning the relations between the two

lovers.<sup>54</sup> The Faghfur angrily orders his guards to arrest Humay and take him to the fortress (*diz*) of Turan.<sup>55</sup> In this depiction, the poet simultaneously uses two terms, *sarāparda*<sup>56</sup> and *bārgāh*, to designate a tented structure.<sup>57</sup>

“*Humay at the gate of Humayun’s palace*”

Having been released from the fortress of Turan by Samanrukh,<sup>58</sup> Humay gallops towards Humayun’s palace.<sup>59</sup> Arriving at the gate,<sup>60</sup> he sees Humayun on the palace roof and begs her to open the door, saying, “Do not close the door on this poor wretch while you capture his heart.”<sup>61</sup> Humay had been at this location before, when he had slain the guard and entered the garden. His long conversation<sup>62</sup> with Humayun proves fruitless, and he returns to the plain.<sup>63</sup>

This scene was illustrated on fol. 18b of the British Library’s manuscript of the *Three Maṣnavīs*. The painting shows Humayun’s palace enclosed by a wall, a space that seems to be part of Samanzar Garden (fig. 1). Samanrukh had told Humay that the Faghfur had gone hunting,<sup>64</sup> and that Humayun had come to Samanzar Garden as usual.<sup>65</sup> Khvaju did not precisely describe this garden around the palace, and the painter would have had to illustrate it based on his own assumptions. Scrutinizing this scene and the paintings on fols. 23a and 40a (figs. 2 and 9), along with their visual concepts, we see that the palace and its enclosed surrounding area were situated on a hill-like bluff forming a precipice on the right side. In his analysis of the paintings, Oleg Grabar mentions this venue,<sup>66</sup> and remarks: “The wall isolates what is an equally monochrome universe, despite the flower and trees of the floral garden with its tower clad in tiles and finely worked wood. The contrast between the world of the horseman and that of the young woman looking out from the top of the tower is striking.”<sup>67</sup>

In describing the painting on fol. 18b, Sheila Canby notes:

While symbolism in Persian painting is almost never specific in the way that one would expect of fourteenth-century Italian or Netherlandish art, certainly here nature and architecture are used to reinforce the subject and emphasize its meaning. By using the whole page, reducing the scale of the figures and placing them back from the picture plane, Junayd has produced a complex and intricate *mise en scene*,

the prototype for some of the most beloved paintings of the Timurid and Safavid periods.<sup>68</sup>

The garden, situated in a cream-colored surrounding, features various types of trees in addition to the decoration adorning the palace. One finds trees with red and orange fruits, another one in full bloom, a plane tree, an elm, walnut trees, and two poplars, their colors in harmony with the garden as a whole. Outside the enclosed area one sees a cypress tree, a broadleaf tree, and two willows. These are visually different from the trees inside the garden, perhaps because the latter are tended to by gardeners. For example, the cypress has extra branches on top that need pruning. Indeed, this may have been the painter's way of highlighting the role played by the gardeners. Despite the importance of cypress trees in the pictorial composition of the above-mentioned paintings, the cypress on fol. 18b does not play such a role, and so has been placed behind the text box. There are very few colorful birds among the majority depicted in black and white or gray, though the two birds shown in color within the garden are much more vibrant in hue than those on the outside, again highlighting the multi-colored nature of the enclosed area.

The flower shrubs inside the garden are bigger than the others, except for the row of flower shrubs along the stream close to the lower edge of the painting. The painter's pronounced focus on the ornate enclosed area and garden is noticeable, though he has not ignored the cultivation of the outer terrain.

#### "Battle of Humay and Humayun"

After they argue and Humay leaves, Humayun regrets her behavior and follows him. She chances upon the coppice (*bīsha*) where Humay is resting.<sup>69</sup> Humayun calls to him, saying "What are you doing here in the darkness of night; perhaps you intend to go to Humayun's palace?"<sup>70</sup> Her question shows that the coppice was not far from the palace or was perhaps intended as a preserve for Samanzar Garden. Humayun challenges him. A battle begins and Humay quickly overcomes her. As he is about to behead her, she removes her helmet. Humay swoons and when he regains consciousness, they embrace.<sup>71</sup> Afterward, Fahrshah, Bihzad, and the army of *mulk-i khāvar* arrive.<sup>72</sup> When they erect a tent

(*khargāh*)<sup>73</sup> and seat Humay on the throne,<sup>74</sup> he writes a letter to the Faghfur.<sup>75</sup>

The visual characteristics of this scene illuminate one of the most dramatic sequences described by the poet.<sup>76</sup> The warm cream-colored area surrounding the garden in the painting on fol. 18b (fig. 1), which Grabar called a "monochrome universe," can be seen as well in the picture on fol. 23a (fig. 2) of the British Library's manuscript of the *Three Masnavīs*. Grabar describes this entire scene as seemingly "suspended in a universe,"<sup>77</sup> a characterization that also applies to the painting on fol. 18b, where both the palace and the garden court are surrounded—the palace by the garden and the garden by nature itself. The palace, garden court, and surrounding flora and fauna are then set off from everything else by the precipice. It seems that the round ground has been oddly suspended in the painting frame. The artist possibly intended to focus the viewer's attention on the garden and its environs, and thus decided to eliminate all other distractions. This symbolic viewpoint is also apparent in the painting on fol. 23a (fig. 2), regarding which Teresa Fitzherbert notes, "The concept of the mirror image is depicted with consummate skill. Humay and Humayun are face to face, the lover and beloved at the moment of recognition, and this is echoed in the natural world throughout the composition; the horses are confronted, the trees are set in pairs, the whole in floating ellipse with the eye contact of the lovers as its point of stasis."<sup>78</sup> A. T. Adamova found the painting full of meanings comparable to the poetry.<sup>79</sup> She further states, "As for the representation of nature, the creation of a sort of supernatural beauty has demanded the total renunciation of realistic perspective."<sup>80</sup>

Even before Adamova, Basil Gray made note of the round forms in the paintings on fols. 18b and 23a.<sup>81</sup> He observes: "...perhaps the most fundamental change is that the movement is entirely internal to the composition with a strong circular tendency."<sup>82</sup> These works, he says, go beyond the feeling of two-dimensionality, which had existed in paintings earlier and up to 1388 contemporary with Junayd.<sup>83</sup>

The image "Khusraw comes to Shirin's castle (palace)," from the *Khamsa* of Nizami in the British Library (fig. 3),<sup>84</sup> has a spatial arrangement similar to that seen in the painting on fol. 18b of Khvaju's *Three Masnavīs*.

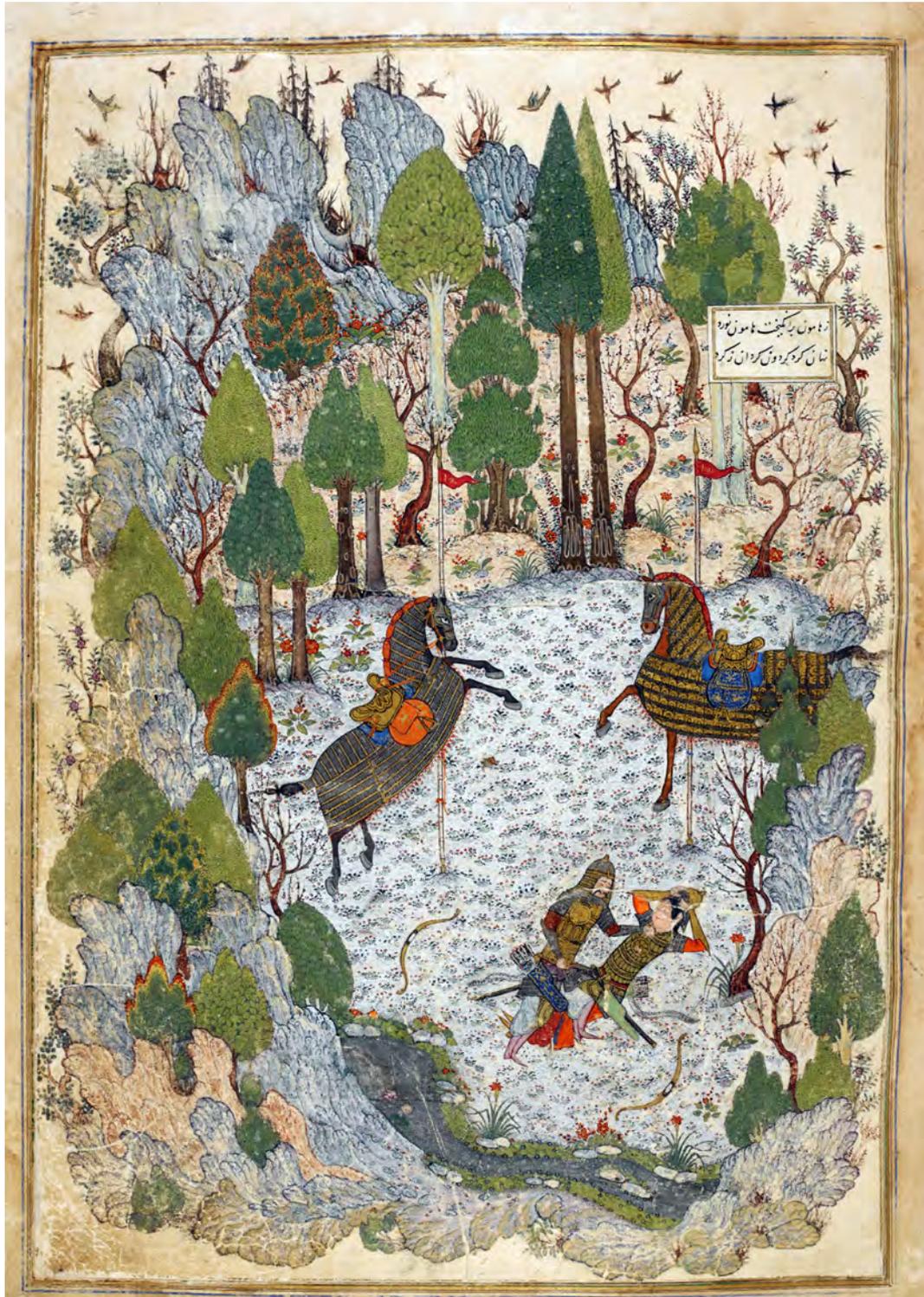


Fig. 2. "Battle of Humay and Humayun." Khvaju Kirmani, *Three Masnavis*, Baghdad, 798 (1396), produced for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir. London, British Library, Add Ms. 18113, fol. 23a. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)

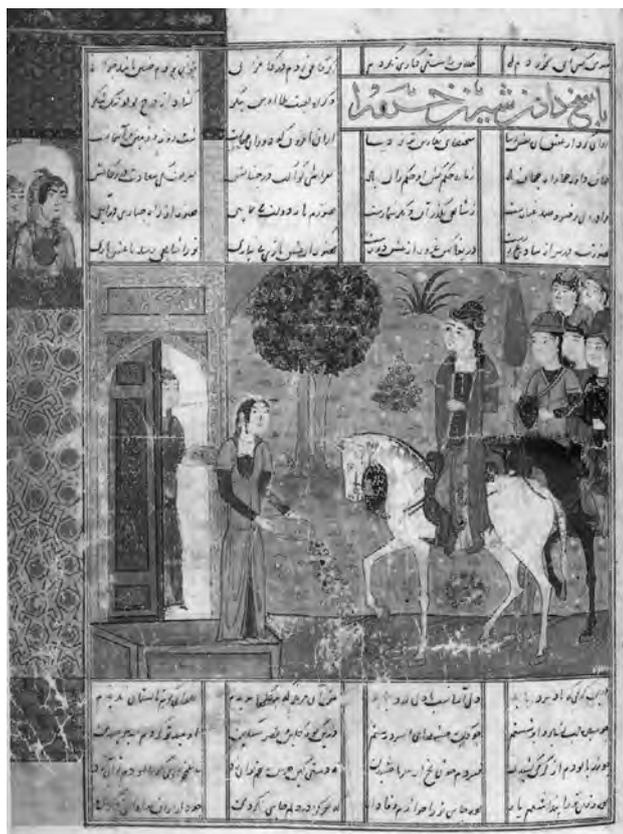


Fig. 3. “Khusraw comes to Shirin’s castle (palace).” Nizami, *Khamsa*, Baghdad, 1386–88. London, British Library, Or. 13297, fol. 80a. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)

The former painting features an architectural setting similar to Humayun’s palace, with an impressive façade and an open space in front of the palace. This setting became a motif in the fourteenth century, used to represent a palace being approached by an important individual. The scene is enlivened by the servants at the door and the attendants and court ladies looking out the window. This architectural setting also figures prominently in the painting “Nushirvan at the house of Mahbud,” from the dispersed Great Ilkhanid *Shāhnāma* manuscript (fig. 4).<sup>85</sup> Such works show that two-dimensionality was a routine aspect of painting in the fourteenth century. In this respect figures 3 and 4, which show a section of the palace and the open space, are distinct from the three-dimensionality of the painting by Junayd.



Fig. 4. “Nushirvan at the house of Mahbud.” The dispersed Great Ilkhanid *Shāhnāma* manuscript, probably Tabriz, Ilkhanid period, 1330–35. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1952 (52.20.2). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

In discussing the “momentous changes in book painting in western Iran in the 1390s,” David Roxburgh writes: “One manuscript in particular, Khvaju Kirmani’s *Three Masnavis* (dated 1396), heralds the arrival of what will become commonplace in Persianate painting.”<sup>86</sup> Junayd’s work introduced a new pictorial template to signify the representation of space.

In Persian painting, it was common to follow the models offered by earlier paintings. For instance, the painter of the work on fol. 53a of a manuscript of *Humāy u Humāyūn* illustrated for Baysunghur Mirza in Herat in 831 (1427) (fig. 5),<sup>87</sup> was probably inspired by the spatial arrangement of Junayd’s painting on fol. 18b. He followed Junayd’s composition in his use of spatial depth and also placed elements such as the enclosed area and stream in the same positions. He also recalls Junayd’s work in terms of details from fol. 18b such as the material out of which the enclosure is constructed and its denticulate edge. Also, the sole existing folio from a lost illustrated manuscript of *Humāy u Humāyūn* dated circa 834 (1430) contains the painting “In a dream Humay sees Humayun in a garden,” which shows a corner of an enclosed floral garden at nighttime (fig. 6).<sup>88</sup> This work

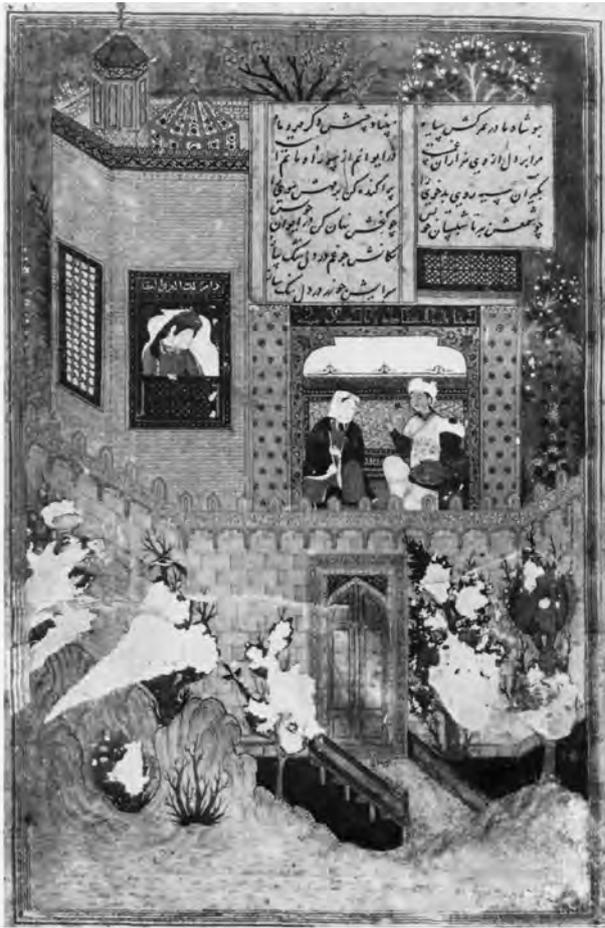


Fig. 5. “Humayun locked in a fortified palace by her father, the *Faghfūr* of China.” *Humāy u Humāyūn*, Herat, 831 (1427), illustrated for Baysunghur Mirza. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. N. F. 382, fol. 53a. (Photo: courtesy of the Nationalbibliothek)

might be based on Junayd’s painting on fol. 3b (fig. 7), although with respect to Khvaju’s text, the two above-mentioned paintings depict other locations and not Samanzar Garden.<sup>89</sup> However, taking the other illustrated manuscripts before and after Junayd’s work in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into consideration (figs. 3–6) and comparing the pictorial template of similar scenes, we see that Junayd did not emulate the models of earlier paintings. He rather introduced remarkable innovations and developed them to create a new pictorial genre. In addition to the poet’s descriptions, therefore, the concept of Samanzar Garden was formulated more on the basis of the painter’s visual experience and



Fig. 6. “In a dream Humay sees Humayun in a garden.” The sole existing folio from a lost illustrated manuscript of *Humāy u Humāyūn*, Herat, ca. 834 (1430) or 829 (1425). Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, inv. no. 3727. (Photo: courtesy of the Musée des Arts Decoratifs)

imagination than on emulation of previous depictions.

Junayd’s attempt to convey depth of space continued in book painting throughout the fifteenth century. For instance, in the painting “Rustam responds to Isfandiyar” (fig. 8) in the Baysunghuri *Shāhnāma* produced in Herat in 833 (1429),<sup>90</sup> spatial depth is portrayed in a manner significantly similar to that seen in “Feast and music in *bāgh-i Samanzār*” (fig. 9), on fol. 40a in the British Library’s *Three Masnavīs*.<sup>91</sup> In a parallel manner, the painting on fol. 18b of the latter manuscript might have been a template for the manner in which to portray a building and its surrounding area with depth of space.

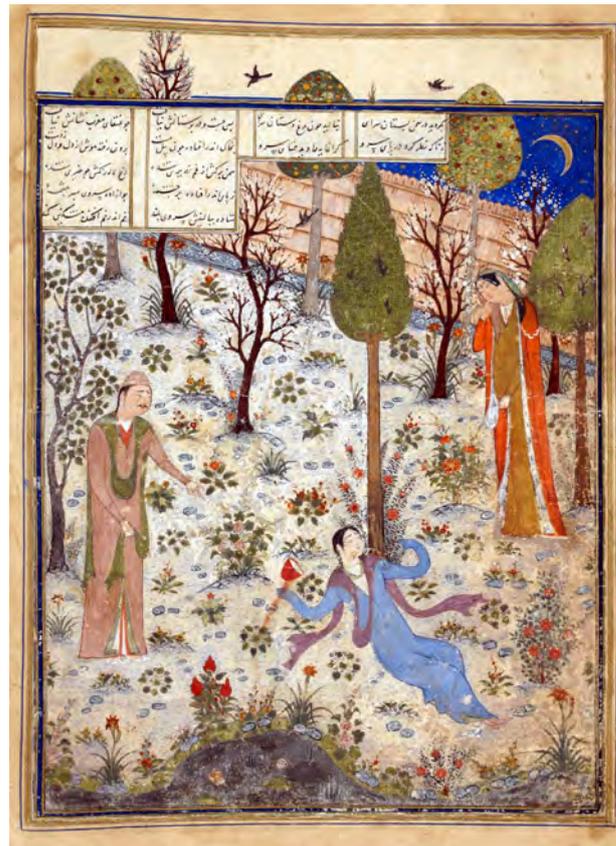


Fig. 7. “Bihzad found drunk by Humay and Azarafruz.” Khvaju Kirmani, *Three Masnavīs*, Baghdad, 798 (1396), produced for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir. London, British Library, Add Ms. 18113, fol. 3b. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)



This model was apparently followed in the painting “Gulnaz, the maid, and Ganjvar-i Ardavan meet Ardashir” (fig. 10)<sup>92</sup> in the Baysunghuri *Shāhnāma* (fig. 10).<sup>93</sup> A few important questions arise regarding the depiction of space in a painting. How has Junayd illustrated the poet’s description of a scene, particularly since he has inserted more details than are found in Khvaju’s description? More importantly, what sort of common themes can be found among his illustrated scenes? And how has one particular garden been portrayed in these paintings?

←

Fig. 8. “Rustam responds to Isfandiyyar.” Baysunghuri *Shāhnāma*, Herat, 833 (1429), illustrated for Baysunghur Mirza. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, Ms. 716. (Photo: courtesy of the Gulistan Palace Library)



Fig. 9. "Feast and music in *bāgh-i Samanzār*." Khvaju Kirmani, *Three Maṣnavīs*, Baghdad, 798 (1396), produced for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir. London, British Library, Add Ms. 18113, fol. 40a. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)



Fig. 10. “Gulnaz, the maid, and Ganjvar-i Ardavan meet Ardashir.” Baysunghuri *Shāhnāma*, Herat, 833 (1429), illustrated for Baysunghur Mirza. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, Ms. 716. (Photo: courtesy of the Gulistan Palace Library)

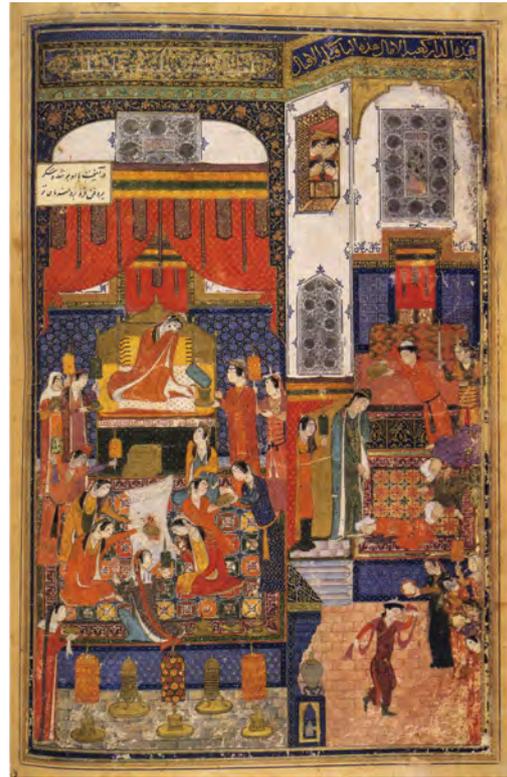


Fig. 11. “The wedding night of Humay and Humayun.” Khvaju Kirmani, *Three Masnavīs*, Baghdad, 798 (1396), produced for Sultan Ahmad Jalayir. London, British Library, Add Ms. 1813, fol. 45a. © The British Library Board. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)

The way nature is depicted in the “Battle of Humay and Humayun” on fol. 23a (fig. 2) is also noteworthy. In his studies on spatial issues in Persian painting close to Junayd’s period, Leo Bronstein refers to architectural elements in Junayd’s paintings that relate to the narration of the *Humāy u Humāyūn*. Regarding another painting by Junayd in the British Library’s *Three Masnavīs*, on fol. 45a (fig. 11), he writes:

We know what this is in principle: at first, a ‘stable,’ static slipping of one perfectly flat surface into another, one behind or above the other, creating thereby a rich and highly decorative imagery, a fanciful depiction of the feudal life of those times. The floors of the royal halls, the palace gardens or the fields are represented vertically on the first plane, and then, immediately, the eye passes on to succeeding planes, which follow each other vertically, or at opposite angles, with their princely banquets, hunting, battle or love scenes.<sup>94</sup>

As Bronstein observed above, the second terrain seen in the painting on fol. 23a is located above the battlefield, at the edge behind the trees. Indeed, according to Fitzherbert, the battlefield, which, as mentioned earlier, includes characters facing one another, confronted horses, paired bows and flags, and trees arranged in pairs, is itself one part of a pair showing two distinct natural settings:<sup>95</sup> the combat takes place in the foreground, which is covered by a small amount of grass with a monotone cold and bluish texture, while another area is depicted above the battlefield, behind a row of trees and floral shrubs, on a warm and luxuriant cream-colored terrain.

#### “Feast and music in bāgh-i Samanzār”

After Humay triumphs over the Faghfur, Humayun reminds him that the plain is now full of jasmines and that



Fig. 12. Two individuals pick flowers and place them on plates, while Humayun holds a pink flower in her left hand. Detail of fig. 9, “Feast and music in *bāgh-i Samanzār*.”

the nightingales are singing in the gardens; she says that she longs for Samanzar Garden.<sup>96</sup> Humay immediately gratifies Humayun’s desire; she is placed on a golden palanquin and they head in that direction.<sup>97</sup> Once they arrive, the turquoise throne is placed at the *pīshgāh*,<sup>98</sup> and then the festivity and music begin.<sup>99</sup>

This scene in Samanzar Garden was depicted by Junayd on fol. 40a (fig. 9) of the British Library’s *Three Masnavīs*: merry makers feast, play music, and drink while Humay and Humayun sit on the throne like royals. A noteworthy variety of trees can be seen in the steep terrain in the background. The poet describes the scene as having taken place in the spring; therefore no fruit is seen on the branches.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, following the poet’s

remark that the feasting continued until morning,<sup>101</sup> the painter included a few candlesticks and a lantern as well.

The warm, cream-colored scheme already discussed in the case of the paintings on fol. 18b and fol. 23a appears again here on fol. 40a, one indication that this is a garden, and certainly Samanzar Garden. One sees various floral shrubs—one with long and folded leaves, another with broad leaves with or without flowers, and still others with broad leaves and long peduncles. In contrast to these wild plants, which would grow on their own in fertile lands, are the ornamental flowers that were probably cultivated by a gardener. A floral shrub with large red flowers and a flowering tree with pink blooms can be seen behind the throne on the middle axis. Two individuals, a male and a female, carefully pick and place pink flowers on plates, probably as an offering to Humayun, because the painting shows her holding the same type of flower in her left hand, while Humay holds her right hand. He has a goblet in his other hand, and it seems they are exchanging flower and goblet (fig. 12). Junayd has also followed Khvajū’s words: “wine like a rose [is] in the Shah’s hand and rose like wine [is] in the moon’s [Humayun’s].”<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, Junayd uses the same element seen in the painting on fol. 23a (fig. 2): characters in pairs stand engaged in conversation, some side by side and others face to face,<sup>103</sup> while another two individuals sit close to a flowering tree. Meanwhile, the couple that fought in the bluish landscape seen in the “Battle of Humay and Humayun” now appears to be in harmony, amused by a rose, wine, and love.

The poet’s description of the minstrels,<sup>104</sup> the wine and the rose in the lovers’ hands,<sup>105</sup> and the presenting of wine to the beloved<sup>106</sup> are faithfully depicted in the painting. Junayd, clearly attentive to the mood and ambience set by Khvajū, did not seek to alter the sense of the scene that the poet was attempting to create. However, painters sometimes saw themselves in competition with the imagery the poet described in the text<sup>107</sup> and often changed the setting and quality of a scene. This occurred in the depictions of “Khusraw comes to Shirin’s palace” in Jalayirid manuscripts of *Khusraw u Shīrīn* dated 788–790 (1386–88) and 808–12 (1406–10). In these paintings and especially in the latter manuscript, although the poet describes the palace as hell (*dūzakh*),<sup>108</sup> a sad rocky or stone place (*sangistān-i*

*gham*),<sup>109</sup> or a small prison (*zindān sarāy-i tang*),<sup>110</sup> the painters, ignoring these words, portrayed a pleasant environment. Junayd, however, followed the *mise-en-scène* described by the poet to depict an enclosed garden or a pavilion-like mansion in the garden. In reference to the paintings on fols. 18b, 23a, and 40a, Basil Gray has remarked that “the artist has attuned his art to the melody of Persian lyric poetry and found the perfect proportion of text and figure subject.”<sup>111</sup> Gray highlighted how Junayd adhered to the poetry while developing the drama as he imagined it. For example, the painter acknowledges the rose Humayun held in her hand—as mentioned in the poem<sup>112</sup>—but also enhances the scene by adding some people in the background to pick similar flowers from a tree, though these are not mentioned by Khvaju (fig. 12). In this scene the palace is mentioned only rarely by the poet. This was because Humayun desired to be in the natural setting of Samanzar, a field full of flowers with a flowing stream.<sup>113</sup> The turquoise throne was therefore placed in the *pīshgāh*, an open space, as she wished.<sup>114</sup>

The location of the *pīshgāh* can be determined by examining the terminology used in association with it.<sup>115</sup> The best description for this space may be found in Nizami’s poetry, which incidentally relates a meeting between two lovers. When Khusraw goes to Shirin’s palace, she finds an excuse to take him into the *pīshgāh* in front of the loggia.<sup>116</sup> Shirin orders her resourceful handmaiden to bring the silky *shishtāq* (a kind of tent) and pitch it in front of the loggia.<sup>117</sup> The *pīshgāh* would have been in front of either the loggia of the gateway building or the main palace. Since Humayun expressly stated that she wanted to be in the garden, the *pīshgāh* should have been there as well, in front of the main loggia and providing a stunning view of it. The feast takes place in the *chaman*, the middle court of the garden. The throne, therefore, was in the central open space inside the garden, which is located in front of the loggia. This layout could be compared with the inner part of the medieval garden described by Abu Nasr Haravi<sup>118</sup> in 921 (1515), which indicates an open space in front of the main building.<sup>119</sup>

To appreciate the role of the garden in Junayd’s paintings, it is necessary to refer back to the painting on fol. 23a (fig. 2). Numerous trees were depicted on the cream-

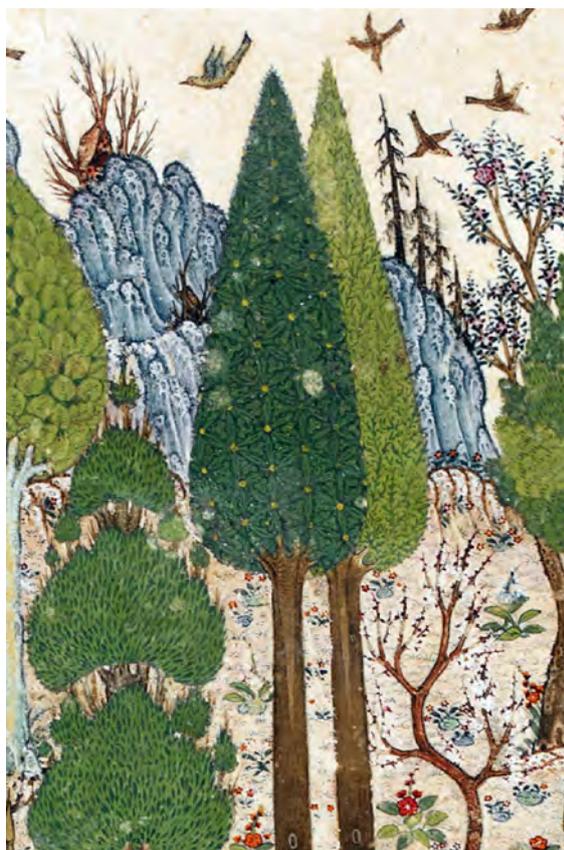


Fig. 13. A pair of cypress trees (*sarov-i nāz*) with leaves of various shapes and colors. Detail of fig. 2, “Battle of Humay and Humayun.”

colored land between the battlefield and the rocky mountainscape. Most of these are evergreens but other varieties are also represented. Two very tall specimens of a popular native Iranian variety of cypress (*sarov-i nāz*) are shown together, but with differently shaped leaves and colors (fig. 13). In this respect they are like other paired figures in the scene that nevertheless display varying features: e.g., the heroes are male and female (and Humay, generally shown clean shaven, is portrayed here with a mustache) (fig. 14);<sup>120</sup> and both heroes and horses don ornate armor, though with differing decoration (fig. 15). The terrains of the battlefield and the garden seen on fol. 23a, each defined by definitive borders, feature differences in their color, texture, and plant life. These varied terrains represent the realms of battle and



Fig. 14. Humay's mustache. Details of Humay's face in three paintings (from left to right): fig. 1, "Humay at the gate of Humayun's palace"; fig. 2, "Battle of Humay and Humayun"; and fig. 9, "Feast and music in *bāgh-i Samanzār*."



Fig. 15. The two heroes and their horses with differently decorated armor. Detail of fig. 2, "Battle of Humay and Humayun."

love. Three flowering trees with large pink flowers found in the painting on fol. 40a can be seen on the right-hand side of the painting on fol. 23a (fig. 16). In a thicket of green trees, some trees with blooms peek through (fig. 17).

Three views of Samanzar Garden have been introduced thus far with reference to Junayd's works. There is one more painting, on fol. 3b in the British Library's *Three Masnavīs*, that can help us to visualize another corner of a garden (fig. 7). This painting depicts a drunken Bihzad lying down in a garden at the foot of a cypress tree. According to the narrative, this scene does not relate to Samanzar Garden. It does, however, show some details that have been described in the other three paintings by Junayd discussed above. The land is covered by floral shrubs similar to those in the painting on fol. 40a (fig. 9). The inner side of the enclosure has details found also in the painting on fol. 18b (fig. 1), which features Humayun's palace, namely, the denticulate edge on top of the enclosure and the plinth course of the wall. These similarities might show that the painter had a particular garden in mind before he set himself to illustrating it. It is not clear which parts of his illustration were based on his imagination or previous visual experiences. The ambience conveyed in the painting on fol. 3b may give a hint of what he was thinking. Therefore, while the painting on fol. 40a shows a formal space, the *pīshgāh*, the painting on fol. 3b introduces a private corner to drink and remember the lover.



Fig. 16. Three trees with large pink flowers. Detail of fig. 2, "Battle of Humay and Humayun."

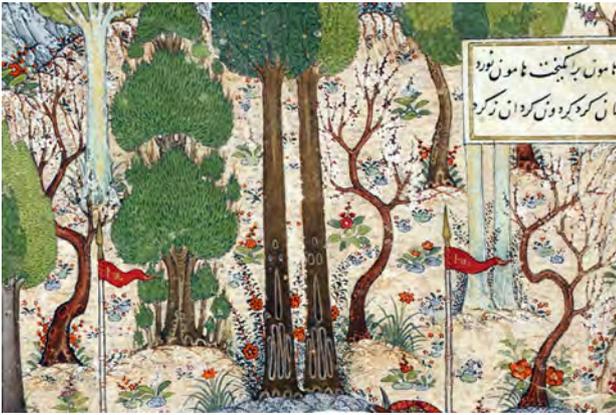


Fig. 17. Trees in bloom. Detail of fig. 2, “Battle of Humay and Humayun.”

#### THE GARDEN ACCORDING TO THE POET'S DESCRIPTION AND IMAGINATION

According to Khvaju's narrative, Samanzar Garden is a summer home one-day's ride from the main palace of the Faghfur. Not completely isolated from hunting grounds and coppices, it lies adjacent to a mountain with a spring and plains covered in floral shrubs. The palace accommodates Humayun and her retinue for a period of two to three weeks. Her father, the Faghfur, encamps there, and his tent (*sarāparda*) is pitched inside the garden when he leaves and returns from the hunt.

Spaces such as the *shabistān* and harem refer to a *bustānsarāy*, which is an extended mansion combined with the garden. In addition to a *ṭāram*, a high-ceilinged chamber, this mansion has one loggia facing the heart of the garden. The area in front of the loggia, called the *pīshgāh*, is a pleasant open space in spring, while the *bustānsarāy*, or some parts of it, adjoined another open space, a garden parterre known as the *chaman*. The concept embodied in the *chaman* is rather vague and needs more extensive study. It may help to explain, to some extent, the layout of gardens in medieval Iran. From some of Khvaju's verses it may be inferred that the *chaman* is more expansive than a lawn, a green field or a passage in a garden. As Khvaju describes it, the *chaman* is a main section of the garden—a paradise and a place for nymphs.<sup>121</sup> “The *chaman* could wear a kaftan made

from jasmine,”<sup>122</sup> and minstrels play their music there.<sup>123</sup> It is sometimes used as a metonym for a green-colored plain,<sup>124</sup> and includes a court (*ṣahn*),<sup>125</sup> which may be an important part along with the garden. The poet does not mention a *ṣahn* in his description of the palace (*bustānsarāy*) of Samanzar Garden, although he also describes some other palaces that have one. For example, in recounting Humay's short stay in the *mulk-i khāvar*, he describes the mansion there as a *bustānsarāy* with an inner court.<sup>126</sup> The readers learn about Humayun's palace in *shahr-i Chīn* (the city of China) when Humay, as he is approaching it,<sup>127</sup> says to himself, “I should throw a lasso [and climb up] to the roof of the palace, go round the green *gulshan* (green space) and sit on the [roof] of the palace's iwan (loggia) and also take a glance into the court of the *bustānsarāy*.”<sup>128</sup> This type of palace with an inner court, which is distinct from Humayun's palace in Samanzar Garden, found a new scale in a *sarā* in which Humay stays just before entering China.<sup>129</sup> That house was spacious enough to include a garden inside. These descriptions show the variety of palaces and gardens that the poet has in his mind.

#### THE GARDEN ACCORDING TO THE PAINTER'S IMAGINATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS

A study of three of Junayd's paintings of Samanzar Garden reveals different perspectives on this locale. In all three paintings, the garden is located on a steep hillside with a stream nearby. In terms of the variety of plants, the garden is richer than its environs. Though grass and small shrubs are seen beyond the confines of the garden, this plant life becomes more prolific as one draws closer to those boundaries. It is important to analyze how Junayd composed and created these paintings because they represent an unprecedented milestone and innovation in the development of Persian painting.<sup>130</sup>

The painting on fol. 23a (fig. 2) depicting the garden and its environs undoubtedly contains symbolic features, as scholars have previously mentioned. Furthermore, it includes a fruit tree, a flowering tree, and two cypresses that could not have been the result of wild or non-anthropogenic nature. The painting on fol. 18b (fig. 1) shows Humayun's palace located in a garden,

overlooking surrounding areas. A steep hillside that appears as a precipice was possibly the product of the painter's imagination. According to Sheila Canby, the garden's enclosure is not so high as to stay the lovers' gaze.<sup>131</sup> The poet had previously described this enclosure as a *ṭāram*, more similar to a barrier than an impassable wall. The third painting, on fol. 40a (fig. 9), looks toward the garden from the loggia and shows the *chaman*.

This examination could continue by looking at the different components of the palace and surrounding areas. In addition, the poet's narration of an ancient tale, the painter's perception of that narration, and our general understanding of the two processes need to be considered in order to comprehend the space they both describe and their attending details. In this case, the concepts presented by the poet and painter came together, contributing to our understanding of the general aspects of the garden, and *bāgh-i Samanzār-i nūshāb* in particular. The small time interval between Khvaju and Junayd likely produced this precision; at the same time, a similar, contemporaneous visual culture may have resulted in this closeness.

#### ADDITIONAL FEATURES BEYOND THE TEXT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Why did the painter occasionally add some extra characters to the *mise-en-scène*? And why did Khvaju narrate *Humāy u Humāyūn* as an imitation (*naẓīra*), as mentioned earlier, of Nizami's *Khusraw u Shīrīn*<sup>132</sup> when other versions of the story, such as *Samak-i 'Ayyār* and *Zāt al-Šuvar*, were written based on other themes? To answer these questions it is necessary to consider some extraneous features beyond the narrative text—such as the characters appearing in pairs on fols. 23a and 40a, who do not appear in the text.

Poets and painters may make use of other concepts and themes or other versions of a narration in constructing their own texts or images. This tendency must be scrutinized to reveal its effect on the depiction of gardens. To determine Khvaju's motive when he decides to move beyond a particular text or narration, it is useful to compare his perspective with that of Rumi. In his *Zāt*

*al-Šuvar*, Rumi was much more pessimistic in his attitude toward the images and icons that featured the protagonists.<sup>133</sup> By contrast, Khvaju's tolerance of a taboo—viewing beautiful women—while avoiding pietism encouraged him to follow Nizami and Gurgani in their genre, the dramatic romance. Khvaju referred to Nizami and Gurgani's text and used some features of their narration, such as detailed conversations in front of the palace.<sup>134</sup> At one point Khvaju calls the heroes of his narrative “Khusraw” and “Shirin” instead of “Humay” and “Humayun” to emphasize and recall their sad and emotional separation.<sup>135</sup> In another case he calls them “Vis” and “Ramin,” when the Faghfur orders Humayun to be imprisoned, in recollection of Vis' imprisonment at the fortress of Ishkaft (*diz-i Ishkaft*).

Paintings in Persian manuscripts often contained special pictorial features that the artist used to focus on a particular metaphor or to complete an abbreviated scene. These pictorial features rarely had any relationship to the story or scene. In order to better discern such features in Junayd's paintings, it is necessary first to review them in two other manuscripts. Discussing the British Library's manuscript of Nizami's *Khamsa*,<sup>136</sup> Mahvash Alemi compares the painting on folio 26v, which depicts a scene from a short story of *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Treasury of Secrets),<sup>137</sup> with a poem by 'Abdi Biyk Shirazi (Navidi) describing the gardens of Shah Tahmasp. Maria Subtelny mentions the special meaning of the rose in this scene: “the scent of the rose, which is the scent of the Prophet's sweat, affords Sufis an ‘imaginal’ vision of the Divine.”<sup>138</sup> Alemi continues: “This experience adds to the sense of the garden as the image of the universe, the idea of the garden as a means to meditate on creation. The horse waiting in the background is ready to take the viewer to the upper world, as in the ascension of the prophet Muhammad.”<sup>139</sup> Aqa Mirak applied the details described by Alemi to the illustrated scene to make a connection between the court of Tahmasp, his patron, and the upper world.

In another example, the painter of the Freer's *Khusraw u Shīrīn* (dated 808–12 [1406–10]) depicts “Khusraw comes to Shirin's palace” (fig. 18) as a nighttime scene, even though Nizami clearly describes it as taking place at sunrise and in the morning. The painter perhaps insisted on the nocturnal setting because that is when



Fig. 18. “Khusraw comes to Shirin’s palace.” Nizami, *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, Tabriz, 808–812 (1406–10). Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, F1931.29, p. 85. (Photo: courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)



Fig. 19. “Mountain and streams.” An anthology of Persian poetic texts, *Bihbahan* (Fars), 800 (1398). Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Ms. 1950, fol. 26r. (Photo: courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art)

Shirin supplicates and prays to God, which the poet described in detail.<sup>140</sup> The above-mentioned features are pictorial metaphors that impart new meanings to a particular painting. Artists thus further developed the poets’ ideas and added details without which the paintings would have been less effective.<sup>141</sup> These features can in fact be called “metapictorial,”<sup>142</sup> since they enhance the painting’s meaning by referring to subjects beyond the storyline.

Such aspects can be recognized in Junayd’s paintings on fols. 23a and 40a. Previously, it was observed that the figures appear in pairs, face-to-face or side by side, thereby creating a unique setting for a symbolic mise-en-scène. This was Junayd’s innovation. These paintings do not contain symbolic or fantastical landscapes like those depicted in 800 (1398) in *Bihbahan* (fig. 19),<sup>143</sup> which are described by Gray as the most conceptual in Persian painting.<sup>144</sup> Nor does Junayd make use of symbolic or

metaphorical pictures to highlight a concept of heaven as Aqa Mirak did. Rather, he takes advantage of the unique settings described by the author to create pictorial metaphors intended only to clarify his images and concepts. Junayd was not bound to depict scenes based on his own imagination as Clinton has mentioned painters were required to do with respect to Firdawsī, whose text did not provide as many descriptive details as did Khvajū’s. And unlike Aqa Mirak, Junayd applied pictorial metaphors to portray his vision of the garden and its natural setting more clearly and to link the three scenes depicted on fols. 18b, 23a, and 40a. Junayd’s pictorial metaphors are thus more tangible than the metaphors (like the one for the ascension) that were illustrated by Aqa Mirak. Pictorial metaphors or “metapictorial” features in Junayd’s works have meaning only within the framework of one specific painting or, as in this case, among a linked group of paintings.

## CONCLUSION

Khvaju's descriptions and Junayd's depictions coalesce to clarify the portrayal of one particular garden in the fourteenth century. According to the poem, Samanzar Garden was closely associated with natural features such as a plain, hunting ground, prairie, meadow, and coppice, as well as a highland and mountain. It included a private palace for the princess and sufficient open space for an encampment for her father, the king. According to the text, the palace was a harem or *shabistān*, which included a high-ceilinged chamber called a *ṭāram*, suitable for feasts, music, and enthronements.

Junayd expanded on Khvaju's portrayal, and it is now difficult to define a visual image for Samanzar Garden without referring to his paintings. He identified various terrains, areas, and places with different background colors and shades. He also linked separate depictions through his use of characteristic trees, flowers, and plants, as well as, again, certain colors and shades. The poet did not describe these features. Rather, Junayd illustrated them relying on Khvaju's ghazals and/or pictorial metaphors that were either current at the time or perhaps invented by him. These features are prevalent in other Jalayirid manuscripts and should not be overlooked when studying Persian painting.

The paintings and the degree to which they conform with Khvaju's description indicate a linear spatial structure defined by a loggia facing the garden and a *pīshgāh* with luxuriant open spaces. In Samanzar Garden, the *pīshgāh* and its connection and extension toward the garden court or *chaman* defined the structure of the garden. While no particular document on garden design during the fourteenth century can be cited, in his *Irshād al-zirā'a*, Abu Nasr Haravi, in a section on "The layout of the *chahārbāgh* and *'imārat*," does recommend just such a linear arrangement.

The present study could serve as a starting point for an exploration of illustrated poetic narrations that describe natural settings and landscapes. It has revealed some general features of the garden and the context in which it was used. It should not be forgotten that these general features were illustrated by Junayd's brush and by Khvaju's words, and that their status as innovators has been recognized in Persian painting and Persian poetry.

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## NOTES

*Author's note:* This article is the result of one semester of study in the spring of 2012 in the Department of the History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania. I would like to thank Professor Renata Holod for her invitation, advice, and insightful remarks. I would also like to thank Massumeh Farhad, Chief Curator and Curator of Islamic Art, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and Nancy Micklewright, Head of Scholarly Programs and Publications, for letting me present a version of this article at the Freer[Sackler, Smithsonian Institution.

1. According to de Bruijn, "The poem relates the adventures of the Persian prince Homāy, who falls in love with the Chinese princess, Homāyun. After a long fight with her father, the Faghfur, he wins both his beloved and the empire of China." J. T. P. de Bruijn, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, (New York, 1996), s.v. "Kvāju Kermāni." Available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kvaju-kerman-poet-and-mystic> (last accessed September 28, 2012).
2. "Abu'l-'Aṭā Kamāl-al-Din Maḥmud b. 'Ali b. Maḥmud Morshedi, Persian poet and mystic (b. Kerman, 1290; d. Shiraz, 1349?):" De Bruijn, "Kvāju Kermāni." De Bruijn further writes that "[t]he nickname Kvāju, which he used as his *takhallos* [*takhallus*] (poetic signature), is probably a diminutive of *kvāja*, and points to his descent from a family of high social status." See also Teresa Fitzherbert, "Khwājū Kirmānī (689–753/1290–1352): An *Éminence Grise* of Fourteenth Century Persian Painting," *Iran* 29 (1991): 137–51, esp. 137.
3. Fitzherbert, "Khwājū Kirmānī," 138.
4. In regard to the ghazal, Khvaju was influenced by Sa'di (d. 1292) and, in turn, exerted an influence upon Hafiz (d. ca. 1389). See Fitzherbert, "Khwājū Kirmānī," 138; de Bruijn, "Kvāju Kermāni."
5. Referring to Khwansari, Nafisi, and Erdmann, Teresa Fitzherbert observes that the subject matter of *Humāy u Humāyūn* has strong mystical overtones. See Fitzherbert, "Khwājū Kirmānī," 138. According to de Bruijn, "Simultaneously with furthering his career at these courts, Kvāju cultivated his relationship with prominent religious scholars and *Sufi* sheikhs. In his poetry he eulogized both his secular and his spiritual patrons. He stayed for some time at the *sufi* hospice (*khānaqāh*) of 'Alā-al-Dowla Semnāni (d. 1336)." See de Bruijn, "Kvāju Kermāni."
6. An old novel that was transmitted orally and written down around the twelfth century. Marina Gaillard writes, "During the course of a mysterious encounter, the young prince Koršid-šāh falls in love with Mah-pari, daughter of King Faghfur of Chin." Marina Gaillard, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Samak-e 'Ayyār." Available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/samak-e-ayyar> (last accessed

- September 28, 2012). See also Farāmarz Khudādād ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Kātib al-Arrajānī, *Samak-i ‘Ayyār*, ed. Parvīz Nātil Khānlārī (Tehran, 1343 [1964]), esp. p. 5.
7. See W. L. Hanaway, Jr., *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. “‘Ayyār.” Available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ayyar> (last accessed January 27, 2014).
  8. In *Zāt al-Šuvar*, a king advises his three sons to go everywhere but the castle (*hush-rubā*) or fortress of *Zāt al-Šuvar*. They ignore his advice and fall in love with the images of the Faghfur’s daughter. *Zāt al-Šuvar*, or *Dizh-i Hushrubā*, is the last narration in the *Maṣnavī* of Rūmī. See Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *The Maṣnavī of Rūmī*, ed. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, 8 vols. (Tehran, 2008), vol. 6, pp. 204–75, esp. 206–7: lines 3630–37; pp. 213–15; 3760–3798; and pp. 225: 3980–85.
  9. London, British Library, Add Ms. 18113. Other manuscripts include a copy of *Humāy u Humāyūn* produced for Baysunghur Mirza in Herat, dated 830 (1427), now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; a manuscript of *Humāy u Humāyūn*, ca. 1530, now in the Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum; a *Khamsa* of Khvājū, ca. 1460–90, now in Istanbul in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi); a manuscript of *Humāy u Humāyūn*, produced in Herat, ca. 1483–85, now in Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, R. 1045; and the single surviving folio from the *Humāy u Humāyūn* dated ca. 1430, in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, inv. no. 3727. See Fitzherbert, “Khvājū Kirmānī,” 138; Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York, 1992), 96; and Eleanor Sims, with B. I. Marshak and Ernst J. Grube, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven, 2002), 168–69.
  10. Yves Porter, “The Illustrations of the *Three Poems* of Khvājū Kirmānī: A Turning Point in the Composition of Persian Painting,” in *Écrit et culture en Asie centrale et dans le monde turco-iranien, Xe–XIXe siècles = Writing and Culture in Central Asia and the Turko-Iranian World, 10th–19th Centuries*, ed. Francis Richard and Maria Szuppe (Paris, 2009): 359–74, esp. 362.
  11. Porter, “Illustrations of the *Three Poems*,” 362. Also, Basil Gray writes: “All [miniatures] appear to be contemporary with the date in the colophon and all with this exception seem to be by one hand, or at least under one direction. This can be the master (*Ustād*) Junayd, whose signature is to be found in the design of the sixth miniature on folio 45v, representing the marriage of Humāy and Humāyūn, introduced into the window framework above the throne of the princess.” Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (New York, 1961), 48.
  12. Fitzherbert, “Khvājū Kirmānī,” 138.
  13. This garden is first described when the emperor of China (the Faghfur) decides to go hunting and Humayun emerges from the palace: *Bi-yak manzilī dukht-i Faghfur -i Chīn / yakī bāgh dārad chū khuld-i barīn. Mar ānrā Samanzār-i nūshāb nām / darū sākhṭa qaṣrī az sīm-i khām*. Maḥmūd ibn ‘Alī Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, ed. Kamāl S. ‘Aynī (Tehran, 1969), 103–4.
  14. *Tu shish māh shud tā fitādī bi-band / valikan mahī āmadat dar kamand*. Ibid., 128.
  15. The scenes “Humay goes hunting with Faghfur”; “Hunting scene and Humay’s malingering”; and “Battle of Humay and Humayun” occur outside the garden proper.
  16. The scenes “Humay in *bāgh-i Samanzār* and Humayun’s palace”; “Humay captured in *bāgh-i Samanzār*”; and “Feast and music in *bāgh-i Samanzār*” occur inside the garden.
  17. See ‘Alī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, comp. Muḥammad Mu‘īn and Sayyid Ja‘far Shahīdī, 15 vols. (Tehran, 1998), s.v. “‘Arāmghāh.”
  18. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 103–4.
  19. Ibid., 105.
  20. *Ghazalkhān ghazālān barān dasht u rāgh / sarāyān sarāy-i tadharvān bi-bāgh*. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 105. See also Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “Rāgh.”
  21. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 108.
  22. Ibid.
  23. *Bi-har lālazārī ki dar mīrasīd / zi dil būy-i khūn-i jigar mīrasīd. Bi-har chishmasārī ki bar mīguzasht / basā kāb-i chashmash zi sar mīguzasht. Bi-har kūh kūh-paykar birānd / barān kūh az dīda gawhar fishānd*. Ibid.
  24. This scene has been illustrated at least twice: on fol. 32b in the *Humāy u Humāyūn* copied for Baysunghur ibn Shahrūkh in 831 (1427–28) in Herat, now in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek (N.F. 382), on which see Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften I: Persische Handschriften* (Vienna, 1983), 192–94; and on fol. 87 of a manuscript of *Humāy u Humāyūn* by Khvājū Kirmānī, ca. 1530, now in the Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum (Gift of Philip Hofer, 1984.452.87).
  25. The poet had just mentioned in the last verse that Humay had flown to Samanzar, so the palace is certainly located in Samanzar Garden: *Bi-bāgh-i Samanzār rah bar girift / dil az Shāh u nakhchirgah bar girift. ...Chū murgh-i saharikhān navā sāz kard / bi-bāgh-i Samanzār parvāz kard*. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 108–9.
  26. Ibid., 109.
  27. Ibid.
  28. In the *Lughatnāma*, the term *ṭāram* is defined as an enclosure for a garden or orchard. See Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “Ṭāram.”
  29. In reference to a place, the term “*parda sarāy*” can mean a harem, *shabistān* (private section of the palace), or *andarūn* (inner and private section of the palace for women). Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v.v. “*Parda sarāy*”; “*Parda sarā*”; “*Shabistān*”; and “*Andarūn*.”
  30. In reference to a person, the term “*parda sarāy*” means a singer or minstrel.
  31. Khvaju considered different meanings for this word. Here the first “*parda sarāy*” refers to a place; we infer that it means “harem,” since he immediately uses that word instead. In the second instance the term refers to a singer: *Bīyāmad bi-nazdik-i parda-sarāy / shanīd az ḥaram bāng-i parda-sarāy*. See Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 109.
  32. *Bi-īvān dar afkanda mastān khurūsh / bar ārvarda nūshīn labān bāng-i nūsh*. Ibid., 109.
  33. Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*Chūbak*.”

34. The *hijāz* is one of the twelve modes or modal systems (sing. *parda* or *maqām*) in ancient Persian music. Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*hijāz*.” See also Jean During and Zia Mirabdolbaghi, *The Art of Persian Music* (Washington, D.C.: Mage Publications, 1991).
35. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 109.
36. In the *Lughatnāma*, the term *ṭāram* is also defined as a dome (*gunbad*), or a wooden house like a *khargāh*, or *qubba* (dome, or dome-shaped in form); it is also a metaphor for the heavens. Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*Tāram*.”
37. The *hiṣār* is one of twenty-four subdivisions (*shu‘bah*) in ancient Persian music—it is also the high point of *hijāz*. The term *hiṣār* may refer to a building such as a fortress or a castle. *Ibid.*, s.v. “*hiṣār*.”
38. *Dīgar bāra sāzī bi-qānūn bisākht / navāyī hazīn az Humāyūn bisākht. Bizad chang bar sāz u āghāz kard / bi-bām-i hiṣār īn ghazal sāz kard.* First the musician starts to play, probably in the *ṭāram*. Then Humay plays a sad melody in “*Humāyūn*,” a mode in Persian music. This demonstrates the poet’s interest in playing with words and terms. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 109.
39. The term *bustānsarāy* or *bustānsarā* designates a building inside the garden or adjacent to it and might be an inverted form of *sarābustān*, which means “garden” or “court.” Here *bustānsarāy* is a constructed space inside the garden. See Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v.v. “*Bustānsarāy*” and “*Bustānsarā*.”
40. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 112.
41. *Shabistān bihishti pur az hūr būd / va līkan zi nāmahrāmān dūr būd.* *Ibid.*, 115. Before that, Parizad had gone to the roof of the *shabistān* and led Humay to the iwan. When Humay entered the palace, he saw many nymphs throughout the *shabistān*.
42. Khvajū had previously written: “*Mar ānrā Samanzār-i nūshāb nām / darū sākhta qaṣri az sīm-i khām.*” See Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 104.
43. For the *chaman* as a parterre or garden-bed area, see Maria Eva Subtelny, “Agriculture and the Timurid Chaharbagh: The Evidence from a Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual,” in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden, 1997), 110–28. Subtelny discusses the term *chaman* in her summary of the eighth chapter of *Irshād al-Zirā‘a*: “The area on either side of the main water course was divided into four raised terraces called *chaman* (lit., meadow), which were probably also intersected by smaller water channels. They were to be planted with fruit trees of the same variety: the first with pomegranate; the second with quince; the third with peach and nectarine; and the fourth with pear.” Subtelny draws four rectangular parterres or plots to represent *chamans* in her reconstructed layout of the *chahārbāgh* (p. 127). Mahvash Alemi also draws rectangular parterres or plots to represent *chamans* in her reconstructed layout of the *chahārbāgh*: Mahvash Alemi, “Chahar Bagh,” *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 1 (1986): 38–45. See also Mahvash Alemi, “The Garden City of Shah Ṭahmasb Reflected in the Words of His Poet and Painter,” in *Interlacing Words and Things: Bridging the Nature-Culture Opposition in Gardens and Landscape*, ed. Stephen Bann (Washington, D.C., 2012), 95–113.
44. Khvajū first uses the word *dihqān* (farmer) in one verse and then refers to him as the *bāghbān* (gardener). *Zi nāgh yakī pīr dihqān chū bād / bi-sūy-i shah az bustān rukh nahād. ... Yakī az muqīmān-i ān bārgāh / furū guft dar gūsh-i Faghfur shāh. Hadīs-i Humāy u shab u bustān / digar qatl-i chūbak zan u bāghbān.* See Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 116–17.
45. *Ibid.*, 116. The old gardener asks, “Where were you [last] night? I saw you when you left Humayun’s palace. Nobody is allowed to enter *bāgh-i Samanzār-i Nūshāb* except the Faghfur’s daughter.”
46. *Ibid.*
47. A straight avenue in a *bustān* or garden; it is also a court or a sitting area inside the garden surrounded by trees: “*Nishastangāh-i mīyān-i bāgh.*” See Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*Chaman*.”
48. *Nayābad magar dukht-i Faghfur Shāh / bi-bāgh-i Samanzār-i nūshāb rāh.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 116.
49. *Yakī kākh did andrū chūn bihisht / ‘aqīqīnsh dīvār u zarrīnsh khisht.* *Ibid.*, 31.
50. *Ki shāhā bidīn jāy chūn āmadī / shab īnjā būdī yā kunūn āmadī.* *Ibid.*
51. *Chū dihqān dar-i bustān bargushād / maranj ar turanjī zi shākhī fitād.* *Ibid.*, 66.
52. *Ibid.*, 117.
53. In the *Lughatnāma*, the term *bārgāh* is described as a royal tent, a house, and a giant tent. Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*Bārgāh*.”
54. *Yakī az muqīmān-i ān bārgāh / furū guft dar gūsh-i Faghfur Shāh. ... Valīkan naguft īn ki shab tā sahar / shikast az nabāt-i Humāyūn shīkar.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 117.
55. *Ibid.*, 117–18.
56. In the *Lughatnāma*, the *sarāparda* is described as a royal *bārgāh* and a tent (*khayma*), and as a king’s mobile dwelling enclosed by curtain or (canvas) wall. See Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*Sarāparda*.”
57. The term *bārgāh* refers to a tented structure in the fourteenth century. For the meaning of *bārgāh* in the fourteenth century, see Chahryar Adle, “Un diptyque de fondation en céramique lustrée, Kāshān 711/1312,” in *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, ed. Chahryar Adle (Paris, 1982), 199–218. This word could also refer to a king’s palace. See Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*Bārgāh*.”
58. Samanrukh is the daughter of the commander of the fortress of Turan. See Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 122–24.
59. *Ibid.*, 124
60. *Ibid.*, 125.
61. Humay refers to their love story and not the act of capture by the Faghfur: *Z’ a’fī ki afgandīyash dar kamand / garash mikushī dar bi-rūyash maband.* *Ibid.*, 126. *Daram bāz kun tā*

- kisham dar barat / wa gar niy bimīram zi gham bar darat.*  
Ibid., 127.
62. Ibid., 125–37
63. Ibid., 137
64. *Ki shud shah bi-nakhchūr bā barg u sāz / nayāyad bi yak hafta az šayd bāz.* Ibid., 124.
65. Previously the poet wrote: the Faghfur encamps in Samanzar garden, and his tent (*sarāparda*) is pitched inside the garden when he leaves and returns from the hunt. Ibid., 116–17
66. According to Oleg Grabar, “The scene appears to take place at the very edge of the earth: crossed by a stream, a promontory overhangs the void. It is hard to imagine how the horseman managed to reach this delicately decorated portal.” See Oleg Grabar, *Masterpieces of Islamic Art: The Decorated Page from the 8th to the 17th Century* (Munich, 2009), 94
67. Ibid., 116–17.
68. Sheila R. Canby, *Persian Painting* (Northampton, 2005), 44.
69. *Qazārā janībat bidān bisha rānd / ki shahzāda rā pāy dar gil bimānd.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 142.
70. *Biguftā ki tīra shabān chūn kunī / diğar rāy-i qaṣr-i Humāyūn kunī.* Ibid., 143.
71. Ibid., 146–48.
72. Ibid., 150–51.
73. Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*Khargāh*.”
74. *Bi-mah bar kashīdand khargāhrā / nishāndand bar takht-i zār shāhrā.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 151.
75. Ibid., 153–58.
76. The painting shows Humayun removing her helmet. The verse says: “When the King, filled with love, took out his dagger, his beautiful-faced beloved removed her helmet.” For the verse translation, see Grabar, *Masterpieces of Islamic Art*, 95.
77. Grabar notes: “The image on its own simply shows a fight between two small figures who occupy just a tiny space in a clearing surrounded by trees and rocks; the whole scene is suspended in a universe without worldly connection... like a planet other than our own.” Ibid.
78. Fitzherbert, “*Khvājū Kirmānī*,” 142–43.
79. According to Adamova, “The miniature is as full of meanings as the poetry. First of all what impresses is the vastness of the landscape in which the action is encapsulated. The figures themselves are depicted, not at the centre but displaced to the lower left. They, and the two horses, gleam with the gold of their armour set against a background of a lawn sprinkled with flowers resembling a precious carpet.” See A. T. Adamova, *Mediaeval Persian Painting: The Evolution of an Artistic Vision*, trans. J. M. Rogers (New York, 2008), 41.
80. Ibid.
81. Gray writes: “Here [fol. 18b] the left edge of the miniature forms the flanking wall of the tall tower, on which the composition forms a half circle. The second situation [fol. 23a] is, if possible, even more romantic: as they seek one another, Humay encounters her in male disguise and wearing armour and visor; they fight without recognizing one another until she takes off her helmet. This is the moment of the painter’s choice, and again the action is surrounded by trees and birds in flight. In both there is a stream winding across the foreground, bordered by flowering plants, but on the near side the circle of rocks comes right round to lap along the lower margin edge.” See Gray, *Persian Painting*, 51.
82. Ibid.
83. As Gray, *Persian Painting*, 51, notes, “Now however, the overlapping trees and rocks are in the farther distance, instead of the foreground, and the sense of free air is made more sensible by presence of many birds in flight beyond the edge of the painting, which is thus released from the two-dimensional page.”
84. Baghdad, Jalayirid period, 1386–88. See Canby, *Persian Painting*, 43.
85. Probably Tabriz, Ilkhanid period, 1330–35. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952 (52.20.2). See Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Stefano Carboni, *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s* (New York, 1994).
86. David J. Roxburgh, “Micrographia: Toward a Visual Logic of Persianate Painting,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (Spring, 2003): 13.
87. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. N. F. 382, fol. 53a. See Duda, *Islamische Handschriften I: Persische Handschriften*, 192–94.
88. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, inv. no. 3727. See Grabar, *Masterpieces of Islamic Art*, 97; Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 68–70.
89. In the painting on fol. 3b Azarafroz and Humay stand over the drunk Bihzad in the garden in *mulk-i khāvar*. See Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 51–52. The painting, on the sole existing folio from a lost illustrated manuscript of *Humāy u Humāyūn* dated ca. 834 (1430), includes a garden that Humay dreams of, which is like paradise; he stands in the garden before Humayun and her attendants. See *ibid.*, 68–73, esp. 70.
90. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, Ms. no. 716. See Mohammed Ali Rajabi, *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting*, Eng. ed. Anthony Schumacher, trans. Claud Karbasi et al. (Tehran, 2005), 39, 40, and 46.
91. In this case, see also the painting of “King Jamshid teaching trades,” on fol. 6 in a version of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi from Herat, fifteenth century, 50s–60s. M. M. Ashrafi, *Persidsko-tadzhikskaia poezia v miniaturakh chetyrnadtsatogo-semnadtsatogo vv = Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV–XVII Centuries Miniatures* (Stalinabad [Dushanbe], 1974), 27.
92. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, Ms. no. 716. See Rajabi, *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting*, 39, 40, and 64.
93. For this template, see also the painting “The lover below Sahib Jamal’s window,” on folio 26v in the second treatise of the same anthology of 1427. Richard Ettinghausen and Bernard Berenson, *Persian Miniatures in the Bernard Berenson Collection* (Milan, 1961).

94. Léo Bronstein, *Space in Persian Painting* (New Brunswick, 1994), 33.
95. Fitzherbert, “Khvājū Kirmānī,” 142–43.
96. Humayun asks Humay to order [the attendants] to move from the winter quarters (*kāshāna*) to the garden (*bustān*): *Kunūn chūn dar u dasht pur sunbul ast / zi bulbul hama bāgh pur ghulghul ast. ... bi-bāgh-i Samanzār dāram havā / ki mul bi gul imrūz nabvad ravā. Bifarmā ki tark-i shabistān kunand / zi kāshāna āhang-i bustān kunand.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 202–3.
97. *Chū bishnūd shah dar zamān bar nishast / šanam niz dar hūdaj-i zar nishast. Janibat zi ivān bi-šahrā davānd / bi-bāgh-i Samanzār-i nūshāb rānd.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 203.
98. *Bizad takht-i pīrūza bar pīshgāh / khurūsh-i mughannī bar āmad bi-māh.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 203.
99. *Ibid.*
100. See the section titled: “*Raftan-i Humāy u Humāyūn bi-Samanzār-i Nūshāb, bazm ārāstan dar faṣl-i bahār, šifāt-i rayāhīn.*” Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 202.
101. *Ki Shahzāda chūn khur ‘alam bar kashīd / miy-i rūshan az sāghar-i zar kashīd.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 209.
102. *Mul hamchū gul bar kaf-i dast-i Shāh / gul hamchū mul bar kaf-i dast-i māh.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 204.
103. Yves Porter notes: “Numerous details in the image answer to metaphors in the text. Both text and image make extensive use of doublets and couplets: besides the lovers, many onlookers are presented in couplets, either engaged in conversation or standing side by side.” Porter, “Illustrations of the *Three Poems*,” 367.
104. *Bar āvā-yi rāmishgarān dar chaman / gahī sarv raqqās u gah dastzan.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 203.
105. *Ibid.*, 204.
106. *Chū dastat dahad bāda-yi khushgavār / ghanīmat shimur khāṣṣa az dast-i yār. ...Malik jāmi Jamshīd bardāšta / shab az riy-i khurshīd bardāšta.* *Ibid.*, 205–6.
107. Jerome Clinton mentions some paintings among the illustrations of the *Shāhnāma* that seem to compete with the poet’s descriptions: e.g., “Rustam stabs Suhrāb,” Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, Third Series, no. 310 “Peck,” fol. 22b; and “Rustam slays the White Div [Demon],” Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, Garret no. 57, fol. 62a. See Jerome W. Clinton, “Ferdowsi and the Illustration of the *Shahnameh*,” in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson (Princeton, 2001), 57–78, esp. pls. 2 and 4.
108. Nizāmī Ganjavī, *Khamsa-yi Nizāmī: Bar asās-i matn-i ‘ilmī-intiḡādī-yi Akadimī ‘Ulūm-i Shūravī*, ed. A. E. Bertels, 3rd ed., 5 vols. (Tehran, 2009), vol. 2, p. 235, line 41.
109. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 285:36.
110. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 227:33.
111. Gray, *Persian Painting*, 51.
112. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 204. Look also under the title: “*Raftan-i Humāy u Humāyūn bi-Samanzār-i nūshāb, bazm ārāstan dar faṣl-i bahār, šifāt-i rayāhīn.*” Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 202.
113. Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 202–3.
114. *Ibid.*, 203.
115. In the *Lughatnāma*, *pīshgāh* refers to the open space in front of a doorway (*dargāh*), threshold (*āstān*), or base (*pāyghāh*); it could also be located in front of a throne, frontage (*jilūkhān*), or loggia. See Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “*Pīshgāh.*”
116. Shirin was worried about the scandal and told herself: If I obey instantly instead of being impetuous, I will be infamous in the world like Visa (*Vagar lakhtī zi tundī rām gardam / chū Visa [Vis] dar jahān badnām gardam*). Nizāmī Ganjavī, *Khamsa-yi Nizāmī*, vol. 2, p. 368:72.
117. After placing the golden hexagonal chair in the tent in front of the loggia she was to tell the King: “According to a premonition [I had], it is better to sit here in this place, an open space, today.” *Kanīzi kārdān rā guft ān māh / bi-khidmat khīz u bīrūn raw sūy-i shāh. Fulān shishtāq-i dibā rā burūn bar / bizan bā tāq-i in ivān barābar. Zi khār u khāra khāli kun miyānash / mu’anbar kun bi-mushk u za’farānash. Basāt-i gawharīn dar vay bigustar / bīyār ān kursī-yi shish pāy-yi zar. Bina dar pīshgāh u shaqqa dar band / pas āngah Shāh rā gū kay Khudāvand. ...Šavāb ān shud zi rīy-i pīshbīnī / ki imrūzi darīn manzar nishīnī.* *Ibid.*, 369–70:90–94, 97.
118. The author of *Irshād al-Zirā’a*, a manual for agriculture and garden design written in Herat.
119. Qasīm ibn Yūsuf Abū Naṣr-i Haravī, *Irshād al-Zirā’a*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī (Tehran, 1967), 280–82.
120. “This is the only painting in the whole story in which Humāy displays a moustache.” See Porter, “Illustrations of the *Three Poems*,” 366. It should be noted that Humay has a moustache before his visit to Humayun in China. See fol. 3b in the British Library’s *Three Masnavīs*.
121. *Chaman bāgh-i khuld u saman hūri ast / ‘arūs-i gulistān gul-i sūri ast.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 202.
122. *Ibid.*, 203.
123. *Ibid.*, 203. See also n. 104 above.
124. *Nahāda saman bar chaman ṣandalī / chaman fastaqī u saman ṣandalī.* *Ibid.*, 204.
125. *Pur az gurba-yi bīd ṣaḥn-i chaman / hama gurba-yi bīd mushk-i khutan.* *Ibid.*, 205.
126. The poet explains that Azadeh (Adharafruz) looked for Bihzad in the court (*ṣaḥn*) of the *bustānsarāy* when she could not find him in the *shabistān*. He mentions two open spaces—the *ṣaḥn* of the *bustānsarāy* and of the *bustān*—in two verses. *Chū Bihzādrā dar shabistān nadīd / zi khargah sarāsīma bīrūn davīd. Bigardīd dar ṣaḥn-i bustānsarāy / binālīd chūn murgh-i dastānsarāy. Basī just-u dar bustānash nayāft / chū ‘anqāy-i maghrīb nishānash nayāft.* *Ibid.*, 51.
127. *Ibid.*, 166–68.
128. *Kamand afkanam bar lab-i bām-i kākḥ / ki tang ast bar man jahān-i farākḥ. Ṭavāfi barīn sabz gulshan kunam / bar ivān-i qashrash nishūman kunam. ...kunam chashm dar ṣaḥn-i bustānsarāy / naham gush bar qawl-i dastānsarāy.* *Ibid.*, 168–69.
129. This particular *sarā* is the house of Sa’dan, the merchant; it has an inner court and also an iwan: *Dar ivān-sarāyash yakī bāgh bud / kaz u rawza-yi khuld rā dāgh būd.* *Ibid.*, 86.

130. See Porter, "Illustrations of the *Three Poems*," 359–74.
131. Canby, *Persian Painting*, 44.
132. For imitations of Nizami's *Khamsa*, see Hishmat Mu'ayyad, "Dar madār-i Nizāmī: Muqallidān-i Khusraw u Shīrīn-i Nizāmī," *Īrānshīnāsī* 17 (Spring 1372 [1993]): 72–88.
133. *Allāh Allāh zān dīz-i Zāt al-Šuvar / dūr bāshūd u bitarsīd az khaṭar. Rū u pusht-i burjhāsh u saqf u past / jumla timṣāl u nigār u sūrat ast.* Rūmī, *Masnavī of Rūmī*, 207: 3635–36.
134. See Fakhr al-Dīn As'ad Gurgāni, *Vis u Rāmīn*, ed. Magali A. T'odia and Alek'sandre Gvaxaria (Tehran, 1970), 426–64. Also see Nizāmī Ganjavī, *Khamsa-yi Nizāmī*, 371–95; Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 125–37.
135. *Bipursīd Khusraw ki Shīrīn-i 'ahd / kujā mībarandash zi kāshāna mahd.* Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 104.
136. "Two contentious physicians," a painting attributed to Aqa Mirak in the *Khamsa* of Nizami was produced for Shah Tahmasp, 1539–43. London, British Library, Or. 2265. See Stuart Cary Welch, *Persian Painting: Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1976).
137. The short story describes a disputation between two physicians. It starts with this verse: *Bā du ḥakīm az sar-i hamkhānagī / shud sukhanī chand zi bigānagī.* Nizāmī Ganjavī, *Khamsa-yi Nizāmī*, vol. 1, pp. 132–33:1–32.
138. Alemi, "Garden City of Shah Ṭahmasb," 106. Also see Maria E. Subtelny, "Visionary Rose: Metaphorical Interpretation of Horticultural Practice in Medieval Persian Mysticism," in *Botanical Progress, Horticultural Innovation and Cultural Changes*, ed. Michel Conan and W. John Kress (Washington, D.C., 2007), 13–37. For the metaphor of the rose, also see Annemarie Schimmel, "The Celestial Garden in Islam," in *The Islamic Garden*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, D.C., 1976), 12–39, esp. 31–32.
139. Alemi, "Garden City of Shah Ṭahmasb," 106–8.
140. *Chū la'l-i āftāb az kān barāmad / zi 'ishq-i rūz shabrā jān barāmad. ...Malik zi ārāmgah barkhāst shādān / nishāṭ āghāz kard az bāmdādān.* Nizāmī Ganjavī, *Khamsa-yi Nizāmī*, vol. 2, p. 367:44, 47; see also pp. 360–65:1–94, esp. 5, 6, 27, 58, and 59.
141. Clinton notes that the depictions sometimes digress from the accompanying text. Painters working on manuscripts of the *Shāhnāma*, for example, provided alternative interpretations of scenes they themselves chose: "He [Ferdowsi] leaves the painter a very free hand since he provides few visual cues, iconic or otherwise. Painters, like the rest of the audience of *Shāhnāmeḥ*, are implicitly invited to supply all missing details from their own imaginations, and this they have done, often drawing on sources from outside the *Shāhnāmeḥ* for thematic content as well as artistic inspiration and guidance." Clinton, "Ferdowsi and the Illustration of the *Shahnameḥ*," 70–71.
142. This formulation was used by Renata Holod, personal communication, Spring 2012. According to Roxburgh, "Micrographia: Toward a Visual Logic of Persianate Painting," 23, "Renata Holod examined the metatextual and metapictorial aspects of painting in Shiraz in the sixteenth century in a conference paper she presented at Harvard University in May 1999."
143. "Mountain and streams," a painting in an anthology of Persian poetic texts, *Bihbahan* (Fars), 1398. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Ms. 1950, fol. 26r. See Gray, *Persian Painting*, 68; see also "A landscape under rainclouds," another painting in Ms. 1950, fol. 250v. See as well Sims, with Marshak and Grube, *Peerless Images*, 159–60.
144. Gray, *Persian Painting*, 69.



BRILL



HEIKE FRANKE

## EMPERORS OF *ṢŪRAT* AND *MAʿNĪ*: JAHANGIR AND SHAH JAHAN AS TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL RULERS

Information about the Mughal Empire first reached Europe around 1580. After Vasco da Gama opened the sea route from Europe to India, a number of Portuguese settlements arose along the Indian shore. Goa, in Portuguese hands from 1510 to 1961, was the largest of these small colonies, while Diu and Cochin were also of importance. Assorted Christian missionaries operated out of these Portuguese port settlements. At first the Franciscans were in the majority but from the 1540s on the newly founded order of the Jesuits (est. 1540) took on a more prominent role. In 1579, Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) wrote to the Collegium St. Paul in Goa, at that time the largest Jesuit school in Asia, asking the order to send him two learned priests and the main books of their faith.<sup>1</sup> With hopes of converting the Mughal emperor to Christianity, a Jesuit delegation was dispatched, arriving at the Mughal court in Fatehpur Sikri in February 1580. Although Akbar's interest in Christianity ultimately turned out to be fairly modest, except for some minor interruptions the Jesuits stayed in contact with the Mughal court during his entire reign. After Akbar's death they kept in touch with his son Jahangir (r. 1605–27); nevertheless, their contact declined greatly after the Portuguese, *firangis* like the fathers, attacked a ship of the queen mother in 1613.

The missionaries at the Mughal court were obliged to inform the Pater Provincial in Goa and the Pater Superior in Rome at regular intervals about the actual state of affairs there. And since their letters were, much like those from the Jesuits in China or Japan, of great interest in Europe, many of them were published and disseminated soon after they arrived in Rome. Athanasius Kircher (d. 1680), the famous German Jesuit scholar, incorporated some of the information contained in these

missives in his *China Monumentis*.<sup>2</sup> Here we learn that the Jesuits' letters were sometimes accompanied by pictures. Kircher added one of them, a portrait of Jahangir, to the aforementioned book and remarked that the Mughal emperor used to show himself in this habit in public councils (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

The picture Athanasius Kircher took from the letter of the Jesuit envoys is obviously based not on sketches they made during their audiences with Jahangir but on a painting that has fortunately survived. It was purchased by an anonymous bidder at an auction at Sotheby's in 1995 and again at Bonhams in April 2011 (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> This remarkable painting on canvas is exceptionally large at 210 centimeters by 141 centimeters. The name of the painter is missing, but Abu 'l-Hasan and Dawlat seem to be possible candidates.<sup>5</sup>

Athanasius Kircher does not mention the name of the Mughal emperor depicted, but the painting undoubtedly bears traits evoking Jahangir. He is seated on a golden chair of European style, a radiant nimbus surrounding his head. As a sign of his world domination, he holds a globe in his right hand that is illuminated by his halo, just as the earth is illuminated by the sun. Kircher explains that the emperor showed himself "like a numen by his radiant diadem" and that he "holds in his hand an orb by which he manifests himself as the lord and the highest power in the world."<sup>6</sup>

While some individuals and a dog not found in the original painting were added to Kircher's "copy," there is an especially important element of Jahangir's picture that is missing and not even mentioned in the priest's text, namely, the twenty-six cartouches surrounding the portrait. These contain verses made extemporaneously by Jahangir himself, as one cartouche informs, while an-

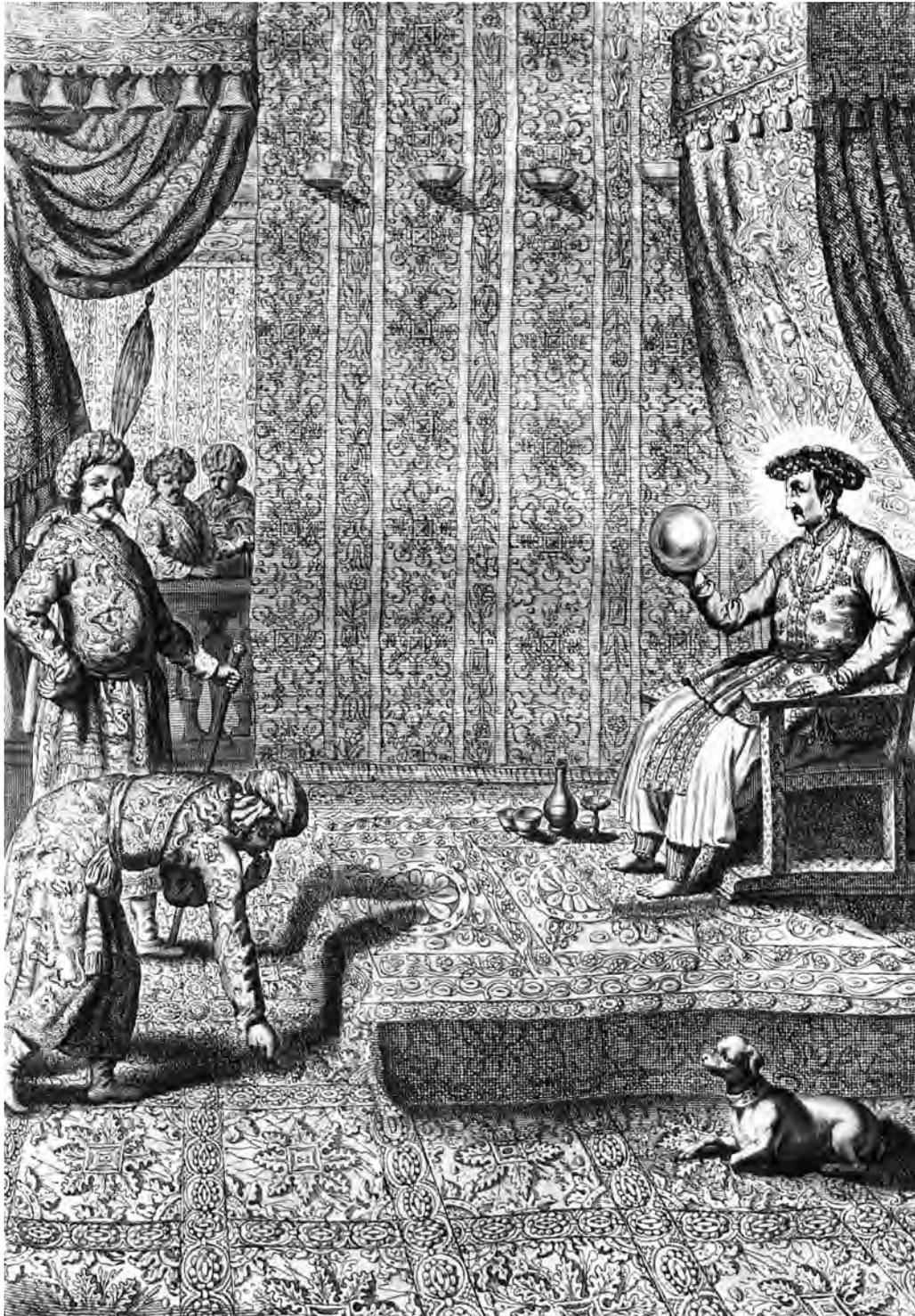


Fig. 1. Illustration from Athanasius Kircher, *China Monumentis* (Amsterdam: Jacobum à Meurs, 1667), 79. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Halle, NU 967, 2°. (Photo: courtesy of Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Halle)



Fig. 2. "Portrait of Jahangir." Private collection. Sold at Bonhams, April 6, 2011. Reproduced with kind permission of the owner. (Photo: courtesy of Bonhams, London)

other reveals that the work was painted in Mandu in 1617. The verses in these cartouches are of special interest in the present paper because they are the connecting link between a series of “allegorical paintings”<sup>7</sup> made for Jahangir and the ideology of sovereignty expounded in the *Akbarnāma* by Akbar’s chief counselor, Abu’l-Fazl. It is only by understanding Abu’l-Fazl’s newly developed system of legitimation that we are able to trace the meaning of these verses. And it is these verses that then provide valuable information for the interpretation of some portraits of Jahangir and of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58).

The cartouches contain many references to the two spheres of the *ṣūrat* and the *ma’ni*. This pair of terms can be found throughout the *Akbarnāma* and *Ā’in-i Akbarī* in reference to Akbar, and it was already used by Khwandamir in his historical work on Humayun (r. 1530–40; 1555–56).<sup>8</sup> The verses surrounding Jahangir play with the various meanings of *ṣūrat* and *ma’ni*. On the one hand, the Persian term *ṣūrat*<sup>9</sup> means “picture,” “portrait,” “appearance,” or “face”; on the other hand, it indicates this temporal world, regarded as ephemeral and transient and being a mirror of a “better” and “higher” spiritual world of eternal continuity, the *ma’ni*, which, derived from the Arabic *ma’nā*, connotes terms like “sense,” “meaning,” “idea,” or “virtue,” but also “the world to come.” When the *Akbarnāma* mentions the demise of Akbar’s little daughter Mahi Begam, it is said that she went to the world of the *ma’ni*.<sup>10</sup> This concept corresponds with Plato’s idea of the mundane but actually unreal copies and the “true” archetypes in a “higher,” spiritual sphere.<sup>11</sup> Hence, the phrase *ṣūrat u ma’ni* is metonymic with the unity of this world and the other world, the temporal and the spiritual, the mundane and the transcendent. It is very similar in meaning to *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*, the “outer image” and the “inner reality.”

What follows is a list of the verses in the cartouches together with their English translations. The numbering of the cartouches runs a) from top right to left, b) from top left to bottom left, c) from top right to bottom right, and d) from bottom right to bottom left.

*Allāhu akbar!*<sup>12</sup>

- 1) When he looks upon his radiant figure,  
*Chūn bi-bīnad ṣūrat-i nūrānī-yi khūd-rā shabīh*

- 2) it is as if this skillful king is looking into a mirror.  
*gūyā āyina mibīnad hunarvar pādshāh*
- 3) These happy verses, written down here, were spoken extempore by His Majesty Jahangir Padishah.  
*Īn shād bayt ki ṣūrat-i tahrīr yāfta haẓrat-i Jahāngīr Pādshāh farmūda-and badīha*
- 4) Better than the *ṣūrat* and *ma’ni* of each king  
*Bihtar ast az ṣūrat u az ma’ni-yi har pādshāh*
- 5) is the appearance of Shah Jahangir, son of Akbar Padshah.  
*ṣūrat-i shāh-i Jahāngīr ibn-i Akbar pādshāh*
- 6) His *ṣūrat* is *ma’ni*-illuminating and his *ma’ni*...  
*ṣūrat... (?)*  
*Ṣūrat-ash ma’ni (?) furūz u ma’ni-ash(?)... (illegible)*  
*ṣūrat... (?)*
- 7) Which other king owned such *ṣūrat* and *ma’ni*?  
*Ṣūrat u ma’ni chunīn kī dāsht dīgar pādshāh?*
- 8) They would prostrate themselves a hundred times before his image each time they saw him,
- 9) if one hundred kings like Iskandar came into the world.  
*Mikunad dar har nigah ṣad sijda pēsh-i ṣūrat-ash dar jahān āyad agar ṣad chūn Sikandar pādshāh*
- 10) Whoever sees his portrait becomes a portrait-worshipper,  
*Ṣūrat-ash-rā har ki bīnad mīshavad ṣūrat-parast*
- 11) be it a dervish, keeping the *ma’ni*, or be it a king.  
*gar buwad darvīsh-i ma’ni-parvar u gar pādshāh*
- 12) See what the royal essence is in his picture,
- 13) his likeness is the mirror of the essence of Akbar Padshah.  
*Ma’ni-yi shāhanshāhī dar ṣūrat-ash bi-n(i)gar ki-ast ṣūrat-ash āyina-yi ma’ni-yi Akbar Pādshāh*
- 14) 100,000 eulogies for the pen of the painter,
- 15) ...(who) skillfully made this portrait of the just king.  
*Ṣad hazārān āfirīn bar khāma-yi naqqāsh bād k-az hunar kard īn shabīh-i ‘adl-gustar pādshāh*
- 16) Only to look at the figure of Shah Jahangir,
- 17) the kings of Rum and China stand waiting at the door.  
*Tā naẓar bar ṣūrat-i shāh-i Jahāngīr afkand muntazīr az Rūm u Chīn istāda bar dar pādshāh*
- 18) In his [i.e., Jahangir’s] picture the painter made much magic,  
*Dar shabīh-ash karda az bas sāhīrī ṣūrat-nigār*

- 19) as if the king had scattered jewels from his casket of rubies.  
*gūyī afshānad zi durj-i la' l gawhar pādshāh*
- 20) Whoever sees his soul-nourishing figure will say:  
*Har ki bīnad šūrat-i jān-parvar-ash gūyad magar*
- 21) the king is moving gracefully, with magnificence, grandeur, and radiant majesty (*farr*).  
*mīkhurāmad bā shukōh u shawkat u farr pādshāh*
- 22) The figure of victory and triumph has illuminated the face by his name.  
*Šūrat-i fath u zafar az nām-i ū afrūkht chīhr*
- 23) O Lord, may he ever be king over the seven climes.  
*Bād yā Rabb jāvidān bar haft kishvar pādshāh*
- 25) By his world-illuminating beauty everything is filled by his light,
- 26) since the crown of sunlight has come on the head of the king.  
*Az husn-i 'ālam-afrūz-ash jahān pur-i nūr-i ū tā shud bar sar zi nūr-i mihr afsar pādshāh*
- 24) The picture was completed during the year of the victory over the Deccan, in Mandu, in the twelfth year since the accession to the throne, corresponding to the year 1026.  
*Bi-sāl-i fath-i Dakan dar Māndū šūrat itmām yāft sana-yi 12 julūs muṭābiq-i sana-yi 1026*  
 Work of the most humble....[the name is missing on the painting]  
*'Amal-i kamtarīn....*

I will next try to expound to what degree the claim to power of Akbar, Jahangir, and in part also Shah Jahan is condensed into the formula of *surat* and *ma'ni*. To understand its purpose and meaning, however, it is first necessary to provide a more extensive explanation concerning the legitimation of sovereignty in Mughal India.

#### I. AKBAR AND THE NEW CONCEPT OF LEGITIMATION

The question as to who is entitled to rule the community of Muslims has been the subject of political theories since the beginning of Islam. During the first centuries after the death of the Prophet, spiritual and temporal leadership was considered to be combined in the person

of the caliph, who alone was entitled to delegate parts of his political might to governors or sultans. In 1556, when Akbar ascended the throne, the days of the caliphate were gone and it would have been impossible to obtain an investiture from him (the caliph) even if the emperor had wished to do so. However, already in the eleventh century Muslim political thinkers had begun to contemplate the status of the many de facto rulers who had existed beside the 'Abbasid caliph since his power had started to decline.<sup>13</sup> Although a number of sovereigns had requested an investiture from the caliph during the time of the shadow caliphate (1261–1517),<sup>14</sup> from the thirteenth century onwards a number of scholars had begun to regard the rule of independent Muslim sultans as legitimate even without a formal installation by the caliph, so long as these leaders took care to introduce and strengthen Islam and held up the rules of the sharia in their realm.<sup>15</sup>

The incursion of Mongol warriors brought along new forms of legitimation previously unknown in the Islamic world. Due to a unique series of military successes, Chingis Khan (d. ca. 1227) was believed by the Mongols to possess a divine mandate that his offspring later claimed had been passed to them. This meant that the seizure of power itself was regarded as solid evidence for divine support of the ruler.<sup>16</sup> This concept was soon to be reflected by Islamic scholars and amalgamated with older Islamic ideas of legitimate rule, especially after some Mongol sovereigns became Muslims themselves.<sup>17</sup> A later exponent of these theories was the well-known scholar Jalal al-Din Davani (d. 1502–3), whose works were popular in the Turco-Mongol world.<sup>18</sup> Davani explained that the rule of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (d. 1478) was legitimate and that he could justly claim the title of caliph because God had obviously granted him victory over his adversaries, he ruled with justice, and he supported Islam and Islamic law.<sup>19</sup>

When Timur began his victorious campaigns in the 1370s, he asserted that he was acting on the authority of Chingis Khan, whose charismatic figure still provided a safe legitimizing basis. But in order to have a share in the Chingisid aura of divine support and protection, he strove to connect himself with the house of the Mongol conqueror and took a wife from among his offspring. Due to this conjugal unity he could justly arrogate

affiliation to the Chingisid clan and assume the title of a royal son-in-law (Mongolian *küregen*). In addition, Timur made every effort to establish a personal myth. He presented his personality and military career as similar to that of Chingis Khan in order to portray himself as the founder of a new dynasty.<sup>20</sup> As history proved, Timur's efforts were successful. His descendants were convinced that as Timurids they had a legitimate right to rule. Thus, when Babur (d. 1530), the founder of the Mughal Empire, defeated the last dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate, he considered himself legally entitled to rule over the domains his ancestor had conquered in 1398.<sup>21</sup>

Although the Mughals were of Timurid as well as of Chingisid ancestry, they were nevertheless obliged to demonstrate their close relation to the Muslim creed to get the necessary support of the Muslim population and to meet the requirements of the ulama. The works of the aforementioned Davani may have been promoted at the Mughal court by Davani's disciple, Abu al-Fazl Kazaruni, who was a teacher of Shaykh Mubarak (d. 1593).<sup>22</sup> The latter and his two sons, Abu'l-Fazl and Shaykh Fayzi (on whom see below), were the most active advocates of Akbar's religious reorganization from the late 1570s onwards. It was not by chance that Babur, Humayun, Akbar, and even Jahangir bore the title of ghazi: they wanted to have proof that they had fought to spread Islam, as Davani and others proscribed.<sup>23</sup> As a more visible signal of his orthodoxy, Akbar surrounded himself with high-ranking members of the ulama, who testified to the lawfulness of his rule by their authority and willingness to assume an office under his authority. Two of the most important theologians were Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabi (d. 1583) and Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri. The former was a grandson of the renowned Chishti Sufi 'Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (d. 1537) and also a member of the Chishtiyya order. His high reputation as a specialist in hadith had prompted Akbar to entrust to him the office of head of the Muslim scholars (*ṣadr al-ṣudūr*) in 1566–67.<sup>24</sup> In his first years in power, Akbar willingly acquiesced to the religious authority of the shaykh and bestowed the highest honor on him.<sup>25</sup> Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri had received his honorific title *makhḍūm al-mulk* (lord of the kingdom) from Humayun because of his undisputed competence in all matters of Islamic law. He was also held in high esteem during the Afghan

interlude from 1540 to 1555 under the Sur dynasty, and Sher Shah even elevated him to the rank of shaykh al-Islam. In good time, prior to Humayun's second assumption of power, he managed to come to terms with him again and was confirmed in office. Later he entered Akbar's service.<sup>26</sup>

However, Akbar's obedience and readiness to subscribe to their opinion dwindled away in the late 1570s, and he concentrated more and more on the pursuit of his own religio-political ambitions. In an empire whose inhabitants consisted for the most part of non-Muslims, the justification of his rule on the basis of Muslim religious norms had proved to be problematic, especially as the support of the Mughal throne by the Hindu Rajas became indispensable over the course of time. In the mid-1570s, the young scholar Abu'l-Fazl (d. 1602) was admitted at court and soon ascended to be the emperor's ideological counselor. He developed a new concept of sovereignty, presenting Akbar as not only a political but also a religious leader. In so doing, he first tried to propagate the basic equality of all religions and thereby relativized Islam, just to ascertain serious shortcomings in all religious doctrines afterwards, as we can read in Abu'l-Fazl's preface to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>27</sup> His final aim was to integrate all the denominations and ethnicities of the empire under the salvational—spiritual and temporal—leadership of Akbar. Since Islam seemed to be the main obstacle in the emperor's way, he made every effort to unmask it as ridiculous superstition and deny its religious representatives any authority. Abu'l-Fazl's father, Shaykh Mubarak, found a way for Akbar to shake off the tutelage of the ulama: he drafted a document, the so-called attestation (Pers. *maḥẓar*), according to which Akbar was authorized to make legal and theological decisions by himself. In September 1579, the highest representatives of Islam in the Mughal Empire were summoned to sign this *maḥẓar* and thus forced to render themselves redundant. Additionally, the *maḥẓar* was a prelude to a large-scale examination of the loyalty of the ulama. All those who rejected the new religious course had to face withdrawal of their support or even persecution and death.<sup>28</sup>

Things were not going well for the Sufis either. In the 1560s, the emperor was still anxious to demonstrate his affinity for the Chishtiyya, one of the most influential

Sufi orders in India. However, Bada'uni and Abu'l-Fazl's accounts of the events in February and March 1570 suggest that Shaykh Husayn Ajmeri, the *sajjāda-nishīn* (literally, "sitting upon the carpet"; i.e., a descendant and successor of the saint), rejected cooperation with Akbar, and, as a consequence, was removed from office and even imprisoned for a while.<sup>29</sup> After Shaykh Husayn was dismissed, the shrine was entrusted to the supervision of a custodian designated by Akbar,<sup>30</sup> until Jahangir reappointed the shaykh sometime after he acceded to the throne in 1605.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, in Fatehpur Sikri the descendants of the saint were not allowed to take charge of the *dargāh* but were encouraged to enter state service instead.<sup>32</sup> The holy men, formerly indispensable attestors to the emperor's divine authority to rule, were replaced by loyal administrators in royal service who ensured a good relationship at any time. Henceforth, the shrines in Ajmer and Fatehpur Sikri formed only the backdrop for the spectacle of the imperial piety.

We can trace the complex system developed to legitimize Akbar's rule in Abu'l-Fazl's *Akbarnāma*. The voluminous history of Akbar's reign is entirely devoted to this ideological propaganda and is thus one of the most important witnesses to this multipronged process of transformation.

#### *Akbar as a Sufi master*

To expand the padishah's worldly power with religious authority, Akbar and Abu'l-Fazl tried to shape that position after the model of the Safavid emperor, who, as the head of a mystical although quite militant brotherhood, had brought Persia under his sway. The Safavid shahs were successful in enlarging their spiritual authority through their temporal power. In so doing, they were able to claim from their followers twofold loyalty—in both political and religious matters. Akbar went the other way round. In 1582, he proclaimed his own doctrine of faith, known as *tawḥīd-i ilāhī* (profession of God's oneness) or *dīn-i ilāhī* (Divine faith), by which he took over religious leadership for himself.<sup>33</sup> On the model of a mystical order, Akbar played the part of a Sufi master (*pīr*), while his followers were given the status of disciples (*murīd*) who had to be ready to offer life (*jān*), honor (*nāmūs*), religion (*dīn*), and property (*māl*) in order to "obtain eternal life."<sup>34</sup> Under the motto *ṣulḥ-i kull*

(peace with all), Akbar and Abu'l-Fazl took the moral high ground with regard to their critics, trying to avoid the impression of breaking with holy traditions for the sake of maintaining their own hold on power.<sup>35</sup>

As can be gathered from many passages in the *Akbarnāma*, Akbar based his twofold claim to authority as king and Sufi master in part on his descent from the Persian mystic Ahmad-i Jam (d. 1141). According to Abu'l-Fazl, this was the forebear of Humayun's mother, Maham Begam, as well as of Humayun's spouse, Hamida Banu Begam. Therefore Humayun, and hence also his son Akbar, were not only scions of the house of Timur but also descendants of a saint and thus doubly ennobled. This is why Humayun is described in the *Akbarnāma* with epithets such as "both a king of dervish-race and a dervish with a king's title."<sup>36</sup>

#### *Akbar as the successor of Adam*

In addition to Akbar's kinship with Ahmad-i Jam, Abu'l-Fazl emphasized his special descent from Adam as one of the most important justifications for the padishah's dual claim to power: the progenitor's peculiar radiance is alleged to have been passed down to Akbar through the chain of his royal ancestors.<sup>37</sup> Adam's legacy, Akbar claimed, comprised God's warrant to rule over the realms of the spiritual and temporal. Such all-encompassing power far exceeded the authority of an ordinary Sufi shaykh. Abu'l-Fazl explains:

It is well-known that he [sc. Adam] came into existence about 7,000 years ago through the perfect power of God...and that he was equably compounded of the four elements. His soul emanated from the fountain of bounty [sc. God] in perfection proportionate to his body. He was entitled man (*insān*) and received the name of Adam. ...When Adam reached the age of a thousand, he made Seth his successor, and enjoined all to submit to him. In succession to Adam, he [Seth] carried on, by his weighty intellect, the administration of the temporal and spiritual worlds (*intizām-i 'ālam-i ṣūrat u ma'nī*).<sup>38</sup>

By means of isopsephy (*jafr*), Abu'l-Fazl tried to demonstrate that the Mughal emperor was to be regarded more or less as the new Adam.<sup>39</sup> The letters of the name *Akbar* revealed that the padishah was, like Adam, composed in equal shares of the four elements. Due to this consub-

stantiality, Akbar was perfectly justified in entering upon the inheritance of his forefather.<sup>40</sup>

With this concept of Adam, Abu'l-Fazl went back to the Koran (Sura 2:30ff.), according to which God created Adam as the first man and ordered the angels to prostrate themselves before him. He revealed to Adam the names of all things, told him to teach them to the angels, and appointed him as his governor (*khalīfa*) on earth. The tradition (hadith) adds that God created Adam after his own image.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, some ideas of the theologian Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240), who held the honorific title *shaykh al-Akbar*, can be identified in Abu'l-Fazl's writings. He wrote approximately seven hundred treatises, which were known throughout the Islamic world, and their influence on the development of theology and Sufism can hardly be overestimated. No doubt, the men of learning at Akbar's court were acquainted with his ideas. In his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyya*, the shaykh al-Akbar explains that Adam was perfect in so far as he was God's likeness, and he thus calls him the "Perfect Man" (*al-insān al-kāmil*).<sup>42</sup> According to Ibn al-'Arabi, *al-insān al-kāmil* is identical to Adam, and he appears time and again in the course of history. He attributes two kinds of perfection to him. On the one hand, he is part of the divine reality itself and thus the same in every earthly appearance. On the other hand, Adam—or *al-insān al-kāmil*—possesses the entire abundance of all divine qualities of which an ordinary mortal has only a few. Ibn al-'Arabi points out that the Perfect Man in his human appearance should not be mistaken for an ordinary man, who does not share in the perfection of *al-insān al-kāmil*. Due to God's will, the ordinary mortal is subject to the Perfect Man and will never be able to advance to the knowledge of God by himself. As only the Perfect Man conceives God's real nature, he is the only one who really worships him and who can truly reach him.<sup>43</sup>

The mystic 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili (d. ca. 1428) further developed the idea of the Perfect Man. On the basis of Ibn al-'Arabi's doctrines, Jili explains in his writing *al-Insān al-kāmil fī ma'rīfat al-awāḥir wa-'l-awā'il*,<sup>44</sup> that God, who embodies true being, always consists of two halves, each complementing the other: creator and creation, master and servant, and so forth. Because of his dual nature, the Perfect Man takes over the function of a unifying principle, harmonizing the opposing natures

of divine reality and earthly apparition. In the person of the *al-insān al-kāmil*, God and man become one.<sup>45</sup> Jili emphatically expounds the tremendous dimension of such a semi-divine being:

[*Al-insān al-kāmil*] is the Perfect Unit (*al-fard al-kāmil*) and the Microcosmic Pole (*al-ḡauth al-jāmi'*) on whom the whole order of existence revolves; to him genuflection and prostration in prayer are due, and by means of him God keeps the universe in being. He is denoted by the terms *al-mahdī* and *al-khātam* (the seal), and he is the viceregent (*khalīfa*) indicated in the story of Adam.<sup>46</sup>

#### *Akbar the Mahdi*

One of the most important propagators of these ideas at the Mughal court was the Qadiri shaykh Taj al-Din, who is said to have been pulled up many a night to the walls of the palace in a special seat and to have conversed with Akbar in this position through a window. The shaykh indicated that he considered the emperor the *insān-i kāmil* and regarded him as identical to the "caliph of the age" (*khalīfat-i zamān*).<sup>47</sup> By this he meant the Caliph of the Last Age, who would, according to Muslim belief, lead mankind to salvation during the age preceding the Last Judgment. This messianic savior is usually not referred to as "caliph of the age" but "lord of the age" (*ṣāḥib-i zamān*, or *mahdī*).<sup>48</sup> Hajji Ibrahim, one of the main protagonists of the famous religious discussions at the Mughal court, also drew comparisons between Akbar and the *ṣāḥib-i zamān*.<sup>49</sup> The historian Bada'uni reports:

...he [sc. Hajji Ibrahim] wrote in a clumsy manner in an old worm-eaten book a spurious expression purporting to have emanated from Shaikh Ibn 'Arabi (God sanctify his tomb!), to the effect that the Khalif of the age (*ṣāḥib-i zamān*) would have many wives, and would shave his beard; and he included many other peculiarities of the Emperor [i.e., such peculiarities, which the *ṣāḥib-i zamān* was also thought to have].<sup>50</sup>

Elsewhere we learn from Bada'uni that:

In this year [1579/80] low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidence that His Majesty was the *ṣāḥib-i zamān*, who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islam and the Hindus. ...And Khwajah Mawlana of Shiraz, a heretic who was proficient in

the art of soothsaying, came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharifs of Makkah, in which a tradition (*hadith*) was quoted to the effect that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as that time was now over the promised appearance of the Mahdi would immediately take place.<sup>51</sup>

In the idea of the *ṣāhib-i zamān* or the *mahdī*, the spheres of *ṣūrat* and *maʿnī*, mentioned in the quotation of Abuʿl-Fazl on Adam, are of central importance.<sup>52</sup> In the way they are used here, these are the terms coined by Ibn al-ʿArabi, although in his writings they figure in their Arabic spelling as *ṣūra* and *maʿnā*. According to Ibn al-ʿArabi, *ṣūra*, “form,” is applied to anything in the cosmos: “There is nothing in the cosmos but forms” (II 682.20).<sup>53</sup> At the same time, *ṣūra* is inextricably related to the underlying divine being itself, denoted by Ibn al-ʿArabi as *maʿnā*: *ṣūra* is the earthly reflection of the *maʿnā*.<sup>54</sup>

If Akbar is eulogized as the new Adam, he claims for himself to be nothing less than the Perfect Man, the “lord of the two worlds,” or the “lord of *ṣūrat* and *maʿnī*.” In the *Akbarnāma* and the *Āʿīn-i Akbarī*, the reference to *ṣūrat* and *maʿnī* appears with great frequency, although they have to be translated differently according to their context. Thus, the padishah is the “key of all locks, visible and invisible” (*kīlīd-i jamīʿ-i miḡhlaqāt-i ṣūrī u maʿnawī*).<sup>55</sup> He is “the brightener of the temporal and spiritual world” (*rawshanī-afzā-yi jahān-i ṣūrat u maʿnī*),<sup>56</sup> the “tree which is rich in spiritual and material [fruit]” (*shajara-yi barumand-i ṣūrat u maʿnī*),<sup>57</sup> or simply “the padishah of the *ṣūrat u maʿnī*.”<sup>58</sup> In his introduction to the *Akbarnāma*, Abuʿl-Fazl praises his padishah with the following words:

In this exordium ... recourse is had to the perfect man (*insān-i kāmil*) who is a king of (divine) reality, viz., that Lord of the World who, by virtue of his God-seeking and God-apprehending, has removed the veil from between the external (*zāhir*) and the internal (*bāṭin*)...and has lifted up the curtain from in front of the apparent (*ṣūrat*) and the real (*maʿnī*).<sup>59</sup>

However, the translation of *ṣūrat* and *maʿnī* in the wider meanings of “temporal” and “spiritual” may not be mistaken as the simple attempt to unite political and religious leadership in Akbar’s hands. Even though this was also intended, such a twofold claim to power would still refer to this world only. *Maʿnī*, as distinguished from *dīn*,<sup>60</sup> does not signify the religious system of the earthly

world, but a higher level of existence. As mentioned earlier, this becomes especially obvious in a short note in the *Akbarnāma* concerning the death of Akbar’s little daughter, Mahi Begam. Here we read that she entered into the world of *maʿnī*.<sup>61</sup> The emperor’s claim to power in *ṣūrat* and *maʿnī* reaches beyond this earth and demands authority not only in the temporal, but also in the transcendent world. Who submits to the emperor may count on prosperity in this world and the next, but who revolts is threatened by death and eternal damnation.

## II. JAHANGIR AND THE ARTISTIC REALIZATION OF THE NEW IDEOLOGY

While Akbar’s painters hardly went beyond the standard repertoire of almost archetypical actions, the artists of Jahangir took up the challenge and began to depict more sophisticated concepts of sovereignty. An entire series of paintings shows their intense effort to find a proper way of representing the “emperor of both worlds.”

### *Jahangir as Adam*

One of the earliest depictions of Jahangir taking into account the new legitimizing concepts of his sovereignty was a small (ca. 9 × 6 cm) illustration belonging to a *Dīvān* of Hafiz (fig. 3). This manuscript was obviously made in the latter part of Akbar’s reign, but the pictures seem to have been added some time later, around 1610 to 1615.<sup>62</sup> Jahangir himself is depicted in three of the eight pictures in this manuscript. As Linda Leach has already pointed out, they show the emperor’s interpretation of his divine authorization to rule.<sup>63</sup> Because of the precise portraits of the courtiers, analyses of this illustration have focused very much on which event was depicted therein.<sup>64</sup> So far, this question has not been answered satisfactorily, but it seems to be of secondary importance for the comprehension of the actual message of the picture. We see Jahangir sitting enthroned in the back left on a comfortable seat, and another figure, presumably Prince Khurram, together with sixteen courtiers, almost all of whom are identifiable by name, arranged in a semicircle in front of the throne dais. A person prostrates himself before Jahangir.



Fig. 3. “Jahangir as ‘Adam’,” ca. 1610–15. From the *Dīvān* of Hafiz. © British Library Board, Or. 7573, fol. 249a. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library Board)

The actual sense of the picture seems to be conveyed in the accompanying verses of Hafiz, two of which are written in the upper part of the illustration and one more in the lower part.

I aspire to your favour and I know you know it,  
because you see without looking and you can read  
what is not written.

When the angel prostrated before Adam, he wanted to  
kiss the floor in front of you,  
because he found a superhuman graciousness in your  
beauty.<sup>65</sup>

Obviously, Hafiz took up the idea of *al-insān al-kāmil* and the new Adam, whom he describes as a man of superhuman qualities with knowledge of divine mysteries. It seems very likely that the unknown painter wanted to equate Jahangir with Adam, in front of whom the angel in the ghazal prostrates himself much like the man does before the emperor in the illustration.

#### *The key of the two worlds*

A well-known double-page painting by the painter Bichitr, now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin,<sup>66</sup> should

be mentioned here given its subject matter: the rightful claim to spiritual and temporal power by Jahangir (figs. 4 and 5). The saint in white on the left part of the double page is known from other pictures inscribed with his name.<sup>67</sup> It is Khvaja Mu'in al-din Chishti (ca. 1142–1236), whose sanctuary in Ajmer is one of the most important pilgrimage shrines of Indian Muslims. At his intercession Akbar is said to have been granted the long-desired heir to the throne, the later Jahangir.<sup>68</sup> Mu'in al-Din holds a globe with a crown hovering above. Clearly visible is a keyhole on his globe, though it is without a key inside.

On the right half of the double page we see Jahangir, likewise holding an orb in his hands. His globe is also furnished with a keyhole, but this time there is a key in it. An inscription informs the viewer that the “key of victory of both worlds is entrusted to [your] hand” (*kilīd-i fath-i dū 'ālam ba-dast-ast musallam*). The subject of the painting is obviously the presentation of temporal and spiritual sovereignty by the saint Mu'in al-Din Chishti to Jahangir, as Robert Skelton, Linda Leach, and others have already observed. However, the painter seems to have also made recourse to a metaphorical expression used by Abu'l-Fazl, who wrote, “the shahanshah is the key to all temporal and spiritual locks” (*shāhanshāhī ki kilīd-i jamī' i mighlaqāt-i sūrī u ma'navī-st*).<sup>69</sup> Hence, the “two worlds” (*dū 'ālam*) mentioned on the double page are again the spheres of *ṣūrat* and *ma'nī*.

#### *Sa'di as an envoy from the ma'nī*

Although Bichitr intended to depict the handing over of the two worlds, the presentation of the globe actually visualizes only one part of his message. But how to portray a higher, immaterial world? An answer to this difficult question was offered by Abu'l-Hasan, Jahangir's most-lauded painter. Between March 1615 and November 1616 he made a double-page composition depicting a visit to Jahangir's court by the long deceased Persian poet Sa'di (figs. 6 and 7).<sup>70</sup>

The right half of the painting shows Jahangir sitting on his throne. Only with difficulty can the viewer discern the three angels with a crown in their hands hovering down over two canopies one above the other. Two more angels on the lower canopy carry a medallion with the inscription “Jahangir Shah.” The head of the mon-

arch is surrounded by a nimbus, his feet are resting on a footstool shaped like a globe, with a keyhole in the Indian subcontinent. A key hanging down from the belt of the padishah, which doubtlessly fits the keyhole in the globe, points to Jahangir's world dominion. An inscription on the globe mentions “Ajmer” as the place of origin.

The courtiers surrounding Jahangir are mainly relatives, known to us from other pictures. A little boy immediately next to Jahangir is probably a grandchild of the padishah.<sup>71</sup> Next to him stands Prince Parviz, behind whom is, presumably, Murtaza Khan,<sup>72</sup> the governor of the Panjab; at his side is the Rajput prince Karan from Mewar, identifiable by his dark skin and thin black moustache. After the defeat of the Sisodias in February or March 1615 he accompanied Shah Jahan to the court in Ajmer in order to attend to the king. Prince Khurram, meanwhile, can be seen to Jahangir's left.

On the other side of the throne, to the far right, a bearded figure looks out of the picture, which Abu'l Hasan seems to have copied from a European painting. The art historian Richard Ettinghausen, who in 1961 analyzed this picture together with “Jahangir enthroned on an hourglass” (see below), identified the inscription on the bearded man's belt as *pādishāh-i Rūm dar zamān-i qadīm* (emperor of Byzantium in ancient times).<sup>73</sup> Ettinghausen assumed that this could be a depiction of the Christian emperor of Constantinople, Manuel II Palaeologus (d. 1425), who had hoped to appease Jahangir's ancestor Timur with a written homage.<sup>74</sup> The Byzantine emperor constitutes more or less the Christian counterpart of the Hindu prince Karan, who had to surrender to Jahangir's army under the command of Shah Jahan. Hence, a viewer could have concluded that Christians and Hindus were subject to the Mughal emperor and obeyed his rule.<sup>75</sup>

On the left half of the double page Khvaja Jahan<sup>76</sup> (d. 1620), one of Jahangir's fathers-in-law and the governor of Agra, and Sadiq Khan, Jahangir's brother-in-law, lead a group of visitors towards the throne. As *bakhshī*,<sup>77</sup> Sadiq Khan was responsible for the exact protocol to be followed, including walking guests in at the right time.<sup>78</sup>

Among the visitors themselves, the central figure stepping forward toward the throne is an old man with a white beard and a big turban. It is not clear whether



Fig. 4. Bichitr, “Mu‘in ud-Din Chishti presents the globe,” ca. 1620. Image area: 21.8 × 13 cm. From the Minto Album. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, no. 7A.14. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. (Photo: courtesy of the Chester Beatty Library)

he is bowed down by age or in deference to Jahangir, to whom he holds out a book, on the cover of which is the name of the famous Persian poet and mystic Sa‘di (d. 1292). This led Ettinghausen to conclude that the visitor must have been Sa‘di himself, delivering his *Diwan* in person.<sup>79</sup> A later picture by Bichitr, made around 1650, shows the same old man together with others depicted here. An inscription on this later image confirms that it is “a picture of the venerable shaykh Sa‘di Shirazi.”<sup>80</sup> The four praying dervishes behind Sa‘di are un-

known. Finally, in the lower margin of the picture, there are two figures derived from Western artwork. On the person to the left Ettinghausen deciphered the words “*ṣūrat-i Yildirim Bāyazīd*” (picture of Yıldırım Bayezid). Bayezid I was the Ottoman sultan captured by Timur at the battle of Ankara in 1402. When he died in prison some months later, the conqueror gave the country back to Bayezid’s sons (who accepted his suzerainty)—a special favor that Jahangir, as Timur’s heir and successor, equates with a boon granted by himself. As a result, he



Fig. 5. Bichitr, "Jahangir holding a globe," ca. 1620. Image area: 20.5 × 12.7 cm. From the Minto Album. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, no. 7A.5. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. (Photo: courtesy of the Chester Beatty Library)

obviously expected appropriate gestures of thanks and subservience from the Ottoman emperor. However, his colleague in Istanbul did not respond this way. Disgruntled by his "arrogance," Jahangir declared: "From that time [i.e., 1402] until now, notwithstanding such favours, no one had come on the part of the emperors (*qayāshira*), nor has any ambassador been sent."<sup>81</sup> Bayezid's neighbor in the present image is recognizable by his turban as a Safavid, and was probably meant to be a Safavid shah. While Jahangir welcomes the centrally placed Sa'di with

open arms, the two kings at the lower edge of the picture appear marginal, in the true sense of the word. In view of the high appreciation Jahangir attributes to the old man, they are only of secondary importance. So at first glance, "Sa'di's visit" thematizes Jahangir's reverence for the great poet and concomitant disdain for worldly kings. Ettinghausen too interpreted this picture as basically signifying a preference for the spiritual over the temporal.<sup>82</sup>

If we bear in mind the concept of legitimation



Fig. 6. “Jahangir greeting the poet Sa’di” (left half), attributed to Abu’l-Hasan, ca. 1615. Image area: 18 × 13 cm. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.668, fol 37a. © 2011 Walters Art Museum, used under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 license: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/> (Photo: courtesy of the Walters Art Museum)

developed in the *Akbarnāma*, an explication going beyond that may also be considered: the presence of long deceased personalities is indicative of a special level of reality. The poet from Shiraz must be regarded, very much like Mu’in al-Din Chishti, as an envoy from the world beyond, the sphere of the *ma’ni*. The dervishes behind him are perhaps also long deceased and form his official retinue. The main action of this picture involves the presentation of a book. To prevent any doubt, Abu’l-

Hasan guides the viewer to the book not only through his positioning of Sa’di but also by the gesture of Khvaja Jahan. Unlike in the previously mentioned double page, the poet does not bring a globe—this is already beneath the feet of the emperor and hence in his possession—but a book. Even if Sa’di’s oeuvre is one of the most esteemed pieces of Persian poetry in Mughal India,<sup>83</sup> it seems unlikely that the painter only wanted to show how the author came down from the *ma’ni* to present



Fig. 7. Abu'l-Hasan, "Jahangir greeting the poet Sa'di" (right half), ca. 1615. Image area: 16.9 × 12.3 cm. © Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase, F1946.28. (Photo: courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

his book in person. We may rather suppose that just as in the presentation of the globe the gift is not the ball itself but temporal power, here the book is not meant to be merely a special edition of Sa'di's works but a symbol of spiritual authority complementing Jahangir's secular might. What we see on the left part of the double page is a heavenly delegation, doubtlessly sent by order of the Lord himself, bringing down spiritual might to Jahangir.

From the lower-ranking positions of the Ottoman and Safavid emperors, the viewer may conclude that they are nothing more than bystanders. As holders of temporal power, they can only watch the real events from afar. Abu'l-Hasan's most important message seems to be that Jahangir is the mightiest emperor, acknowledged by worldly figures of all denominations as well as by supernatural powers. He is the only one who possesses authority in *ṣūrat* and in *ma'nī*. This same message was also

conveyed by the cartouches surrounding the large painting introduced at the beginning of this essay (fig. 2). Due to his possession of *ṣūrat* and *maʿnī*, Jahangir surpasses all other kings, who are nothing more than supplicants at his threshold:

- 7) Which other king owned such *ṣūrat* and *maʿnī*?  
*Ṣūrat u maʿnī chunīn kī dāsht dīgar pādīshāh?*
- 8) They would prostrate themselves a hundred times before his image each time they saw him,
- 9) if one hundred kings like Iskandar came into the world.  
*Mīkunad dar har nigah ṣad sijda pīsh ṣūrat-ash dar jahān āyad aḡar ṣad chūn Sīkandar-i pādshāh*
- 16) Only to look at the figure of Shah Jahangir,
- 17) the kings of Rum and China stand waiting at the door.<sup>84</sup>  
*Tā naẓar bar ṣūrat-i shāh-i Jahāngīr afkand muntaẓīr az Rūm u Chīn istāda bar dar pādshāh*

If we believe Abu'l-Hasan, the mightiest kings of the world, as embodied in the Ottoman sultan and Safavid shah represented here, were nothing more than vassals of the king of kings, the emperor of the two worlds.

#### *Jahangir enthroned on an hourglass*

Taking the lead from Abu'l-Hasan's idea to visualize Jahangir's authority over the sphere of *maʿnī* through the presentation of a book, Bichitr succeeded in developing this theme even further. In an extraordinary picture (fig. 8),<sup>85</sup> he shows Jahangir in profile on a throne, which is depicted in the enigmatic form of an oversized hourglass. His head is surrounded by an enormous aureole, unifying the sun and a silver crescent moon. Two putti are seen flying in the top corners, the left one carrying away a broken arrow and a bow with a torn bowstring, while the one on the right side covers his eyes. At the bottom, two other angels inscribe the lower part of the hourglass, writing "Allahu akbar! O shah, may your life last a thousand years."

On the left margin of the picture, four persons line up, one below the other: the highest of them, though still below Jahangir's head, is a Sufi shaykh. His features are well known from several other pictures,<sup>86</sup> and his prominent beard makes him easily recognizable. It is Shaykh Husayn Ajmeri, the custodian of Khvaja Mu'in al-Din

Chishti's tomb in Ajmer. He was a contemporary of Jahangir and owed him his reappointment as head of the shrine. The person below seems to be either Yıldırım Bayezid (Bayezid I), as in "Sa'di as an envoy from the *maʿnī*," or even more likely a contemporary ruler such as the king of England. His appearance is obviously derived from a European model, because the fashion to depict a crown above a turban corresponded to the Western notion of the Ottoman emperor in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.<sup>87</sup>

The European king was already identified by Ettinghausen as James I of England and Scotland. This portrait was copied from a painting by John de Critz that probably entered into Jahangir's possession as a present from the British envoy Sir Thomas Roe. The same might be true for the carpet depicted in our picture. According to Roe's travel account, a portrait of James I was exhibited during the New Year (Nowruz) celebrations in March 1616 and 1617.<sup>88</sup> In the bottom left, one sees a bearded man, certainly the painter of this work of art, depicted smaller than the three persons above.<sup>89</sup> There are other cases of painters' portraying themselves in the same manner, for example, on three pages in the *Padshāhnāma* in Windsor Castle (fols. 43b, 49a, and 195a),<sup>90</sup> where each artist respectively immortalized himself in a corner at the bottom right or left of the page. In all these cases, the painters distinguish themselves through an attribute they carry with them. On the present page, the painter holds a picture in his hand as a sign of his profession. He humbly wrote his name, Bichitr, on the seat of the curious footstool depicted in front of the hourglass throne—a panel carried by a kneeling three-headed creature.<sup>91</sup> Bichitr is dressed in a yellow robe and a red turban. The man in the picture in his hand is clad in the same colors, and he is just in the act of making the *taslīm*. This special way of greeting the emperor, introduced into the court ritual by Akbar's father, Humayun, was, according to court etiquette, intended to express someone's gratitude for the bestowal of salaries or presents.<sup>92</sup> Hence, the picture in the picture very likely shows Bichitr himself, bowing down before Jahangir in appreciation for the bestowal of an elephant and two horses.

The presence of the painter in this exposed place deserves special consideration. More than thirty years ago, Milo Beach expressed surprise at finding the painter



Fig. 8. Bichitr, "Jahangir enthroned on an hourglass," ca. 1618. Image area: 25.3 × 18.1 cm. From the *St. Petersburg Album*. © Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase, F1942.15. (Photo: courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

here, writing that, “the presence and choice of attendants may be less consciously controlled than Ettinghausen implies, for otherwise it is impossible to explain the inclusion of Bichitr himself alongside James I and an Ottoman Sultān. The figure at the lower left follows a recognized formula for artists’ portraits, and it may therefore be that the symbolism is looser than has been believed...”<sup>93</sup>

Upon closer inspection, Bichitr’s self-portrait does not exactly follow the recognized formula: all the painters who humbly depicted themselves took a place in a corner at due distance from their royal emperor. None dared to show himself so near to the king and adjacent to other high dignitaries, and especially not on (nearly) the same level with important monarchs. It is hard to believe that the painter himself was so bold as to take his place there without Jahangir’s special invitation. A thorough examination of the “Hourglass” picture might reveal whether the painter subsequently inserted himself into the painting. If so, it was surely meant to be a reward for his ingenious picture, which Bichitr had originally conceived very consciously with only the holy man and the two kings in front of Jahangir.

According to Ettinghausen, the essential intent of this picture was to show that the emperor had “given precedence to spiritual values such as those offered by Sūfism, placing them ahead of the tasks of a sovereign king.”<sup>94</sup> Given Jahangir’s haggard physiognomy, Ettinghausen thought that the image must have been painted in the 1620s, when the emperor’s health was shattered and he faced several political defeats. In this situation, as Ettinghausen concludes, he entrusted his life, symbolized in a book, to the hand of a Sufi: “...in the last analysis the Emperor was not just a religious man but a Muslim who in times of spiritual need turned to the religion of his fathers.”<sup>95</sup>

If we call to mind Akbar’s ideology of *ṣūrat* and *maʿnī*, there could also be another interpretation of this picture. Let us take a look at the accompanying text. There are two cartouches above and two below the painting containing the following words:

(top right): *Pādishāh-i ṣūrat u maʿnī ast az lutf-i Allāh* (By the grace of God he is padishah of the *ṣūrat* and the *maʿnī*)

(top left): *Shāh Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr ibn-i Akbar Pādishāh*  
(bottom right): *Garchi dar ṣūrat shahān dārand dar pīsh-ash qiyām* (Although in [this external world of] the *ṣūrat* [even] kings stand before him)

(bottom left): *lik dar maʿnī ba-darvīshān kunad dāyim nigāh* (he looks nevertheless in the [sphere of] *maʿnī* to the dervishes)

It looks very much as if these verses were revealing the same claim to power over the two worlds as was given expression in the *Akbarnāma* and the pictures mentioned above. The kings (*shāhān*, while Jahangir himself is the *padishāh*) are closely related to the term *ṣūrat*, because they belong only to this material world. The dervishes (*darvīshān*) are associated with the realm of the *maʿnī*. In the end, both dervishes and kings remain imperfect, as their authority spans either *ṣūrat* or *maʿnī*, but never both; Jahangir alone is the one who combines both domains (see the verse top right).

Hence, the message of this painting by Bichitr seems to be that as the padishah rose above the earthly life, the laws of this world lost their validity. He is no more in need of worldly weapons, which are carried away by the angel, and perhaps does not even require God’s help. His halo, which is dazzling even to an angel used to God’s brightness, shines more radiantly than the sun and moon together. Celestial beings proclaim that he will live a thousand years—that is to say, as long as Adam:<sup>96</sup> thus he is not even subject to time, because he is the lord of time, the *ṣāhib-i zamān*. This seems to be the reason for his strange hourglass-shaped throne.

In the above-mentioned double pages of “Jahangir, Muʿin ad-Din Chishti, and the key of the two worlds” by Bichitr and “Saʿdi as an envoy from the *maʿnī*” by Abu’l-Hasan, Jahangir in each case receives a gift from the hands of long deceased persons. These figures, who no longer exist as human beings but belong to a higher realm, are commissioned by God as heavenly messengers. In the current picture, Jahangir presents a book and this time it is the (still living) representative of religion, Shaykh Husayn Ajmeri, who takes it from him. If in “Saʿdi as an envoy of the *maʿnī*” the book is the symbol of authority over the sphere of *maʿnī*, we may assume the same meaning also in this case: Shaykh Husayn Ajmeri receives his religious authority from Jahangir.<sup>97</sup>

If this is indeed the message of our picture, we could perhaps, on this basis, decode another piece of information hidden by Bichitr in this scene. As in the aforementioned double page, the presentation of the book is the focal point that attracts the attention of the viewer. Consequently, it is extremely important to investigate which work the painter staged here in such a spectacular way. Ettinghausen had assumed that it contained the memoirs of Jahangir. After the emperor finished his account of the first twelve years of his reign, he ordered this text to be copied and bound several times. The first volume, completed on August the 20, 1618, he gave to his son, Shah Jahan, as a token of his special affection. A number of copies were to be distributed to the most important servants of the state, in the same way that the *Akbarnāma* previously had been.

If Jahangir is presented by Bichitr as the *ṣāhib-i zamān*, his book can only be a holy book, brought by him as a divine man, like a gift from above to the world of ordinary mortals. Only the most dignified among them, one of the highest Chishti shaykhs, who is able to grasp the spiritual meaning of the book, is qualified to be the recipient. Under no circumstances may such a treasure be touched with bare hands.<sup>98</sup> This is the reason why the shaykh reverently takes the present with his shawl. The Ottoman sultan, who seems to understand its value, begs for a copy. But as a king of the *ṣūrat*, he is refused the sublime truths of this book. The same is true for James I. From his posture, turned away from Jahangir, the viewer could conclude that he had not yet grasped the book's importance.

It would seem that Bichitr had two goals in mind with this picture: to give Jahangir's claims to power a visible form, and to stage his literary monument in an appropriate way. There was no time more fitting to eulogize the *Jahāngīrnāma* than when the work was completed, in August 1618.<sup>99</sup>

### III. SHAH JAHAN AS AN EMPEROR OF THE TWO WORLDS

Even if Jahangir's son and successor officially refrained from the ideology of the *dīn-i ilāhī* and conceded perceptibly more authority to the Muslim clerics, it seems that

at least a few of his paintings reveal his claim to unify spiritual and temporal power in his person. For this purpose, his painters went back to a motif that turns out, upon closer examination, to be related to our theme of *ṣūrat* and *ma'ānī*: the painters depicted an encounter between the world conquerer Alexander, here bearing a resemblance to Shah Jahan, and the mysterious prophet-saint Khizr, who drank from the source of life. There are several pictures featuring just such a meeting.<sup>100</sup> Three of them probably bear a reference to a certain kind of written eulogy found in the *Akbarnāma* and other books well known to the royal painters, viz. equations of the king with Khizr and Iskandar at the same time, which the artists tried to realize as paintings.

a) A page from the St. Petersburg Album<sup>101</sup> (fig. 9) shows the young Shah Jahan, armed like a warrior with shield, sword, and lance, standing on a white horse that seems to be treading water. Khizr, dressed in green and facing the padishah, hands him a drinking bowl that is also green. Unlike Shah Jahan, Khizr does not need a horse to stand on, since, as depicted here, he was believed to have been able to walk on water.<sup>102</sup>

b) A second portrait of Shah Jahan, from the Late Shah Jahan Album, likewise shows the emperor in the gear of a warrior (fig. 10). His head surrounded by a nimbus, he is seen holding up a key as he looks toward a bearded shaykh who hands him a drinking bowl. Beneath the two figures there seems to be a little brook.<sup>103</sup> Even though the shaykh in this picture is not clad in green, his place in the water, the water bowl in his hands, and especially the fish under his feet suggest an identification with Khizr.

c) Finally, in one of the illustrations of the *Padishāhnāma* a shaykh presents a globe to Shah Jahan (fig. 11).<sup>104</sup> Due to his green dress and peculiar stance in the water, Milo Beach and Ebba Koch concluded that this old man was very likely the mysterious Khizr,<sup>105</sup> the keeper of the source of life. Shah Jahan appears in festive attire appropriate for a ruler of the world. The scene takes place in front of the backdrop of Ajmer.

As studies by Isaak Friedländer have shown, the legend of the source of life had been popular in the East as part of different Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac versions of the Alexander romance since late antiquity. In Islamic tradition, Khizr was identified with the nameless



Fig. 9. Bal Chand, “Shah Jahan receives the elixir of life from the Prophet Khizr,” 1625–1630. Original size: 18.3 × 11.7 cm, extended to 27.5 × 17 cm. From the *St. Petersburg Album*. St. Petersburg, Museum of the History of Religion, M-7992-VII-1 recto. With kind permission of the Museum of the History of Religion, St. Petersburg. (Photo: courtesy of the Museum of the History of Religion)

“servant of God” in Sura 18:60–82, whom Moses met at the mysterious “Confluence of the Two Seas.”<sup>106</sup> Later, Firdawsi incorporated the theme into his *Shāhnāma*, just as Nizami did in his *Iskandarnāma*. The latter describes how Iskandar (Alexander) travelled with his army to the land of darkness in search of the source of life. The prophet Khizr was chosen to lead them, and, in order to enable him to advance faster, Iskandar left his white horse to him. Indeed, Khizr found the source, drank from it, took a bath in it, and also bathed his horse.

But contrary to expectations, he had no chance to conduct Iskandar there, because the fountain disappeared before his eyes. “On account of his (Sikandar’s) disappointment—not (on account of) his anger,” as Nizami writes, Khizr chooses not to meet Iskandar again.<sup>107</sup>

It is not a coincidence that Alexander was not allowed to drink from this fountain. Nizami explains:

In the hope of the water of life, Sikandar  
Exercised firmness in toil and hardship:  
Sought freshness (pleasant life in youth)



Fig. 10. "Shah Jahan and Khizr." From the Late Shah Jahan Album. Formerly Demotte Collection. (After Josef Strzygowski, Heinrich Glück, Stella Kramrisch, and Emmi Wellesz, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei im Anschluss an Wesen und Werden der Mogulmalerei* [Klagenfurt, Austria: Kollitsch, 1933], fig. 262; the present whereabouts of this page are unknown to me)

from the fountain (joy the water of life) for himself.<sup>108</sup>

A few verses later, the poet makes an angel explain it explicitly:

The world altogether, whole, thou seizedst,  
Thy brain became not sated of vain fancies (long life for  
the enjoyment of unprofitable lust).<sup>109</sup>

This means that Iskandar was not qualified to find the source of life, because he was searching for the wrong thing: its water brings eternal life not to prolong ephem-

eral pleasures but to achieve enlightenment. According to the commentary on Nizami's *Iskandarnāma*<sup>110</sup> consulted by the translator Wilberforce Clarke, the water of life has a threefold meaning: *fayz-i azalī*, 'ilm-i ladunī, and *ṣafā-yi bāṭin*, which can be translated as God's eternal grace, the knowledge gained through spiritual realization, and esoteric purity.<sup>111</sup> Since Iskandar had no access to the source of life, he did not gain these features and hence had no authority over the spiritual realm. The latter was reserved for Khizr. So Iskandar and Khizr constitute two antitheses representing this world and the other.

It was Nizami who conceived of this idea, in order to pay homage to the Atabek Nusrat ud-din Abu Bakr, to whom he had dedicated his *Iskandarnāma*, by presenting him as an outstanding personality unifying the qualities of Iskandar and Khizr. He writes:

Bravo! The Khizr and the Sikandar of created beings;  
For thou hast both territory and also the water of life!  
Thou art like Sikandar, the king, a territory-conquerer;  
Thou art like Khizr, a guide to those fallen from the path  
(of religion);  
Thou hast all things that are needful;  
One thing thou hast not—and that is, thy equal!<sup>112</sup>

Abu'l-Fazl incorporated Nizami's idea and converted it into verses appropriate for Akbar. Hence the *Akbarnāma* contains eulogies such as the following:

An Alexander-mined Khizr, the producer of the fountain  
Determiner of the Pole-star, expounder of the Almagest  
The substance of kingship and saintship is in him  
The magazine of divine mysteries is in him  
From his great power, he is the head of princes  
From his wondrous wisdom, he is the famed of epochs.<sup>113</sup>

Another passage reads:

The Alexander-like prince Akbar at attainment's feast  
Like Khizr drained the cup from wisdom's fountain.<sup>114</sup>

Besides Abu'l-Fazl, the historian Muhammad 'Arif Qandahari also makes use of the Iskandar-Khizr theme when he writes about Akbar:

Oh! that person who is famous like Khizr and Sikandar  
and whose command and justice shine like light in the realm.  
Sikandar forged a mirror out of iron and Hazrat Khizr  
went round in search of the water of eternal life,



Fig. 11. "Shah Jahan and Khizr near Ajmer," ca. 1656. From the Windsor Castle *Padishāhnāma*, fol. 205b. Windsor Castle. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2014. (Photo: courtesy of Windsor Castle)

but your chest (heart) is itself a lighted mirror and the water of life is itself present in your bowl.<sup>115</sup>

With the gift of Khizr, a sip from the source of life, the qualities of this mysterious saint pass over to Shah Jahan, who thus combines the spiritual power with his temporal might. This makes him, like Akbar and Jahangir, the lord of *ṣūrat* and *ma'nī*.

## CONCLUSION

The cartouches surrounding the large painting (fig. 1) provided a first hint that the intense application of the terms *ṣūrat* and *ma'nī* was not incidental. With them Akbar was described as an emperor of the two worlds in many passages of the *Akbarnāma*. The new ideology of

sovereignty conceived by its author, Abu'l-Fazl, is thus revealed. With his use of this pair of terms, Jahangir likewise claimed to be a lord of this world and the other. Akbar's new ideology of sovereignty underwent no further theoretical extension under his successor. But with their artistic realization of Abu'l-Fazl's ideas, Jahangir's painters carried out a substantial contribution to this construct. In the development of a specifically Mughal iconography of power as manifested in this series of allegorical paintings, it becomes apparent that the painters were thus attempting to express imperial ambitions in their pictures. While the meaning of these images remained obscure as long as we tried to deduce it from Jahangir's memoirs, the introduction of sources from Akbar's time makes us aware of broader relationships: it was the aspirations developed by Abu'l-Fazl in the *Akbarnāma* that the painters Abu'l-Hasan and Bichitr succeeded in conveying in the language of the picture. They thus endowed the "Lord of *ṣūrat* and *ma'nī*" with Jahangir's features.

Shah Jahan refrained from following Akbar's political and religious policies and took care to restore Islam and its religious dignitaries to authority. Nevertheless, his painters fell back on the concepts elaborated in the *Akbarnāma* from time to time, and in this way maintained the image of the emperor of the two worlds.

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#### NOTES

1. Edward D. Maclagan, "The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* 65, 1 (1896): 38–113, esp. 48. See also Pedro Moura Carvalho, *Mir'āt al-quds (Mirror of Holiness): A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar*, with a trans. by Wheeler M. Thackston (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
2. Athanasius Kircher, *China Monumentis: Qua sacris qua profanis nec non variis naturae & artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata* (Amsterdam: Jacobum à Meurs, 1667), 5:78–79.
3. *Ibid.*, 5:78.
4. *Bonhams: Islamic and Indian Art, Tuesday, 5 April 2011, New Bond Street*, lot no. 322. The measurements of the painting include the surrounding cartouches. My sincere thanks to Alice Bailey at Bonhams for her kind help.
5. Rosemary Crill and Kapil Jariwala, *The Indian Portrait, 1560–1860* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2010), 76m14.
6. Kircher, *China Monumentis*, 5:78.
7. Cf. Milo C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981), 30; Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters: Indian Miniatures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 45–59; and Elaine Wright et al., *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Alexandria, Va.: Art Services International, 2008), 344.
8. See Ghiyath al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Qānūn-i Humāyūnī, Also Known as Humāyūn Nāma, of Khwāndamīr: A Work on the Rules and Ordinances Established by the Emperor Humāyūn and on Some Buildings Erected by His Order*, trans. and ed. Baini Prasad (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1940), 42; and Eva Orthmann, "Sonne, Mond und Sterne: Kosmologie und Astrologie in der Inszenierung von Herrschaft unter Humayun," in *Die Grenzen der Welt: Arabica et Iranica ad Honorem Heinz Gaube*, ed. Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2008), 297–306, esp. 305.
9. The term *ṣūrat* is a loanword from the Arabic *ṣūra* (picture or face). It consists of the radical *ṣād, wāw, and rā'*, which means "to form, to shape, to depict," or something similar.
10. Abū 'l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, ed. Agha Aḥmad 'Alī and 'Abd ar-Rahīm, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1877, 1879, 1886), 3:200–201. For an English translation, see Abū 'l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, *The Akbar-nāma of Abu-l-Faẓl*, trans. Henry Beveridge, 3 vols. (New Delhi, 1902–1939; repr. New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1989, 1993), 3:283. On *ṣūrat* and *ma'nā* in the language of Sufism, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Persian Sufi Literature: Its Spiritual and Cultural Significance," *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi Publications, 1992), 1–10, esp. 8.
11. See Egil A. Wyller, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (henceforth *TRE*) (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1993–2006), s.v. "Plato/Platonismus I."
12. According to Abū 'l-Faẓl's *Ā'in-i Akbarī* (Institutes of Akbar), the members of Akbar's *tawḥīd-i ilāhī* should say *Allāhu akbar* when seeing each other, the response being *jalla jalāluhu* (Exalted be His glory). See Abū 'l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Persian text ed. by Henry Blochmann, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872–77), 1:160; Abū 'l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, trans. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, ed. D. C. Phillott, ed. and annot. Jadunath Sarkar, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1948–49; repr. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint, 1977–78), 1:175. See also 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh*, ed. W. N. Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1865–69; repr. Osnabrück: Biblio, 1983), 2:356. For an English translation, see 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhabu-t-tawārikh*, 3 vols. (vol. 1 trans. by G. Ranking; vol. 2 by W. H. Lowe; vol. 3 by T. W. Haig) (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1898 [vol. 1]; 1884 [vol.

- 2]; 1925 [vol. 3]; repr. New Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, 1986), 2:367.
13. Ann Katherine Swynford Lambton, "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship," *Studia Islamica* 17 (1962): 91–119, esp. 99; repr. in Ann K. S. Lambton, *Theory and Practice in Medieval Government* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), pt. IV.
  14. The caliph's investiture seems to have been of importance especially in such cases, when the legitimacy of their rule had not yet been safely established. For example, Iltutmish received the investiture from the caliph around 1230, Bahman Shah around 1345, and Firuz Shah in 1355. Muzaffar Shah I of Gujarat received his investiture in 1411, Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat in 1511. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 21, 39, 66, and 69; and Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 39.
  15. See Ann K. S. Lambton, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden: Brill, 1954–2007), s.v. "Khalifa, ii" (esp. p. 949). See also Lambton, *EI2*, s.v. "Justice,;" D. Sourdel, *EI2*, s.v. "Khalifa, i"; and Tilman Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft im Islam: Geschichte der politischen Ordnungsvorstellungen der Muslime*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Artemis, 1981), 2:127.
  16. Igor de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empire," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 7 (1973): 21–36. See also Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6–11.
  17. Cf. Lambton, "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship," 99–110.
  18. Ann K. S. Lambton, *EI2*, s.v. "Al-Dawānī"; Sourdel, *EI2*, s.v. "Khalifa, i" (esp. p. 945).
  19. Douglas E. Streusand, *The Formation of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 26.
  20. Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovereignty," *Iranian Studies* 21, 1–2 (1988): 105–22.
  21. See Stephen F. Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 53. The descendants themselves were not the only ones who believed in their hereditary right to rule. A good example is Babur's report on an incident in 1504, when a large number of Mongol warriors went over from a Kipchak Turk to him, because they were attracted by Babur's noble lineage.
  22. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, 2:262; Engl. trans., 3:484.
  23. See Dale, *Muslim Empires*, 53.
  24. See Şamsām al-Dawla Şāh Navāz Khān and 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn Şāh Navāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1880–90), 2:560–64. For an English translation, see Şamsām al-Dawla Şāh Navāz Khān and 'Abd al-Ḥayy, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, trans. Henry Beveridge, revised, annot., and repr. Bains Prasad, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1999), 1:41–44. Concerning the duties of a *şadr*, see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* (London: Milford, 1936; repr. Lahore: Pakistan Branch, Oxford University Press, 1967), 256–57. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, 1:198; Engl. trans., 1:278–79.
  25. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 3:80–83; Engl. trans., 3:127–31.
  26. See Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 2:47; Engl. trans., 2:73. Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign, with Special Reference to Abu'l Faẓl, 1556–1605* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1975), 71–72.
  27. See Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, 212–14.
  28. See Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:272; Engl. trans., 2:280. See also Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:270; Engl. trans., 3:395. For a more detailed analysis of the new ideology of legitimation, see Heike Franke, *Akbar und Ġahāngīr: Untersuchungen zur politischen und religiösen Legitimation in Text und Bild* (Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2005), esp. 55–97, 185–97, and 232–50. See also the introduction to the *Tarikh-i Alfī* by Asaf Khan Ja'far Beg, as cited in Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, 254–55.
  29. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 2:350–51; Eng. trans., 2:511. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:300, and 3:87–91; Eng. trans., 2:309 and 3:136–39.
  30. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:400–401; Eng. trans., 2:414–15.
  31. See Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, *Jahāngīr-nāma: Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, ed. Muḥammad Hāshim (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1359 [1980]), 96. For an English translation, see Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī: Or, Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, 2 vols. (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909–14; repr. New Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1994), 1:167–68. See also W. D. Begg, *The Holy Biography of Hazrat Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti* (Tucson, Ariz.: Chishti Sufi Mission of America, 1977), 77; P. M. Currie, *The Shrine and Cult of Mu'in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), 154.
  32. See Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History*, 182–83; Florian Schwarz, "Ohne Scheich kein Reich. Scheibaniden und Naqšbandīs in der Darstellung von Mahmūd ibn Walī," in *Annäherung an das Fremde: XXVI. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 25. bis 29. 9. 1995 in Leipzig*, ed. Holger Preissler and Heidi Stein (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 259–67, esp. 266.
  33. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:324–25; Eng. trans., 2:335–36.
  34. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:304–5; Eng. trans., 2:314.
  35. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:271–73; Eng. trans., 3:397–400.
  36. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1:120; Eng. trans., 1:283. See also Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:310 (Eng. trans., 3:457); Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 3:192 (Eng. trans. 3:267). Babur inaugurated marriage alliances with the descendants of Ahmad-i Jam. According to Parodi, this could have been an attempt to add a saint to his lineage in order to keep up with the Safavid shah. See Laura E. Parodi, "Of Shaykhs, Bibīs and Begims: Sources on Early Mughal Marriage Connections and the Patronage of Bābur's Tomb," *Cahier de Studia Iranica* 45 (2011): 121–38.
  37. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1:122; Eng. trans., 1:286f.

38. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1:52–54; Eng. trans., 1:155–59.
39. Concerning the idea of Christ as the “new” or “last Adam,” cf. 1 Cor. 15:45; Otto Betz, *TRE*, s.v. “Adam I.”; and Martin Seils, *TRE*, s.v. “Heil und Erlösung.”
40. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1:22; Eng. trans., 1:66–67.
41. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1921; repr. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1994), 106. See also Cornelia Schöck, *Adam im Islam: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Sunna* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1993), esp. chap. 5.
42. Cf. William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 368.
43. *Ibid.*, 366–67.
44. 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī, *Al-Insān al-kāmil fī ma'rīfat al-awāḥīr wa-al-awā'il* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutūb al-Arabiyya al-kubrā, 1390 [1970]).
45. Concerning Jīlī's concept of the *insān kāmil*, see Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 77–85.
46. Jīlī, after Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 118.
47. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:259; Eng. trans., 2:266.
48. With regard to terms such as *mahdī* and *ṣāḥīb-i zamān*, see W. Madelung, *EI2*, s.v. “Qā'im āl Muḥammad.”
49. Cf., e.g., Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:187–88, 2:210–11, and 2:216; Eng. trans., 2:190–91, 2:214, and 2:213.
50. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:278–79; Eng. trans., 2:285–86.
51. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab*, 2:287; Eng. trans., 2:295 (with some modifications by the present author).
52. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1:52–54; Eng. trans., 1:155–59.
53. Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, as cited in Chittick, *Sufi Path*, 11. Concerning the Neo-Platonic origins of the term *ṣūra* and its reception by Shiite theologians and especially the Nuqtawīs, see L. Gardet, *EI2*, s.v. “Hayūlā.”
54. See Chittick, *Sufi Path*, 11 and 34.
55. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 2:58; Eng. trans., 2:89.
56. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:265; Eng. trans., 3:385.
57. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:254; Eng. trans., 3:367.
58. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 2:324; Eng. trans., 2:477.
59. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1:5; Eng. trans., 1:15 (with some modifications by the present author).
60. See L. Gardet, *EI2*, s.v. “Dīn. IV. Dīn wa-dunyā, dīn wa-dawla.”
61. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:200–201; Eng. trans., 3:283.
62. “Jahangir as ‘Adam’,” *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ: London, British Library, Or. 7573, fol. 249a. Seven illustrations and the majority of the text (278 folios, measuring 14 × 9 cm each) are kept in the British Library, Or. 7573; see Norah M. Tingley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India, and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications, 1977), no. 167. One picture and 53 folios are in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library (henceforth CBL), Ms. 15; see Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, 2 vols. (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), 329–31, and col. pl. 47. The size of the illustrations varies between 8 × 5 cm and 10.3 × 6.5 cm. Like the *Gulistān* from 1581 (RAS 258), each page is illuminated, with minute birds on the border and in the spaces between lines.
63. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 329–31.
64. See Jeremiah P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London: The British Library, 1982), no. 76; Jeremiah P. Losty, *Indian Book Painting* (London: The British Library, 1986), 40, no. 32; Ivan Stchoukine, “Quelques images de Jahāngīr dans un Dīvān de Ḥāfiẓ,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6 (1931): 160–67. Stchoukine's identification of the persons was convincing and seems to be preferable to Losty's.
65. See Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān*, ed. Zabīḥullāh Bidāġī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Jānzāda, 1367 [1988]), ghazal no. 569. The words in the verse mentioned in our picture are not exactly the same as they appear in the edition: instead of *chīzī*, as it is written in the edition, *luṭf* is used, and instead of *ṭaur*, we find *ḥadd*.
66. Left half: “Mu'in ud-Din Chishti presents the world dominion.” Size without borders: 21.8 × 13 cm. Dublin, CBL, no. 7A.14. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 398, cat. no. 3.24. Right half: “Jahangir receives sovereignty over the world,” Minto Album. Size without borders: 20.5 × 12.7 cm. Dublin, CBL, no. 7A.5. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 388–89, cat. no. 3.15. Concerning an earlier interpretation of this picture, see Robert Skelton, “Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting,” in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2–4 April 1980*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek and Carol Bier (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 183.
67. a) “Six shaykhs,” ca. 1635, with a later addition of the background, original size 14.5 × 22.3 cm. St. Petersburg Album, fol. 48r. Oleg F. Akimushkin, Gauvin Bailey, Milo Beach, et al., *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa': Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the 16th–18th Century and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy by 'Imād al-Ḥasanī* (Milan: Electa, 1996), pl. 71; b) “Mu'in ad-Din Chishti,” ca. 1770, 16.4 × 11.2 cm. CBL, no. 34.12. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 657, cat. no. 6.233.
68. *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans., ed., and annot. Wheeler M. Thackston (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 21. In his wish for offspring the Mughal emperor also gravitated towards the Chishti-hermit Salim (d. 1572), hence the name *Salīm* for the prince. See, e.g., Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 2:345–46; Engl. trans., 2:505–6.
69. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 2:58; Eng. trans., 2:89.
70. “Sa'di is received by Jahangir.” Left half, 18 × 13 cm without borders: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 668, fol. 37; right half, 16.9 × 12.3 cm without borders: Washington D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, inv. no. 46.28. For a color illustration of the double page, see *Jahangirnama*, trans. Thackston, 170–71.
71. Losty proposes that he could be Buland Akhtar, a son of Prince Khusrāw. See Losty, “Abu'l Hasan,” in *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1991), 74, and (erroneously) 86n12.

72. The identification of Murtaza Khan is uncertain.
73. Richard Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice," in *De Artibus Opuscula 40: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 98–120, esp. p. 112.
74. See *Jahāngīr-nāma*, ed. Hashim, 88; *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. Rogers, 1:154.
75. From back to front: Prince Khurram, Mahabat Khan, Asaf Khan, I'timad ad-Daula, Mirza Rustam Safawi, and Ibrahim Khan. The two persons at the bottom right and left are not yet identified. See Beach, *Imperial Image*, 203–4.
76. Cf. Shāh Navāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, trans. Beveridge, 1:824–25.
77. *Jahāngīr-nāma*, ed. Hashim, 176; *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. Rogers, 1:310. See also Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," 110.
78. See, e.g., *Jahāngīr-nāma*, ed. Hashim, 157; *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. Rogers, 1:277. See Sadiq Khan as *bakhshī* in illustrations of the *Padishāh-nāma*. Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World: The Padshahnama, an Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (London: Azimuth Editions [Thames and Hudson], 1997), 165–66, no. 8–9.
79. Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," 111.
80. See Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 445, cat. no. 3:57.
81. *Jahāngīr-nāma*, ed. Hashim, 82–83; *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. Rogers, 1:144–45. See also Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India; Wherein some things are taken notice of, in our passage thither, but many more in our abode there, within that rich and most spacious empire of the Great Mogul...* (London: J. Wilkie, 1777), 350; and Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," 105.
82. Ettinghausen doubts whether these two pictures really belong together. Nevertheless, he is of the opinion that the original counterparts, which are now lost, must have looked very similar. See Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," 112.
83. Sa'di's *Bustān* and *Gulistān* belong to the books that were illustrated several times during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan.
84. Cf. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1:7–8; Eng. trans. 1:23.
85. "Jahangir on the hourglass-throne." Page from the *St. Petersburg Album*. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, inv. no. 45.15a. Size without borders: 25.4 × 18.2 cm; with borders: 33 × 47.5 cm. First interpretation by Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," 98–120.
86. Concerning the portrait of Shaykh Husayn and a copy by Rembrandt, see Josef Strzygowski, Heinrich Glück, Stella Kramrisch, and Emmy Wellesz, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei im Anschluss an Wesen und Werden der Mogulmalerei* (Klagenfurt, Austria: Kollitsch, 1933), pl. II, figs. 56 and 72; Josef Strzygowski and Heinrich Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen im Schlosse Schönbrunn* (Vienna: Wiener Drucke, 1923). See also Ebba Koch, "The 'Moghuleries' of the Millionenzimmer, Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna," in *Arts of Mughal India: Studies in Honour of Robert Skelton*, ed. Rosemary Crill, Susan Stronge, and Andrew Topsfield (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004), 152–67.
87. See Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," 104 and fig. 6. See also the portraits in Filiz Çağman, *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (published on the occasion of an exhibition held at the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul, June 6–Sept. 6, 2000) (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000), esp. 240 and 247.
88. Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–1619: As Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence*, ed. William Foster (London: Oxford University Press, 1926; repr. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1990), 125 and 357.
89. Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India 1600–1660* (Williamstown, Mass.: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1978), 101 and 105.
90. Som Prakash Verma, *Mughal Painters and Their Work: A Biographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 27–30 and 402–15.
91. Perhaps this demon is meant to parallel Jahangir with Solomon, who had the demons at his disposal. See Nosiruddīn Burhonuddīn Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets: Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā', an Eastern Turkish Version*, ed. Hendrik Boeschoten, M. Vandamme, and Semih Tezcan, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 2:399–400.
92. An exact explanation of the *taslīm* is found in Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, 1:156; Eng. trans. 1:167.
93. Beach, *Grand Mogul*, 105.
94. Ettinghausen, "Emperor's Choice," 99.
95. *Ibid.*, 117.
96. Abū 'l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 1:53; Eng. trans. 1:159.
97. There was some truth in it, indeed; see above in section I, on "Akbar and the New Concept of Legitimation": after Akbar dismissed Shaykh Husayn, Jahangir reappointed him some time after his accession in 1605.
98. See "Jahāngīr giving books to shaykhs," Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Purchase F 31.20. For an illustration in color, see *Jahangirnama*, trans. Thackston, 252. Here the shaykhs are allowed to receive the books with their bare hands.
99. Concerning the previous dating, see Beach, *Imperial Image*, 168–69, no. 17a; and Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, 82.
100. There is also a picture of Khizr meeting Shah Shuja': see Akimushkin, Bailey, Beach, et al., *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa'*, fol. 30.
101. "Shah Jahan receives the elixir of life from the prophet Khizr," by Bal Chand, 1625–30, fol. 33r. St. Petersburg, Museum of the History of Religion, St. Petersburg M-7992/VII. See the entry by Oleg Akimushkin and Anatoly Ivanov in Akimushkin, Bailey, Beach, et al., *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa'*, pl. 69. See also pl. 119 (fol. 30r): "Prince Shāh Shujā' receives the elixir of life from Khizr," ca. 1635–40, entry by Stuart Cary Welch.
102. Patrick Franke, *Begegnung mit Khidr: Quellenstudien zum Imaginären im traditionellen Islam* (Beirut: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 2000), 88–89.
103. Late Shah Jahan Album, Formerly Demotte Collection. Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, fig. 262. See

- also Sotheby, 1 December 1969, lot 151. Prof. John Seyller kindly gave me a photo of Sotheby's catalogue and provided me with exact measures of the painting (20 × 13.4 cm) and the folio (37 × 25.5 cm). Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of this page are unknown; since the picture is known to me only from the black and white reproduction in Strzygowski, it is just my assumption that the old man is clad in white.
104. Windsor Castle *Padishāhnāma*, fol. 205b, painted ca. 1656; see Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, pl. 41.
  105. Beach and Koch, *King of the World*, 204–5.
  106. P. Franke, *Begegnung mit Khidr*, 46 and 66–67.
  107. Nizāmī Ganjavī, *Kullīyāt-i Khamsa-yi Nizāmī*, ed. and annot. Vahīd Dastgirdī, 2 vols. (Tehran: Negah, 1372 [1993]), vol. 2, *Iskandar-nāma*, p. 1164, lines 2–3. See Nizāmī Ganjavī, *Sikandar Nāma, e Bara; or, Book of Alexander the Great*, trans. (into English) Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke (London: W. H. Allen, 1881; repr. New Delhi: V. I. Publications, 1979), 802.
  108. Ganjavī, *Iskandar-nāma*, ed. Dastgirdī, p. 1164, lines 58ff.; Ganjavī, *Sikandar Nāma, e Bara*, 804.
  109. Ganjavī, *Iskandar-nāma*, ed. Dastgirdī, p. 1165, line 71; Ganjavī, *Sikandar Nāma, e Bara*, 806.
  110. The commentary consulted by Wilberforce Clarke was written by Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Alī Khān (d. 1755).
  111. M. Estelami, “The Concept of Knowledge in Rūmī’s Mathnawī,” in *Classical Persian Sufism: From Its Origins to Rumi*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London and New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1993), 405.
  112. Ganjavī, *Sikandar Nāma, e Bara*, 100ff; Ganjavī, *Iskandar-nāma*, ed. Dastgirdī, p. 932, lines 48–50.
  113. Abū ‘l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:2; Eng. trans., 3:3. Beveridge always translated the name Khizr as Elias, but as P. Franke showed throughout his book *Begegnung mit Khidr*, they are not identical. That is why I exchanged Elias for Khizr, as he is called in the Persian text of the *Akbar-nāma*.
  114. Abū ‘l-Faẓl, *Akbar-nāma*, 3:265; Eng. trans., 3:385.
  115. Muḥammad ‘Arīf Qandahārī, *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*, trans. (into English) Tasneem Ahmad (New Delhi: Pragati Publications, 1993), 10.



BRILL



AMANDA PHILLIPS

## A MATERIAL CULTURE: OTTOMAN VELVETS AND THEIR OWNERS, 1600–1750

*This article was the winner of the 2012 Margaret B. Ševčenko Prize, awarded by the Historians of Islamic Art Association.*

Textiles formed the chief furnishings of Ottoman homes during the early modern period; their abundance is attested by extant objects, drawings, and paintings, as well as by written sources, including court cases and inheritance inventories. This article discusses the widespread popularity of a specific type of silk—cushion covers made of velvet brocaded with gold—with a focus on the relationship between their consumption and production. An examination of the objects themselves, in conjunction with other sources, reveals that the manufacture, purchase, and acquisition of these luxury goods was both more nuanced and more widespread than has been acknowledged. It is the breadth and depth of their consumption as well as their place in the cycle of distinction, emulation, and abandonment that led, in the years after 1700, to the emergence of a new and apparently more luxurious style. This is an instructive instance of innovations driven not by the court but by consumers themselves, whose patronage is rarely examined by historians of Islamic art.

### ÇATMA CUSHION COVERS: AN OVERVIEW OF THEIR CHARACTERISTICS, PRODUCTION, AND SCHOLARSHIP

The textiles at the center of this study were made in Bursa, Istanbul, and Bilecik, and are referred to in documents as cushion covers made of gold-brocaded silk

velvet—*çatma yaşadık yüzleri* in Ottoman Turkish. As far as extant goods are concerned, cushions made out of *çatma* always share two salient features: a series of small niche-like forms, or lappets, usually six placed on either end, and their similar proportions, circa 65 by 105 centimeters. The consistent structure, size, and style make the cushion covers easy to identify in museums as well as in auction catalogues, old card files, photographs, and even in paintings. At the same time, Ottoman documents discussing *çatma* cushions or Bursa velvet (*kaṭife*) cushions with gold decoration refer exclusively to this type—there are neither extant textiles nor additional references that indicate any alternate formats of *çatma* cushion. Because the relationship between the type and references to them in written documents is secure, court cases about production, inventory lists from palaces and from more modest residences, correspondence, and even narrative sources may be deployed to reconstruct their history as artefacts.

The cushion covers are overwhelmingly crimson with gold motifs, though several green-ground examples exist (figs. 1–3); equally important is the existence of a smaller subset of brocade-ground examples, dating to the decades after 1700, to which we will return at the end of this article. The motifs found on the cushions are part of a repertoire common in Ottoman art: carnations, medallions, tulips, and series of hexagons filled with small blossoms. Most of the cushions fall into two formats: staggered rows of repeating motifs, or a central circular, oval, star-shaped, or floral medallion. That said, the variation in these two categories is immense. Borders may be added, as may interstitial leaves, finials, or spanrels. The combinations and recombinations of ele-



Fig. 1. *Çatma* cushion cover, Bursa, seventeenth century. Istanbul, Sadberk Hanım Museum, inv. no. 14069 D.194. (Photo published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the Sadberk Hanım Museum)



Fig. 2. *Çatma* cushion cover, Bursa, seventeenth century. Istanbul, Sadberk Hanım Museum, inv. no. 10384 D.121. (Photo published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the Sadberk Hanım Museum)



Fig. 3. *Çatma* cushion cover, Bursa, later seventeenth century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 620-1892a. ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

ments, as well as the introduction and disappearance of some details, suggests a large and enduring manufacture, as well as an adherence to a shared aesthetic.

Despite some variation, the *çatma* cushion covers comprise their own consistent category in terms of their structure and materials. A technical analysis of eighty objects reveals that, almost without exception, the textile is based on a five-shaft satin foundation; it uses very thin ivory or tan silk warp threads that entirely cover thick cotton weft threads, providing a smooth and sometimes shiny surface.<sup>1</sup> The supplementary silk warp threads, which are looped and cut to make the colored velvet pile, are found in one or two channels within each group of five satin warp threads. The brocading weft threads, which cover the areas of the motif that are bare (or void) of pile, are made of silver or gilt foil wrapped around a silk filament core (*ķilabdān*). The *ķilabdān*

weft threads are discontinuous—meaning that they do not stretch from selvedge to selvedge but only across the voided areas—and are passed through the satin structure in a 4/1 twill order. The last set of wefts are those that bind the supplementary velvet warp threads to the back of the cloth in the areas in which they are not being used as pile on the front; these are very narrow threads made of white silk, usually with very little twist.

The loom used to make *çatmas*, and other repeat-figured textiles, is a five-shaft drawloom with an extra mechanism called a pattern harness; its presence in the Eastern Mediterranean was already hundreds of years old by the late fifteenth century, when the first Ottoman-made figured silks are mentioned in written sources.<sup>2</sup> On this type of loom, the supplemental warps that make the velvet pile, usually crimson or green, are controlled by the harness mechanism, which must be con-

figured before weaving can begin. It is manipulated by a semi-skilled artisan, usually called a drawboy, who works in tandem with the weaver at the latter's command. The programming of this harness, which is a series of threads and cords attached above or to the side of the massive drawloom, is achieved in several steps, which for reasons of space cannot be fully described here.<sup>3</sup> However, it is important to note that the success of the format and motifs of the cushion cover, and therefore of the elegance of the whole, depends on the skill of two experts: an artist who makes a first drawing of the motifs, and a second, equally skilled and specially trained artisan, the *nakşbend*, who understands the arrangement of the motifs on the textile and renders a fraction of the element or elements—which are repeated to form a whole by the mechanics of the loom—in the strings and cords that eventually become the harness.

The cushion covers share many features with Ottoman *çatmas* in other formats, such as floor coverings with major borders and simple undifferentiated lengths, and, of course, they share some structural and material features with plain and figured solid-pile velvets.<sup>4</sup> The five-shaft satin foundation is also found in another popular Ottoman-figured compound weave, *kemhâ* (a type of lampas), in which it is combined with a twill weave. There is variation within the group of *çatma* cushions, as in all Ottoman silk textiles, but it is mostly found in the thread counts and quality of the materials, rather than in the structure as a whole. It is tempting, perhaps, to see the consistency as a failure to innovate on a technological level or as an equally damning lack of creativity on the part of the weavers. However, as we shall see, a surprising agility in production emerges in the early part of the eighteenth century, in response to a strong demand for a new product.

The vigor of the weaving tradition is indicated by the number of extant cushion covers: an estimated five hundred or more may be found in museum stores, ecclesiastical settings, and private collections in Turkey, Europe, and North America.<sup>5</sup> In two well-known cases, records establish dating, and in one, a sort of provenance. Two crimson covers, with sunburst medallions and wide main borders, are part of the *Türkenbeute* at Karlsruhe, and although they were first inventoried in

1691, they may have entered the collections a few years earlier, after the relief expedition sent to Vienna in 1683 following the Ottoman battle there.<sup>6</sup> Eighty years ago, A. J. B. Wace of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) identified a pair of cushions given to King Frederick I of Sweden by 'Abdi Pasha of Algiers in 1731; they each have a medallion with a six-pointed star and a wide main border.<sup>7</sup> Further documents pertaining to specific objects do not seem to exist. The collection of cushion covers at the Topkapı Palace Museum is not fully published; Hülya Tezcan and Sumiyo Okumura's recent catalogue of upholstery furnishings includes images of ten and lists many more.<sup>8</sup> While palace inventories mention the *çatma* cushions, it is not possible to match surviving examples with the records.<sup>9</sup> More of the cushions are scattered through museums not only in Turkey, but also in Central and Eastern Europe; institutions in the Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Romania, Russia, and especially Poland each boast multiple examples. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon, textile museums in Lyon, Riggisberg, and Washington, D.C., and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris also have holdings, as do the Museums of Applied Arts in Cologne and Vienna. Institutional collections in the United Kingdom and North America were largely amassed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the goods acquired from dealers in the textile and decorative arts, based mostly in Paris, and from British and American donors.<sup>10</sup> In one case, an unidentified dealer seems to have divided eight pairs of the cushions; he sold one set to the first president of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Martin Brimmer, who then donated them to his institution, and sold the other set to the V&A.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the scholars mentioned above, Jennifer Wearden of the V&A, the authors of *İpek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*—Nurhan Atasoy, Walter Denny, Louise Mackie and, again, Hülya Tezcan—and Hülya Bilgi of the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul have also focused on cushion covers, each adding examples to the corpus of published objects and insight into the circumstances that surrounded their production.<sup>12</sup> Though scholarship has successfully outlined the main features of the *çatma* cushions, as well as their probable dating, the origin of the type remains murky. One scholar has tried to link the format and in particular the lap-

pets along each edge to the so-called banner of Los Navas de Tolosa—the fifteenth-century Marinid standard, which had been, until recently, misidentified with the Almohads and their early thirteenth-century battle with allied Spanish Christian forces—but evidence for this connection is thin.<sup>13</sup> More plausibly, cushions with lappets have been identified with Mamluk Egypt; printed cotton cushion covers with lappets were traded in the Indian Ocean in the medieval period, as shown by Ruth Barnes.<sup>14</sup> The mechanism that allowed the translation of somewhat humble goods into luxurious ones, though, is more difficult to establish. In November 1583, Giovanni Morosini, the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, sent a letter to his colleagues in the Senate on behalf of the valide, Nurbanu Sultan; she requested, among other items, “cushions of some pleasing and pretty stuff, fashioned with their endings thus, from one as from the other extremity.”<sup>15</sup> The drawings accompanying Morosini’s letter were lost, and for this reason the reference remains tantalizing rather than elucidating—lappets might well be “thus” and were certainly used at either end. A single Italian version of the *çatma* cushion cover is known, and has been dated to the late sixteenth century, which only tantalizes further.<sup>16</sup>

Establishing a widespread presence of Ottoman *çatma* cushions by the end of the sixteenth century is more straightforward. Two paintings from the *Hünernâme* (ca. 1579–82), probably by the court artist Nakkaş ‘Osman, depict the sultans ‘Osman and Orhan Gazi each enthroned and leaning against a crimson cushion with lappets outlined in gold.<sup>17</sup> During the following decades, the cushions appear in paintings in diverse manuscripts, from the *Siyer-i Nebî* (ca. 1594) to the *Eğri Fetihnâmesi* (1598), to the *Destân-i Ferrûh u Hümâ* (1601), to a copy of a *Jâmi‘ al-Siyer* (ca. 1598–1603) made in Ottoman Baghdad.<sup>18</sup> A set of sultans’ portraits, probably dated circa 1600–1650 and modeled on the painter Nakkaş ‘Osman’s series from the *Şemâ’ilnâme* (ca. 1585), also feature the cushions, rendered in blue and red, with sizeable main borders containing tidy rinceaux (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> Depictions of crimson and gold *çatma* cushions are found in a 1738 copy of the *Hamse-i ‘Atâ’î*; in this painting, five of them line the back of a *sedir* (the low bench that ran around the perimeter of the room in some houses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries); the representation is



Fig. 4. Unknown artist, *Mehmed II*, ca. 1600–1610, opaque watercolor on paper. Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection of Turkish Art at the Harvard Art Museums, inv. no. 1985.233. Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

almost certainly meant to indicate Ottoman Istanbul (fig. 5). Other elements in this painting—the tray perched on wooden legs and the decorated felt floor covering underneath it—and in other paintings from this manuscript indicate that the artist had a keen eye for contemporary detail. It seems likely that production of this type of *çatma* cushion endured into the mid-eighteenth century; however, sometime after 1760 or so, fashion would change, and the lappets disappear.

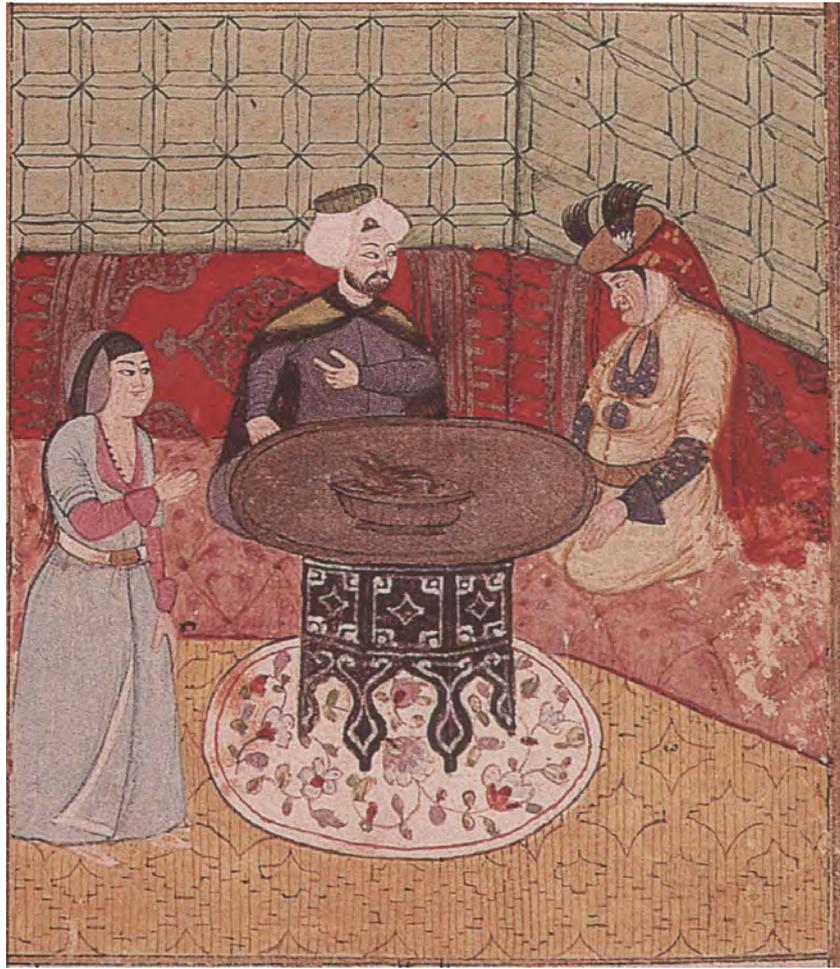


Fig. 5. Anonymous artist, *Two Women and a Casanova*, from the *Hamse-i 'Atā'i*, Istanbul, 1738. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, R.816, fol. 102a. (After Sumru Krody, *Flowers of Silk & Gold: Four Centuries of Ottoman Embroidery* [Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 2000], fig. 33, p. 78)

The painting in the *Hamse-i 'Atā'i*, which accompanies a story about two women playing a trick on a would-be Casanova, depicts the cushions in a domestic setting, rather than in an enthronement vignette. Written records—many of them much earlier—support the argument that the *çatma* cushion covers were found in private residences. A certain Hadice Hatun, who died in the Kuloğlu neighborhood of Galata in 1612, left four *çatma* cushions, ranging in value from 270 *akçe* (Ottoman silver coins) for a blue one to 1600 *akçe* for a pair whose color was not recorded.<sup>20</sup> In Edirne, Sünbül

Hasan ibn Hüseyin (d. 1604) left a single velvet cushion, valued at 668 *akçe*.<sup>21</sup> They were also sold outside the core Ottoman territories of Anatolia and Thrace: an unfortunate merchant who was ambushed outside Aleppo in 1781 lost not only his life but a saddlebag full of Bursa-style cushions.<sup>22</sup> The case of 'Abdi Pasha of Algiers, mentioned above, also signals the appeal of these cushion covers beyond the Eastern Mediterranean.

The trade appears to have been lively. Evliya Çelebi, in his account of the festivities that Sultan Murad IV sponsored in Istanbul in 1638, wrote that the procession

of guilds included four hundred men selling velvet cushions from Bursa (and other places) who shared one hundred shops between them.<sup>23</sup> Another merchant, ‘Abdurrahman Efendi (d. 1658), who had a shop in the Han of Mustafa Pasha in Edirne, left twenty-eight pairs of *çatma* cushions.<sup>24</sup> Occasionally, the cushions stood as surety for a loan, as in the case of the aforementioned Sünbül Hasan of Edirne, who was holding four *çatma* cushions when he died, one of them black, and a fifth that was carefully specified as belonging to the wife of a certain Uzun Bali.<sup>25</sup> In 1650, a complaint about an unpaid debt in the Cami’ el-Kebir quarter of Bilecik listed the collateral: nine pairs of *çatma* cushions, with varying amounts of gold, whose values were set low, between eighteen and twenty-seven *akçe* apiece.<sup>26</sup>

Documents about the production of the cushions are equally abundant. In 1640, Evliya described the population of Bursa as heavily involved with many aspects of silk working, singling out velvet couch cushions with golden thread as important products.<sup>27</sup> The manufacture there had a substantial history too: gold-brocaded velvet from Bursa comprised part of a gift from the sultan to the Venetian *bailo* in 1483, and gold-brocaded velvet cushions in green and black are found in a palace inventory from 1505.<sup>28</sup> Court cases concerning the regulation of silk weaving and administrative price lists—like the famous one issued in 1640—also indicate that the cushions were made in Bursa, as well as in nearby Bilecik and in Istanbul.<sup>29</sup> It seems, however, that the *çatma* cushion covers were most often associated with the famous silk-trading and weaving city of Bursa—no matter where they might actually have been made. Further confirmation comes from another price list, this one issued for Bursa itself in 1624: it lists nine kinds of cushion covers, seven of which are *kaṭiṭfe*.<sup>30</sup> A detailed analysis of two hundred inventory lists confirms this prejudice; Bursa *çatma* (as well as *kaṭiṭfe*) is mentioned dozens of times, Bilecik twice, and Istanbul not at all. Perhaps part of the bias toward Bursa reflects the city’s place in Ottoman thinking about silk-weaving traditions—the style of the fabric was closely associated with that city alone.<sup>31</sup>

The documents that attest to the history of designing and making *çatma* cushions provide glimpses of the continuum of textile production and trade in Istanbul,

Bursa, Edirne, and other cities in the later sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. However, they cannot account for the longevity of the distinctive format or for the small and large changes in motif and palette that occurred over the decades. Perhaps most important, these documents do not address the place of the *çatma* cushions in the constellation of goods found in Ottoman residences; here, inheritance inventories, extant objects, and paintings add depth, color, and detail to the picture.

#### EVERYDAY LUXURIES: OTTOMAN HOMES AND TENTS

The popularity of the style, defined here by the three distinctive features of the *çatma* cushion—the lappets, palette, and materials—stems in part from their function in the Ottoman house. Ottoman furnishings, like those elsewhere in the early modern world, were relatively sparse. Rooms in many houses were multi-functional, and different textiles would be used because they were necessary to, and because they helped to define, the activity taking place there. In the late sixteenth and first part of the seventeenth century, quilts made of silk fabrics are some of the most expensive items listed in inheritance inventories, along with wool pile carpets and felt floor coverings. In a record from 1636, an especially costly quilt, made of gold and silk taqueté (*serāser*), cost 5,000 *akçes*, which is almost as much as a blue satin kaftan with decorative pearl frogging and silver buttons listed in the same document.<sup>32</sup> Though the quilt was not in use during the day, it was almost certainly neatly folded and placed on a cupboard shelf where it would be visible. Wool pile carpets and decorated floor coverings made of felt, similar to those seen in figure 5, were on average equally expensive and equally popular.

Inventories rarely mention hard furnishings, especially before 1700. Even the most common items—Koran stands (*raḥle*), chests (*sanduk*), and stools or small chairs (*iskemle*)—occur infrequently.<sup>33</sup> The absence of couches, tables, beds, desks, and similar objects confirms the hypothesis that the *sedir* was the chief, and often sole, item of furniture.<sup>34</sup> It also furthers the notion that textiles played an important role in defining and

transforming a space—mattresses, pillows, and quilts for sleeping (*döşek, yüz yastığı, yorğan*); specially designated fabrics used as napkins, serving cloths, and hand-towels (*yağlık, şofra, maḳrama*); and cushions for leaning and sitting, bolsters, and even special pillows on which to prop one's elbow (*yastık, minder, gird bālīn, ḳoltuk yastığı*); as well as special cloths on which to sit (*maḳ'ad*). Textiles covered or framed doors, hearths, and possibly windows (*ḳapı perdesi, ocaḳ perdesi, perde*), and inventories also list fabrics used to cover walls (*duvar maḳraması*). The long-distance trade in textiles also guaranteed that the fabrics reflected not only the abundance of the empire—cottons from northern Syria, carpets from Egypt, silks from Bursa, felt from Thrace and Bulgaria—but also the riches of the Old World—chintz from India, cashmere from Kashmir, velvet from France, woollens from Lancashire, and carpets from Persia.<sup>35</sup>

The specialization in textile types goes beyond general format, material, and origin. In the households of the wealthy, at least, these were designated sometimes by the object's particular place in the constellation of goods. For instance, there are several categories of carpets: prayer (*sejjāde*), small or side (*van*), and main or middle (*orta*), each with distinctive features. Other examples of this variation are more subtle, and refer to their specific and narrowly defined use. The estate of a Deveci Mehmed Bey (d. 1641) comprised 425 items whose total value was just under 120,000 *akçe*.<sup>36</sup> The scribe recording the items, perhaps overwhelmed by his task, has left fairly short descriptions of the goods in the house, but among these are several cloths that he described as *şerbet maḳraması*, *ḥōṣāb maḳraması*, and *ḳahve maḳraması*, or napkins or other sorts of serving towels dedicated, respectively, to the Ottoman beverages of sweetened fruit juice (*şerbet*), stewed fruit with quantities of juice (*ḥōṣāb*), and coffee.<sup>37</sup> Something about these cloths indicated their use, whether it was their shape or decoration. The specialization may find parallels in other objects, especially those related to serving sweet drinks or coffee. Mehmed Bey also owned vessels for *ḥōṣāb* and *şerbet*, and no fewer than four coffee-making pitchers (*ḳahve ibriḳ* or *ibriḳi*). He was not unusual in his consumption of coffee and sweets, and in fact, the presence of both in Ottoman houses would be-

come more prevalent in the eighteenth century, as we shall see.

The *ḳatma* cushion is part of this material culture, in which textiles play a crucial part in furnishing the home and in which some items have distinct roles. In the portrait of Mehmed II (fig. 4), like those of many other sultans, the lappets at either end of the cushion frame the sitter, defining the space and his possession of it. Aside from their role in framing the sultan or another notable, the lappets at either end of the main field are one of the cushion's chief features; as noted above, a cushion with lappets was almost always made of *ḳatma*, which, with its silk and gold materials, was a relatively expensive fabric.<sup>38</sup> Once this association was established, the presence of lappets makes the cushion immediately identifiable as a luxury item. For an Ottoman artist, placing a *ḳatma* cushion in a painting may have acted as a kind of shorthand, indicating the sophistication of the setting and its inhabitants. The illustration in the *Ḥamse-i 'Aṭā'i* confirms this: the *ḳatma* cushions, propped along the *sedir*, are among the most prominent furnishings; there is a strong element of display in their positioning.

An alternate artistic strategy is deployed in a painting found in an eighteenth-century album at the Topkapı Palace Library (fig. 6). This painting shows a well-dressed man sitting in an elegant tent set up in the countryside. He is having an animated conversation with a Sufi dervish, who wears a brown wool robe with a green lining. Another two men listen to the discussion; one peers from the back of the tent in a conventional listening and watching pose familiar from Timurid manuscript painting, while another kneels just outside the tent, holding what may be a metal coffee pot and a ceramic cup. The servants are tending a cooking fire, kneading dough for flatbread, and grooming and watering the horses and pack animals. In the background, another man is leading a pair of oxen pulling a haywain across a bridge; a mill and waterwheel are located on the same river, which loses itself among the hills and trees in the distance. Around the camp most of the animals have been divested of their saddles, save the one in the foreground, whose colorful gold-worked cloth and saddle bag and gilded stirrup suggest it belongs to the gentleman seated in the tent. This gentleman is the protagonist, as is indicated by his position and cross-



Fig. 6. Anonymous artist, *Gentleman in a Landscape*, Istanbul (?), ca. 1700–1725. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H.2148, fol. 8a. (After Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting* [Ankara, Ministry of Tourism Publications, 2010] fig. 194, p. 237)

legged posture; he sits in front of two *çatma* cushions.<sup>39</sup> Two sets of lappets are evident but only one main field, which is centrally planned, with a curvilinear medallion filled with and surrounded by small gold motifs.

The exquisitely rendered details show the deliberation with which the artist set about signaling the nature of the scene and its characters. Because the painting is part of an album, which has been unevenly published and researched, the circumstances of its creation remain a mystery. Whether it is a single painting made on speculation or for a patron, and whether it is meant to give visual impact to a written text or otherwise cannot be known.<sup>40</sup> This painter used such fine detail that he did not need a strategic shorthand to indicate the wealth

and sophistication of the gentleman; he is clearly at leisure in a tent whose brocaded satin lining and striped trim set him apart from the labors of the camp and industry of the landscape itself. The cushions are most assuredly part of his milieu, however temporary.

Other painters employed fewer details, and in these cases the lappets did become a useful and easily decipherable code for indicating the nature of the scene and its characters. The artist of the 1738 *Hamse-i 'Atâ'i* took advantage of this (fig. 5). The painter is more economical with his detail, and the scene—in a residential interior—is itself less populated either with people or with objects. Here, the lappets and the centrally planned motifs are rendered with a minimum of strokes. The metal

in the paint has tarnished or otherwise faded, unlike that in figure 6, but nonetheless unmistakably delineates the lappets. This shorthand worked because of a shared visual culture among the upper echelons of urban Ottoman society; the painters not only knew about this style of cushion themselves—probably firsthand—but also relied on their patrons or potential patrons to recognize them as well.

#### OTTOMAN COLLECTIVE TASTE: THE LIMITS OF ACCEPTABLE EMULATION AND QUALITY

The study of styles and motifs in the Ottoman Empire often places the palace at the center of each successive spread of a new fashion. Much has been made of the royal workshops, in particular, which between about 1550 and 1575, housed a central atelier. This was the source of motifs and formats that were then rendered in tiles, textiles, ceramic vessels, leatherwork, and other media. Evidence for this phenomenon comes from written sources and from the objects themselves, which show marked affinities with one another. This model, however, probably never explained the entirety of luxury craft production in Istanbul, Bursa, and other cities. The palace's role in commissioning new styles and objects, and even favoring new motifs also becomes less clear after the 1590s. The seventeenth century poses several problems for those who hope to assess the shape of the later royal workshop; chief among them are the brief tenures of several successive sultans after Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and the removal of the sultan, his entourage, and his artisans to Edirne in 1653. Outside the palace, the production of luxury goods in Bursa, Istanbul, and other cities certainly continued, probably with a minimum of direct contact with the sultan or his minions.<sup>41</sup> For these reasons, an alternative impetus for both continuity and change in the decorative arts must be sought.

While it is beyond the scope of this article to speculate on the nature of fashion, a word on the mechanism for the adoption of a particular style is necessary. For any emulation of a good, style, or motif to occur, the object in question must first be seen and admired.<sup>42</sup> There are two scenarios that help explain how some wealthy Ottoman city-dwellers came to share an aware-

ness and appreciation of the *çatma* cushion cover. The first requires a brief reassessment of the construction of public and private in the Ottoman residence.<sup>43</sup> Plans of some eighteenth-century Istanbul houses indicate separate spaces for male and female members of a household and their visitors.<sup>44</sup> This is often simplified, in English-language literature, as public and private space; however, it is probably better described as gendered space.<sup>45</sup> The women's areas of a house were open not only to their female relatives—who might extend through several layers of cousins and in-laws—but also to female guests. Anecdotal evidence, such as the letters of Mary Wortley Montagu and court cases from the eighteenth century, describe women visiting other women in their homes.<sup>46</sup> Another salient example comes from the seventeenth century: a married couple named Meleki Hatun and Şaban Kalife, who had both been brought up in the precincts of the Topkapı Palace, used their Istanbul residence to meet with people who were seeking their aid—direct or advisory—in petitioning the palace.<sup>47</sup> This presumably included women who visited Meleki Hatun. Men, of course, if invited, could enter space set aside for male visitors, and there is no reason to believe that furnishings there were less showy than those of their female relatives.<sup>48</sup> It is clear that both men and women, if separately, entered some parts of some Ottoman residences and there would have been ample opportunity for both sexes to admire furnishings and decoration. Nor was the presence of *çatma* cushion covers in Ottoman homes a novelty in the seventeenth century: they are found in estate inventory lists in the later sixteenth century as well, though in smaller numbers.<sup>49</sup>

After the increasing commercialization of *çatma* cushion covers in the seventeenth century, men and even women might also have come to admire them after seeing them in shops. In Edirne, 'Abdürrahman Efendi left several kinds of Bursa *çatma* cushions, divided by quality, totalling just under thirty pairs, as mentioned above.<sup>50</sup> His shop was in the Mustafa Pasha Han, and when he died in 1658 he was stocking fabric that ranged from humble (cotton cloth from Diyarbakır) to opulent (*kemhâ*, *serâser*, and *çatma*). The Mustafa Pasha Han, which may be tentatively identified as part of or associated with the Defterdar Mustafa Pasha Mosque (1542),

was one of several in the city. One of Abdürrahman's competitors, Hüseyin Çavuş (d. 1669), had three shops in three different souks, and in his case, they are described as having two or four doors or gates (*bāb*) each, with commensurate rental fees per shop.<sup>51</sup> These *bābs* should probably be imagined as sections of a shop front—the interstice between the supporting columns or arcades—which would remain open during the day and be securely shut at night by means of a large grille. Goods could be artfully arranged at the front of the shop, on a low platform. Antoine Galland, who lived in Istanbul during the 1670s, commented that during holiday celebrations, the shops of Galata and the Old City remained open into the evening, “spilling out into the street, their sofas covered in the most beautiful Persian carpets and cushions.”<sup>52</sup> And, as the cushion left as surety for a loan to the wife of Uzun Bali shows, a market for second-hand, and we can assume, third- or fourth-hand and even older goods flourished. Shop displays, visits, and the percolation down through the hands of used-goods dealers and auctioneers seem to have given rise to a shared appreciation for the distinctive *çatma* style, even as they remained the province of wealthier individuals.<sup>53</sup>

An understanding of some mechanisms that helped circulate styles and objects among the large and diverse populations of major Ottoman cities does nothing, however, to explain how one fashion might become popular at the expense of others. For the *çatma* cushions, I argue that a combination of palette, motifs, and structure contributed to their *éclat*, rather than merely the gold brocade or the crimson silk. The use of a shorthand to indicate opulence was not limited to Ottoman painters but also existed in the material world itself. And in the case of the cushion covers, the *éclat* lent by the format sometimes disguised a substantially inferior object.

Ottoman regulations allowed for several levels of quality of most craft goods, including *çatma* cushions. Some court cases from the late sixteenth and seventeenth century describe in detail the standards for thread type and count for *çatma* in general and for cushions in particular.<sup>54</sup> A compendium of set prices issued for Istanbul in 1640 also lists *çatma* cushions from several places as well as their corresponding values.<sup>55</sup> In

this document, the cushion covers from Bilecik alone were available in three qualities, priced at 3,200; 2,980; and 2,720 *akçe*, respectively.<sup>56</sup> The variation in extant goods, however, is far wider than that described in any document.<sup>57</sup>

One subset of *çatma* cushions in particular seems to fall outside any standard set by regulation or given in the price list.<sup>58</sup> The objects in this group are significantly smaller and their brocading weft threads—the expensive *külabdān*—are found only in the small areas in the centers of the medallions. The density of the velvet warp is lower, though it is surprisingly variable within the group.<sup>59</sup> The silk thread used is also much less smooth and less richly colored; it is probably a lower grade of silk made from discontinuous filaments reeled from broken cocoons.<sup>60</sup> Instead of using two colors of velvet pile throughout the textile, the weavers have economized by using a red field with green main borders, which saves half the amount of the expensive dyed silk thread. But the most significant difference is the drawing.<sup>61</sup> In several cases, attempts at scalloping the edges of the central medallion have resulted in an awkward and uneven fringe, and in another, the medallion itself becomes almost square (figs. 7 and 8). The wide main borders, medallions and finials, and rosettes find parallels in the cushion covers that date to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century; they almost certainly date to no earlier than 1680.

The mediocre draughtsmanship together with the smaller size shows that this group of cushion covers was—from the very moment the artist picked up his pen and the *naķşbend* began constructing the thread models—made to be sold for less. Weavers and the other workers were responding to demand: men and women with shallower pockets also aspired to own *çatma* cushions. They must have agreed, collectively and perhaps tacitly, that the palette, format, and structure, rather than the absolute quality of the materials or fineness of the motifs, were the distinguishing characteristics of the cushion covers. These far less fine examples show that the craftsmen recognized and responded to this demand. These cushion covers, then, succeeded in their emulation; they signalled, if weakly, the same thing as their finer and more expensive counterparts: a participation in a widely recognized and admired



Fig. 7. *Çatma* cushion cover, Bursa, later seventeenth or eighteenth century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 781-1897. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

aesthetic with links to an urban elite, as illustrated in both the *Hamse-i 'Aṭā'i* and *Gentleman in a Landscape*.

#### AFTER 1700: A NEW FASHION IN ÇATMA CUSHION COVERS

The *çatma* cushion covers illustrated in the 1738 *Hamse-i 'Aṭā'i*, however, stand in stark contrast to those painted only a few years later by Jean-Étienne Liotard (d. 1789), in his portrait of Graf Anton Corfiz of Ulfeldt (d. 1760), a Habsburg emissary to Constantinople between July 1740 and May 1741 (fig. 9).<sup>62</sup> Here, Corfiz holds a document bearing the tughra of Sultan Mahmud I and stands in the middle ground, at the center of a room in what appears to be an Ottoman house. The space is well-appointed, though uncluttered: the consul poses in front of a low *sedir* covered in a scarlet cloth, on a woven reed floor

covering, framed by a level of shuttered windows and an upper register of stained glass. The most prominent furnishings are several matching *çatma* cushions. Each has a pale ground on which fine curvilinear flowering branches twine around a small scalloped medallion. The lappets, numbering six on each end, are filled with a detailed blossom framed by two leaves. While the motifs appear to be rendered in red velvet pile, green may also be present; it is less visible against the ground and was probably employed in smaller quantities. Corfiz's cushion covers mark a departure—in palette, motifs, and even, to some extent, format—from the earlier examples, which mainly use a crimson ground embellished with gold detail. If the cushions in the *Hamse-i 'Aṭā'i* represent the continuation of one tradition, those in the Graf represent something new.

The drawloom and pattern harness used to make figured compound textiles exerted a largely conservative



Fig. 8. *Çatma* cushion cover, Bursa, later seventeenth or eighteenth century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 777-1897. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

force on changes in format and motif because it was labor and time intensive to attach the thread model to the loom; a single model, though, could be used indefinitely or set aside for later use, or even sold or traded to other workshops. Creating an entirely new thread model—necessary for new designs, whether fine or poor—required paying or otherwise compensating a *nağşbend* and refitting the harness; only an immediate financial benefit, such as a demonstrated demand for a new style, format, or quality, could offer a reasonable incentive.

Fluctuations in style surely did occur; several motif and format changes mark the years between about 1600 and 1720. A sequential analysis suggests that all-over patterned examples (i.e., fig. 1) seem to be a feature of the early part of this period, whereas main borders are added to the centrally planned versions sometime in the

first decades of the seventeenth century. The painting in the *Hamse-i 'Aṭā'i*, the Algerian Pasha's gift to the King of Sweden, and even the subset of poorer-quality examples suggest that the crimson-ground type continued to be used, if not produced, in some quantities in the eighteenth century. The sort of cover found, however, in Liotard's painting as well as in extant examples, seems to be the result of a sudden and radical departure (figs. 10 and 11). The introduction of previously unknown motifs organized in new arrangements, the reversal of the use of the velvet and brocade to form the ground and contrasting motifs, and an increase in size, especially length, set this group apart. However, most features of the *çatma* structure remain constant, as does the use of lappets and their interior decoration. There is nothing to suggest the introduction of a new technology, the



Fig. 9. Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Anton Corfiz, Graf of Ulfeldt*, Istanbul, 1740 or 1741. Louvre Abu Dhabi, inv. no. LAD 2011.015. (© Louvre Abu Dhabi, photography Agence photo F)



Fig. 10. *Çatma* cushion cover, Bursa, eighteenth century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 103-1878. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 11. *Çatma* cushion cover, Bursa, eighteenth century. Istanbul, Sadberk Hanım Museum, inv. no. 10448 D.124. (Photo published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the Sadberk Hanım Museum)

emergence of a new center or, even less, a non-Ottoman origin for this group.

Any attempt to identify the force behind this sea change brings us tidily back to the relationship between the groups and individuals producing, selling, and acquiring the goods. Part of this dynamic may be reflected in the price and ownership of the cushion covers. Analysis of the prices of the *çatma* cushions given in inventories in Edirne between 1600 and 1740 reveals a steep rise, but one that does not keep pace with the rise in the value of the estates of their owners—in this sample of probate inventories, almost all of them were wealthy *‘askerî*, members of the Ottoman military and bureaucratic class.<sup>63</sup> In 1740, the richest third of this group also owned *çatma* cushions valued at more than those owned by the middle third, whose cushions were assigned prices about 40 percent less. This finding is echoed in the extant goods: a group of lesser-quality *çatma* cushions, like those in figures 7 and 8, might well be within the reach of the somewhat less wealthy. Other trends emerge. The inventories show that the cushions were owned in larger numbers in 1740 than earlier: 33 inventories include 36 *çatma* cushions, whereas in 1640, only 56 are found in 99 lists.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, however, plain velvets, other formats of *çatma* (such as lengths, quilt covers, or sitting cloths), and cushions made of other luxury fabrics, like *kemhâ* or *serâser*, had disappeared almost entirely by 1740—a trend that appears to originate sometime in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>65</sup> The preferences of Ottoman subjects in several strata of the upper echelons might have stimulated production of the *çatma* cushion covers over and above other formats and other fabrics. An increased demand for *çatma* cushions and their ability to generate a tidy and instant profit for the weavers might have meant fewer looms making other luxury silks and other *çatma* formats, which in turn disappeared.

In summary, the records show a range of prices for *çatma* cushions, which were intermittently affordable to diverse members of an upper stratum; they were not the exclusive preserve of the palace or the pashas. However, the real prices of the *çatma* cushions listed in these inventories also increased between 1640 and 1740, as did their concentration in the estates of the wealthiest third

of these well-to-do and well-connected subjects. Here we also find the driving force behind the creation and adoption of the new style. Just as a subset of lower-quality cushions met the growing demands of men and women of modest means, and in turn played a role in the corresponding disappearance of other *çatma* formats, so a more opulent version emerged to meet the expectations of an increasingly wealthy upper segment of Ottoman society, whose estate values climbed much further and much faster than those of their less wealthy peers.

It is difficult to trace the personal and professional circumstances that might have influenced an individual's decisions about furnishing his or her home.<sup>66</sup> A prosopographical approach may serve: Ottoman subjects of the capital cities were witness to the artistic and architectural revitalization that occurred in Istanbul, and perhaps elsewhere, in the first part of the eighteenth century. Scholars have written extensively on the increasingly vibrant social life in Istanbul in this period.<sup>67</sup> The building and renovation of *yalsus*, the waterfront mansions that line both the European and Asian shores of the Bosphorus, absorbed the attention and funds of Ottoman princesses and viziers, diverse *‘askerî* members, and even some individuals belonging to a merchant class, including Muslim, Christian, and Jewish subjects.<sup>68</sup> Floral decoration, though not new, found novel expression in public architecture, like the large fountain of Sultan Ahmed III (1728) near the Bab-i Humayun and that of Mahmud I (1732) in Tophane. As Shirine Hamadeh has noted, a new and more playful decorative style is also seen in the commissions for small fountains of several types, whose patrons were major and even minor functionaries, rather than sultans.<sup>69</sup> A small boom in the production of illustrated copies of the *Hamse-i ‘Atâ’i* occurred; between 1691 and 1738, no fewer than six were commissioned, which accounts for all known versions.<sup>70</sup> The *Hamse* was itself older—the poet Nevizade (d. 1635–36) wrote it about a century earlier—but its half-moralizing, half-comic themes seemed to resonate as much with an eighteenth-century audience as with a seventeenth-century one.

The inventories from the first half of the eighteenth century indicate some shifts inside the home as well. Most notably, coffeepots appear in greater numbers in

1740—almost half of the men and women in this survey owned one or more—than they did in 1640, when only one in six did. Much has been written about social life at the Ottoman coffeehouse, but it seems that some subjects were also enjoying this beverage at home.<sup>71</sup> This might be due in part to the periodic bans on the public coffeehouse, but it may also indicate that women, unable to frequent such venues, were making and serving coffee at home. As noted above, the *kahve makraması* joined a variety of other cloths designated for the presentation and serving of sweets, as well as special cups, bowls, and goblets. The inventories from Istanbul and Edirne suggest that the numbers of these objects increased between 1600 and 1750. It is tempting to relate the increase to the practice of entertaining in the home. Eighteenth-century sociability in public spaces seems to have had a domestic equivalent, and with this came the need for special dishes and foods, as well as for handsome and fashionable furnishings, especially the cushion covers that lined the back of the *sedir*.

At the same time, the pale-ground cushion covers themselves suggest an increased agility on the part of the men producing them. The new style reflected a growing taste for lighter colors and glimmering grounds, features also found in Safavid and Mughal textiles of this period; perhaps the Bursa *çatmas* were inspired by these imports.<sup>72</sup> The silk used in the warp threads that make up the satin ground of these textiles is shinier and whiter than that of their earlier counterparts; in several cases, the weavers have taken the opportunity to stint on the *kılabdān* weft, leaving large areas of the satin ground void of metal.<sup>73</sup> The shimmer of the ivory satin ground, however, ensures that the aesthetic is less compromised than it might have been otherwise. Not all differences are the result of economizing; in a pair of covers at the V&A, the strands of *kılabdān* have been doubled in some areas, making the brocade especially dense.<sup>74</sup> Another example, at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, also uses doubled *kılabdān* for its brocading weft thread.<sup>75</sup> The density of both the colored silks used to make the pile and the ivory silk used to make the satin face is variable in this group, but is on average similar to that of their earlier, velvet-ground counterparts.

However, the lustrous surfaces of these handsome new cushion covers hide a profound change on the ma-

terial level. By reversing the relationship from colored velvet field and brocaded motif to brocaded field and colored velvet motif, the weavers had made an enormous savings. For velvets, the amount of expensive green and red silk required to make the loops that in turn formed the pile is estimated at an order of about seven times the length of the satin warps.<sup>76</sup> By using thread models that demanded only a small amount of pile—to make light and airy motifs instead of a solid ground—the weavers needed to purchase as little as a quarter of the quantity of expensive high-quality silk as they would have had to obtain for the colored ground types.<sup>77</sup> This significant saving did not diminish the prices of the finished textile, as shown by the probate records. They looked luxe—and in many ways were—but could be produced for far less.

The richest third of the men and women in the sample group purchased and used more *çatma* cushion covers than their earlier counterparts; these eighteenth-century goods were more expensive than their earlier counterparts as well as more expensive than those owned by the group's less wealthy contemporaries; this combination of factors reflects the role of this uppermost echelon in sustaining, if not creating, the production of this new type.

The source of this change, if it is based on demand for a new fashion, can be explained in part by the subset of small, poor-quality cushions. Once the original style—invented during the late sixteenth century and popularized during the seventeenth—had spread far and deep enough to be emulated in these rather shabby examples and had even appeared in the decidedly unopulent setting depicted in the *Hamse-i Aṭā'i*, the very wealthy abandoned it in favor of novel cushion covers like those belonging to the Graf.

## CONCLUSION

Despite the elegance of the new type of *çatma* cushion cover, it endured for only a few decades. During the second half of the eighteenth century, and especially the last quarter, a series of small shifts eventually resulted in the loss of the type's defining lappets. These were at first replaced with curling vines, and then with garlands;

they were finally diminished to form part of a main border. By the 1770s, motifs included arms and standards arranged to make medallions, kiosks, or pavilions, and ribbon-tied garlands. In their overall aesthetic, these somewhat more static and centralized designs hark back to the formats of the seventeenth century, with their central medallions and regularized placement of contained motifs. Designs featuring a velvet ground, however, never enjoyed any substantial revival, perhaps due to an irreversible shift in taste and fashion, or to competition within the Ottoman Empire from similar European and Indian goods.<sup>78</sup>

Decorative and functional objects from the Islamic world are often grouped under the general and plausible rubric of “art of an urban middle class.” Close examination of the exact role played by men and women outside the palace and its immediate surroundings in spurring luxury production, however, has largely escaped the scrutiny of scholars.<sup>79</sup> The relationship between the production and consumption of *çatma* cushion covers is a small subject in itself, but it may have broader implications for the study of textiles, luxury goods, and fashion in the early modern Islamic world. It would be useful to consider further the happy collusions between producer and consumer and changing sizes and compositions of urban populations, as well as their expenditure on luxury goods and their imitators. This, and similar studies, would invigorate and make more compelling the art of daily life, which in turn forms the basis of many museum collections worldwide and in fact, the bulk of what we consider Islamic art.

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#### NOTES

1. Microscope-aided analysis of the structure (thread positions, counts, evaluation of materials) was completed by the author in 2007 and 2008 on forty cushion covers in collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A), the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA), and the Whitworth Gallery in Manchester; this also takes into account analysis published in Nurhan Atasoy, Walter Denny, Louise Mackie, and Hülya Tezcan, *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose; Imperial*

*Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (Istanbul and London: Azimuth Publications, 2001); Daniël de Jonghe, Marie-Christine Maquoi, Ina Vanden Berghe, Mieke van Raemdonck, Chris Verhecken-Lammens, and Jan Wouters, *Ottoman Silk Textiles of the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); and the files at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Several cushion covers, which appear to be from the sixteenth century, use an all-silk foundation: e.g., Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, inv. no. 1950.51.Dt.15, illustrated in Atasoy et al., *İpek*, pl. 86.

2. Topkapı Palace Museum Archive (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi; hereafter TSMA), E 962; for a history of drawlooms and pattern harnesses in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*; and Louise Mackie, “Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations,” *Muqarnas* 2 (1990): 127–46.
3. For descriptions of a similar process, see Rahul Jain, “The Drawloom and Its Products,” *The Textile Museum Journal* 32–33 (1993–94): 50–75; Pupul Jayakar, “Naksha Bandhas of Banares,” *Journal of Indian Textile History* 7 (1967): 7–22; and Hans Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia: Their Development, Technology, and Influence on Eastern and Western Civilizations* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1967); Atasoy et al., *İpek*, give a helpful summary, 197–99.
4. For instance, V&A 535B–1885; several more are illustrated in Atasoy et al., *İpek*, figs. 349, 352, and 355.
5. I have photographs of more than three hundred, including fragments; many of these images are from the archives of Prof. Dr. Nurhan Atasoy, which she generously shared with me, and there are certainly more. Among other institutions, the Topkapı Palace Museum and the Benaki Museum hold other unpublished examples and each of the London auction houses seems to have offered one or two of the type at sales during the 1990s and 2000s. Many more—and especially those in poor condition—must still lurk in museum and other storerooms.
6. Ernst Petrasch, Reinhold Sängler, Eva Zimmerman, and Hans Georg Majer, *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute: Die “Türkische Kammer” des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden; “Die Türckischen Curiositaeten” der Markgrafen von Baden-Durlach* (Munich: Hirmer, 1991).
7. A. J. B. Wace, “The Dating of Turkish Velvets,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 64, 373 (1934): 164–70.
8. Hülya Tezcan and Sumiyo Okumura, *Textile Furnishings from the Topkapı Palace Museum* (Istanbul: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007).
9. TSMA E 962 (887/1483); D 3 (907/1501); D 4 (911/1505); D 12 (1091/1680); D 2314 (975/1568); and D 7108 (1053/1643).
10. London, Victoria and Albert Museum Archives, Blythe House, MA/1/S3643, S2845, S7353; Stora, M. et Cie (1894–1920). London, Victoria and Albert Museum Archives, Blythe House, MA/1/B1080, B5140, B53402, and B10111: Benguiat, Vitall (1892–99). For a somewhat longer discussion of provenance, see Amanda Phillips, “The Historiography of Ottoman Velvets, 2011–1572: Scholars, Craftsmen, Consumers,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (June 2012): 1–26; arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/phillips1.pdf.

11. V&A 104-1878, and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (henceforth MFA), 77-268 and 77-270; V&A 534-1884 and 86-1878, and MFA 77-259; V&A 89-1878 and MFA 77-272; V&A 91-1878 and MFA 77-257 (both trimmed); V&A 2248-1899 and MFA 1877-256.
12. Wace, "Dating of Turkish Velvets"; Jennifer Wearden, *Turkish Velvet Cushion Covers* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990); Atasoy et al., *İpek; Hülya Bilgi, Osmanlı İpekli Dokumaları Çatma ve Kemha = Çatma and Kemha: Ottoman Silk Textiles* (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Museum, 2007). An article by Nevber Gürsu, "Çatma Yastık Yüzleri," *Antik & Dekor* 8 (1990): 45–55, is largely a summary of Wearden's work.
13. Sumiyo Okumura, *The Influence of Turkic Culture on Mamluk Carpets* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2007), 68; the banner was recently reattributed to fourteenth-century Marinid Andalusia by Miriam Ali-de-Unzaga, "Qur'anic Inscriptions on the So-called 'Pennon of Las Navas de Tolosa' and Three Marinid Banners," in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and Its Creative Expressions*, ed. Famida Suleiman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 239–70.
14. Ruth Barnes, *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt: The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). This was noticed, in fact, as early as the 1930s, by the well-known scholar and collector of Indian printed cottons, Rudolph Pfister, in *Les toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan* (Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1938). An embroidered silk and cotton cushion cover from the Mamluk period is also found, buttons intact, in the Ashmolean Museum. Marianne Ellis, *Embroideries and Sampers from Islamic Egypt* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2001), 74–79. Another embroidery from Fustat, in the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., has recently come to light: inv. no. 73-730.
15. Susan A. Skilliter, "The Letters of the Venetian 'Sultana' Nur Banu and Her Kira to Venice," in *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata*, ed. Ugo Marazzi and Aldo Gallotta (Milan: Herder, 1982), 515–46.
16. This cushion is smaller than the Ottoman versions, however, and is set apart by several other stylistic elements. The most salient difference is the structure of the velvet: Walter B. Denny, "Oriental Carpets and Textiles in Venice," in *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 175–91. For a description of its technical features, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 189 and 348n69.
17. TSMK H.1523, illustrated in Metin And, *Minyatür, Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları 1* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2002), 65; Nigâr Anafarta, *Hünernâme: Minyatürleri ve Sanatçıları* (Istanbul: Topkapı Müzesi and Yapı & Kredi Bankası, 1969), pl. X.
18. *Siyer-i Nabî*: Copenhagen, David Collection, 42/2000, illustrated in Kjeld von Folsach, *Art from the World of Islam in the David Collection* (Copenhagen: David Collection, 2001), pl. 86; *Egri Fetihnâmesi*: TSMK H.1609, illustrated in Nurhan Atasoy, Julian Raby, and Yiannis Petsopoulos, *Iznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (London: Alexandria Press in association with Laurence King, 1989), pl. 41; *Jâmi' al-Siyer: TSMK H.1230*, illustrated in Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa, Calif: Mazda, 1990), pl. XVI.
19. Harvard University Art Museums, inv. no. 1985.233 (fig. 4).
20. Istanbul Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Evkâf-ı Hümâyün Müfettişliği Defterleri (Istanbul Sharia Court Ledgers, Division of the Inspectorate of Royal Foundations), 1107:10.
21. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na ait Tereke Defterleri (1545–1659)," *Belgeler* 3, 5–6 (1966): 1–479, esp. 193–206.
22. Rhoads Murphey, "Syria's 'Underdevelopment' under Ottoman Rule: Revisiting an Old Theme in the Light of New Evidence from the Court Records of Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Arab Lands in the Ottoman Era: Essays in Honor of Professor Caesar Farah*, ed. Jane Hathaway (Minneapolis: Center for Early Modern History, 2010), 209–30, 230n35.
23. Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu*, gen. ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, 10 vols. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996–2007), 1:85.
24. Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na," 406.
25. *Ibid.*, 1–479.
26. Nalan Kılıç, "1650 Yılında Bursa (B 87 Nolu Mahkeme Siciline Göre)" (M.A. thesis, Uludağ University [Bursa], 2005), 169.
27. Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, 2:23.
28. TSMK E962, D4.
29. Fahri Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik: Türk Sanayî ve Ticaret Tarihinde* (Istanbul: Sermet Matbaası, 1960); Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983).
30. Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "1624 Sikke Tashihinin Ardından Hazırlanan Narh Defterleri," *Tarih Dergisi* 34 (1984): 123–82.
31. Many secondary sources refer to this type of cushion as Scutari (Üsküdar); the identification may stem from a velvet cushion-making workshop that was part of the foundations attached to the Mihrişah Emine Sultan Mosque in Üsküdar (1761). Tahsin Öz mentions this in his work from the 1940s on silk fabrics and clothing at the Topkapı Palace, but the manufacture at Üsküdar is not mentioned in Ottoman sources about weaving, as far as is known. Curiously, the 1910 Munich catalogue employs this term, so it must have been in use by the end of the nineteenth century, at least by the dealers that supplied the objects—in this case, the Frères Bacri: Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1946); Friedrich Sarre and Fredrik Robert Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst in München, 1910*, 3 vols. (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1912), 3; pls. 218 and 221. For a more thorough discussion, see Phillips, "Historiography of Ottoman Velvets, 2011–1572," 12.
32. Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na," 249.

33. Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na," passim; Levent Kuru, "29 Numaralı Edirne Şer'iye Sicili" (M.A. thesis, Trakya University [Edirne], 2006), passim; Birol Çetin, "İstanbul Askeri Kassamı'na ait Hicri: 1112–1113 (M. 1700–1701)," *Tarihli Tereke Defteri* (M.A. thesis, Istanbul University, 1992), passim; Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama ait Onyedinci Asır İstanbul Tereke Defterleri: Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1995).
34. It is absent from the lists because it was a part of the architecture and could not be removed and inventoried like a Koran stand or piece of porcelain.
35. For an assessment of the diverse origins of goods in the Ottoman Empire, see Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Material Culture of Global Connections: A Report on Current Research," *Turcica* 41 (2009): 403–31, esp. 410–17. Inventory lists of wealthy Ottoman subjects also provide examples: a certain Yunus Beg who died in Edirne in 1572 left a quantity of goods, including items from Dubrovnik, Thessaloniki (Selanik), Damascus, Baghdad, India, and Persia, and one referred to as *Firenç*, or Frankish, meaning from Latin Europe; Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na," 147–51.
36. Kuru, "29 Numaralı Edirne Şer'iye Sicili," 187–96.
37. *Qahve* is also used to describe a color, but the word is *qahverençi*, and as it, too, is found in this record, the term *qahve maqraması* must refer to the beverage rather than the hue.
38. A small minority of cushion covers made of other fabrics (from *serâser* to printed cottons) also use lappets; there are about thirty of these extant compared to the estimated four or five hundred *çatma* versions.
39. This painting, tentatively dated to around 1700–1720, has been cited for its use of a deep background space and the presence of a third dimension. This use of space is sometimes heralded as the beginning of a revolution in painting—the result of exposure to contemporary Western pictures, whether prints, paintings, or otherwise. There are two arguments against this, or at least against a straightforward reconstruction that emphasizes a steady and progressive adoption of Western conventions in Ottoman painting in this period: the first is the existence of paintings that use similar devices, most notably in a painting of a fox dressed as a dervish found in Fethullah 'Arifi Çelebi's *Ravzat al-Uşşâk*, ca. 1560 (Harvard University Art Museums, inv. no. 1985.216) and another, at the same institution, that shows a prince in a landscape (inv. no. 1985.243), as well as a sixteenth-century (?) manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplement Turc 447. The album with the *Gentleman in a Landscape* also contains late sixteenth-century engravings from Holland, but the architectural perspective—relying heavily on orthogonals—is not found in the Ottoman painting. Instead, the details, which may have found inspiration in Western pictures, seem to belong as much to an older source, perhaps a Book of Hours, as to the strict mathematical perspective of a High Renaissance painting. For a thorough discussion of even earlier antecedents, see Aysin Voltar, "The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production: 1413–1520" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2002).
40. Three engravings from Holland and France and one Ottoman portrait, probably of Murad IV, are also found in this album, among other images. The album has not been published and is not accessible at the time of writing.
41. For the sixteenth-century centralization of royal workshops under Sultan Süleyman, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 195–216. For the transformation of sixteenth-century court culture to a decentralized "mass culture" in the seventeenth century, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "L'idée de décor dans les régimes de visualité islamiques," in *Purs decors? Arts de l'Islam, regards du XIXe siècle: Collections des arts décoratifs*, ed. Rémi Labrusse, Sophie Makariou, and Evelyne Possémé (Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 2007), 10–23. This later period is also characterized by a declining number of artisans directly employed by the palace: see Tülay Artan, "Arts and Architecture," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 408–81.
42. Despite the evidence found in Mustafa 'Ali (see n. 45 below), in the inheritance inventories published by Öztürk, Çetin, and others (see n. 33 above), and in the numbers of surviving objects themselves, some recent scholarship has insisted that the home was not a space of display and that furnishings remained simple: Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 173–74.
43. For the privacy of a house in general, see Eli Alshech, "Do Not Enter Houses Other Than Your Own': The Evolution of the Notion of a Private Domestic Sphere in Early Sunnī Islamic Thought," *Islamic Law and Society* 11, 3 (2004): 291–332. It is equally important to note that goods in residential interiors were not subject to sumptuary law, or at least not to its enforcement, whereas splendid clothing, headgear, horse-trappings, etc., were.
44. Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus" (Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988), 238, 242.
45. Mustafa 'Ali (d. 1600) specifies that the "nicely furnished" upper storeys of the houses of grandees and famous persons are private, but goes on to imply that permission may be granted to enter these spaces: Mustafa 'Ali, *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century: Mûsta'fa 'Âli's Mevâ'idü'n nefâ'is fi kava'idü'l-mecâlis* (*Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gathering*), trans. Douglas S. Brookes (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2003), 142–43; Nancy Micklewright, "Musicians and Dancing Girls: Images of Women in Ottoman Miniature Painting," in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Madeline C. Zilfi (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 153–68.

46. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M—y W—y M—e to Persons of Distinction*, 1763; Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Women and the Public Eye in Eighteenth-century Istanbul,” in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 301–24.
47. Lesley Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 144.
48. In a 1587 work, Mustafa ‘Âli also specifies the types of goods suitable to the homes of grandees and famous men, including gold-embellished cushions and cloths; he repeats a similar sentiment in the later work from 1599–1600: Andreas Tietze, “Mustafa Ali on Luxury and Status Symbols of Ottoman Gentlemen,” in Marazzi and Gallotta, *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata*, 577–90.
49. There appears to have been some use of the *çatma* cushions—and other luxury goods—in the homes of wealthy subjects in the later sixteenth century, as attested by inventory lists from Edirne; a certain ‘Abdülkadir (d. 1569) left a quilt, cushion, and pillow made of *çatma*; a shop owner (d. 1596) left a quantity of *kadife* and *çatma* from Bursa and Bilecik, including cushions: Barkan, “Edirne Askeri Kassamı’na,” 143–46, 335–38. Mustafa ‘Âli is also clear on the point: see nn. 45 and 48.
50. See p. 7 of this article, 157.
51. Barkan, “Edirne Askeri Kassamı’na,” 409.
52. Antoine Galland, *Journal d’Antoine Galland: Pendant son séjour à Constantinople, 1672–1673*, ed. and annot. Charles Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881), 210.
53. The *çatma* style, however, is imitated in a variety of other textile structures—from silk embroidery to printed cotton. This is discussed in detail in Amanda Phillips, “Weaving as Livelihood, Style as Status: Ottoman Velvets in a Social and Economic Context” (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 2011), chaps. 4 and 5. A court case from 1584 allows for two qualities (defined by thread count) of *çatma*, provided the asking price corresponded; in 1599, men making *çatma* cushions were permitted to substitute cotton for the silk used in the satin foundation; a similar substitution was not permitted for other *çatma* products: Dalsar, *Bursa’da İpekcilik*, documents 242 and 261. A palace order from 1575 also specifies different qualities of *çatma*—100 lengths each of high and middle quality, along with many other types of goods: Dalsar, *Bursa’da İpekcilik*, document 173. The 1502 enquiry into the state of silk weaving in Bursa (summarized in Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 162–64) also provides evidence for how thread count, thread quality, and a production of diverse types and qualities of textiles were conceived a century earlier.
55. See n. 54 above. Neither the court cases nor list of fixed prices should be taken out of context, however, and each may represent a legal or philosophical ideal rather than a practice observed or standard strictly adhered to: Dalsar, *Bursa’da İpekcilik*, and Kütiükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*. See also Necipoğlu, “L’idée de décor,” for the hierarchy of “low, medium, [and] high” grades of goods, reflecting codes of decorum from Ottoman architecture to textiles and other media.
56. Kütiükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*, 175.
57. A summary of technical analysis is given in Phillips, “Weaving as Livelihood,” chap. 2.
58. These cushions share the structure and general material of the others, and there is no reason to think that they should be assigned to a different date or center. This group includes V&A 776–1897, 781–1897; for the latter, V&A 780–1897. The V&A has seven, and several more are found in other collections (Grünberg in Paris) or in auction catalogues for past sales (i.e., Paris Boisgirard, Sale June 1995, lot 117*bis*). Several more use red fields and green borders, along with careful drawing and a more typical size. And more elegant economizations are evident in some cushions that cleverly conceal the fact that the red weft and green weft are used in alternating sections (i.e., Bonhams Sale, 14 October 2004, lot 458).
59. The density of the pile ranges from about 12 × 12 cm to 18 × 18 cm in the larger group, and from 8 × 8 cm to 12 × 12 cm in the subset.
60. Dalsar, *Bursa’da İpekcilik*, document 261.
61. Problems with the drawing cannot be explained by material shortages (i.e., a sudden increase in silk prices or an unavailability of silver for *kulabdân*-making), which could explain some deficiencies in these or other *çatma* cushion covers.
62. Marcel Röthlisberger, *Liotard*, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2008), 1:283–85.
63. The statistics and real-price calculations are given in Phillips, “Weaving as Livelihood,” chap. 5. The real price history is based on the Ottoman Price Index, compiled by Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler, 1469–1998* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000) and the data about the specific *çatma* prices taken from 187 Ottoman probate records from Ottoman Edirne, 1580–1741. The probates provide insight into the consumption patterns of this group of Ottomans—all ‘*askerî*, all urbanites, and mostly Muslim. They are not representative of any random section of the populace and the findings are specific to the wealthy and usually well-connected elite. Three sets of inheritance inventories were selected; they are published as follows: Barkan, “Edirne Askeri Kassamı’na”; Kuru, “29 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iye Sicili”; and Oğuzhan Samıkıran, “138 Numaralı Edirne Şer’iye Sicili, H 1119–1161 / M 1707–1748” (M.A. thesis, Fırat University [Elazığ]).
64. See n. 63 above. The relevant data are included in Appendix Two of Phillips, “Weaving as Livelihood.”
65. See n. 63 above. See also Amanda Phillips, “Ottoman Silk Furnishing Fabrics in the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art: Fashion and Production, 1600–1750,” *Shangri La Working Papers in Islamic Art* 4 (December 2012): 1–31; [www.shangrilahawaii.org/Global/Research/Working%20Papers/Amanda%20Phillips,%20No%204,%20Dec%202012.pdf](http://www.shangrilahawaii.org/Global/Research/Working%20Papers/Amanda%20Phillips,%20No%204,%20Dec%202012.pdf).

66. For more, see Rhoads Murphey, "Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society," *Turcica* 34 (2002): 135–70.
67. Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life"; Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 408–81.
68. The presence of Ottoman princesses is well known; the presence of Jewish and Christian individuals can be inferred from the sumptuary laws governing the painting of the *yals*. Shirine Hamadeh gives the example of a 1721 decree demanding that Ottoman grandees paint their own residences bright colors in order to distinguish them from those belonging to non-Muslims: Shirine Hamadeh, "The City's Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul" (Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1999), 81.
69. These changes were most certainly part of a longer trend and were neither a complete retrenchment of the Ottoman style nor accepted by all.
70. See Günsel Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 39 (1981): 15–32.
71. This is by no means the last word about coffee and coffeehouses. Almost all work about coffeehouses is, by default, about men, who appear to frequent coffeehouses more often as the Ottoman centuries progressed. İbrahim Peçevi (d. 1650) complained that formal, and expensive, entertaining at home had been replaced by meetings to drink coffee, which cost only a few *akçe* a cup: İbrahim Peçevi, *Tārīh-i Peçevi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Āmire, 1864–67), 1:364. Peçevi, of course, was not talking about women.
72. For instance, two Persian pale-ground silk textiles illustrated in *Shah 'Abbas: The Remaking of Iran*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (London: British Museum, 2009), figs. 71 and 72. The Ottoman versions of these handsome pale-ground textiles might be considered examples of import substitution: see Amanda Phillips, "The Localization of the Global: Ottoman Silk Textiles and Markets, 1500–1790," in *Threads of Global Desire: Silk in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Luca Molà and Dagmar Schäfer (Warwick: Pasold Foundation, forthcoming 2014).
73. V&A 496-1884; V&A 103-1878; MFA 77-261.
74. V&A 797A-1897, 797B-1897.
75. MFA 77-255.
76. Luther Hooper, *Hand-Loom Weaving, Plain & Ornamental* (London: Pitman Taplinger, 1910).
77. In some cases, the amount of *kılabdān* brocading weft required would slightly increase, but not at the same order of magnitude as the reduction of the velvet pile warps.
78. A painting in the style of Jean-Baptiste Van Mour (d. 1737) from ca. 1785, in the Edwina van Heek Foundation Collection, Enschede (Netherlands), shows the Grand Vizier leaning against a cushion, which appears to have red and green lappets on a white ground.
79. For an in-depth consideration, see Phillips, "Historiography of Ottoman Velvets, 2011–1572."



ADAM JASIENSKI

## A SAVAGE MAGNIFICENCE: OTTOMANIZING FASHION AND THE POLITICS OF DISPLAY IN EARLY MODERN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

On October 29, 1645, after many weeks of travel and preparation, the Polish ambassador Krzysztof Opaliński (d. 1655) led a spectacular procession into Paris.<sup>1</sup> Opaliński's arrival, to officiate the wedding by proxy of Marie Louise Gonzaga (d. 1667) to the Polish king Ladislaus IV Vasa (r. 1632–48), attracted keen interest from Parisian society. Françoise de Motteville (d. 1689), lady-in-waiting to the regent of France, Anne of Austria (r. 1643–51), recorded in her diaries that in their fashion and overall appearance, the Poles “who are now the neighbours of the Turks, seem inclinable in some measure to ape the grandeur and majesty of the seraglio.” In describing the “richly apparell'd” riders, she noted that “there is something in their magnificence, which looks very savage.” Although Motteville found the arriving foreigners “for the most part so fat and slovenly, that they are loathsome,” she nevertheless admitted that the ambassador's entrée was performed “with abundance of solemnity, and the best decorum in the world.” She seemed almost surprised that “our French people instead of laughing at them, as they had intended, were forced to commend them ... that their entry was very well worth our regard.”<sup>2</sup>

Opaliński certainly did feel commended, and his pleasure at the embassy's reception in Paris radiates in a letter he sent his brother a few days later. Peppering his Polish with Latin phrases in the style typical of the day, he wrote, “Everyone *passim* [everywhere] says that Paris has seen *nihil simile* [nothing similar] in wealth, appearance, and orderliness as this our entry. *Hoc mirum* [It is remarkable] that even the courtiers marvel so wonderfully at our order, and praise our graciousness, language, attire, and everything else.”<sup>3</sup> Given that he shouldered much of the expense of the embassy,

Opaliński was deeply concerned with how it was perceived, and he concluded an earlier letter, sent from Brussels, by expressing a desire that “we shall leave here, God willing, a remembrance of [our] good manners, rationality, and splendor.”<sup>4</sup>

The Italian artist Stefano della Bella (d. 1664) documented the Poles' entry into Paris in fourteen drawings, likely in preparation for a series of never-executed etchings. In one of them, the ambassador's carefully choreographed retinue, composed of cavalry and infantrymen, steadily advances across the cream-colored paper (fig. 1). Like eddies within a greater flow, a few of the richly caparisoned horses spin and prance, displaying their riders' garments from all sides. The drawings coincide with the written record, visualizing Motteville's descriptions of the entrants' “very fine vests after the Turkish manner, over which, [sic] they wore a great cloak with long sleeves, which they let fall loosely by the horses [sic] sides. The buttons of both their vests and cloaks were rubies, diamonds, and pearls... . Their caps are furr'd, their heads shav'd.”<sup>5</sup> Della Bella's drawings give prominence to the voluminous, fur-trimmed robes worn by the members of Opaliński's entourage, the splendor and strangeness of which likely contributed to the conflicted nature of the French noblewoman's account.

Oscillating among fascination, admiration, and repulsion, Motteville's reaction is typical of how Western Europeans perceived Poles, Hungarians, and other East-Central Europeans in the early modern period, based largely on how they looked. Even though Western styles of dress were common in Poland and Hungary, particularly in the sixteenth century, many nobles from these



Fig. 1. Stefano della Bella, *The Entry of Polish Ambassador Krzysztof Opaliński into Paris, 1645*. Pen and brown ink, with brown wash and watercolor, over graphite. British Museum, London, inv. no. 1895,0617.396. (Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum)

areas embraced a manner of dressing that was strongly influenced by Ottoman, and more broadly Eastern fashions.<sup>6</sup> Foreigners such as Motteville described this style of dress as “Turkish,” “Persian,”<sup>7</sup> or “Jewish,” and even “Japanese,”<sup>8</sup> revealing that early modern viewers drew on their knowledge or idea of what was Ottoman, or “Oriental,” in order to understand the clothing of East-Central Europeans.<sup>9</sup> This essay will question how the Polish and Hungarian nobilities’ Ottomanizing fashions were perceived both at home and abroad, and how they were consciously deployed in expectation of, or response to, those perceptions. It will also examine why these fashions were so readily accepted, when they stemmed from a religiously, culturally, and politically hostile source.

A portrait of the Orthodox Ruthenian nobleman and military commander Roman Fedorowicz Sanguszko (d. 1571) displays many of the defining elements of Eastern-influenced Polish and Hungarian dress (fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> Sanguszko is depicted *en pied*, his left hand resting on the hilt of his sword, which is likely a curved saber of Eastern origin, known in Polish as a *karabela*. His high-necked, long-sleeved *żupan* (tunic), made of a pale patterned gray fabric, is closed at the front and reaches just past his knees.<sup>11</sup> Over it Sanguszko wears a heavier, almost floor-length *kontusz* (outer kaftan or pelisse) in red velvet fastened across his chest with golden acorn-shaped

clasps. The coat’s interior, lined with dark fur, opens outward over his shoulders to form a collar. Two long, almost wing-like bands of crimson cloth constitute the decorative hanging sleeves, which are slashed open and thrown over the back so as to allow the arms free movement. He wears high yellow leather boots of a type that was imported en masse from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>12</sup> A gold and jeweled ceremonial *buzdygan* mace, either imported or produced locally in imitation of Ottoman models, lies on the table next to him.<sup>13</sup>

The garments in which Sanguszko was portrayed correspond to the basic forms of early modern Ottoman costume described by the fashion historian Charlotte Jirousek. She explains that “the layering of coats is a particular characteristic of Turkish dress, creating a silhouette that muffled the body form and equated luxurious dress with modesty and bulk. The layers were not merely worn on top of the other, they were designed and arranged so as to reveal the materials of all the layers, to sumptuous effect.”<sup>14</sup> The careful layering of coats so as to reveal their luxurious fabrics is evident in the Ruthenian nobleman’s portrait, even if they are closely fitted to his torso rather than bulky and loose. Although East-Central European individuals favored long garments, in the 1656 portrait by Benjamin Block (d. 1689) of the Hungarian count and judge Ferenc III Nádasdy (d. 1671) (fig. 3), the nobleman wears an example of a mid-length



Fig. 2. Unknown Polish painter, *Roman Fedorowicz Sanguszko*, early seventeenth century. Oil on canvas. Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, Tarnów, inv. no. MT-A-M/391. (Photo: Robert Moździerz)



Fig. 3. Benjamin Block, *Ferenc III Nádasdy*, 1656. Oil on canvas. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Történelmi Képcsarnok, Budapest, inv. no. TKCs 2321. (Photo: Judit Kardos)

coat. The Ottomanizing qualities of his outfit are nevertheless evident in the characteristic layering of garments, and the overcoat's brilliant red color, flared cut, long slit sleeves, elaborate fastenings, and decorative borders.<sup>15</sup>

I term the recourse to Eastern modes of dress by the economically and politically powerful nobilities in Poland and Hungary "Ottomanization" to distinguish it from the related phenomena of *turquerie*, which was, in general, a matter of taste, and Orientalization, which represented a later form of "cultural colonialism."<sup>16</sup> Even if the Ottomanization of fashion undoubtedly shared certain characteristics with both of these, it was fundamentally an act of self-definition within a group in re-

sponse to an intricate set of societal pressures. Some of the factors that enabled the popularization of such fashions included a perceived proximity to the Islamic East; the intellectual conceit, which reached an apogee in the seventeenth century, that the Polish and Hungarian nobilities were descended from Eastern peoples known as the Sarmatians and the Scythians, as opposed to Roman stock; and a vigorous exchange and appropriation of Ottoman and Iranian commodities, many kinds of which were eventually copied locally.<sup>17</sup> More important than these enabling factors, however, was the concurrent destabilization of royal rule and strengthening of the noble class in both Poland and Hungary, which catalyzed these other factors to full effect. The rift between the royal milieu and the nobility, the effects of which will be explained through group polarization theory, led the latter to seek an alternative to Western styles of dress that were popular at the court, ultimately turning to the East.

In the polarized context of early modern East-Central Europe, I argue, the premeditated choice to present oneself in Occidentalizing or Ottomanizing fashions advertised not only stylistic sensibilities but also political affiliation and group allegiance. Fashion, with its malleability, capacity for propagandistic advertisement, and ability to structure external perceptions, was much more than an expression of personal taste. For the East-Central European nobleman, constantly negotiating his identity in a shifting sociocultural landscape, it was an indispensable tool for addressing the exigencies of a complex political situation.

#### "GARMENTS OF VARIOUS AND DIVERSE NATIONS": THE BEGINNINGS OF OTTOMANIZATION IN POLAND AND HUNGARY

Studies of intercultural exchange between Europe and the Ottoman Empire have focused primarily on Italy and the Mediterranean arena,<sup>18</sup> and Northern Europe.<sup>19</sup> While the Ottomans' interactions with their northern neighbors Poland and Hungary have been examined in a number of excellent archivally-based documentary histories,<sup>20</sup> less attention has been devoted to the impact of these encounters on the visual arts and material culture of these realms.<sup>21</sup> Focusing on the Ottomaniza-

tion of costume in East-Central Europe greatly contributes to our understanding of what William Dalrymple has called the “porous frontiers of Islam and Christendom,”<sup>22</sup> and offers myriad possibilities for conceptual interpretations. For example, the appropriation of the fashion of a culturally distinct group to form one’s own mode of self-definition becomes a way of symbolically subjugating the Other, who is simultaneously feared, derided, and admired. The display of costly objects and materials is a way to peacock and demonstrate superfluity, while the focus on trophies of war—as often made and purchased locally as actually won in combat—signals military supremacy.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, many studies have insufficiently probed the motivations behind the rise of Ottomanizing tastes in Poland and Hungary, instead positing a simplified causal relation between the widespread availability of Eastern objects and garments and the subsequent popularity of Ottomanizing styles of dress.<sup>24</sup> Studies that place undue emphasis on the role of objects as catalysts exemplify the incomplete approach to the study of Ottomanizing fashions:<sup>25</sup> the mere availability of such items is not sufficient to explain why by the seventeenth century they had become constitutive elements of the Polish and Hungarian national dress and external manifestations of a social and political identity.<sup>26</sup>

In sixteenth-century Poland and Hungary, however, Ottoman-inspired fashions were still but one sartorial option available among many, and more a matter of taste than of politics.<sup>27</sup> In 1551 the humanist scholar Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (d. 1572) observed, “He who dons an Italian cope in the morning, will then in the evening wear a Turkish *falszura* (a long overcoat) and *kolpak* (a high hat of Turkish origin, known as a *kalpak* in Turkish), and white or red leather slippers.”<sup>28</sup> Making a similar observation thirty years later, the Veronese-born soldier and humanist Alessandro Guagnini (d. 1614) wrote, “The inhabitants [of Poland] wear the garments of various and diverse nations, especially of Italians, Spaniards, and Hungarians ... while others dress in the German, Turkish, Moscovian, and Bohemian manner.”<sup>29</sup> Garments of Eastern and Western provenance, both of which were common in mid-sixteenth-century Poland, were freely mixed and matched. The Hungarian-born king Stephen Bathory (r. 1576–86) further cemented

the popularity of Eastern dress in Poland with his election to its throne in 1576.<sup>30</sup> This is because Ottoman fashions had already permeated into Hungary by the fifteenth century, following the first Ottoman invasion of Hungarian territories in the 1390s and especially during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–90), whose adaptation of Ottoman vestimentary customs will be discussed below.<sup>31</sup> In Martin Kober’s 1583 portrait, the Polish king Bathory sports what would become the definitive set of Ottomanizing garments in much of East-Central Europe: a voluminous red *kontusz* (itself a loan word to Polish from the Hungarian *köntös*) with hanging sleeves that open to reveal a second set of sleeves belonging to the patterned *żupan* tunic underneath; and bright yellow Turkish boots (fig. 4). As early as by the first quarter of the seventeenth century Polish and Hungarian fashions were so similar in their Ottomanization that the Hungarian traveler Márton Szepesi Csombor noted that “Polish men’s costumes once differed from those of the Hungarians, while today these differences are very few in number, since both nations show a predilection for Turkish attire.”<sup>32</sup>

#### COMPARING OTTOMAN AND EAST-CENTRAL EUROPEAN FASHIONS

Textual descriptions like Modrzewski’s help us grasp the fluid ephemerality of fashion in the period, which allowed an elite individual to embody multiple political and social personalities, even within the span of one day. In portraits, however, this fluidity congealed into the one outfit that the sitter chose to be made permanent for posterity. Such images, although contrived and subjective, contribute much to our knowledge about fashions of the past, particularly as so few garments have survived. In Poland and Hungary, portraiture depicting noble sitters in Ottomanizing dress was one of the catalysts that eventually led to the popularization of these fashions across a broad cross section of society.<sup>33</sup> This resonates with cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai’s explanation that “elite tastes, in general, have [a] ‘turnstile’ function, selecting from exogenous possibilities and then providing models, as well as direct political controls, for internal tastes and production.”<sup>34</sup>



Fig. 4. Martin Kober, *Stephen Bathory*, 1583. Oil on canvas. Muzeum Historyczno-Misyjne Księży Misjonarzy (Historical-Missionary Museum of the Congregation of the Mission), Kraków. (Photo: Michał Grychowski)

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, men's fashions as rendered in varied visual sources, and from distinct cultural areas, are remarkably similar. These include Ottoman painted miniatures, costume books made by Western European travelers, and

portraits of Polish and Hungarian noblemen in Ottomanizing garb. A comparison of Sanguszko's portrait, discussed above (see fig. 2), with a printed depiction of a sixteenth-century Ottoman janissary, identified as *Aga Capitano Generale de Giannizzeri* (Agha [*ağa* in Turkish] General Captain of the Janissaries), after drawings by the French traveler Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–83), reveals the extent to which Ottoman models shaped the traditional Polish nobleman's outfit of the period (fig. 5).<sup>35</sup> The differences are small. The janissary captain's long overcoat is buttoned in its entirety, in contrast to Sanguszko's rakishly open *kontusz*, and the long fastenings that cross the agha's torso like the rungs of a ladder are markedly different from Sanguszko's acorns, though variations on fastenings appear frequently in other Polish and Hungarian portraits of the period. A print by Aegidius Sadeler II of the Transylvanian prince, Gabriel Bethlen (d. 1629), shows another type of fastening, called frogging, which adorns the *mente* (a short overcoat, often lined with fur) he wears over his belted *dolmány* (a long or mid-length close-fitting jacket, buttoned at the throat) (fig. 6).<sup>36</sup>

While the similarities between Sanguszko's dress and that of the agha of the janissaries from Nicolay's print are undeniable, it is impossible to establish their accuracy. Sanguszko's portrait is an early seventeenth-century copy of a lost original done from life,<sup>37</sup> while the costume of the Ottoman figure was filtered through the biases of a number of foreign individuals—the traveler, engraver, and printer—before being further disseminated. There are, however, Ottoman-made images from the late sixteenth century in which we can observe similarly cut and ornamented garments.<sup>38</sup> One rich source for early modern Ottoman fashions is the manuscript *Sürnâme-i Hümayûn* (Imperial Festival Book) of 1582, which depicts guild processions in the Istanbul Hippodrome during the celebrations organized by Murad III (r. 1574–95) on the occasion of his son's circumcision (fig. 7).<sup>39</sup> The two dozen or so members of the arrow-smiths' guild process in front of the sultan, as was typical in the lengthy festivities, during which different groups such as state officials, guild members, and farmers presented him with gifts.<sup>40</sup> Aside from variations in color, ranging from pink and red to light blue, violet, and navy, the dress of each individual fletcher in the procession is



Fig. 5. Anton van Leest after engraving by Louis Danet, *Aga Capitano Generale de Giannizzeri* (Agha Janissary Captain), based on Nicolas de Nicolay's drawing of ca. 1551. From N. de Nicolay, *Le navigationi et viaggi nella Turchia* (Antwerp: Guglielmo Siluio, 1577), fol. 160. Woodcut, Typ 530.77.606, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (Photo: © President and Fellows of Harvard College)



Fig. 6. Aegidius Sadeler II, *Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania*, 1620. Engraving. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-1972-48. (Photo: courtesy of the Rijksmuseum)

nearly identical, consisting of a long-sleeved tunic and an overcoat with decorative fastenings, both floor length.<sup>41</sup> In some cases, the sleeves of the overcoats reach the elbows, while in others they are long and slashed at the shoulder, much as in the portrait of Sanguszko and Nicolay's print of the agha.<sup>42</sup> Each turban-wearing individual carries a bound bundle of arrows, the symbol and product of his craft. Thus while accuracy cannot be verified, the visual similarities of dress depicted in images from independent and diverse locales grant them comparative legitimacy.

One scholar has remarked that by the late seventeenth century Polish and Ottoman fashions were supposedly so similar that before the Battle of Vienna of 1683 the Polish king John III Sobieski (r. 1674–96) ordered his soldiers to wear straw cockades lest their allies



Fig. 7. Unknown Ottoman court painter, *Procession at the Hippodrome*, detail showing members of the arrowsmiths' guild. From the *Süsnâme-i Hümayün* (Imperial Festival Book), 1582. Watercolor on paper. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H.1344, fols. 109v–110r. (Photo: Walter B. Denny, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum)

mistake them for the Ottomans against whom they were fighting.<sup>43</sup> Sobieski's concern is illustrated by the 1633 etching of Johann Wilhelm Baur (d. 1642) entitled *Battaglia Polacha contra Turchi* (Polish Battle against Turks), which depicts a fictive skirmish between Polish and Ottoman soldiers. In the artist's imagining of the encounter, the combatants are virtually indistinguishable, dressed in similar flowing overcoats and wielding nearly identical scimitars (fig. 8).<sup>44</sup> Only their head coverings are different: the Poles sport what appear to be brimmed fur hats, while the Ottomans wear bulbous turbans.

In European visual culture since the late Middle Ages, the turban could be used to depict any non-Catholic individual,<sup>45</sup> including Jews, Pagans, and Protestants, who were thereby associated with Islam's supposed heresies.<sup>46</sup> Among the Ottomans, in contrast, headgear was highly regulated, with specific types of head coverings and colors of fabric restricted by law to various social, political, professional, and religious groups.<sup>47</sup> For instance, only Muslim males could wear turbans, and this privilege extended even after death, with carved turbans often topping the gravestones of Muslim state officials. Turbans never entered into the local sartorial tradition in Poland and Hungary, even though the local elites coveted nearly every other type of Ottoman object, includ-



Fig. 8. Johann Wilhelm Baur, *Battles of Different Nations: Battaglia Polacha co[n]tra Turchi* (Battle of Poles against Turks), 1636. Etching. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Anonymous Fund for the Acquisition of Prints Older than 150 Years, inv. no. S11.10.3. (Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

ing the hat known as the *kalpak*, which was of Eastern provenance. The strong association of the turban with Islam's imagined perversion of the social and religious order appears to have prevented its adoption by the multiconfessional nobilities of both these polities. Instead, noblemen, unencumbered by the norms that existed in the Islamic world, often chose to be portrayed without head coverings of any sort, revealing the characteristically shaved head with a single lock of hair at the top that has also been shown to have an Eastern, likely Tatar, origin.<sup>48</sup>

Even the Crimean Tatar diplomat Dedesh Agha, a Muslim man who frequently traveled to Poland, was

portrayed with his head uncovered in the royal painter Daniel Schultz's 1664 group portrait of the envoy with his family and retinue (fig. 9).<sup>49</sup> That the aging sitter holds a feathered *kalpak* in his right hand, rather than wearing it, points not only to his acculturation and ease at the Polish court but also to the lesser symbolic importance granted to headgear in Poland than in his native milieu and in the Ottoman Empire, where an uncovered head was a sign of humiliation.<sup>50</sup> The painting, which presents the diplomat surrounded by courtly attendants, including a falconer and a dwarf, is a catalogue of mid-seventeenth-century men's fashions and an exercise in the depiction of leisurely masculinity. Dedesh



Fig. 9. Daniel Schultz the Younger, *Crimean Envoy Dedesh Agha and His Retinue*, 1664. Oil on canvas. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. GE-8540. (Photo: Vladimir Terebenin, © The State Hermitage Museum)

Agha, who surveys the viewer with a raised eyebrow, and his attendants wear both stylistically Eastern and Western clothing in a wide range of opulent fabrics and with different types of fastenings. The men showcase different hairstyles, from the Crimean shaved forehead, which one of the attendants has removed his hat to proudly present, to the falconer's full tresses, familiar from the nearly contemporaneous English royal portraits of Anthony van Dyck (d. 1641). The portrait, which places the sitter among varied cultural references, demonstrates the instability of positing any binary of Self and Other, Christian and Muslim, and Eastern and Western amid the fluid borders of East-Central Europe in the early modern period.

#### PERCEPTIONS OF OTTOMANS AND EAST-CENTRAL EUROPEANS AS OTHERS

Even though individuals from East-Central Europe enthusiastically embraced Ottoman fashions, they understood the Ottomans as inherently different—socially, religiously, politically, and linguistically—from themselves. When they traveled to Western Europe, however, they were viewed as comparably exotic. After all, Françoise de Motteville's simultaneous delight and disgust with "this barbarous nation"<sup>51</sup> was a conflicted reaction to the Polish nobility's peculiar appearance, which was very un-French but, above all, recognizably Eastern. Thus Edward Said's binary of an undifferentiated Orient positioned against a similarly uniform Europe does not

suffice to explain the complex dance of imitation and hostility that Poland and Hungary developed in relation to the Ottomans, and how that relationship was subsequently perceived in the rest of Europe. The historian Aleksandra Koutny-Jones rightly argues for a more nuanced understanding of Said's Europe, not as a monolithic body to which the Orient, as a whole, is opposed, but as a multipartite body with differing polities, each of which had differing experiences of the East and different manners of assimilating and understanding it.<sup>52</sup> Hungary, for example, divided by the Ottoman Empire's inroads into Central Europe in the 1540s, was itself partially Ottoman and partially Habsburg, while maintaining a strong ethnically and linguistically Hungarian population in both parts.<sup>53</sup>

The Ottoman Empire was a powerful and expansive Other and a state that was a pervasive concern: Said describes it as Europe's "lasting trauma." He notes that "until the end of the seventeenth century the 'Ottoman peril' lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole of Christian civilization a constant danger, and in time European civilization incorporated that peril and its lore, its great events, figures, virtues, and vices, as something woven into the fabric of life."<sup>54</sup> In Poland and Hungary, the Ottoman influence became physically woven into the fabric of the textiles, sashes, tents, and carpets made locally in factories specializing in the production of goods that closely emulated highly desired Eastern models. Moreover, original Ottoman textiles decorated with traditional patterns, such as crescents, triple-spot motifs, tulips, and *çintamani* (auspicious jewel), which were either purchased or plundered as booty were occasionally reworked into familiar, useable forms as copes, chasubles, and other types of liturgical vestments.<sup>55</sup>

A seventeenth-century velvet brocade chasuble from Saint Adalbert's Church in the village of Kościelec Pińczowski in southern Poland is an example of such a reworking (fig. 10). An off-center L-shaped band cuts through the large, nestled circles of the *çintamani* pattern, dividing the vestment into two sections. This asymmetry, unexpected and infrequent in such objects, suggests that the chasuble was cut from a larger textile, likely a wall hanging, with the band originally separating the hanging's border from its central rectangular field.<sup>56</sup>

No piece of the original object was wasted, it appears, as a mortcloth, stole, and liturgical chalice cover were also cut from the same textile.<sup>57</sup> The appropriation of an exotic commodity and its transformation into liturgical objects by a Polish craftsman exemplify the way in which ornamental and aesthetic values were retained but recast into recognizable terms. But the creation of a hybrid object like the Kościelec chasuble, which embodies the labor of both the Ottoman weaver and the Polish tailor, must also be read as a polysemic act with varying political, religious, aesthetic, and cultural connotations. The beauty of the textile's design, with the contrast of repeating circles in silver and gold thread on a dark purple background, may have been the principal justification for its use as a vestment in a Baroque church. Nevertheless, the cutting and reworking to which it was subjected may also be read as acts of physical and metaphorical aggression on a commodity produced by an "infidel" Other and plundered from him in battle, allowing for its appropriation into a Christian context.

At the same time, the visual appearance of an object, and particularly a textile, was not unambiguously correlated with its Eastern or Western provenance. Many Ottoman garments, including those worn at the court of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), were imported from Italy,<sup>58</sup> while many of the textiles with Eastern decorative motifs that were used to make Polish noblemen's stylistically Ottomanizing outfits were, in fact, produced in Italy, France, and Germany for the Polish market, in imitation of Ottoman models.<sup>59</sup> The widespread circulation of goods, through trade, conflict, and gift exchange, and of influences, through prints and costume books, explains such occasionally confounding complexity.<sup>60</sup>

In spite of their exoticism and their imitation and appropriation of Eastern styles, Poles and Hungarians were seen by Westerners as allies against the Ottoman threat, and certainly they thought of themselves as such. Numerous texts consistently reaffirm each country's status as the *antemurale Christianitatis*, or "bulwark of Christendom." For example, in 1621, Jerzy Ossoliński (d. 1650), ambassador of the Polish king Sigismund III Vasa (r. 1587–1632), arrived in London to deliver an oration to King James VI and I (r. 1567–1625) at the Palace of Whitehall, beseeching him to aid Poland in its dealings with



Fig. 10. Unknown Ottoman weaver and unknown Polish tailor, chasuble, seventeenth century. Velvet brocade textile with *çintamani* motif. Parish church of Saint Adalbert, Kościelec, Poland. (Photo: Tomasz Babik)

the Ottoman Empire.<sup>61</sup> The text, translated into English and published with the original Latin in pamphlet form in the following year, appealed both to the English king's magnanimity and to his strategic understanding of the threat at hand:

The long concealed poyson in the brest of the Ottomans, hath now at length broke forth and the maske of many yeeres faigned friendship laid aside, Poland, the strongest bulwarke of the Christian world, is assaulted with the universall fury of the barbarous. The East is filled with noise of preparation for warre, the seas are loaden with navies, Asia is ioyn'd to Europe, and what forces Affrica affords, are arm'd for our destruction.<sup>62</sup>

Such language was commonplace in countries that interacted with non-Christian states, given that Europe had, since the Middle Ages, as Rhys Jones and Richard Phillips have argued, "positioned itself in relation to a dominant Islam, which Europeans constructed as the predominant binary opposite of and threat to Christianity."<sup>63</sup> In Poland and in Hungary, the constant stream of warmongering anti-Ottoman literature familiarized readers with, as one scholar explains, the "Muslim East through the prism of religious hatred and anti-Turkish clichés."<sup>64</sup> These clichés, which emerge in Ossoliński's language to describe the specter of a potentially conquered Poland as an open gateway for the Ottomans, "yielding easiest access into all parts of Europe,"<sup>65</sup> were a longstanding, codified topos. Already in the thirteenth century the Hungarian king Béla IV (r. 1235–70) warned Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54): "Should [Hungary] be overtaken by the Tatars, she will be for them like an open gate to other regions of the Catholic faith."<sup>66</sup>

#### PERCEPTIONS OF DISTANCE AND MYTHOLOGIES OF EASTERN ORIGIN AMONG THE NOBILITIES OF EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

The Ottoman Empire's expansion into continental Europe in the fifteenth century commenced what one scholar has called "a long and confusing series of interventions" along its fluctuating borders with Poland-Lithuania, Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and the territories of the Crimean Tatars and the Cossacks.<sup>67</sup> Spectacular but often exaggerated accounts of war and

the large quantities of booty acquired during periods of actual conflict have distorted our understanding of the complex relationship among these polities, particularly in studies of cultural influences and interactions.<sup>68</sup> Only recently has scholarship begun to examine the peaceful, rather than bellicose, relationship between the Ottomans and their northern neighbors between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, noting that even if their relationship was frequently tense, polities in the region were typically not at war; war was the exception.<sup>69</sup>

If, as Michel de Certeau suggested, "there is no spatiality that is not organized by the determination of frontiers," and space is structured through the act of its partition, then it is the very presence of a frontier that makes possible the "isolation and interplay of different spaces."<sup>70</sup> Frontiers and boundaries were a fundamental component of how the Poles and Hungarians, and the Ottomans, conceptualized their relationship to one another. Much attention was devoted to maintaining them with hopes of isolation, while fearing that they might be traversed for the purpose of conquest and eradication. The geographer Edward Soja's distinction among physical, mental, and social spaces, which "interrelate and overlap,"<sup>71</sup> is instructive when thinking about this frontier fixation, and the related issue of the awareness of proximity. Soja's spaces include the "physical space of material nature," that is, absolute distance (e.g., "The distance between Kraków and Istanbul is 1,225 kilometers"), and the "mental space of cognition and representation,"<sup>72</sup> or how the subject imagines the absolute distance as an obstacle or buffer, mapping it cognitively (e.g., "I *think* that Kraków is near to/far from the Ottoman Empire"). Soja's understanding of spatiality as a fluctuating "set of relations between individuals and groups" pertains not only to modern times.<sup>73</sup> In the treatise *Polonia* of 1632, for example, the historian and priest Szymon Starowolski (d. 1656) described the location of various cities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth specifically by their proximity to non-Christian peoples. He positioned the city of Kiev "near the Tatars," while the province of Bratslav (Braclaw in Polish) is "beyond Podolia ... placed on a common border with the Tatars."<sup>74</sup> In Starowolski's "mental space of cognition,"

these locales were considered to be in general proximity to the broadly understood East, given that the Tatars were vassals of the Ottomans, even if the absolute distance to territories ruled by the Ottoman Empire could be quite significant, depending on where in Poland one was.

Hungary had a much more immediate relationship to the Ottomans, given that the footprint of Ottoman military incursion had divided the historic lands of Hungary into separately governed, antagonistic polities. Nora Berend has observed that Hungary “remained at the intersection of the Turkic-nomad, Byzantine and Roman Christian cultures... . This was a frontier existence of *la longue durée*.”<sup>75</sup> In similar terms, Kathryn A. Ebel has shown that the Ottomans themselves viewed their borders “not as a line but as a *space* in which the control of the centre attenuated towards the periphery or was exercised only intermittently,” claiming that they “understood, managed and visualized the geographical limits of the state as a zonal frontier enforced by border towns.”<sup>76</sup> Building on Berend’s and Ebel’s parallel arguments, one could argue that, as a whole, the Polish and Hungarian mentalities of the early modern period came to inhabit the liminal space of the border territory with the Ottoman Empire, never fully understanding its limits.

The Poles’ and Hungarians’ perception of their own proximity to the Ottomans and Tatars conceptually located them in the East, as did preconceptions drawn from Ptolemaic geographic distinctions that identified the territories of Poland, termed “Sarmatia Europea,” as having belonged to the Iranian Sarmatians, and those of Hungary to the Huns or the Scythians.<sup>77</sup> Both perceptions have been correctly associated with the Ottomanization of tastes in early modern Poland and Hungary. The Eastern, rather than Roman, origin myths of Sarmatism and Scythianism were independently and enthusiastically accepted among Polish and Hungarian intellectuals and nobles. For example, in 1633, twelve years after his English sojourn, Jerzy Ossoliński was dispatched as the head of a delegation to Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–44). During his address he described his native Sarmatia as “impervious to the weapons of the Romans, [but] surrendered to the Roman religion,” combining a claim of Eastern lineage with a declaration of faithful

Catholicism.<sup>78</sup> The term “Sarmatia,” however, was used to describe more than just the geographical territory of Poland and Ukraine and the Eastern lineage of its now Christian peoples. Among its many meanings, “Sarmatia” and “Sarmatian” were also used as distinctive terms for the nobility, to describe Poland as a political entity, and to distinguish the northern Slavs as a discrete ethnicity.<sup>79</sup> The idea of Sarmatia was thus connected to the development of a new awareness of geographic place, political and ethnic concepts of nation, and social class. Under the aegis of the Sarmatian and Scythian origin myths, Polish and Hungarian noblemen could dress in Ottomanizing fashions while espousing the arguments presented in virulently anti-Ottoman texts. The texts condemned the Ottomans as present-day usurpers and infidels; the fashions, on the other hand, appealed to a notion of ancient and noble pre-Islamic Easternness, even if they were in actuality based on contemporary Ottoman garments.<sup>80</sup>

As we have seen, Polish travelers to the West consciously fostered the notion of an Eastern lineage. During the already discussed embassy to Papal Rome, Ossoliński entered Rome with an extensive and sumptuous retinue that even included camels. This spectacle was interpreted in Italy as a show of exotic opulence, and the Polish penchant for extravagant display was eagerly discussed.<sup>81</sup> In truth, however, camels were never a common means of transportation in Poland. Their inclusion in the showy entrance procession of 1633 was a gesture of conscious and carefully planned Ottomanizing self-fashioning: of Ossoliński himself, and, given his role as the king’s plenipotentiary, of Poland’s image abroad.<sup>82</sup> By including camels in their entrance procession, the Poles in Ossoliński’s delegation seem to have consciously played with the European opinion of irrationality and “mysteriously attractive” excess, which as Said argued, had been, since as far back as Aeschylus’s *The Persians*, associated with the East.<sup>83</sup>

In Hungary, the epic poem *Szigeti veszedelem* (The Siege of Sziget) by the military commander Miklós Zrínyi (d. 1664), written between 1645 and 1648, demonstrates the persisting popularity of the Eastern origin myth. The God-narrator, who describes the Hungarians’ ultimate defeat against the Ottomans at Szigetvár in

1566, reminds the reader of the Hungarians' Eastern provenance, stating:

From Scythia, I say, I brought them out,  
As from Egypt, the Jewish peoples.  
.....  
In Pannonia, flowing with milk and honey,  
I established them in Hungary.<sup>84</sup>

In this interpretation, Central Asian Scythia, like Sarmatia for the Poles, replaces Rome as the cradle of Hungarian civilization.

Book culture promoted the dissemination and popularization of these Eastern origin myths across Europe because Latin sources were widely understood, while texts on the subject in Polish or Hungarian were often quickly translated into French, German, and Italian.<sup>85</sup> Motteville's memoir attests to the popularity of such invented notions:

This winter, there was a second embassy of the Poles which was fine and worthy [of] our curiosity, for it represented to us that ancient magnificence which passed from the Medes to the Persians, whose luxury is so finely painted to us by the ancient authors. Tho' the Scythians were never reckoned men of pleasure, yet their descendants, who are now the neighbours of the Turks, seem inclinable in some measure to ape the grandeur and majesty of the Seraglio. There still appeared in them some faces of their old barbarity.<sup>86</sup>

Motteville does not use the term "Sarmatian," perhaps having confused it with the Scythians of her description. She does, however, firmly locate their supposed descendants, the Poles she observes arriving in Paris, in the Eastern realm. The Polish nobility in Opaliński's embassy is, in Motteville's opinion, directly descended from the Medes, the Persians, and then the Scythians, providing them a veritable lineage of Otherness and exoticism. That they should "ape" the Ottomans is not surprising, given that the two are neighbors and, she believes, descended from the same Eastern stock. While the Scythian origin myth was not as widespread among the Hungarian nobility of the period as was the Sarmatian myth in Poland, Motteville's description makes it clear that for Western Europeans the Sarmatian and the Scythian, as well as their respective descendants, could be easily confused.<sup>87</sup>

LOOT AND IMPORT: COMMODITIES AS ENABLERS OF OTTOMANIZATION

As discussed above, easy access to Ottoman-made objects, as imports in times of peace or as booty in times of war, assisted the Ottomanization of the nobility's carefully tended image. From the late fifteenth century onward, and culminating in the seventeenth century, a market for Ottoman goods—particularly textiles and carpets—developed in Russia<sup>88</sup> and across East-Central Europe.<sup>89</sup> At the same time, furs, broadcloth, and metalwares were purchased in Poland and Lithuania for sale in Istanbul and Edirne.<sup>90</sup> In Poland, the large Armenian population that resided in many Polish cities served as an intermediary for trade with the East.<sup>91</sup> In 1632 Starowski wrote, "[the Armenians] gladly dwell in the Kingdom of Poland on account of their avarice, and they provide us with various commodities, partly from Persia, partly from the Turkish Kingdom, and also especially horses of good stock."<sup>92</sup> Indeed, in the seventeenth century, negotiations between Poland and the Safavid rulers of Iran for the purpose of establishing an alliance against the Ottomans led to amicable relations and, consequently, an increase in trade. That Safavid luxury goods were highly valued in Poland may be seen in a portrait of the young nobleman Stanisław Tęczyński (d. 1634) (fig. 11), whose luxurious cream-colored, fur-lined *kontusz* and *żupan* in the same color are offset by a thick, multihued rug with floral patterns.<sup>93</sup> Based on its ornamental motifs, the rug has been identified as coming from Kashan, a city in the province of Isfahan in present-day Iran.<sup>94</sup> In Tęczyński's time, too, the differences between Ottoman and Safavid carpets would have been recognizable to many buyers, given that their provenance was reflected in their prices.<sup>95</sup> Eastern and stylistically Eastern objects—the rug, Turkish boots, scimitar, fur hat, and Ottomanizing garments—were ubiquitous in the surroundings of an East-Central European nobleman like Tęczyński, and formative to his image.

When trade was interrupted during brief periods of military conflict, Ottoman objects continued to flow into Poland and Hungary as spoils of war. Appadurai notes that booty "always has a special symbolic intensity," because the very act of diversion of an object, that is, its removal from its expected context, causes "the



Fig. 11. Attributed to Tommaso Dolabella, *Stanisław Tęczyński*, ca. 1633–34. Oil on canvas. Zamek Królewski na Wawelu (Wawel Royal Castle), Kraków, inv. no. dep. 935. (Photo: Stanisław Michta)

*enhancement of value* [emphasis mine].... Diversions of things combine the aesthetic impulse, the entrepreneurial link and the touch of the morally shocking.<sup>96</sup> Objects acquired as loot are prized because they connote victory in war and carry an association of bravery, exotica, and distant provenance. By being worn on or around the body of the captor, booty bestows these qualities directly onto the wearer, becoming part of his or her own mode of representation.

Ottoman weapons, for example, can be found sporadically in sixteenth-century inventories from East-Central Europe, but appear *en masse* beginning in the early seventeenth century, a development that one scholar connects to heightened military activity in the period.<sup>97</sup> An anonymous letter preserved in Houghton Library at Harvard University describes Polish-Ottoman military skirmishes in the area of Kamianets-Podilskyi, Khotyn, and Lviv in the early 1670s and corroborates the increase in looting of arms and weapons alongside luxury goods. The author of the letter lists a large quantity of weapons first, noting that “Our men captured *one hundred and twenty five missiles* [emphasis mine], Turkish horses, camels, expensive garments of gold and silver, and other things in great quantities.”<sup>98</sup>

Other weapons that were commonly appropriated as war plunder included sabers and *kalkan* shields. A portrait of the nobleman Wincenty Gosiewski (d. 1662) attributed to painter Daniel Schultz (fig. 12)<sup>99</sup> depicts the nobleman in a chain mail armor worn over a red, long-sleeved coat. Gosiewski holds a raised spear and a round, golden-colored shield decorated with jewels and metal cutouts, similar to known seventeenth-century Ottoman *kalkans*, including one that was looted after the Battle of Vienna in 1683 (fig. 13). The compositional prominence of the appropriated Ottoman shield in the painting suggests that the sitter valued it as an object for display—it was both beautiful and difficult to obtain, and therefore costly—thus advertising his ability to shoulder the monetary and physical expenses necessary to acquire it. It also hints at his readiness to aggressively engage the world outside the canvas, challenging the Islamic East with its own weapons.

#### OTTOMANIZING FASHION AS A MARKER OF POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE

The availability of Eastern or stylistically Eastern commodities certainly furthered the Polish and Hungarian nobility’s distinctly Ottomanizing manner of self-fashioning but does not fully explain it. As we shall see, the role that Ottomanizing costume played among the nobility was to signal a protest against a Westernized court and against absolutist efforts by the Polish monarchy and by the Habsburgs in Hungary.<sup>100</sup>



Fig. 12. Attributed to Daniel Schultz the Younger, *Wincenty Gosiewski*, 1650–51. Oil on canvas. The Royal Collection of Stanisław August Poniatowski, Royal Łazienki Museum, Warsaw, inv. no. ŁKr 136. (Photo: Piotr Ceraficki, © Muzeum Łazienki Królewskie w Warszawie)

In Poland, the rift between the court and the nobility may be traced to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the executionist movement of the middle and lower nobility sought to reform political life by constraining the growing power of the highest echelons of the aristocracy, namely, the magnate class, and of the Crown.<sup>101</sup> In 1573, after the death of the king, Sigismund Augustus (r. 1548–72), an elective monarchy was instituted in Poland, with the French prince Henry of Valois (r. 1573–75) chosen as the first king-elect. Upon appointment, Henry was required to accept the *Articuli Henriciani*, also known as the *Pacta Conventa* (Articles of Agreement), which each subsequent elected king was also sworn to uphold. Of particular importance was the



Fig. 13. Ottoman *kalkan*, mid-seventeenth century. Coiled reed, cotton thread, cloth of gold, embossed and gilded sheet silver, turquoises, spinels, emeralds, and jade. The object belongs to the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Kraków, inv. no. XIV-381.

*“De non praestanda oboedientia”* article, which stipulated that should the king not respect the laws of the commonwealth, the nobles were released from their oaths of allegiance and could act against him without fear of later retaliation.<sup>102</sup> This article permitted the existence of the *rokosz*, which initially denoted a political gathering of the nobility but quickly became synonymous with an armed uprising against royal power. The 1606–8 *rokosz* of Sandomierz, for example, when the Polish nobility rose up against King Sigismund III, was, in the words of one scholar, an expression of the “permanent opposition by the gentry [to the court] because of the threat to their freedom posed by the monarch’s absolutist designs.”<sup>103</sup> It is not surprising that the strengthening of the antiroyalist executionist movement coincided with the fullest development of Sarmatism as an intellectual project that bestowed a unique status and ancestry on the nobles.<sup>104</sup> In contrast to Western Europe’s absolutist courts, the Polish nobility advocated the libertarian ideology of the so-called golden

freedom, characterized by a permanent, almost dogmatic, opposition to the king and an ultimately crippling aversion to reform.<sup>105</sup> As the electorate that chose each subsequent ruler by popular vote, the nobility possessed substantial influence over the monarchy, which repeatedly attempted and failed to reinstitute a hereditary system for the transfer of royal power.<sup>106</sup>

There were eleven electoral convocations during Poland's monarchical period, between 1573 and 1764, during which various European factions backed the typically foreign candidates for the Polish throne.<sup>107</sup> To illustrate the breadth of international involvement in Poland's internal policy it suffices to mention the candidates for the throne in the convocation of 1669: the Russian tsar, Aleksey Mikhailovich Romanov, and his two sons; Louis de Bourbon, prince of Condé; Philip William of Neuburg, elector palatine; Charles Léopold Nicolas Sixte (later duke of Lorraine); and the Polish prince Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, who was eventually elected king (r. 1669–73).<sup>108</sup> Foreign embroilment in matters of the Polish royal succession resulted in a sociopolitical polarization between the Occidentalizing court, on one side, and the wide spectrum of Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian noblemen on the other.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless, the court-nobility divide was often crossed, and so, for example, Jerzy Ossoliński, a member of a powerful noble clan, represented the monarch as the ambassador of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to England or Rome.<sup>110</sup> Paradoxically, in early modern Poland any individual could display highly Ottomanizing tendencies in fashion that reflected his anti-absolutist political position while concurrently being integrally connected to the royal milieu, and even representing the monarchy's interests abroad.

In Hungary, the extended Ottoman occupation of its historic territories, which began with the 1521 conquest of Belgrade by Süleyman I, contributed to a difficult political landscape. In 1526, the Hungarian nobility unsuccessfully contested the accession of the Habsburg prince Ferdinand I (r. as Holy Roman Emperor 1558–64) to the Crowns of Hungary-Croatia, deeming him a German king.<sup>111</sup> Tensions between the German Habsburgs and the ethnically Hungarian (but also Hungarianized Slovak and Wallachian) nobility were a lasting state of affairs. For example, once it became clear that the Habsburgs

did not want to risk open war against the Ottomans, in spite of recurring hopes that they might reunite Hungary and conquer its Ottoman-occupied territories, influential Hungarian nobles turned against the Habsburg Holy Roman emperor. They included such figures as the warrior poet Miklós Zrínyi, Imre Thököly (d. 1705), and Ferenc Rákóczi (d. 1735), all of whom had previously been attached to the Habsburg court. As late as 1710, the English ambassador to the Habsburg court wrote that he noticed in the policy of the Habsburgs a “despotic power ... to which People of all kinds are so averse, especially in the hands of the Germans, to whom they [the Hungarians] have an extreme Antipathy.”<sup>112</sup> That the Germanic Habsburg court did not develop Ottomanizing tendencies may be attributed to the fact that the Habsburgs, who produced twelve Holy Roman emperors between 1452 and 1740, had an interest in drawing their lineage from ancient Rome rather than visually evoking the Turkish “usurpers” of Constantinople. Much as in Poland, in Hungary conflicts of policy exacerbated the divide between the royal and imperial court, which aspired to absolute rule, and the nobles obsessed with maintaining their own sovereignty.<sup>113</sup> However, while the mechanisms of self-fashioning in Poland and in Hungary may have been driven by analogous anti-absolutist currents and may have been visually instantiated in fashion and portraiture in similar ways, the Polish and Hungarian nobilities were not uncritical of each other, nor was the relationship between them always concordant.<sup>114</sup>

In Poland and Hungary the rift between the nobility and royalty can be understood in terms of Daniel J. Isenberg's group polarization theory, which has been applied to the study of how individuals who belong to conflicting groups behave in situations of disagreement. Isenberg posits that “people are constantly motivated both to perceive and to present themselves in a socially desirable light. In order to do this, an individual must be continually processing information about how other people present themselves, and adjusting his or her own self-presentation accordingly.”<sup>115</sup> Although group polarization theory was developed in relation to immaterial decision-making, I suggest that its applicability may be extended to presentation and self-fashioning as manifested through the material expressions of fashion and

portraiture. As outwardly demonstrations of a given individual's selfhood, these will also be subjected to psychosocial group dynamics. In the Polish and Hungarian contexts, where the nobility was in near-constant disagreement with the court as a matter of principle, each individual nobleman had to continuously position himself within the broader group to which he belonged. If Occidentalizing fashions were associated with the court's international interests, then, logically, the group opposed to the court would rally around a fashion that was not French, Spanish, or German, but that could be claimed as distinctly Scythian or Sarmatian.

I suggest we take as true Isenberg's claim that "once we [as individuals] determine how most other people present themselves, we present ourselves in a somewhat more favorable light. When all members of an interacting group engage in the same comparing process, the result is an average shift in a direction of greater perceived social value."<sup>116</sup> In this case, such a shift would strengthen political motivations by increasing the visibility of Ottomanizing dress and accoutrement. With each individual contributing to this shift by adopting Eastern-style fashions, the cohort as a whole would become visually distinct by means of a psychosocial mechanism deeply entrenched in the nature of group interaction.

In this context it bears reminding that in seventeenth-century Western Europe political thinkers frequently invoked the figure of the Ottoman sultan to warn against the perversion and arbitrariness of absolutist power.<sup>117</sup> In Poland, however, Ottomanizing fashions did not indicate support for an Ottoman mode of governance in the way that, for example, French fashions were understood to be explicit political declarations in favor of the French model of absolute rule.<sup>118</sup> Dressing in Ottomanizing national dress carried a symbolic message of opposition to absolutism and European interventionism in Polish matters, without concurrently endorsing Ottoman politics, religion, and social structures. In Transylvania, however, where the Calvinist prince Gabriel Bethlen achieved his political aspirations with Ottoman support, local politics were tied up with Ottoman matters to a much greater extent than in Poland.<sup>119</sup> Bethlen's favoring of Ottoman fashions to the point that contemporaneous observers compared him to a "Turkish digni-

tary" (see fig. 6)<sup>120</sup> was not only, as in Poland, a reaction to absolutist efforts on the part of a Western-oriented monarchy but may also be seen as an expression of strong political, if not religious, association with the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the Transylvanian military commander János Kemény (d. 1662), known for his open hostility toward the Ottoman-affiliated Crimean Tatars, who had captured him in 1657, also possessed a significant collection of Ottoman objects. It appears that coveting Ottoman goods could easily be reconciled with having strong anti-Ottoman sentiments, though as I have already proposed, their possession may also be associated with the desire to signal military supremacy and to symbolically subjugate the enemy.<sup>121</sup>

I have suggested that the gradual spread of Ottomanizing fashions among a large portion of Hungarian and Polish noblemen was in part the result of a subconscious process of polarization characteristic of group psychology, but there was also a conscious component in the adaptation of Ottoman fashions into the national dress of these polities. The "increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process," which Stephen Greenblatt suggested for the emergence of the "self-fashioned" gentleman in sixteenth-century England,<sup>122</sup> is very much replicated in the Polish nobility's image building during their sojourns to the West, as I have already shown in the example of Ossoliński's embassy to Rome. Furthermore, vigorous trade, the regular Polish diplomatic presence in Istanbul, and the promotion of experts in Eastern matters at the Polish court ever since King Sigismund Augustus's secretary studied in Istanbul at royal expense<sup>123</sup> facilitated an acute awareness of Eastern matters among politicians, merchants, missionaries, and scholars in Poland, with a similar set of circumstances in Hungary.<sup>124</sup> Ossoliński was certainly conscious of distinctions between the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran, but in designing his delegation's painstakingly coordinated arrival in Rome he appealed to a much more general and superficial idea of the East and of "Oriental" splendor.

Unlike the wealthy, foreign-educated, cosmopolitan Ossoliński, however, the majority of Polish and Hungarian nobles did not possess a deeper awareness of the provenance of the Eastern objects they coveted and the

Ottomanizing fashions they wore. One scholar has noted, regarding imported Eastern carpets, that “nobody was sufficiently informed about Eastern geography to be really interested in their precise origins. Their association with Turkey and Persia was enough to give the products an exotic flavour.”<sup>125</sup> Although the Polish and Hungarian nobility’s self-fashioning was consciously Eastern, for the most part they remained unaware of any deeper distinctions within the cultures that they referenced.

#### ROYAL IDENTITY AND THE PRAGMATIC DEPLOYMENT OF OTTOMANIZING FASHION

In the polities of East-Central Europe it was the publicly visible figure of the ruler who had to negotiate the intersection of the Eastern and Western cultural models that permeated his realms. When the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus received the ambassador of Ferrara, Cesare Valentini, in 1486, it is recorded that he wore a long Turkish kaftan and that he bestowed gifts of similar kaftans upon the diplomat.<sup>126</sup> In the Ottoman Empire, richly embroidered kaftans were sent as gifts by the sultan because of their status as *hil’at* (robes of honor), and were given to foreign diplomats arriving in Istanbul. Hungarian and Polish envoys coveted the garments, ignoring or simply unaware of the fact that, among the Ottomans, donning them carried the symbolic message of recognizing one’s inferiority and subjection to an Ottoman padishah, who was expected to clothe his subordinates.<sup>127</sup> The appropriation of this markedly Ottoman tradition in fifteenth-century Hungary is noteworthy because of how early it occurs and because it demonstrates Corvinus’s understanding of the symbolism and prestige of the objects themselves and of the ritualistic behaviors involved in their transference as gifts.<sup>128</sup>

Gülru Necipoğlu has compared Corvinus to his Ottoman contemporary Mehmed II (r. 1444–45/46, 1451–81), demonstrating that both rulers deployed numerous personae in their self-fashioning. As Necipoğlu notes, the “fostering of multiple imperial identities at Mehmed’s court can be seen as a corollary of the polymorphic Ottoman body politic that was being forged by the juxtaposition rather than the coherent blending of dis-

parate cultural traditions.”<sup>129</sup> In parallel, by drawing equally on the symbolic repertoires of Alexander the Great and of Attila the Hun, Corvinus crafted an identity in which Eastern and Western models of governance were unproblematically intermingled.<sup>130</sup>

An example that reveals the continued necessity for such self-fashionings, dated two centuries later, emerges from a letter the Polish king John III Sobieski, the scion of a powerful Polish magnate family, wrote to his French wife after sacking the fleeing Ottomans’ camp following the 1683 Battle of Vienna. Sobieski recounts:

The Vizier barely escaped from all this, on one horse and in a single robe. I indeed became his successor because to a great degree all of his riches have fallen into my hands.... I have all the Vizier’s insignia, which they carry before him; the grand standard of Mahomet his emperor gave him for the war, which already today I have sent in the care of Talenti to the Holy Father in Rome. Tents, all wagons came into my possession, *et mille d’autres galanteries fort jolies et fort riches, mais fort riches* [and a thousand of other small things, beautiful and expensive, but very expensive], and still I have not seen many things.... You will not be able to tell me, my dear soul, as the Tartar women used to tell their husbands coming back without booty that “you are not a brave warrior if you come back without booty,” because the one who conquers must be in the front line.<sup>131</sup>

The letter reveals the ways in which Sobieski appropriated multiple symbolic vocabularies, drawing with ease on Eastern and Western cultural referents to present himself as a cosmopolitan ruler, much like Matthias Corvinus and Mehmed II had done before him. Casting himself as a successor to the defeated Ottoman vizier and as a *defensor ecclesiae* who supplies the pope himself with captured symbolic spoils, the Polish king positioned himself with one foot in Rome and another in Constantinople/Istanbul, laying claim to the full spectrum of imperial Roman power. At the same time, his deployment of courtly French prose and references to marital interactions among Eastern warriors served as a way to fashion himself, in what is, after all, a private letter to his beloved wife, as a master of both spheres: the “cultured” literacy of her West and the Eastern lineage and Ottomanizing conceit he claimed for himself.



Fig. 14. Circle of Daniel Schultz the Younger, *King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki*, ca. 1668–69. Oil on canvas. Zamek Królewski na Wawelu (Wawel Royal Castle), Kraków, inv. no. dep. 40. (Photo: Anna Stankiewicz)

Unlike Sobieski, who during his twenty-two-year reign enjoyed wide-ranging support among the nobility, Polish kings were for the most part politically weak and struggled to maintain legitimacy and relevance. Famously, parliamentary proceedings of the Polish-Lithuanian *sejm*, or parliament, of 1672 were severely delayed due to demands by the delegates that King Wiśniowiecki don traditional Polish attire, consisting of a fixed set of Ottoman-inspired garments: the *żupan*, long *kontusz* coat, sash belt, *karabela* saber, and high leather boots. A chronicler of the event ruminated: “Why does His Royal Highness being *caro de carne, os de ossibus nostris* [the flesh of our flesh, the bone of our bones] *abhorret* [abhor] the Polish nation’s *vestitum* [clothing], while favoring for himself foreign fashion, toward which our ancestors felt such *fastidio* [scorn], as an *opprobrio gen-*

*tis Poloniae* [disgrace of the Polish people]?”<sup>132</sup> As the text makes clear, the king, though Polish, dressed in Western European, and particularly French garb. Indeed, the portraits he commissioned closely resemble, and were likely directly modeled after representations of the French king Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) by court painters such as Robert Nanteuil (d. 1678) and Hyacinthe Rigaud (d. 1743). For example, in an anonymous portrait Wiśniowiecki is depicted with his hair characteristically curled and coiffed in the contemporary French fashion, wearing ceremonial armor with an ample oblong lace bib, known as a *żabot* (from the French *jabot*) over his chest (fig. 14). That portraits of Wiśniowiecki draw so heavily on the representational vocabulary of an absolutist court and depict the sitter wearing the particular style of dress that generated the nobility’s displeasure betrays his political persuasions and admiration of absolute power.

Schultz’s portrait of Wiśniowiecki’s predecessor John II Casimir Vasa (r. 1648–68), the third Polish king from the historically Swedish Vasa dynasty, was painted soon after his election in 1648 (fig. 15).<sup>133</sup> In contrast to Wiśniowiecki’s adherence to French fashions, the portrait of King John Casimir reveals his conscious self-fashioning as a Polish Sarmatian monarch. Even though he, too, was known to favor Western attire, here he is depicted wearing the traditional nobleman’s outfit.<sup>134</sup> The cut, volume, ornamentation, and even color of the clothes in his portrait, including the gold-trimmed *kontusz* belted with a red sash, and heavy, fur-lined crimson cape with characteristic golden fastenings, are distinctly non-Western, and they would have been understood as such by the contemporaneous audiences of his portrait. The composition, background, general styling, and insignia of royal power, however, all connect the sitter to the tradition of grand Western European dynastic portraiture.

John Casimir Vasa’s portrait in Polish garb is the material expression of a conscious effort to hybridize the notions of Europeanness and Otherness that coexisted in early modern East-Central Europe, and which rulers like Corvinus and Sobieski navigated with such ease. For John Casimir the *żupan* and *kontusz* were not quotidian fashion but elements of a theatrical costume that was cast off upon the completion of the session with the



Fig. 15. Daniel Schultz the Younger, *King John II Casimir Vasa in Polish Dress*, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas. Gripsholm Castle, Mariefred, inv. no. Grh 1270. (Photo: © Rikard Karlsson/Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)



Fig. 16. Justus Suttermans, *Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici*, ca. 1640. Oil on canvas. Palatine Gallery, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, inv. no. 1890 n. 2334. (Photo: S.S.P.S.A.E e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze–Gabinetto Fotografico)

painter, or perhaps even entirely fabricated by Schultz's brush.

In this the painting is related to Western European portraits of individuals masquerading in exotic Turkish garb such as the portrait by Justus Suttermans (d. 1681) of Ferdinando II de' Medici (r. 1621–70), who wears a large white Ottoman bulbous turban in a temporary imitation of the Other (fig. 16). In contrast to such fanciful, exoticizing paintings, however, the election portrait of John Casimir was a tool, utilized as part of a precisely orchestrated political program to curry favor with the fickle anti-absolutist Polish noblemen who wore Ottomanizing fashions to signal their political autonomy. The king disingenuously embraced such symbolically laden clothing because he hoped that by appeasing the

nobility he might begin to lay a foundation for absolutist rule in Poland.

John Casimir was not the only ruler to recourse to the Ottomanizing national outfit in hopes of securing the nobility's approval. In 1733, arriving in Poland in secret for the electoral convocation, Stanisław Leszczyński, a Polish candidate for the throne, appeared in the Ottomanizing Polish costume, which caused great excitement among those gathered.<sup>135</sup> Similarly, the Austrian Habsburgs consistently commissioned texts and images that highlighted their role not only as Holy Roman emperors but also as kings of Hungary. In numerous printed and painted portraits the Habsburg rulers, including Matthias (d. 1619), Ferdinand III (d. 1657), Ferdinand IV (predeceased his father in 1654), and Leopold I (d. 1705)

are depicted in Ottomanizing Hungarian clothing. Occasionally they carry the full Hungarian coronation regalia, including the Holy Crown of Hungary and its accompanying scepter, mantle, and globus cruciger.<sup>136</sup> Justus Suttermans's portrait of Ferdinand III on the occasion of his coronation as king of Hungary in 1625, for example, shows the young monarch, who stands next to a table bearing the Hungarian crown, wearing traditional Hungarian garb: a short *dolmány* in a lustrous cream-colored fabric belted with a red sash, a heavy *mente* overcoat with fur collar and thick gold fastenings with jewels and tassels, thrown over the shoulders, yellow shoes, and a jeweled saber (fig. 17). The monarch's acceptance of the crown, which symbolizes the historical Kingdom of Hungary, is a nominal act dictated by inheritance, falling under the aegis of the body politic. Ferdinand's portrayal in Ottomanizing Hungarian garments, on the other hand, is a cultural act and a gesture of appeasement to the Hungarian noble class. The clothing of his natural body is, I suggest, meant to underline his role as a specifically Hungarian, rather than Germanic, individual.

Polish and Hungarian noblemen expressed their political allegiance and anti-absolutist beliefs through a style of dress that was strongly influenced by Ottoman models. Women, on the other hand, were largely barred from participation in politics, and were therefore exempt from the implicit proscriptions against Occidental fashions. Their relative invisibility in the public sphere precluded the necessity of politicizing their clothing, leaving them free to "usurp for themselves all of the garments of European matrons," as the chronicler Starowski observed of Polish women's taste for Western styles.<sup>137</sup> Even though Ottoman women's fashions were probably known from costume books, they do not appear to have had any impact on the dress of Polish and Hungarian women, who most likely adapted Eastern and Western textiles to local or Western dress designs.<sup>138</sup>

A notable exception may be found in the portraits by court painter Louis de Silvestre (d. 1760) of Electress of Saxony and Queen Consort of Poland Maria Josepha of Austria (d. 1757) and her daughter, Maria Amalia of Saxony (d. 1760) of the House of Wettin, the latter a betrothal portrait made in preparation for her marriage to Charles VII of Naples (the future Charles III of Spain)



Fig. 17. Justus Suttermans and studio, *Ferdinand III as King of Hungary*, ca. 1625. Oil on canvas. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest, inv. no. 92.20M. (Photo: Tibor Mester)

(r. 1735–88) (fig. 18). The women wear stylized and feminized versions of Polish noblemen's outfits; in Maria Amalia's portrait the fur lining, slashed sleeves debonairly tossed over the shoulder, and rich red fabric of the sitter's dress, embellished with horizontal gold fastenings, reference the key details of a traditional *kontusz* or outer *kaftan*.<sup>139</sup> The opulence of these Ottomanizing garments may have been reason enough for the royal women to choose them. However, the more likely



Fig. 18. Louis de Silvestre, *Maria Amalia of Saxony in Polish Dress*, 1738. Oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid, inv. no. Po2358. (Photo: Album/Art Resource, N.Y)

motivation for dressing the queen and princess in stylized versions of Polish male attire was their heightened public visibility and the widespread diffusion of their representations. In this way the court could advertise the notion that the entire royal family took an interest in Polish matters. The Wettins, a Germanic princely electoral family, possessed a royal title because two of its members, Augustus II the Strong (r. 1697–1704, 1709–33) and Augustus III (r. 1733/4–63), had been elected to

the Polish throne. Therefore, Maria Amalia's donning of Polish garb may have been a reminder that her royal, rather than simply aristocratic status, was because of her father's role as elected king of Poland, placing her on a par with the heir to the Spanish throne whom she was to marry. The garments proclaimed royal authority by assuming that their intended Spanish and Italian viewers would immediately recognize them as Polish.

## CONCLUSION

The Ottomanization of fashion, and more generally, of self-fashioning in Poland and Hungary, reveals that the ways in which Europe's Christian states negotiated their position relative to the Ottoman Empire were many and varied. Indeed, Europe was not a uniform geographic, social, linguistic, religious, or cultural entity that could easily be posited against the multiethnic and multiconfessional Ottomans, who themselves had a definitive and lasting presence on the European continent. In attempting to describe the impact that the Ottoman Empire exercised over Poland and Hungary, I have described a web of perceptions. These include the Poles' and the Hungarians' perceptions of the Ottomans, necessarily influenced by existing notions of the Ottoman threat and the topos of the Eastern *antemurale*, resulting in their subsequent culturally hybrid visual response to those stimuli. They also include exoticizing Western European reactions in England, France, the Papal States, Spain, and Saxony, to the Polish and Hungarian emulation of Ottoman Otherness, embodied through fashion and portraiture.

However, East-Central Europeans could be equally critical of the behaviors of foreigners, including Western Europeans. For example, the young nobleman Jakub Sobieski's description of the execution of regicide François Ravaillac in Paris in 1610 includes mention of purported cannibalism by the angered Parisians on the body of the assassin: "[Our] host, to all appearances respectable... brought a few pieces of the body of this Ravaillac... and fried them with some scrambled eggs and ate them..."<sup>140</sup> His account is one of horror and disgust at the Parisian's barbarity, a foil to Motteville's account of the "slovenly" and "savage" Poles from Opaliński's del-

egation, who arrived in Paris three decades later.<sup>141</sup> In similar terms, Poles considered Russian men's fashions, which were, after all, modeled by common cultural influences and possessed many visual similarities to Polish ones, to be barbaric and excessively opulent.<sup>142</sup> It is no surprise that difference—of behavior, culture, language, and geography, as well as of self-fashioning and choice of attire—created easily exaggerated judgments on the relative civility or barbarity of another people.

As I have argued, it was the Polish and Hungarian nobilities' concerns about the development of absolutist rule in East-Central Europe that allowed them to consolidate a relatively uniform political and social identity, as expressed through fashion. In Poland, Ottomanizing dress gradually lost its political charge, especially by the end of the eighteenth century, and types of garments and accessories that could trace their stylistic lineage to Ottoman kaftans and scimitars became disassociated from their original Eastern antecedents. Furthermore, scholars have shown that the constitutive elements of such dress, including the *żupan* tunic and *kontusz* overcoat, became less popular in the second half of the eighteenth century, eventually becoming festive outfits worn on special, particularly patriotic occasions, such as the parliamentary proceedings of the so-called Four Year Sejm of 1788–92. Noblemen who wanted to display their patriotism had traditional-looking Polish garments made, relying on ancestral portraits for greater authenticity. The eighteenth-century memoirist Jan Duklan Ochocki (d. 1848) notes that when the diplomat Adam Rzewuski (d. 1825) was preparing for his embassy to Denmark he ordered that “portraits from the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries be gathered, and the forms of garments be copied from them,”<sup>143</sup> so that he could wear a correct version of this most decorous of fashions. As one scholar has correctly pointed out, Rzewuski's outfit must be considered a consciously commissioned and designed costume, harkening back to an earlier era, rather than an expression of common men's fashions in Poland at that time.<sup>144</sup>

Paradoxically, it was only after the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, during which Poland's territories were divided among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, that such fashions reacquired their potential as highly charged tools for underlining identity and allegiance. During the

failed November Uprising of 1830–31, Polish revolutionaries wore garments in the historical Ottomanizing style, following which the Russian colonial authorities entirely outlawed such traditional elements of dress.<sup>145</sup> Once again, Polish fashions, developed from Ottoman models from the mid-sixteenth century onward, became a rallying point against foreign interventionism. In the preceding centuries the Polish kings and the Habsburg emperors commissioned portraits wearing Ottomanizing garb and displaying local insignia of power, hoping to capitalize on the symbolic charge of this centuries-old set of visual tools for building allegiance. They understood that something as deceptively simple as a kaftan and long overcoat could generate political support from the powerful noble classes in their respective, extremely polarized societies. So, too, the Russian authorities in partitioned Poland understood that unless forbidden, such fashions, imbued with layered connotations of independence, national pride, republicanism, and anti-despotism, would continue to impede the success of their own imperial project.

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## NOTES

*Author's note:* This article was enriched by the comments, advice, and assistance of many people, to whom I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude: Nadja Aksamija, Francesca Borgo, Thomas B. F. Cummins, Surekha Davies, Valeria Escauriza-López Fadul, Emine Fetvacı, Goretti González, Ann Grogg, Karen Leal, Jack Morley, Morgan Ng, Alina Payne, Laura Refe, Trevor Stark, Melis Taner, Deniz Türker Cerda, and Aaron Wile. Sincere thanks, also, to Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, whose knowledge of early modern Ottoman and East-Central European cultural history greatly benefitted this project. I am particularly grateful to Gülru Necipoğlu for reading and discussing many drafts of this article, and for her encouragement, insightful suggestions, and sustained support. Funding for the final stages of work on this project was generously provided by the Samuel H. Kress Fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

It is difficult to separate the terms “Eastern Europe” and “Central Europe” from their contemporary political and ethnic associations. Therefore, I rely on the term “East-Central Europe” to describe, most generally, the “liminal and transitional space between the powers in the west [Germany and Austria] and east [Russia]...” (see n. 6 below). By “Poland” and “Polish” I refer,

*pars pro toto*, to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, that is, the dualistic state that combined the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Similarly, I use “Hungary” and “Hungarian,” even though Hungary’s historic lands were divided into three territories after the Battle of Mohács in 1526. These were Habsburg Hungary; the semi-independent principality of Transylvania, under Ottoman suzerainty; and Ottoman Hungary or Madjaristan, known formally as the *eyalet* of Buda, which was its capital between 1541 and 1686 (see n. 53 below). I do so for the sake of textual clarity, while remaining mindful of the problems inherent in reducing multiethnic and multiconfessional polities to only one of their constitutive elements.

Regarding nomenclature, I present the names of rulers as they most commonly appear in English-language scholarly literature; all others are in their language of origin. For example, I use Matthias Corvinus in lieu of Hunyadi Mátyás, but retain the Hungarian name for Ferenc III Nádasdy. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

1. Mieczysław Paszkiewicz, “Tematyka polska w twórczości Stefano della Belli, część II,” *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 15 (1985): 57.
2. Françoise de Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria ... Translated from the original French of Madame de Motteville ... who has likewise added an account of the troubles of King Charles I*, 5 vols. (London, 1726 [1725]), 1:259–65. Françoise de Motteville’s memoirs, written during the course of her life (1621–89), were first published in French as *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire d’Anne d’Autriche* in 1722.
3. Krzysztof Opaliński to Łukasz Opaliński, November 1, 1645, “Z Paryża, 1 XI 1645,” in *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza 1641–1653*, ed. Roman Pollak (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1957), 306: “Zgoła wszyscy powiadają *passim, passim* [wszędzie], że *nihil simile* [niczego podobnego] Paryż widział w dostatki, w appearance, w porządek, jako ten nasz wjazd. *Hoc mirum* [to dziwne], że i dworscy dziwiają się tak cudownie wszystkim naszym porządkom, chwałą z ludzkości, z języka, z strojów [*sic*] zgoła ze wszystkiego.”
4. Krzysztof Opaliński to Łukasz Opaliński, October 11, 1645, “86. Z Brukseli, 11 X 1645,” in Pollak, *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza*, 308: “Reputacją zostawiamy tu, da Bóg, wielką grzeczności, dyksrecycji, splendoru *etc., etc.*” The embassy left Opaliński in great debt; see *ibid.*, p. xxv.
5. Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria*, 1:262–63.
6. Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1959), 190–210. For a definition of the term “East-Central Europe,” see Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer, “General Introduction,” in *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins B.V., 2004), 6. See also István Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526–1691)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
7. For example, Baron Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz describes a procession at the electoral court in Dresden, where he saw “grooms in the Polish livery, but Turkish habit [and] ... muleteers in the Turkish dress, but with the Polish livery.” Karl Ludwig von Pöllnitz, *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz: Being the Observations He Made in His Late Travels from Prussia Through Poland, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Flanders, Holland, England, &c... . Discovering Not Only the Present State of the Chief Cities and Towns; But the Characters of the Principal Persons at the Several Courts*, 4 vols. (London: Daniel Brown; John Brindley, 1738) 4:79–80.
8. The unconfirmed author of a picaresque Spanish novel imagined that donning a Polish outfit in his native Spain would entail precisely such a reaction. Estebanillo González (?), *La vida y hechos de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor, compuesta por él mismo* (Antwerp: Viuda de Juan Cnobbart, 1646), 355–56: “On a whim, and because the two outfits that the King of Poland had given me were not yet moth-ridden, I dressed in the Polish manner, in order to draw to myself the eyes of the common people, and to be recognized more quickly. I stepped out in this costume every day to stroll, with a cane, like a prince or a royal favorite, and in this way the outfit surprised the entire city. The city’s officials left their habitual activities to come out to their doorsteps and see me, with laughter and mockery. The ladies left their tasks in order to lean out of their windows to jeer and make fun of me, and boys, forgetting the chores they were carrying out, encircled and followed me, and even sometimes pelted stones at me. *Some said I was Jewish, others that I was Japanese, others that a Turk* [emphasis mine], while I kept quiet and listened, because he who changes his outfit, opens himself to any sort of censure.”
9. Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej*, 97–98. Scholars have long studied the Western European fascination with the East and with Eastern fashion. Texts worth mentioning include Molly Bourne, “The Turban’d Turk in Renaissance Mantua: Francesco II Gonzaga’s Interest in Ottoman Fashion,” in *Mantova e il Rinascimento Italiano: Studi in onore di David S. Chambers*, ed. Philippa Jackson and Guido Rebecchini (Mantua: Sometti Editoriale, 2011), 53–64; and Charlotte Jirousek, “Ottoman Influences in Western Dress,” in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 240. On the value of foreigners’ often exaggerated descriptions of Polish and Hungarian fashions, see also Przemysław Mrozowski, “Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości narodowej szlachty polskiej w XVI–XVIII wieku,” in *Ubiory w Polsce: Materiały III Sesji Klubu Kostiumologii i Tkaniny Artystycznej przy Oddziale Warszawskim Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, ed. Anna Sieradzka and Krystyna Turska (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Kopia, 1994), 21; Irena Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw: Semper, 1991), 7–14. Suraiya Faroqhi warns that

- “the remarks and images produced by European travelers ..., must be used with due caution. For as strangers these people were more likely than insiders to misunderstand the often subtle messages imparted by the clothes of people whom at best they got to know but casually.” Suraiya Faroqhi, “Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes,” in Faroqhi and Neumann, *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, 17.
10. Tadeusz Dobrowolski, *Polskie malarstwo portretowe: Ze studiów nad sztuką epoki sarmatyzmu* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1948), 98. For Sanguszko’s biography, see Mariusz Machynia, *Polski słownik biograficzny* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk i Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1935–2012), s.v. “Sanguszko (Sanguszkowicz) Roman.”
  11. The etymology of *żupan* comes from the Italian *giubbone*, which in turn comes from *jubbah*, the Arabic word for a kind of tunic. Walter W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (London: Clarendon Press, 1910), s.v. “jupon.”
  12. Andrzej Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu: Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Fundacja na Rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 1997), 174.
  13. Such maces were known in Polish as *buzdygan*, and in Hungarian as *buzogány*, drawing on a common Ottoman Turkish etymological source (*bozdoğan*). On Ottoman loan words in East-Central Europe, see Anna Sieradzka, *Tysiąc lat ubiórów w Polsce* (Warsaw: Arkady, 2003); Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 142–44.
  14. Jirousek, “Ottoman Influences in Western Dress,” 233.
  15. For a general introduction to the subject, see György Rózsa, “Baroque Portraiture in Hungary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Baroque Splendor: The Art of the Hungarian Goldsmith*, ed. István Fodor (exh. cat.) (New York: The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, 1994), 34–41.
  16. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth has pointed out that “the eighteenth-century mode of engagement with the ‘Orient’ needs to be separated from the post-Napoleonic, nineteenth-century Orientalism as a form of cultural colonialism. The nature of power relations between Europe and the politically weakened but nevertheless still powerful Ottoman Empire could not be understood in colonial terms for obvious historical reasons. It is in fact more accurate to speak of the eighteenth-century exoticism in terms of mutual East/West fascination, a bi-directional discourse of curiosity and wonder.” Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, “Jean-Etienne Liotard’s Envelopes of Self,” in *Cultures of Forgery: Making Nations, Making Selves*, ed. Judith Ryan and Alfred Thomas (New York: Routledge, 2003), 130. The same may be convincingly argued for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For further discussions of the phenomenon of *turquerie* in eighteenth-century Europe, see Nebahat Avcioğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2011). See also Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, “Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750,” *Past & Present* 221, 1 (November 2013): 75–118, who correctly underline the complexity and range of European cultural response to the Ottoman Empire.
  17. In Poland, these nobles were ethnically Polish, Ruthenian (a historical term referring to present-day Ukrainians and Belarusians), Lithuanian, and German, while in Hungary they included ethnically Hungarian, Slovak, Saxon, and Wallachian families. Poland and Hungary were multiconfessional societies, and although by the late seventeenth century Roman Catholicism had become the dominant faith, particularly in Poland, numerous noble families were Protestant or Orthodox Christian. On religious affiliation in early modern Poland, see, for example, Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 8; Paul W. Knoll, “Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland: Political Realities and Social Constraints,” in *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz A. J. Szabo (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 30–52.
  18. See recent texts such as Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Rosamund Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); and Emine Fetvacı, “From Print to Trace: An Ottoman Imperial Portrait Book and Its Western European Models,” *The Art Bulletin* 95, 2 (June, 2013): 243–68.
  19. Gülru Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *The Art Bulletin* 71, 3 (September, 1989): 401–27; Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011).
  20. For Poland, see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century): An Annotated Edition of ‘Ahdnames’ and Other Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century): A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Andrzej Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie w latach 1500–1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005). For Hungary, see, for example, *Hungarian-Ottoman military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Budapest: Loránd Eötvös University; Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1994).

21. Other important sources on Eastern cultural influences in early modern Poland and Hungary include Veronika Gervers, *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe, with Particular Reference to Hungary* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1982); *Portret typu sarmackiego w wieku XVII w Polsce, Czechach, na Słowacji i na Węgrzech: Seminaria Niedzickie II*, ed. Ewa Zawadzka (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1985); *The Orient in Polish Art: Catalog of the Exhibition, June–October 1992*, ed. Beata Biedrońska-Słota (exh. cat.) (Kraków: National Museum in Kraków, 1992); *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th–19th Centuries*, ed. Selmin Kangal (exh. cat.) (Istanbul: Fako İtaçları A. Ş., 1999); *Land of the Winged Horsemen: Art in Poland, 1572–1764*, ed. Jan K. Ostrowski (exh. cat.) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); and *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories: 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, ed. Nazan Ölçer, Tadeusz Majda, and Zeren Tanırdı (exh. cat.) (Istanbul: Sabancı University, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2014).
22. William Dalrymple, “Foreword: The Porous Frontiers of Islam and Christendom: A Clash or Fusion of Civilisations?” in *Re-orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East*, ed. Gerald MacLean (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. ix. Dimiter Angelov and Judith Herrin have argued that the permeability we observe between the East and West in the early modern period ought to be seen as the result of centuries of “cross-fertilization” between the courts of medieval *Latinitas* and the Byzantine Empire. Dimiter Angelov and Judith Herrin, “The Christian Imperial Tradition—Greek and Latin,” in *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History*, ed. Peter Bang and Dariusz Kołodziejczyk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 173.
23. Suraiya Faroqhi notes: “Fashion is a way of manifesting superfluity, and one way of so doing is by flaunting goods imported from afar.” Faroqhi, “Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes,” 30.
24. Roman Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski w XVI stuleciu*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1958), 1:179; Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa, *Polski ubiór narodowy zwany kontuszowym: Dzieje i przemiany opracowane na podstawie zachowanych ubiórów zabytkowych i ich części oraz w świetle źródeł ikonograficznych i literackich* (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2005), 86; Kangal, *War and Peace*; and Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa, “Wpływ sztuki orientalnej na sztukę polską w okresie sarmatyzmu,” in Zawadzka, *Portret typu sarmackiego*, 189.
25. Some notable exceptions include Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*; Janusz Tazbir, “Culture of the Baroque in Poland,” in *East-Central Europe in Transition: From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Antoni Mączak, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Peter Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 167–80; Jarosław Dumanowski, “Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji szlachty wielkopolskiej w XVI–XVIII w.,” in *Między zachodem a wschodem: Studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej w epoce nowożytnej*, ed. Jacek Staszewski, Krzysztof Mikulski, and Jarosław Dumanowski (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2002), 159; Aleksandra Koutny-Jones, “Echoes of the East: Glimpses of the ‘Orient’ in British and Polish-Lithuanian Portraiture of the Eighteenth Century,” in *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795*, ed. Richard Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 401–19.
26. Gülru Necipoğlu has observed that it may have been the earlier adoption of many Western European elements in Ottoman costumes, such as hanging slit sleeves, wide collars, and horizontal golden fastenings, that facilitated their popularity and ease of adaptation in Hungary and Poland. These elements brought Ottoman costumes closer to their European counterparts and differentiated them from Eastern Islamic models, including Timurid, Turkmen, and Safavid dress. Oral communication with Gülru Necipoğlu, November 27, 2012.
27. An engraving from the 1563 *Statuta Regni Poloniae* by Jan Herburt (Joannes Herborth de Fulstin) (d. 1577) demonstrates the range of fashions worn in Poland at the time. For more on this image, see Mrozowski, “Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości,” 22.
28. [Translation into English mine.] Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego*, trans. from the Latin into Polish by K. J. Turowski (Przemyśl, 1857), 123. The Polish text reads: “A to jeszcze dziwniej, iż kto chodziwszy po ranu w kapie włoskiej, tenże zasię w wieczór chodzi w tureckiej fałsurze, w kołpaku, w półbótkach czerwonych albo białych.” See also Jacek Żukowski, “W kapeluszu i w delii, czyli ewenement stroju mieszanego w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej,” *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 57, 1 (2009): 19–37.
29. Alessandro Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europaeae Descriptio, quae Regnum Poloniae, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Russiam, Massoviam, Prussiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam et Moschoviae, Tartariaeque partem compectitur* (Speyer: Apud Bernardum Albinum, 1581), 43 recto: “Incolae habitum variarum diversarumque; nationum more gestant, praecipue vero, Italicum, Hispanicum, & Hungaricum, qui illis peculiaris est. Alii Germanico, Turcico, Moschovitico, Bohaemicoque.”
30. George E. Borchard, “Reflections on the Polish Nobleman’s Attire in the Sarmatian Tradition,” *Costume* 4, 1 (1970): 14; Magdalena Bartkiewicz, *Polski ubiór do 1864 r.* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1979), 51; Przemysław Mrozowski, “Orientalizacja stroju szlacheckiego na przełomie XVI i XVII w.,” in *Orient i Orientalizm w sztuce* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 259–60; Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*, 44.
31. Pál Fodor, “The View of the Turk in Hungary: The Apocalyptic Tradition and the Legend of the Red Apple in Ottoman-Hungarian Context,” in *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople: Actes de la Table ronde d’Istanbul, 13–14 avril 1996*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Stéphane Yerasimos (Paris: Harmattan; Istanbul: Institut français d’études anatoliennes Georges-Dumézil, 2000), 99.
32. Quoted in Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa, “The Art of Islam in the History of Polish Art,” in Biedrońska-Słota, *Orient in*

- Polish Art*, 13. Such “predilections” have also been noted in Spain, on which see, for example, Barbara Fuchs, “The Moorish Fashion,” in *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 60–87.
33. Irena Turnau has shown that by the seventeenth century men of all social classes wore the same set of garments of Eastern origin, but class distinctions were retained through the quality of materials used, and the arms and jewelry one could afford to carry; see Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*, 9.
  34. Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 31.
  35. The first edition of the book in which this print appears, entitled *Les quatre premiers livres des Navigations et peregrinations orientales* (The Four First Books of Oriental Navigations and Peregrinations), was published in 1568. I have chosen to reproduce a colored woodcut from the 1577 Italian translation of Nicolay’s book, published in Antwerp by François Flory, entitled *Le navigationi et viaggi nella Turchia*. These woodcuts were made by Anton van Leest after engravings by Louis Danet, which were based on Nicolay’s original drawings; see David Brafman, “Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Travels in Turkey*,” *Getty Research Journal* 1 (2009): 153.
  36. Katalin Földi-Dózsa, “How the Hungarian National Costume Evolved,” in *The Imperial Style: Fashions of the Habsburg Era*, ed. Polly Cone (exh. cat.) (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 80.
  37. Dobrowolski, *Polskie malarstwo portretowe*, 98.
  38. Regarding the use of Ottoman miniature painting as a historical source, Suraiya Faroqhi cautions that “stylization and even frank anachronisms ... happened on [Ottoman] miniatures in general.” Faroqhi, “Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes,” 19.
  39. Derin Terzioğlu, “The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation,” *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 84–100; Gizela Procházka-Eisl, “Guild Parades in Ottoman Literature: The *Sûrnâme* of 1582,” in *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Randi Deguilhem (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 41–54.
  40. Terzioğlu, “Imperial Circumcision Festival,” 84–85.
  41. On color in Ottoman garments, see Faroqhi, “Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes,” 24–28.
  42. In Nakkaş Osman’s depiction of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) in Seyyid Lokman’s *Kiyâfetü’l-insâniye fi Şemâ’il-ül-‘Osmâniye* (Descriptions of the Ottoman Sultans) of 1579, the sultan is shown wearing a green coat with fur collar, slashed hanging sleeves, and arm openings that greatly resembles that of both Sanguszko and Nicolay’s agha. For more details on this manuscript, see Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective,” in *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (exh. cat.) (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000), 22–59; see also Jennifer Scarce, “Principles of Ottoman Turkish Costume,” *Costume* 22 (1988): 13.
  43. Adam Zamoyski, “History of Poland in the 16th–18th Centuries,” in Ostrowski, *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, 35.
  44. The print forms part of a series of thirteen etchings entitled *Battles of Various Peoples*. Ölçer, Majda, and Tanındı, *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 187–89.
  45. On European connotations of the turban, see Ruth Melnikoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1:60–61, 1:73–74, and Charlotte Jirousek, “More than Oriental Splendor: European and Ottoman Headgear, 1380–1580,” *Dress: The Annual Journal of the Costume Society of America* 22 (1995): 22–33. Heather Madar has noted that in the *Martyrdom of Saint John* by Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528) one of the negative figures “is visually linked (through the turban) to the Ottoman Empire... . The conventional use of the turban ... create[s] a composite, extra-historical symbol of evil.” Heather Madar, “Dürer’s Depictions of the Ottoman Turks: A Case of Early Modern Orientalism?,” in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 165; see also p. 179.
  46. See, for example, Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56–63; Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 148.
  47. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Historical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 116. Europeans were rarely able to understand the intricacies of the legal system surrounding headgear, as well as its symbolism. Michael Winter cites an example from Cairo in 1703 when a French merchant was reportedly beaten by a janissary agha as punishment for wearing a white head covering, as that color was reserved for Muslims; see Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule 1517–1798* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 184.
  48. Koutny-Jones, “Echoes of the East,” 414; Mrozowski, “Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości,” 23; and Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*, 9. For an example of an Eastern-inspired Hungarian haircut, see Aegidius Sadeler II’s print of Gabriel Bethlen (fig. 6).
  49. On this portrait, see Bożena Steinborn’s work, including *Malarz Daniel Schultz: Gdańszczanin w służbie królów polskich* (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 2004), 136–38.
  50. Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 27; Kołodziejczyk, *Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 238.
  51. Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria*, 1:264.
  52. Koutny-Jones, “Echoes of the East,” 402. Although she makes her argument for the eighteenth century, her correct reasoning may also be extended into the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries.

53. The architectural vestiges of the prolonged Ottoman presence in Buda (Budapest) are discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 440. See also Gy. Kaldy-Nagy, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (Leiden, 1955–2005), s.v. “Madjar, Madjaristân.”
54. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 59.
55. Gervers, *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 12. On the use and reuse of textiles, see Nurhan Atasoy, Walter B. Denny, Louise W. Mackie, and Hülya Tezcan, *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose; Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*, ed. Julian Raby and Alison Effeny (London: Azimuth Editions Limited on behalf of TEB İletişim ve Yayınçılık, 2001), esp. 176–81, 239.
56. Ölçer, Majda, and Tanındı, *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 147.
57. *Ibid.*, 139.
58. On the Ottoman market for Italian textiles, see Atasoy et al., *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose*, 182–90.
59. Rybarski, *Handel i polityka handlowa Polski*, 1:179. Similarly, Adam Manikowski has argued that the Venetian and Tuscan silk industries survived through the seventeenth-century economic crisis as a result of the Polish demand for stylistically Eastern silks. See Adam Manikowski, *Toskańskie przedsiębiorstwo arystokratyczne w XVII wieku: społeczeństwo elitarnej konsumpcji* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1991). I am indebted to Dariusz Kołodziejczyk for bringing these references to my attention.
60. Dumanowski, “Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji,” 159; Ibolya Gerelyes, “Ottoman Influences on Hungarian Goldsmiths during the Baroque Era” in I. Fodor, *Baroque Splendor*, 63.
61. Paweł Rutkowski, “Poland and Britain against the Ottoman Turks: Jerzy Ossoliński’s Embassy to King James I in 1621,” in Unger, *Britain and Poland-Lithuania*, 183–95.
62. Jerzy Ossoliński, *A True Copy of the Latine Oration of the Excellent Lord George Ossoliński, Count Palatine of Tenzyn, and Sendomyria, Chamberlain to the Kings Maiestie of Poland, and Suetthland, and Embassadour to the Kings Most Excellent Maiesty: As it was pronounced to his Majestie at White-Hall by the said Embassadour, on Sunday the 11. of March, 1620* (London, 1621), 9.
63. Rhys Jones and Richard Phillips, “Unsettling Geographical Horizons: Exploring Premodern and Non-European Imperialism,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95, 1 (2005): 151. See also John B. Bohnstedt, “The Infidel, Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 58, 9 (1968): 1–58; and Paul W. Knoll, “Poland as *Antemurale Christianitatis* in the Late Middle Ages,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 60, 3 (October 1974): 381–401.
64. Bohdan Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej do XVIII wieku* (Łódź: Societas Scientiarum Lodziensis, 1950), 168. Baranowski lists the majority of Polish anti-Ottoman texts of the early modern period on pp. 161–68. For a history of the subject in Hungary, see Fodor, “View of the Turk in Hungary,” 99–131.
65. Ossoliński, *A True Copy of the Latine Oration*, 1621.
66. Quoted in Nora Berend, “Défense de la Chrétienté et naissance d’une identité: Hongrie, Pologne et péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge,” *Annales HSS* 5 (September–October 2003): 1011: “Si possideretur a Thartharis, esset pro ipsis apertum hostium ad alias fidei catholice regiones.”
67. Brian L. Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 11.
68. The Polish king Sigismund I (r. 1506–48) sought an alliance with the Ottomans, which resulted in the so-called eternal peace (*pokój wieczysty* in Polish) of 1533 between the Porte and Poland-Lithuania; it was renewed on subsequent occasions. The best short overview of the complexities of Ottoman-Polish relations and regional politics is Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, “A Historical Outline of Polish-Ottoman Political and Diplomatic Relations (1414–1795),” in Ölçer, Majda, and Tanındı, *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 17–25.
69. See, for example, Kangal, *War and Peace*; Knoll, “Poland as *Antemurale Christianitatis*”; Robert Kołodziej, “Kontakty Dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją w Czasach Władysława IV,” in *Polska wobec wielkich konfliktów w Europie nowożytnej*, ed. Ryszard Skowron (Katowice: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2009).
70. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 123.
71. Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 120.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. Szymon Starowolski, *Simonis Starovolsci Polonia, nunc denovo recognita et aucta. Accesserunt tabulae geographicae et index rerum locupletissimus* (Wolfenbüttel, 1656), 42: “Similiter Tartaris vicinus est palatinatus Kiovensis; Braslaviensis Palatinatus ultra Podoliam, in confinio Tartarorum positus.”
75. Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and “Pagans” in Medieval Hungary c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 23.
76. Kathryn A. Ebel, “Representations of the Frontier in Ottoman Town Views of the Sixteenth Century,” *Imago Mundi* 60, 1 (2008): 6, 7.
77. Koutny-Jones, “Echoes of the East,” 410.
78. Jerzy Ossoliński and Domenico Roncalli, *Ill.<sup>mi</sup> et excell.<sup>mi</sup> d. d. Georgii Ossolinii... Oratio habita ab eodem Illustriss. & Excellentiss. D. Romae in Aula Regia Vaticana sexta Decemb. 1633...* (Rome: Francesco Cavallo [Romae: Apud Franciscum Caballum], 1633), 3 verso: “Illa, illa Sarmatia, Romanorum armis impervia, Romanae religioni mancipata.”
79. Tadeusz Ulewicz, “The Sarmatian Literary Portrait: Summary,” in Zawadzka, *Portret typu sarmackiego*, 40; Aron Petneki, “Gens Sarmatica, Gens Scythica: Polish and Hungarian Nobility and Its Consciousness, Summary,” in Zawadzka, *Portret typu sarmackiego*, 29; Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa,

- Sarmatyzm: Sen o potężde* (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2010), 20.
80. Similarly, in early modern Spain the study of ancient Hebrew letters and Jewish culture flourished alongside virulent anti-Semitism. See, for example, Dominique Reyre, "Topónimos hebreos y memoria de la España judía en el Siglo de Oro," *Criticón* 65 (1995): 31–53.
  81. Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 394.
  82. Ossoliński's entrance into Rome was rendered by the Italian printmaker Stefano della Bella in his *Entrata in Roma dell' eccell[issimo] ambasciatore di Polonia l'anno MDCXXXIII* (Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, 1633).
  83. Said, *Orientalism*, 57, 56.
  84. Quoted in Miklós Zrínyi, *The Siege of Sziget*, trans. László Kőrössi (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 8–9. "Pannonia" is the Roman name for the territories of Hungary and Croatia.
  85. Biedrońska-Słotowa, *Sarmatyzm: Sen o potężde*, 20.
  86. Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria*, 1:260–61.
  87. Petneki, "Gens Sarmatica, Gens Scythica," 29.
  88. In return, Russia exported furs to the Ottoman Empire. See Luisa V. Yefimova and Tatyana S. Aleshina, *Russian Elegance: Country and City Fashion from the 15th to the Early 20th Century*, trans. David Hefford (London: Vivays Publishing, 2011), 13; see also Atasoy et al., *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose*, 180–81, 237–39.
  89. Stefano Ionescu, "Transylvania and the Ottoman Rugs," in *Ottoman Rugs in Transylvania* (exh. cat.) (Berlin: Museum of Islamic Art, 2007), 33; Beate Wild, "Transylvania, a World of Diversity between Worlds," in *Ottoman Rugs in Transylvania*, 17; Emese Pásztor, *Ottoman Turkish Carpets in the Collection of the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts* (Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2007), 14.
  90. On this trade, see Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu*, 147–51.
  91. For specific examples of traders from Poland purchasing goods in the Ottoman Empire, see Atasoy et al., *İpek: The Crescent and the Rose*, 179.
  92. Starowolski, *Simonis Starovolsci Polonia*, 41: "Gens enim haec lucri causa libentissime in Regno Poloniae immoratur, & merces nobis varias, partim e Perside, partim e Regnis Turca, praecipue autem equos generosos adducit."
  93. Such was the frequency of mercantile travel between Safavid Iran and Poland, particularly by Armenian merchants, that in 1676 French diamond trafficker Jean Baptiste Tavernier (d. 1689) spoke of an established, optimal "route de Varsovie à Ispahan" [route from Warsaw to Isfahan]: Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier: Ecuyer Baron d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, 5 vols. (Paris: Gervais Clouzier, 1676), 3:303. On this see also Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie*, 20–21.
  94. Ostrowski, *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, 151. On the import of goods from the East in Western Europe, see Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 233.
  95. Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu*, 168.
  96. Appadurai, "Introduction," 26–28.
  97. Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu*, 177.
  98. The letter was sent to the vice chancellor of the Polish king Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (r. 1669–73). Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms. Lat 382. *Copia literarum extentorij Hassem Bassae ad illustrissimum dominum sub cancellarium regni*: manuscript, [16—], Gift of Archibald Cary Coolidge, 1901: "Nostris acceperunt centum 25 tormenta, equos Turcicos, camellos, vestes de pecunia, auro, argento, et aliis rebus copiam magnam." *Tormenta* translates to either "missiles" or "engines" for hurling stones. On war booty, see also Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *Memoirs of the Polish Baroque: The Writings of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, A Squire of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania*, ed. and trans. Catherine S. Leach (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 234.
  99. Jacek Gajewski, "O kilku portretach Jana Kazimierza. Przyczynę do twórczości Daniela Schultza i ikonografii króla," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 37 (1977): 47–61; Steinborn, *Malarz Daniel Schultz*, 196, definitively rejects Schultz's authorship of the portrait; Ostrowski, *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, 197.
  100. Tazbir, "Culture of the Baroque in Poland," 173.
  101. On the executionist movement see, for example, Knoll, "Religious Toleration," 30–52.
  102. Knoll, "Religious Toleration," 41. For more detail about the *Pacta Conventa* agreements and the rise of Polish republicanism, see Edward Opaliński, "Civic Humanism and Republican Citizenship in the Polish Renaissance," in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage, Volume 1: Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 165.
  103. Andrzej Wyczański, "The System of Power in Poland, 1370–1648," in Mączak, Samsonowicz, and Burke, *East-Central Europe in Transition*, 151. On the *rokosz*, see also Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier*, 23–25. The Polish word *rokosz* is itself a loan from the Hungarian *rákos*; see Halina Zgólkowa, *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny* (Poznań: Kurpisz, 2004), 162.
  104. Ulewicz, "Sarmatian Literary Portrait," 40.
  105. Wyczański, "System of Power in Poland," 151.
  106. *Ibid.* The nobility was so influential because Poland and Hungary had among the highest percentages of individuals belonging to the noble class in all of Europe in this period. By various estimates, in Poland it formed around 8 percent of the entire population. See, for example, Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility: 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 25.
  107. Mieczysława Chmielewska, *Sejm Elekcyjny Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego 1669 roku* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2006), 5.
  108. *Ibid.*, 59–92.

109. Zdzisław Żygulski, *Dzieje zbiorów Puławskich: Świątynia Sybilli i Dom Gotycki* (Kraków: Fundacja Książąt Czartoryskich; Kazimierz Dolny: Muzeum Nadwiślańskie, 2009), 53.
110. Wyczański, "System of Power in Poland," 151.
111. *Ibid.*, 32.
112. Quoted in Béla Köpeczi, "The Hungarian Wars of Independence in the 17th and 18th Centuries in their European Context," in *Hungarian History–World History*, ed. György Ránki (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 37.
113. Wyczański, "System of Power in Poland," 151.
114. See, for example, Stanisław Grzybowski, "Opinie szlachty polskiej o antyhabsburskich powstaniach na Węgrzech," in *Polska i Węgry w kulturze i cywilizacji Europejskiej*, ed. Jerzy Wyrozumski (Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1997), 105–9.
115. Daniel J. Isenberg, "Group Polarization: A Critical Review and Meta-Analysis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50, 6 (1986): 1142. Group polarization theory was articulated most fully by Isenberg but also developed by social psychologists such as Serge Moscovici and Marisa Zavalloni, "The Group as Polarizer of Attitudes," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 12, 2 (1969): 125–35.
116. Isenberg, "Group Polarization," 1142.
117. See, for example, Linda T. Darling, "Ottoman Politics through British Eyes: Paul Rycaut's 'The Present State of the Ottoman Empire,'" *Journal of World History* 5, 1 (Spring, 1994): 71–97; Edward Craig, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 10 vols. (New York, 1998), 1:31; Frederick Quinn, *The Sum of All Heresies: The Image of Islam in Western Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 59. For the Polish case, see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Obraz sułtana tureckiego w publicystyce staropolskiej," in *Staropolski ogląd świata, tom 1: Rzeczpospolita między okcydentalizmem a orientalizacją. Przestrzeń kontaktów*, ed. Filip Wolański and Robert Kołodziej (Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek: Toruń, 2009), 19.
118. Tazbir, "Culture of the Baroque in Poland," 175.
119. Éva Deák, "Princeps non principissa': Catherine of Brandenburg, Elected Prince of Transylvania (1629–30)," in *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 82.
120. Quoted in Gervers, *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 15.
121. Kemény's collection of Ottoman items included six sabers, a broadsword, four saddlecloths, saddles, and other equine trappings. Gerelyes, *Ottoman Influences*, 61. On Kemény's enslavement, see Mária Ivanics, "Enslavement, Slave Labour and the Treatment of Captives in the Crimean Khanate," in *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders: Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 207–15.
122. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 2.
123. N. Davies, *God's Playground*, 379.
124. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu*, 53–58, 119–131. Baranowski demonstrates that many individuals recognized the "Orient" as a complex region composed of discrete entities with recognizably differing social and religious conditions.
125. Gervers, *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 26. In Poland, the distinction between Eastern carpets was captured in the adjective *adziamski*, which was used to describe Iranian carpets from as early as 1533. *Adziam* originated from the Turkish word *Acem* (Arabic: 'ajam), meaning Iran. See Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana* (Warsaw: Laskauer i Babicki, 1900), 13; Stanisław Stachowski, *Słownik historyczny turcyzmów w języku polskim* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2007), 5.
126. See Gervers, *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 12–13. For more information on the tradition of bestowing *hil'at*, see Louise W. Mackie, "Ottoman Kaftans with an Italian Identity," in Faruqi and Neumann, *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, 223.
127. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Semiotics of Behavior in Early Modern Diplomacy: Polish Embassies in Istanbul and Bahçesaray," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7, 3–4 (2003): 255.
128. For an early modern Polish account of diplomatic gifts at the Ottoman court, see Samuel Twardowski, *Przeważna legacja Jaśnie Oświeconego XSięęcia Krzysztopha Zbarskiego do cesarza tureckiego Mustafy w roku 1621 Przez Samuela z Skrzypney Twardowskiego* (Kraków: W Drukarni Akademickiej Soc. Jesu, 1706), 120–23, 133–35, 237.
129. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 35.
130. *Ibid.*; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk draws a similar conclusion about the complexities of the Ottoman sultan's self-fashioning in a recent article: see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Khan, Caliph, Tsar and Emperor: The Multiple Identities of the Ottoman Sultan," in Bang and Kołodziejczyk, *Universal Empire*, 175–93.
131. Jan Sobieski, "Letters to Marysieńka: In the Vizier's Tents, September 13 [1683], at Night," in *Polish Baroque and Enlightenment Literature: An Anthology*, trans. and ed. Michael J. Mikoś (Columbus: Slavica Press, 1996), 133.
132. *Diariusz Seymu Warszawskiego w styczniu roku 1672*, ed. Franciszek Kulczycki (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1880), 9: "Czemuż J<sup>o</sup>KMć będąc *caro de carne, os de ossibus nostris, abhorret* narodu Polskiego *vestitum*, a cudzoziemską sobie, iakoby *opprobrio gentis Polonae*, którą przodkowie nasi *fastidio* mieli, upodobał modę?"
133. Steinborn, *Malarz Daniel Schultz*, 96.
134. Koutny-Jones, "Echoes of the East," 412.
135. Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386–1795* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 260.
136. Friedrich Polleroß, "Austriacus Hungariae Rex. Zur Darstellung der Habsburger als ungarische Könige in der frühneuzeitlichen Graphik," in "Ez világ, mint egy kert ..." *Tanulmányok Galavics Géza tiszteletére*, ed. Orsolya Bubryák (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet – Gondolat Kiadó, 2010), 65.
137. Starowolski, *Simonis Starovolsci Polonia*, 74: "Idem sane faciunt & foeminae, atque omnes Europaeorum matro-

- narum habitus sibi usurpant...” Regarding the apolitical nature of women’s clothing in early modern Poland, see also Dumanowski, “Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji,” 159.
138. Koutny-Jones, “Echoes of the East,” 417; Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej*, 199–200.
  139. For more on this portrait, see Jesús Urrea, “‘El Molinaretto’ y otros retratistas de Carlos III en Italia,” *Boletín del Museo del Prado* IX (January–December, 1988): 82–88.
  140. Jakub Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie [1607–1613]*, *Droga do Baden [1638]*, ed. Józef Długosz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1991), 91: “Ten gospodarz, na pozór stateczny... przyniósł też był kilka sztuczek ciała tego Rawaliaka... smażył je w jajecznicy i jadł je...”
  141. Motteville, *Memoirs for the History of Anne of Austria*, 1:263.
  142. Dumanowski, “Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji,” 156.
  143. Quoted in Mrozowski, “Ubiór jako wyraz świadomości,” 19: “Zwożono portrety z XV, XVI i XVII wieku, z których brano formy na suknie.”
  144. *Ibid.*, 20.
  145. Turnau, *Ubiór narodowy*, 161. On the much-contended use of the term “colonial” to describe the partitions of Poland by European powers, see Rafał Kopkowski, “Joseph Conrad’s Essays and Letters in the Light of Postcolonial Studies,” *Yearbook of Conrad Studies (Poland)* 6 (2011): 23–26.



BRILL



ULRICH MARZOLPH

## FROM MECCA TO MASHHAD: THE NARRATIVE OF AN ILLUSTRATED SHI'Ī PILGRIMAGE SCROLL FROM THE QAJAR PERIOD

During my residency at the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art in Shangri La, in Honolulu, Hawai'i, in September–October 2012, a previously unknown illustrated nineteenth-century Shi'ī pilgrimage scroll came to my attention. The scroll, acquired in the Iranian city of Kerman in 1971, is currently preserved in a private collection in Kailua, Hawai'i, where I was able to inspect it in person. According to its present owner, the scroll is roughly 20 centimeters by 194 centimeters and the paper is printed in six sections and glued to a fabric (perhaps cotton) backing. The first five sections (from right to left) are each 32 centimeters wide, the last one 34 centimeters. There is a faded red wash on the top and bottom borders, as well as on portions of the monuments (fig. 1 [see foldout after page 242]).

The scroll was printed by way of lithography and is currently preserved under glass in a custom-made frame. It is in fragile condition, with a large piece of paper missing in the fourth section along with various other small pieces. Several areas bear water stains, particularly a considerable part of the first section. In a small section at the end of the document, on the far left, most of which is left blank, we find mention of the person who commissioned the print (in nineteenth-century wording *ḥasb al-khvāhish-i ...*, “According to the order of ...”). The client's name is given as Muhammad Ja'far Kasa'i, a cloth merchant (*bazzāz*) from Karbala. Commissioning, and thus paying for the production of, an item such as the pilgrimage scroll, or, for that matter, any item of religious import, was regarded as deserving of religious reward (*ṣavāb*), so clients made it a point to have their names mentioned.

Judging from the style of its illustrations, the scroll was made around the end of the nineteenth century or

the beginning of the twentieth. While lithography was the dominant technique for producing printed items during much of the Qajar period, research has so far focused on lithographed books and journals.<sup>1</sup> Items of a more ephemeral nature, such as single-leaf prints of illustrations,<sup>2</sup> amulets,<sup>3</sup> charms, and announcements of personal or public import, have rarely been preserved and, if so, are often in extremely fragile condition. In this respect, the present essay is a contribution to the history of printing in Iran.

Essentially, the pilgrimage scroll presents a visual journey from Mecca to Mashhad. The visual presentation is accompanied by rhymed passages treating various stations of the journey. As far as these stations and the related rites are concerned, the scroll is closely linked to other documents of a similar nature, such as manuals for pilgrims and historical travelogues. While there is a substantial body of published travelogues, particularly from the Qajar period,<sup>4</sup> along with related studies,<sup>5</sup> the present essay does not intend to discuss the scroll consistently in correlation with these sources. Rather, the main intention is to present and discuss the scroll's visual aspects and to contextualize these historically vis-à-vis Muslim, and particularly Shi'ī, visual culture<sup>6</sup> by relating the scroll to both earlier and later similar documents.

### ILLUSTRATED HAJJ CERTIFICATES: A SHORT SURVEY

Hajj certificates are stylized legal documents testifying to the fact that a certain individual has participated in the pilgrimage to Mecca and has executed the required

rituals. Even though there is a terminological differentiation between the minor pilgrimage (Arabic *ʿumra*), i.e., the execution of the pilgrimage rites at any time of the year, and the major pilgrimage (Arabic *ḥajj*), i.e., the pilgrimage during the month of Dhu 'l-hijja, the designation *ḥajj* certificate is indiscriminately applied to both. Providing that one can manage it physically as well as financially, it is obligatory for every Muslim to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his or her lifetime. Meanwhile, people who, for various reasons, are not able to do so, may commonly delegate their obligation to another individual to perform the pilgrimage in their stead (*ḥajj al-badal*). Accordingly, the certificates either testify to the pilgrimage of the person physically present or to the fact that this person participated in the pilgrimage as somebody else's proxy.

A large variety of historical *ḥajj* certificates dating from as early as the Seljuk period and ranging up to the Ayyubid period are today preserved in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul. They are part of a hoard of documents that the Ottoman rulers had transferred to Istanbul from Damascus in 1893.<sup>7</sup> Since the 1960s most of the pilgrimage documents preserved in Istanbul have been studied by the French scholars Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine,<sup>8</sup> and additional studies have been published by Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein,<sup>9</sup> and David J. Roxburgh.<sup>10</sup> The chief importance of the *ḥajj* certificates lies in their documentary value. Meanwhile, because of their artistic content they also pertain to the field of Islamic art. First and foremost, in addition to the text, many of the certificates contain illustrations of the sacred Muslim sites in Mecca and Medina, sometimes also including the *Ḥaram* (sanctuary) in Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup> These illustrations not only constitute fascinating subjects of research in their own right but also, as previous studies have argued, might document earlier stages of buildings and structures that are otherwise known only from textual evidence.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the visual representations of the sacred Muslim sites supplied in the *ḥajj* certificates are early specimens of illustrations that later served to guide pilgrims at the sacred sites of Islam. Illustrations extremely close to those first appearing in the *ḥajj* certificates are schematically included in such widely used books as the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* (Guide of the Perplexed) by Muham-

mad ibn Sulayman al-Jazuli (d. 1465),<sup>13</sup> the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* (Revelations of the Two Sanctuaries) by Muhyi al-Din Lari (d. 1526),<sup>14</sup> and the *Kitāb Mawlid al-Nabī* (Book of the Celebration of the Birth of the Prophet) by Ja'far ibn Hasan al-Barzanji (d. 1766).<sup>15</sup> Similar images were later also included in various manuals for pilgrims,<sup>16</sup> or produced separately on single leaves.<sup>17</sup> The public display of illustrated *ḥajj* certificates in mosques might furthermore have given rise to depictions of the sacred precincts in Mecca and Medina on tiles,<sup>18</sup> a phenomenon that is particularly known from the Ottoman period.<sup>19</sup> Besides their visual characteristics, many of the early documents are also pertinent to the study of Islamic art because, rather than being written or illustrated by hand, they were produced in the early technique of woodblock printing.<sup>20</sup> This technique was probably derived from Buddhist practice<sup>21</sup> and enjoyed considerable popularity in the Arab world between the beginning of the tenth and the middle of the fifteenth century. The fact that woodblock printing was often used for the production of amulets<sup>22</sup> links the religiously motivated *ḥajj* certificates to other practices in the area of popular belief systems and the occult arts.

Besides the documents preserved today in the Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, numerous manuscript copies of *ḥajj* certificates from various collections have been published and discussed.<sup>23</sup> Particularly magnificent specimens include the 212-centimeter-long pilgrimage scroll testifying to the *ḥajj* of Maymuna bint 'Abdallah al-Zardali in 836 (1433), preserved in the British Museum in London;<sup>24</sup> the equally brilliant 665-centimeter-long scroll acknowledging the *ʿumra* of Sayyid Yusuf ibn Sayyid Shihab al-din Mawara' al-Nahri dated 21 Muharram 837 (September 6, 1433), preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar;<sup>25</sup> and the *ḥajj* certificate (Turkish *ḥac vekâletnamesi*) prepared in 951 (1544) for Şehzade Mehmed, preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul.<sup>26</sup> The Aga Khan Museum in Toronto recently acquired a late eighteenth-century pilgrimage scroll sized 918 by 45.5 centimeters that, in addition to images of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, contains representations of Najaf and other Shi'i sites; it was prepared by a certain Sayyid Muhammad Chishti.<sup>27</sup> In contrast to the pilgrimage certificates exclusively depicting sites of Sunni—or rather common

Muslim—relevance, the items in Qatar and Toronto “go beyond the canonical pilgrimage to Mecca to include sites of particular Shi’i veneration.”<sup>28</sup> Since full versions of these hajj certificates are currently not available, the extent to which they are pertinent to the present discussion of Shi’i visual pilgrimage documents remains to be determined by future detailed scrutiny.

#### MODERN PRINTED HAJJ CERTIFICATES

Most studies of hajj certificates and related phenomena are concerned with specimens that are either very old or particularly attractive in terms of their execution. Fairly recent items, such as the fascinating eighteenth-century metal plaque for printing a pilgrimage certificate preserved in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore,<sup>29</sup> have not received much attention. And a late nineteenth-century printed “Mecca certificate” first published in Samuel M. Zwemer’s study *Arabia: The Cradle of Islam* (1900) has gone largely unnoticed (fig. 2).<sup>30</sup>

Even in comparison to many of the brilliantly executed historical items, the specimen published by Zwemer is not devoid of a certain charm. Notably, its traditional iconography of the pilgrimage sites in Mecca and Medina is by no means less detailed than that of its historical manuscript predecessors. The chief importance of the printed certificate, however, lies not in its historical value or artistic merit. Rather, this particular item becomes meaningful because it was produced and distributed in the hundreds, maybe even thousands. In this manner, it gains a social dimension as a document testifying to the continuation of a traditional practice with modern technical means. Modern printed hajj certificates were not available only to the “privileged few,”<sup>31</sup> who would have spent considerable funds on the production of magnificent items produced by talented and diligently working artists. Even in comparison to the early printed documents, modern printed hajj certificates would reach a much wider audience, since paper was no longer an expensive rarity. With the introduction of printing, for the first time in history hajj certificates became commodified accessories for pilgrims. It is particularly interesting that in Zwemer’s hajj certificate many of the names and terms given inside the im-

ages are rendered not only in Arabic but also in the Latin alphabet, whether as a translation or as an approximate transcription. This feature raises the question of the document’s intended audience—an audience that was obviously not expected to read Arabic fluently. Since the translated terms in Latin writing are supplied in English, we may presume that the certificate was directed at a Muslim audience originating from the Indian subcontinent.

Zwemer’s hajj certificate is closely paralleled by another, vaguely contemporary one (fig. 3). This item formerly belonged to the professor of New Testament exegesis and subsequent archbishop of Sweden, Erling Eidem (1880–1972), who had most probably acquired it in the second decade of the century during his peregrinations in Egypt and Palestine. In 1931, Eidem donated the document to the University in Lund, Sweden, where it is now on display in the Faculty of Theology. The visual details of this “very unpretentious popular print” have been minutely discussed by Jan Hjärpe.<sup>32</sup>

The four images rendered in both printed items depict essentially the same scenes. From right to left they illustrate: (a) the ritual sites a pilgrim is required to visit in the vicinity of Mecca; (b) the *Ḥaram* in Mecca; (c) the Prophet’s mosque in Medina; and (d) the *Ḥaram* in Jerusalem. Both items also share a written passage located at the bottom of the first illustration on the right side. Serving as the actual pilgrimage certificate, this passage offers blank spaces to fill in the pilgrim’s name and provenance, and the actual date of the performance. At the very end, after the words “Testified to the above” (*shahida bi-dhālīka*), a number of witnesses (four in Zwemer’s item and three in the Lund certificate) would sign their names acknowledging the proper execution of the required rituals.

In addition to the printed hajj certificates with a standard set of four images, there were also printed certificates for specific individual sites, such as Medina (and, possibly, Jerusalem), as demonstrated by the published example of a mid-nineteenth-century Medina certificate.<sup>33</sup> Whereas the Lund example is bordered by small circles that alternately frame the names of Muhammad and Allah (the latter written in a number of minor variations), it is interesting to note that the ornaments bordering the image of the Medina certificate are the same



ones used in Zwemer's Mecca certificate, so both certificates were probably produced in the same printing establishment. Meanwhile, the graphic layout of the buildings on the Medina certificate is noticeably different from that of the Mecca certificate. Both documents include a written passage testifying to a given individual's visit. The passage includes empty spaces for the names of that individual and for a total of four witnesses (fig. 4).

While recent printed certificates such as those discussed above deserve attention, it is striking to note that most of the pilgrimage documents studied so far bespeak a Sunni perspective. Although visual aspects of Shi'i Muslim culture have increasingly gained attention in recent Western scholarship,<sup>34</sup> the visual dimension of pilgrimage from a Shi'i perspective still calls for adequate consideration. Notably, the Shi'i perspective relates not only to the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*, *umra*) but also to the popular pilgrimage (Persian *zīyārat*) to major sites of Shi'i remembrance and worship in Iraq and Iran, such as the tombs of the imams and the innumerable shrines of their descendants (the *Imām-zādas*). These popular pilgrimages, which had always been regarded as "meritorious acts of devotion," had, in the Safavid period, "acquired growing canonical status. Theoretically they were even placed on the same level as the *hajj*."<sup>35</sup> Unillustrated pilgrimage certificates attesting to visits to the shrine of Imam Rida in Mashhad are known from as early as the sixteenth century,<sup>36</sup> and single-leaf prints depicting the tragic events of Karbala are known to have been produced at the beginning of the twentieth century, when they were probably distributed or sold to Shi'i pilgrims at the shrines in Najaf or Karbala (fig. 5).<sup>37</sup> These images not only constituted items of pious commemoration but would probably also have served to document the owner's actual visit to the sites of Shi'i pilgrimage in Najaf and/or Karbala.

Meanwhile, as a direct case in point, there are also popular prints of Shi'i pilgrimage certificates dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Two of these documents have been published casually—i.e., without any references to their provenance or present location.<sup>38</sup> While both documents are extremely similar, the older one, probably dating from the end of the nineteenth century, was executed with compara-

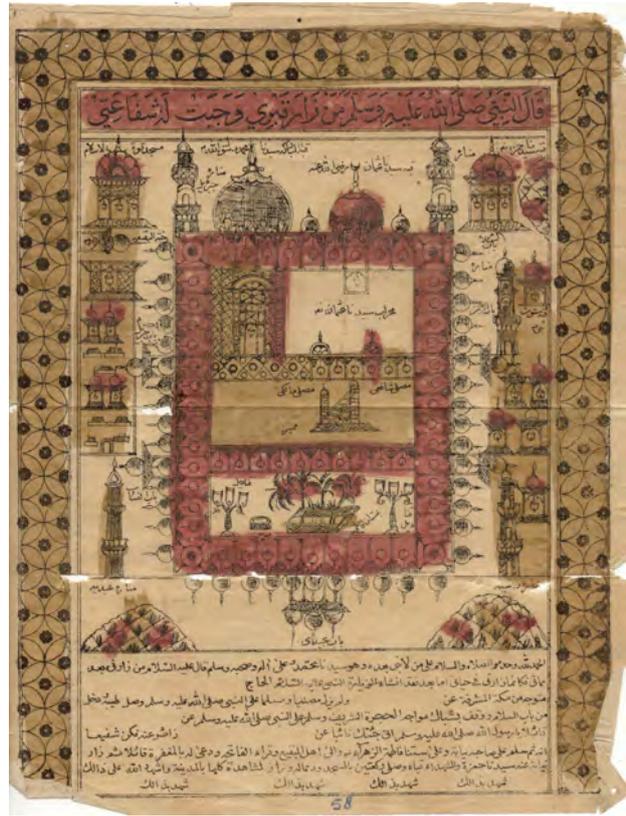


Fig. 4. Medina certificate. Leiden UB, plano 53 F 1, sheet 58. (Photo courtesy of Leiden UB)

tively greater professional care.<sup>39</sup> Already at first sight, these documents demonstrate features that are closely similar to those of the corresponding Sunni items. Whereas the modern publisher of the older item edited the document's text, the reproduction of the second, later document is so small that the text passages are hardly legible. As in the Sunni documents, the centrally placed text of the *hajj* certificate proper leaves blank spaces intended for the name of the pilgrim and his place of origin. The more recent *hajj* certificate is dated 9 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1321 (February 26, 1904). It is thus more or less contemporary with the Sunni *hajj* certificates published by Zwemer and Hjärpe. Instead of the regular set of four sites of pilgrimage seen in the printed Sunni documents, the top sections of both printed Shi'i *hajj* certificates illustrate a set of five sites that imply a



Fig. 5. Two single-leaf lithographed prints depicting scenes from the battle of Karbala. From Jean Vinchon, "L'imagerie populaire persane," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 2, 4 (1925): 10–11.

distinctly Shi'i perspective, particularly with regard to the last two images (fig. 6).

Reading the images from right to left, there are (a) the *Haram* in Mecca and (b) a double image depicting a pilgrim and a number of sheep at Mount Arafat above and two pilgrims to the side of a set of steps below; these steps represent the *mas'ā* between Safa and Marwa, i.e., the distance that pilgrims are requested to trot back and forth as did Abraham's wife Hagar when searching for water for her infant son Isma'il. In addition to these two sites of the Sunni—or rather the common Muslim—dimension of the pilgrimage in Mecca, there is an image of (c) the Prophet Muhammad's mosque at Medina that also belongs to the regular set of images depicted on the Sunni hajj certificates. The next illustration depicts (d) the cemetery in Medina known as Baqī' (here denoted in Persian as *bārgāh-i Baqī'*), a site that is rarely, if ever, included in the visual program of the Sunni hajj certificates (although it has been visualized in manuscripts of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*).<sup>40</sup> This cemetery is particularly dear to the Shi'i community because it holds not only the graves of Muhammad's wives and his daughter Fatima, but also those of a number of the early Shi'i imams: the Second Imam, Hasan (d. 661); the Fourth Imam, 'Alī ibn al-Husayn "Zayn al-'Abidin," also known as the imam Sajjad (d. ca. 713); the Fifth Imam, Muhammad al-Baqir (d. ca. 733); and the Sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765). Today, the mausolea in the cemetery are no

longer extant, having been destroyed by iconoclast Wahhabis, apparently in 1925–26. The fifth and final illustration, in the far left section of the document, depicts (e) the oasis Fadak (*bāgh-i Fadak*), a place in the vicinity of Medina that was formerly renowned for its rich date palms. This site is also imbued with a particular significance for the Shi'i community. Before the spread of Islam, the oasis had belonged to the Jewish community, who gave it to Muhammad as part of the peace agreement they had reached. Muhammad devoted the revenue from the date palms to needy travelers and the poor. Following Muhammad's death a dispute broke out between his daughter, Fatima, and the first caliph, Abu Bakr, as to who was the rightful owner of Fadak. Whereas Fatima regarded the oasis as part of her inheritance, Abu Bakr maintained that the revenue should be spent in exactly the same way as the Prophet had settled it. Since Fatima could not produce witnesses sustaining her claim that would satisfy Abu Bakr, he did not relent. The Shi'i community regards Abu Bakr's rejection of Fatima's claim as an act of injustice that belongs to a long series of Sunni atrocities denying the Prophet's family its rightful position and inheritance. Together with the Persian text, part of which describes the pilgrim's acts during his journey to the various sacred sites, this hajj certificate thus presents a decidedly Shi'i perspective.



Fig. 6. Shi'i hajj certificate (top section). From Jabir 'Anasiri, *Dar āmadi bar namāyesh va niyyesh dar Irān* (Tehran: Jihad-i daneshgahi, 1366 [1987]), 151.

#### THE SHI'I PILGRIMAGE SCROLL

The Shi'i pilgrimage scroll that is the main subject of this essay consists essentially of two areas of a different nature. The scroll's middle area has a total of twenty-four images illustrating the various Shi'i pilgrimage sites. Both the top and bottom borders contain poetry. Besides the scroll's dominant visual character, the texts also contribute to the study of pilgrimage practices and their Shi'i dimensions.

##### *The Shi'i Pilgrimage Scroll: The Verses*

In the area containing the poetry, each couplet is bordered by an ornamental frame that separates it from the following one. Each section contains seven verses, totaling eighty-four verses altogether. The verses are fairly

crude in terms of meter, and simple as well as repetitive in wording. Most of them rhyme with "... *kardīm*" (we did); and most of the final verses in the bottom of sections five and six rhyme with "... *āvardaīm*" (we brought) and *rasīd* (it came). In general, the verses, each of which forms an independent unit, illustrate the pilgrims' itinerary. If one wants to follow this itinerary chronologically, one would first read all of the verses on the top border and then continue with the ones on the bottom border. This sequence makes it clear that the verses do not stand in direct relation to the images in the middle area. In fact, most of the verses deal with the pilgrims' sojourn in Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Kufa, and Karbala. Other sites of Shi'i pilgrimage such as those in Kazimayn, Samarra, and Mashhad are only mentioned in a retrospective passage in the final section at the bottom of the scroll.

Since the verses are pronounced in the first person plural, they are obviously spoken by an individual representing a group of people, such as the leader or guide of the pilgrims. In fact, this is an example of the poetry known as *chāvūshī-khvānī*—the verses pronounced by the pilgrimage guide known as *chāvūsh* (or *chāvush*) as the pilgrims return to their homes. Besides guiding the pilgrims and instructing them about the proper execution of pilgrimage rituals, the *chāvūsh* was responsible for travel arrangements of all kinds, including means of travel and accommodation. Substantial Western research on this phenomenon is lacking, but a fair number of studies published by Iranian scholars<sup>41</sup> indicate that the *chāvūsh* was a phenomenon of traditional Shi'i culture that probably still exists today in rural areas of Iran. The verses recited by the *chāvūsh* present a rhymed and somewhat stylized narrative of the pilgrims' visit to different locations, including their experiences on the way and the presents they brought back to their home community. It is open to speculation to what extent verses of this kind were recited from booklets known as *chāvūshī-nāma*, a genre obviously denoting simple and

uncritical publications of the "Bazaar" kind.<sup>42</sup> Similar booklets, containing the text of *ta'zīya* dramas of venerated persons like Husayn, Bibi Shahrbanu, Husayn's half-brother Abu 'l-Fadl 'Abbas, Muslim (ibn 'Aqil), or Husayn's sons Qasim and 'Ali Akbar, are still sold today.<sup>43</sup>

Besides their crude and somewhat monotonous character, a striking feature of the verses is their emotional charge. Whereas the rites and practices of the pilgrimage in Mecca are mentioned in a matter-of-fact way, from their visit to the cemetery at Baqi' onwards the pilgrims shed tears, weeping and wailing ever so often. Even though the reasons for this attitude are not mentioned explicitly, it obviously results from the deeply experienced emotional understanding of the historical injustice the venerated persons suffered, from the destitution they experienced, and from the relative guilt the pilgrims would share as the descendants of those who had not kept their promise to assist Husayn and his companions. The pilgrim brings back with him many spiritual gifts, but the ultimate expression of compassion is seen in his eyes, still "filled with blood" from weeping at Husayn's tomb. As a counterpart to the pilgrim's remorse as expressed in his tears, the equally emotionally charged term of reliability and faithfulness (*vafā*) also links the pilgrims' visit to the historical situation in that the pilgrims are truly faithful to Husayn, in contrast to those who had historically promised to stand by his side but then deserted him.

These are the verses on the pilgrimage scroll, following their order in the printed sections. Words or parts of words that have been reconstructed are added in brackets. Instead of a literal translation, the content of the verses is summarized in English:

رو بسوی کعبه وفا کردیم	شکر لله ز التفات خدا
جا بر بندر بشوقها کردیم	بعد طی منازل بسیار

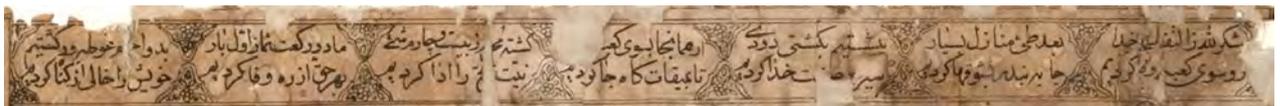


Fig. 7. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 1).

نشستیم به کشتی دودی  
از هماغجا بسوی کعبه (ه)  
گشته محرم ز بیست و چارم شیء  
مادو رکعت نماز اول بار  
بدو احد (را)م غوطه ور گشتیم  
سیر ب (ر) صنعت خدا کردیم  
تا بمیقات گاه جا کردیم  
نیت حج را ادا کردیم  
بهر حق از ره وفا کردیم  
خویش را خالی از گاه کردیم

Setting off for the pilgrimage from an unnamed location, after a lengthy journey the pilgrims reach a seaport (most probably on Iran's southern coast) from where they continue their journey by steamboat. Following their arrival at the *mīqāt* (the site stipulated for the assumption of the *ihrām*), most probably the port of Jidda, they enter the state of *ihrām* (i.e., the state of having declared twenty-four specific acts forbidden), and pronounce their intention (*niyyat*) to complete the pilgrimage. They then perform a short prayer (of two *rak'a*) and the ritual ablution so as to reach the required state of purity (fig. 7).

تلبیه بر زبان آوردیم  
ماکه دیوار مکه را دیدیم  
بهر طوف حرم ز باب سلام  
متمتع ز عمره گردیدیم  
بعد اندر مقام ابراهیم  
سعی اندر صفا و مروه دوست  
کرده تقصیر و ما محلّ شده ایم  
اشک جاری ز دیده ها کردیم  
شکر کردیم و سجده ها کردیم  
اهل اسلام را دعا کردیم  
هفت شوط عمره را بجا کردیم  
با شرایط نماز ها کردیم  
هفت بار از ره وفا کردیم  
جمله اعمال را بجا کردیم

As the pilgrims exclaim the ritual greeting *labbayka* (Here I am at our service!), their eyes fill with tears. When they reach the walls of Mecca, they prostrate themselves repeatedly. They enter the sacred precinct (*ḥaram*) through the *Bāb al-Salām*, the gate on the precinct's northeastern side, facing the door of the Ka'ba, and perform the proscribed circumambulation (*ʿumra*) seven times. After praying at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, the site where, according to legend, Abraham stood when building the Ka'ba, they then proceed to perform the ritual trotting between Safa and Marwa seven times (i.e., walking to Safa four times and returning to Marwa three times). Having performed the required rituals, they leave the state of *ihrām* (fig. 8).

روز هفتم روان سوی عرفات  
ز آب زمزم بجزر اسماعیل  
گشته محرم بحجّه الاسلام  
بر شترها سوار تلبیه گو  
شام تا صبح در منی بودیم  
روز رفتیم بوادی عرفات  
چون مخالف مخالفت کردند  
باز تجدید کارها کردیم  
غسل احرام از وفا کردیم  
حج اسلام بپیریا کردیم  
رو بسوی مشعر و منا کردیم  
(در) مسجد خیف نالها کردیم  
پای آنکوه قصد ها کردیم  
پای آنکوه قصد ها کردیم

On the seventh day, the pilgrims set off for Mount Arafat. At the *ḥijr Ismā'il*, the stone wall encompassing the graves of Isma'il and his mother, Hagar, they perform the ritual ablution (*ghusl*) with water from the well

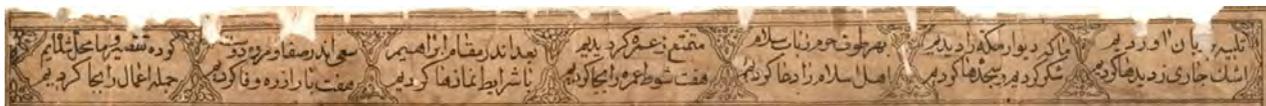


Fig. 8. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 2).



Fig. 9. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 3).

of Zamzam. Again pronouncing the ritual greeting *lab-bayka*, they travel to the valley of Mina on camelback. They spend the night there wailing in the mosque of Khayf. The next morning they continue to Mount Arafat, where they perform the prescribed rituals (fig. 9).

واجب از صدق و از صفا کردیم	ظهر تا شام قصد بیتوته
بر احرام ریگها کردیم	اول مغرب رو بمشعر شد
باز ترویبه بین راه کردیم	شد عیان (شفق) ماروان گشتیم
که دران عید عیدها کردیم	در منی روز عید عیدی بود
باز تقصیر را بجا کردیم	رمی کردیم بعد قربانی
رو سوی خانه خدا کردیم	سر تراشیده موممودیم دفع
حج اسلام را ادا کردیم	باز داخل شدیم بیاب سلام

After securing a place to stay overnight, at dusk the pilgrims set off on their way to the mosque in Muzdalifa (*al-Mash'ar al-ḥarām*). They then return to Mina, where they slaughter sheep for the Feast of the Sacrifice (*īd-i qurbān*) and perform the ritual throwing of pebbles against Satan (*ramy*). After having their heads shaved, they return to Mecca, where they again enter the sacred precinct from the *Bāb al-Salām* to perform the circumambulation of the Ka'ba (fig. 10).

(سپس) عازم نسا کردیم	(بعد) سعی صفی و مروه دگر
رو سوی وادی منا کردیم	بعد طوف نساء و بعد نماز
ماکه بر عهد خود وفا کردیم	در منا کرده .....
ماکه بر .....	که ز حجاج .....

.....	رو سوی دش ..... را کردیم
.....	..... و جان د ..... (ک) کردیم
در بقیع قبر چار حجت را	بوسه دادیم و گریها کردیم

This section is heavily damaged and most of the words are not legible. After returning from Safa and Marwa, the pilgrims perform the *tavāf-i nisā'*, a specifically Shi'i circumambulation by which they gain permission to have sexual contact with women. Mention is again made of Mina, but the numerous lacunae do not permit a reconstruction of what is supposed to happen there. The final line mentions the pilgrims visiting the cemetery of Baqī' in the vicinity of Medina, where they kiss the graves of the four Shi'i imams, Hasan, 'Alī "Zayn al-'Abidin," Muhammad al-Baqir, and Ja'far al-Sadiq, and lament their deaths (fig. 11).

از مدینه بسوی شاه نجف	طی منزل بشوقها کردیم
وارد چو ..... نجف	کردیم غم و غصه و اندوه تلف
از خاک نجف دیده مایافت شرف	گفتیم بمانی همه با شوق شعف
جای همه یاران و عزیزان خالی	
(از لطف خدا بر وضه گشتیم قرین	از خجالت معصیت همه سر بزمین
کردیم سلام) بر شهنشاہ مبین	.. آدم و نوح اند و پیغمبر دین
جای (همه یاران و عزیزان خالی	

From Medina, the pilgrims travel towards Najaf, where they are emotionally touched by the memory of the tragic historical events. Here, for the first time, the speaker exclaims a line that is to follow at intervals for a total of four times: "The place of all friends and persons

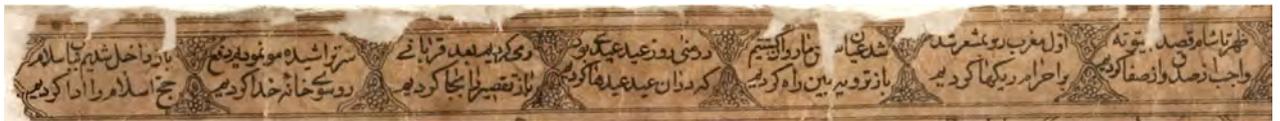


Fig. 10. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 4).



Fig. 11. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 5).

dear to us is empty!”—meaning that one wishes they were there, too. The speaker mentions a session of *rawḍa-khvānī*, i.e., a recitation pertaining to the tragic events of Karbala, which makes the pilgrims feel ashamed because it makes them aware of all their sins. Full of remorse, the pilgrims pay their respects to ‘Ali (*Shāhinshāh-i mubīn*), Noah, Adam, and Muhammad (*payghambar-i dīn*) (fig. 12).

همچو خورشید بر ضیا کردیم  
ما زیارت جدا جدا کردیم  
به زیارتشان وفا کردیم  
آه و افغان و ناله کردیم  
بنشستیم و ناله کردیم  
نالهای چه جانفز کردیم

چشم خود را ز خاک قبر حسین  
حضرت قاسم و حبیب شهید  
شهدار اتمام با عباس  
بعد از آن رو به خیمه گاه حسین  
چون بدیدیم حمله قاسم  
رو بصحرابسوی حر رفتیم

رفتیم بصفه صفا سیرگان  
دردامن دریای نجف بود عیان  
جای همه یاران و عزیزان خالی  
چون مسجد کوفه سهله را گردیدیم  
محراب شهادت علی را دیدیم  
جای همه یاران و عزیزان خالی  
بعد از آن بادو دیده گریان  
طی منزل به کربلا کردیم

In Karbala the pilgrims visit the tombs of Husayn, Husayn’s son Qasim, Habib (ibn Muzahir al-Asadi), and Husayn’s half-brother ‘Abbas, as well as of all the other martyrs. Continuously lamenting, they reach the site where Husayn’s troops had pitched their tents (the *khayma-gāh*). At Qasim’s bridal tent they start weeping, and they cry again when they visit the site of the martyrdom of Hurr (ibn Yazid al-Tamimi), the Umayyad general who joined Husayn’s side (fig. 14).

After visiting ‘Ali’s tomb in Najaf, the pilgrims continue toward Kufa, where they visit the site of ‘Ali’s martyrdom in the mosque. Their eyes filled with tears, they set off for Karbala (fig. 13).

وانگه ز کربلا بسوی نجف  
چون رسیدیم بان خجسته مکان  
حضرت مرتضی و آدم و نوح  
قبر مولای خویش بوسیدیم  
در زوایای مسجد کوفه  
طی منزل بشوقها کردیم  
سیر آن گنبد طلا کردیم  
هر سه را قبله دعا کردیم  
هر زمان عرض مدعا کردیم  
سنت و فرض خود را ادا کردیم

چون رسیدیم در بر حایر  
ملک العرش را شنا کردیم

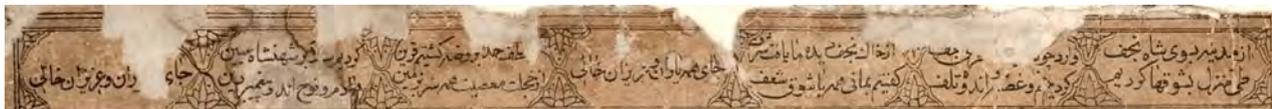


Fig. 12. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 6).



Fig. 13. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 1).

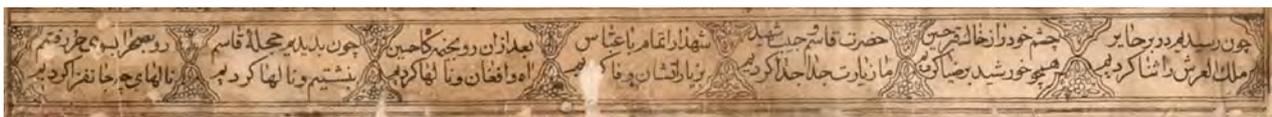


Fig. 14. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 2).

مسلم و هانی و دیگر مختار  
بعد رخصت ز حیدر کرار

ما زیارت جدا جدا کردیم  
از نجف رو بکر بلا کردیم

well as their uncles, cousins, and other relatives. They are sure that God has forgiven their sins because 'Ali is in their hearts (fig. 16).

From Karbala the pilgrims again turn to Najaf, where they pay homage to 'Ali, Adam, and Noah, kissing 'Ali's tomb. At the mosque of Kufa, they visit the tombs of Muslim (ibn 'Aqil), Hani (ibn 'Urwa, the person who gave shelter to Muslim in Kufa), and Mukhtar (ibn Abi 'Ubaydallah, the person who led a rebellion against the Umayyad caliphs to avenge Husayn's death). Having requested permission (*rukḥṣat*) from 'Ali (*Ḥaydar-i karrār*, "the boisterous lion") to leave, the pilgrims return to Karbala (fig. 15).

ما سلام از روضه شیر خدا آورده ایم  
بسکه رخ مالیده ایم بر مرقد شاه نجف  
بوی عنبر) از علی مرتضی آورده ایم  
سر برهنه پا برهنه مکه را گردیده ایم  
این شرافت از مکان انبیاء آورده ایم  
قتلگاه حضرت شاه شهیدان دیده ایم  
چشم پر خونی از آن جنت سرا آورده ایم  
طوف عباس علی را کرده ایم از جان و دل  
ما طواف کعبه را از خیمه گاه آورده ایم  
قبر هفتاد و دو تن را (م) از زیارت کرده ایم  
از برای دوستان عقده گشا آورده ایم  
مرقد موسی کاظم در بغل بگرفته ایم  
خاک درگاهش برای توتیا آورده ایم

بار دیگر به روضه شهدا  
همه در تحت قبه مولا  
اول از بهر والدین عزیز  
بعد از آن بهر خواهر و اخوان  
عم و عمزادگان و خویشانرا  
جرم ما را خدا بما بخشید  
چونکه مهر علیست در (دل ما)

روضه را تعزیت سرا کردیم  
دوست . . . . . (کردیم)  
(طلب رحمت از خدا کردیم  
بنماز و دعا وفا کردیم  
یاد هر یک جدا جدا کردیم  
محضر از مهر کربلا کردیم  
این سخن را از جان ادا کردیم

With the first of the final two sections, both the meter and rhyme of the verses change. Mention is first made of the spiritual presents the speaker brings back from his journey. 'Ali's tomb smelled like ambergris. From their humble visit to Mecca they return with pride, and the pilgrim's eyes are still filled with blood from extensive weeping at the site where Husayn was killed. They visited the tomb of 'Abbas, the Ka'ba, the plain where Husayn and his troops had pitched their tents, and the tombs of the seventy-two martyrs of Karbala. These moral presents should help their friends to gain peace of mind. From the tomb of the Seventh Imam Musa al-Kazim (in Kazimayn [d. 799]), they brought back some soil (*khāk*), to be used for the preparation of a special ointment to protect the eyes (*tūtīyā*) (fig. 17).

In Karbala the pilgrims again participate in a session of *rawḍa-khvānī*. They ask for pardon from God for their parents, and they pray for their sisters and brothers as

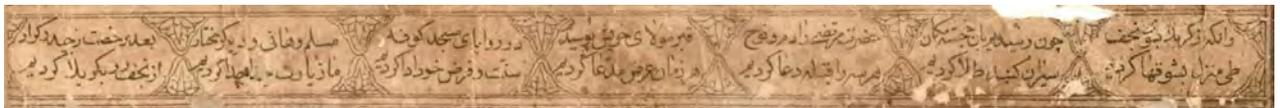


Fig. 15. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 3).



Fig. 16. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 4).



Fig. 17. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 5).

هم تقی و هم نقی با عسکری طوفیده ایم  
 راه و رسم بندگی را ما بجا آورده ایم  
 مهدی صاحب زمان ما زیارت کرده ایم  
 نامه آزادی از جرم و گناه آورده ایم  
 میزند سوداگران از شهرها بس انتفاع  
 انتفاع اینست که ما از کربلا آورده ایم  
 در بیابان از عرب جور و جفا ها دیده ایم  
 مهر و تسبیح از شهید کربلا آورده ایم  
 شکر خدا (که تیر دعا بر هدف) رسید  
 (روی سیاه ما بصریح نجف رسید)  
 هر مطلبی که در دل تو بود در نجف  
 بر عرض بارگاه شه لو کشف رسید  
 بار الها کن نصیب شد (بیعیان هر سالها)  
 هر (م) نجف هم کربلا هم (مشهد شاه رضا)

On their way, the pilgrims also paid homage to the tomb of the Ninth Imam, Muhammad al-Taqi (also called Muhammad al-Javad [d. 835]), in Kazimayn as well as to those of the Tenth Imam, 'Ali al-Naqi (also called 'Ali al-Hadi [d. 868]), and of the Eleventh Imam, Hasan al-'Askari (d. 873 or 874), in Samarra (these two imams are commonly addressed together as al-'Askariyayn [the two 'Askaris]), professing to their close relationship with them. In Samarra, they also visited the site where the Twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, the *Imām-i zamān*, is supposed to have gone into occultation, thus earning for themselves a document testifying that all their sins had been forgiven. Even though merchants might gain (financial) profit from the holy cities, the true (moral) profit was thus brought back by the pilgrims from Karbala. The voyage was strenuous and they were harassed by the Bedouins on their way through the desert. Even so, they brought back from Karbala a praying-stone (*muhr*)<sup>44</sup> and a rosary (*tasbīh*).<sup>45</sup>

The final lines are, again, badly damaged. It is, however, possible to reconstruct their wording from corre-

sponding lines in the published *chāvūshī-nāma*. The speaker is happy that his prayers have been fulfilled since he was able to visit 'Ali's tomb in Najaf. All of the requests he might have had have now been revealed at 'Ali's shrine.<sup>46</sup> The speaker finishes by wishing that God may enable all Shi'i Muslims to visit Najaf and Karbala annually, as well as the *Haram* of the Eighth Imam, 'Ali ibn Musa al-Rida (d. 818), in Mashhad (fig. 18).

#### *The Shi'i Pilgrimage Scroll: The Images*

The middle area of the pilgrimage scroll, flanked by the verse narrative above and below, presents a visualization of the sites and buildings that bear particular relevance for Shi'i Muslim pilgrims. In contrast to the verse narrative, which focuses on Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Kufa, and Karbala, mentioning other sites of Shi'i pilgrimage such as Kazimayn, Samarra, and Mashhad only in the final summary, the visual journey reveals a different emphasis. In exactly the same way as in the Shi'i hajj certificate discussed above (fig. 6), the journey starts in Mecca and the ritual sites in its vicinity (image nos. 1 and 2 [these numbers refer to the images in the following passages; see figs. 19–24, images read from right to left]), followed by Medina and the local Shi'i pilgrimage sites of Baqi' and Fadak (nos. 3–5). At this point, the visit to sites related to the hajj in the stricter sense is finished, and the overlap with the printed Shi'i hajj certificate (fig. 6) ends. After concluding their visit to the pilgrimage sites in Saudi Arabia, Sunni Muslims would be likely to continue their journey by visiting the *Haram* in Jerusalem, from where Muhammad, according to legend, set out on his Nocturnal Journey, the *mi'rāj*.<sup>47</sup> Shi'i travelers, however, would aim to visit sites of particular relevance to the history of the Shi'i creed, especially the shrines of the Shi'i imams (*'atabāt-i 'āliyyāt*). The scroll's visual journey thus continues to Najaf (no. 6), Kufa (no. 7), and Karbala (nos. 8–12), all three of them belonging to the sites that are prominently mentioned in the verses. After Karbala, the second half of the images then

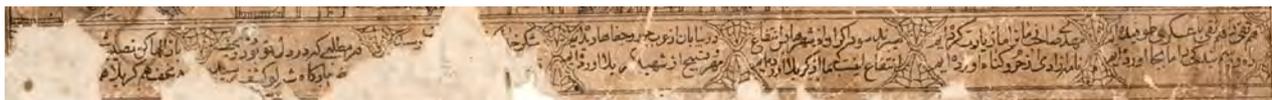


Fig. 18. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 6).

features sites that receive little or no attention in the verses, such as Kazimayn (no. 13), Samarra (nos. 14–15), Qum (no. 16), Rayy (nos. 17–18), and Nishapur (no. 19). The final site the pilgrim visits is Mashhad (nos. 20–24). While most sites depicted on the scroll are located in either Arabia (nos. 1–6) or Iraq (nos. 7–15), Shi'i sites of pilgrimage within the borders of Iran (nos. 16–24) receive particular attention, even though some of them are only minor ones. The journey both culminates and ends in Mashhad. Considered together, the starting point of the visual journey is a hajj proper, which is then followed by the pilgrim's return to Iran, on the way visiting Shi'i sites of remembrance in Iraq. As the verse narrative mentions, the pilgrims would have started their journey by travelling from Iran to Saudi Arabia by boat, so the obvious choice for the return journey is the land route, during which religious merit would be earned by visiting Shi'i sites of pilgrimage in Iraq and Iran. If one considers the distance of more than 3,500 kilometers that pilgrims would have had to travel between Mecca and Mashhad, and if one adds certain periods of sojourn at the sites of pilgrimage, it is not unlikely that prior to the accessibility of modern means of travel, the journey would have lasted at least several months, probably even up to half a year.

The images in sections 1, 2, 3, and 5 are 14 centimeters in height; section 4 is only 13.9 centimeters, and section 6 is slightly larger at 14.4 centimeter high. Averaging four images per printed section, the images are unevenly distributed (sections 1–6 with 3, 4, 4, 3, 5, and 5 images, respectively). This phenomenon results to a certain extent from the fact that some images are so wide (e.g., no. 1: Mecca; no. 13: Kazimayn) as to occupy the space that would regularly be covered by two images. In the following, the exact width of each image is given together with its description. In terms of number of images dedicated to a specific location, the visual journey clearly emphasizes both Karbala and Mashhad. The visit to Karbala has a total of five images (nos. 8–12), and the final destination at the sanctuary of Imam Rida (including the site east of Nishapur where his footprints are worshipped [no. 19]) is represented with a total of six images (nos. 19–24).

Except for a few instances (no. 1: Mecca; no. 7: Kufa; no. 18: Bibi Shahrbanu), all of the images are divided into

a top and bottom half. The two halves are separated by an ornamental band bearing the caption, which is usually positioned just below the middle of the image. Because of this arrangement, the top section is slightly larger than the bottom one. In the images depicting a mosque or a similar type of sanctuary (nos. 3, 4, 6, 8–17, 20, and 21), the top half presents the building from a distance with its centrally placed dome and, most often, minarets on both sides. The domes of the larger shrines are so-called onion domes with a finial at their crest. They usually rest on a drum, sometimes a slightly elongated one that would often display a number of windows. The domes of the smaller shrines (no. 9: *Khayma-gāh*; no. 19: *Qadamgāh-i* Imam Rida) are round and do not rest on a drum. A golden cover of the domes and sometimes of the minarets is visualized by a brick structure, while tile covers are depicted as flowers or geometrical ornaments. The bottom half of the mausoleum-type shrine shows a cross-section of the sanctuary, allowing a glimpse into the building's interior. Here, one would regularly see the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual's tomb in a room adorned with centrally placed chandeliers, symmetrically arranged lamps, and sometimes additional candlesticks on the floor. Frequently, the sanctuary's tomb chamber is flanked by small entry chambers on both sides. In terms of architectural detail, the buildings are presented in a fairly uniform manner. However, the artist has taken great care to introduce a certain variation in the patterns of the brickwork or ornamental tiles. In a similar manner, the inner chambers of the sanctuaries also diverge in terms of the number or arrangement of lamps and chandeliers. While the majority of the images depict buildings, two present bird's-eye views of larger areas (no. 1: Mecca; no. 7: Kufa). Some images include renderings of landscape or elements of nature such as trees (no. 2: Arafat; no. 5: Fadak; no. 9: *Khayma-gāh*; no. 12: *Tiflān-i* Muslim; no. 18: Bibi Shahrbanu; and 19: *Qadamgāh-i* Imam Rida). With the exception of the commemorative building dedicated to Bibi Shahrbanu (no. 18), all of the images depicting shrines are adorned on top with either one or two crescents with five-pointed stars in their centers. Sometimes, two crescents may denote the shrines of more than one individual (nos. 8, 13, and 14), while at other times they probably serve to

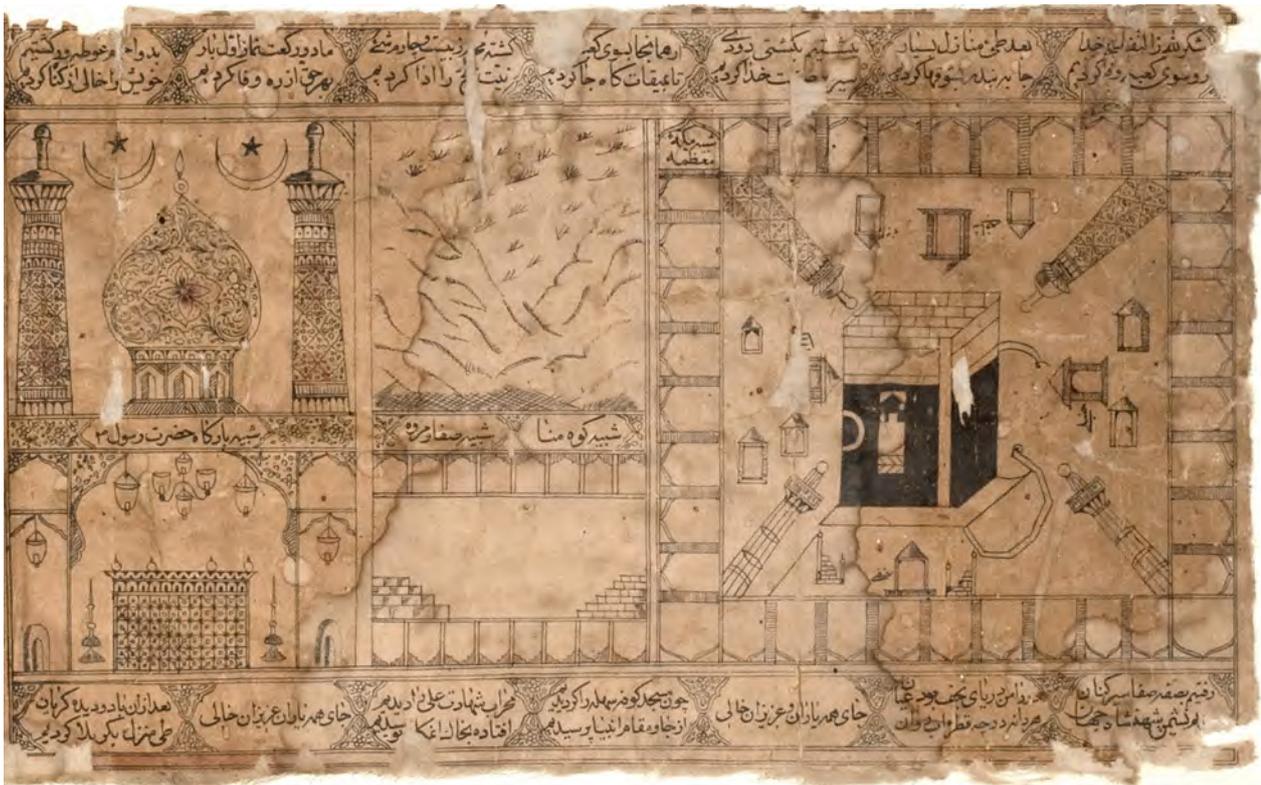


Fig. 19. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 1, image nos. 1–3).

emphasize the respective individual's particular significance (no. 3: Muhammad; no. 10: *ḥadrat-i* 'Abbas).

In addition to the above-mentioned points, several other visual features of the lithographed scroll deserve attention, even though solutions to some of the problems it poses at present remain tentative. For instance, only the sanctuaries in Mecca (no. 1) and Kufa (no. 7) are shown in plan rather than in elevation-cum-cross-section. While this visual statement might indicate that these two sanctuaries were accorded a higher status (which would hold true for Mecca, but not for Kufa), it primarily appears to result from a previous tradition according to which the sanctuary in Mecca would usually be depicted in this manner, probably since the image shows a larger area rather than a single building. If this assessment holds true, then it would also be valid for the depiction of the mosque in Kufa that—similar to Mecca—features a larger area.

1) The *Haram* in Mecca (شبهه مکه معظمه; 14.7 × 14 cm) is depicted as a square with the Ka'ba in the center. The square is surrounded by arcades. There are eight arches on the left and right sides, and nine on the top and bottom sides, respectively. Similar arches are depicted in the four corners, with the space in the upper left corner bearing the image's caption. The image presents the holy precinct in the traditional manner, from the portal on the northeastern side, the *Bāb al-Salām*, a gate that is also mentioned in the verses of the scroll as the standard entrance. Except for the Ka'ba, which is displayed in a three-dimensional perspective, all other structures are presented in flat projection, emulating a bird's-eye view. Most of the additional structures are oriented towards the Ka'ba at the center of the image. Two pairs of identically ornamented minarets, one pair above and the other one below, point from the square's four corners towards the center. The traditionally depicted de-

tails of the Ka'ba are clearly discernible: the building rests on an outwardly protruding platform; the black stone on the building's eastern corner, here on the left side, is indicated by a curving white line against the building's black draping, the *kiswa*; the Ka'ba's door appears to be open, enabling the viewer to look inside the building. To the right of the Ka'ba is the stone wall known as *hijr Ismā'īl*, and on the corner of the building opposite the black stone is the gutter known as *mizāb al-raḥma*. Four single words, of which the one on the left side is barely legible, are written inside the *Ḥaram* and surrounding the Ka'ba on its four sides. They identify some of the smaller structures inside the holy precinct, including the wooden pavilions belonging to the four legal schools of Sunni Islam, albeit not in the correct position. Starting from the top and reading clockwise, the captions identify the Shafi'i, Hanbali, Hanafi, and Maliki pavilions. (The correct order is, starting from the bottom and reading clockwise: Shafi'i, Hanbali, Maliki,

and Hanafi.) Two structures in the foreground appear to be pulpits (*minbars*). Other structures often depicted in other traditional illustrations, such as the well of Zamzam and the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, are not identified.

2) The second image depicts Mina and Mount Arafat (شبهه کوه منا) in the top section, and the trotting space between Safa and Marwa (شبهه صفا و مروه) in the bottom section (7 × 14 cm). In the image of Mount Arafat, the slopes of the mountainous region are indicated by short and curved hatched lines in the foreground and large tufts of grass in the background. A fence-like structure at the bottom of the image is somewhat enigmatic.

The bottom image establishes the trotting space between Safa and Marwa by two rows of arcades at the top and bottom of the image. The respective sites themselves are indicated by two sets of steps. The site on the left is made of larger bricks and has four steps. The smaller bricks of the site on the right allow for six steps



Fig. 20. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 2, image nos. 4–7).

to equal roughly the same height. In comparison with the second image of the modern printed Shi'i hajj certificate discussed above (fig. 6), the present image does not depict any human beings nor, in fact, any other living creature.

3) The Prophet Muhammad's mosque in Medina (شبيهه بارگاه حضرت رسول ﷺ; 7 × 8.9 cm) is portrayed in the standard manner as outlined above. In the top section of the image, the mosque's centrally placed dome is flanked by two minarets, both of them adorned with tile work, as is the dome. Two crescents and stars between the minarets emphasize Muhammad's superior position in Islam. The Prophet's tomb chamber in the bottom section is lit by a central chandelier and two symmetrically placed lamps, as well as by two large candles in candlesticks on the ground. The small entrance rooms on both sides of the tomb chamber are also lit by lamps.

4) The image of the cemetery of Baqi' in Medina (شبيهه بارگاه بقیع; 6.3 × 14 cm) shows a single sanctuary. Neither the caption nor any other particular features of the image, such as the number of lamps, allow for further specification. Displaying a decorated dome, the mausoleum's tomb chamber follows the standard visual layout in the scroll. In fact, in this particular case the imagery appears to be fairly stereotypical, since the sanctuary displays the typical features of a Shi'i (or rather an Iranian-style) shrine. This is particularly evident in the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual's tomb. While the shrines in the cemetery are not extant today, both the "personal narrative" of Sir Richard Burton, who clandestinely visited Mecca in 1853,<sup>48</sup> and the travelogue of the Iranian official Mirza Mohammad Husayn Farahani, who performed the hajj to Mecca in 1885–86, speak of a single building.<sup>49</sup> According to Burton, the mausoleum was originally built by the 'Abbasid caliphs in 519 (1125); in his day, it was called the "Dome of 'Abbas," because 'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, was also buried there. Farahani speaks of a "large mausoleum built like an octagon."<sup>50</sup> While Burton mentions that the names of the people buried there "are subjects of great controversy,"<sup>51</sup> he essentially agrees with Farahani on the names of the four Shi'i imams.

5) The scroll's next image depicts the orchard in the oasis Fadak (شبيهه باغ فدک; 6.7 × 14 cm) that, according to Shi'i tradition, was unlawfully denied to Muhammad's daughter, Fatima. The caption for the image has been artistically integrated into the decoration of the orchard's gate. The spectator views the area from outside while looking inside over and above the closed entrance gate. The orchard is framed by walls on the left and right sides. At the far end of the perspectively reduced central walkway is a pavilion adorned with a small dome. The agricultural areas on both sides of the walkway are each indicated by a single palm tree, their fertility indicated by two bundles of dates dangling beneath their leaves. A large, leaf-bearing tree whose top covers the central upper part of the image would offer some shade to visitors. As in the modern printed Shi'i hajj certificate (fig. 6), Fadak is the last site in the vicinity of the standard Muslim pilgrimage sites in Mecca and Medina. While the illustrative program of the hajj certificate proper ends here, the visual journey of the pilgrimage scroll continues towards the sacred sites in Iraq.

6) The first Shi'i site in Iraq visited during the visual journey is the mosque of 'Ali in the city of Najaf (شبيهه بارگاه حضرت امير ﷺ; 7.8 × 14 cm). The caption for the image refers to 'Ali not by name, but by his equally unambiguous honorific title amir (short for Arabic *amīr al-mu'minīn*, "Commander of the Faithful"). The mosque is presented in the standard fashion, with a dome that is centrally placed between two symmetrically arranged minarets. Notably, neither the dome nor the minarets are covered with ornaments to emulate tile work. At the order of Nadir Shah Afshar (r. 1736–47), the previously existing tile work had been removed and replaced by golden plates that are here indicated by the brick-like design. The tomb chamber is also illustrated in the standard fashion, with a centrally placed chandelier and a number of single lamps. Again, the tomb chamber is flanked by two small entrance rooms.

7) The visual journey continues to the mosque of Kufa (مسجد کوفه; 9.4 × 14 cm). For various reasons, this city is of central importance for the Shi'i community. First, its inhabitants refused to come to Husayn's support, as they had previously let him believe they would, thus

leaving his small group of warriors at the mercy of Caliph Yazid's troops. Second, Kufa is also regarded as a place of resistance against Sunni oppression, since various incidents connected with the events at Karbala are located here. Muslim ibn 'Aqil ibn Abi Talib, a cousin of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib's sons Hasan and Husayn, had served as an army commander under 'Ali and, later, Hasan. When Husayn decided to accept the invitation of the population of Kufa to serve as their imam, he sent Muslim to Kufa as his emissary to explore the situation and assure the population's allegiance. Muslim was, however, sought out by 'Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad, Caliph Yazid's governor in Basra, and executed about a month before the battle of Karbala. Immediately after him, Hani ibn 'Urwa, a man who had given him temporary shelter, was also executed. Even though Muslim did not die at Karbala, the Shi'i community regards him as a martyr. His fate is experienced as particularly painful, since Muslim's two adolescent sons, Muhammad and Ibrahim, were also killed by the caliph's men.

The image, which is slightly wider than the two previous ones, illustrates the mosque in Kufa, in a mixture of a bird's-eye view and flat projection similar to the representation of the *Haram* in Mecca. The mosque's courtyard is shown as a regular square, each side of which is occupied by six arches. The caption for the image is placed in the middle of the courtyard, which is otherwise filled with a total of six small pavilions and three centrally placed somewhat enigmatic elements. A vertical element just north of the square's center appears to be a column; an octagonal element below the center looks like a water basin, below which is a boat-like structure. According to late nineteenth-century eyewitness accounts, the column (whose height is given at more than five meters) used to serve as the gnomon of a large sundial that would indicate the correct times of prayer. Popular belief had it that men who were able to span the column with the pinkies and thumbs of their hands meeting could be sure of their legitimate birth; in order to spare men with smaller hands a possible disgrace, the authorities allegedly thinned the column's breadth at a certain point.<sup>52</sup> Muslim tradition regards the site of the mosque as the dwelling place of Noah, who is said to have constructed his Ark there. Some explanations link the octagonal water basin to the "boiling caldron" men-

tioned in the Koran (11, 40; 23, 27), stating that it was water flowing from this pit that caused the Deluge.<sup>53</sup> According to Muslim tradition, the mosque was established by Adam, and so both Adam and Noah are venerated here, as mentioned in the verses (figs. 12 and 15).

The top side of the square opens to a rectangular entrance area about a quarter the size of the square, which is flanked by small open chambers. To the left and right sides of the entrance area we see the mausolea of Muslim (قبر مسلم) and Hani (قبر هانی), the captions being placed on an ornamental band just below the domes. Both buildings are fairly unpretentious. Their small domes, depicted from the outside, are free of adornment, and the view into the inner chambers shows two relatively small tombs. While the martyrs are thus awarded due recognition, their tombs are clearly second in importance to those of the Shi'i imams and those of Husayn's companions who died in Karbala.

8) The most important site of Shi'i commemoration is the shrine of Husayn in Karbala (شبهه بارگاه سید الشهداء ۴; 11.2 × 14 cm). Given its prominence, this image is considerably wider than the following three images in this section. In addition to Husayn's mausoleum, the caption for the image mentions three other sites of Shi'i worship: the tomb of Habib ibn Muzahir (قبر حبيب), the palm tree of Mary (نخلة مریم), and the tombs of the martyrs (of Karbala: قبر شهداء).

The shrine housing Husayn's tomb is depicted in the standard manner. Its dome is golden, and the two minarets to the sides of the dome are identically adorned. In addition to the standard layout of the buildings, there is a flag protruding from the dome's upper right side and a star on the dome's tip. The actual shape of the tomb is somewhat different from the usual rectangular layout in that there is a short extension added on one side. The illustrator aims to emulate this feature by depicting an empty space between the two sections of the shrine, thereby indicating that he was aware of the tomb's unusual shape. The tomb chamber is also depicted in the standard manner, but the usual chambers to both sides of the tomb are here used for different purposes.

To the far right, directly beneath the related inscription, is a small chamber holding the tomb of Habib ibn Muzahir, one of Husayn's companions killed during the

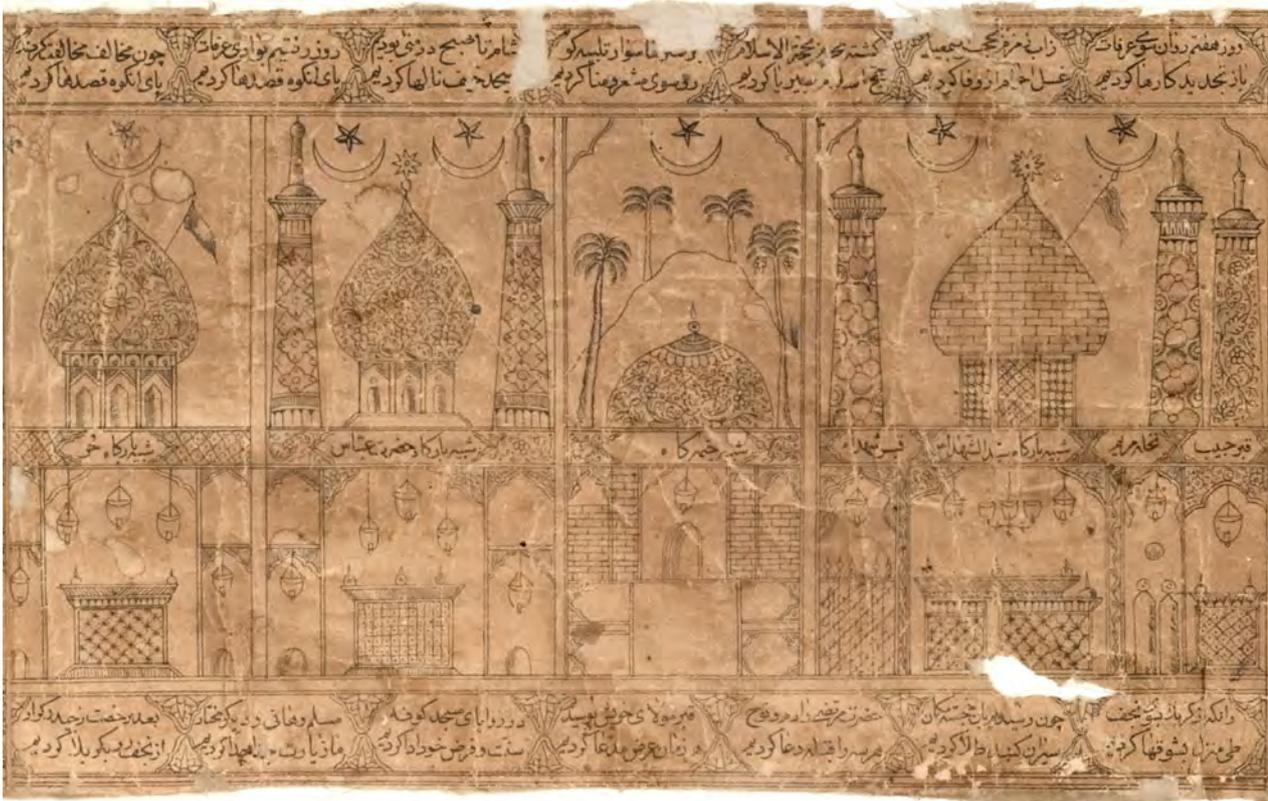


Fig. 21. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 3, image nos. 8–11).

battle of Karbala. Rising above the tomb chamber is an additional minaret of slightly smaller size whose adornment differs from that of the two minarets flanking the central dome.

Between the small tomb chamber of Habib and the large one of Husayn, again placed directly beneath the related inscription, is a small room labeled “the palm tree of Mary.” The image shows two short columns that apparently symbolize two palm trees. According to Muslim tradition, this marks the site where Mary gave birth to Jesus: the Koran mentions that after having conceived Jesus, Mary retired to a remote place where she gave birth under a palm tree (Sura 19, 22–23). Having been constructed by order of the Jalayirid Sultan ‘Uways I (r. 1356–74), the site was destroyed by the Iraqi provincial government in the 1940s.

A separate small chamber beneath the minaret on the left side apparently holds a tomb with the remains of some of the other martyrs who died at Husayn’s side.

9) After their visit to Husayn’s shrine in Karbala, the pilgrims would visit the site where Husayn and his army were said to have pitched their tents (شبییه خیمه گاه;  $5.9 \times 14$  cm). This space, located in the southwestern vicinity of the shrine, is here designed as a hill or a small mountain together with four palm trees that are symmetrically placed in pairs on opposite sides of the image. The commemorative building in the foreground has a small dome. The courtyard in front of its entrance is flanked by two open chambers on each side.

10) Husayn’s half-brother Abu ‘l-Fadl ‘Abbas (شبییه بارگاه;  $7.1 \times 14$  cm) plays a prominent role in the narratives about the battle of Karbala, as he was cruelly mutilated by the enemy when he attempted to fetch water from the river for his thirsty companions. His shrine is again depicted in the conventional manner, with a star on the dome’s crest, as in Husayn’s shrine. The top area is adorned with two crescents and stars



Fig. 22. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 4, image nos. 12–14).

instead of the usual single ones. Besides the Prophet's mosque in Medina, this is the only instance where the shrine of a single person is adorned in such a manner.

11) The final image in section 3 features the shrine of Hurr ibn Yazid ar-Riyahi (شهیبه بارگاه حر;  $6.1 \times 14$  cm), an individual who played an important role in the battle of Karbala. Hurr was originally sent by order of Caliph Yazid ibn Mu'awiya to prevent Husayn and his followers from reaching their destination at Kufa. According to Shi'i tradition, Hurr soon recognized Husayn's rightful position, joined his party in their battle against the caliph's troops, and died as a martyr at Karbala. Hurr's shrine is somewhat more modest than the previous ones, displaying an onion dome resting on a drum, but no minarets. The flag adorning the dome indicates Hurr's particular allegiance to Husayn. Otherwise, the image follows the conventional layout.

12) The commemorative building housing the tombs of Muslim's adolescent sons (طفلان مسلم;  $6.7 \times 13.9$  cm), Muhammad and Ibrahim, is located in the vicinity of Kufa. It has two relatively small domes, each flanked by a palm tree on the outer edges of the image, but no minarets. The tomb chamber, which is depicted in the standard manner, is the only one to hold two tombs in a single room. Despite the fact that the image features the tombs of two individuals, it is only adorned by a single crescent and star.

13) The scroll's widest image represents the shrine of Kazimayn ("The two Kazims"; شهیبه بارگاه کاظمین علیهما;  $15.6 \times 13.9$  cm). Today, this shrine, which holds the tombs of the Seventh Imam, Musa al-Kazim, and the Ninth Imam, Muhammad al-Taqi, is situated in a quarter in the northwestern outskirts of Baghdad. Two centrally placed golden domes grace the shrine of Kazimayn,

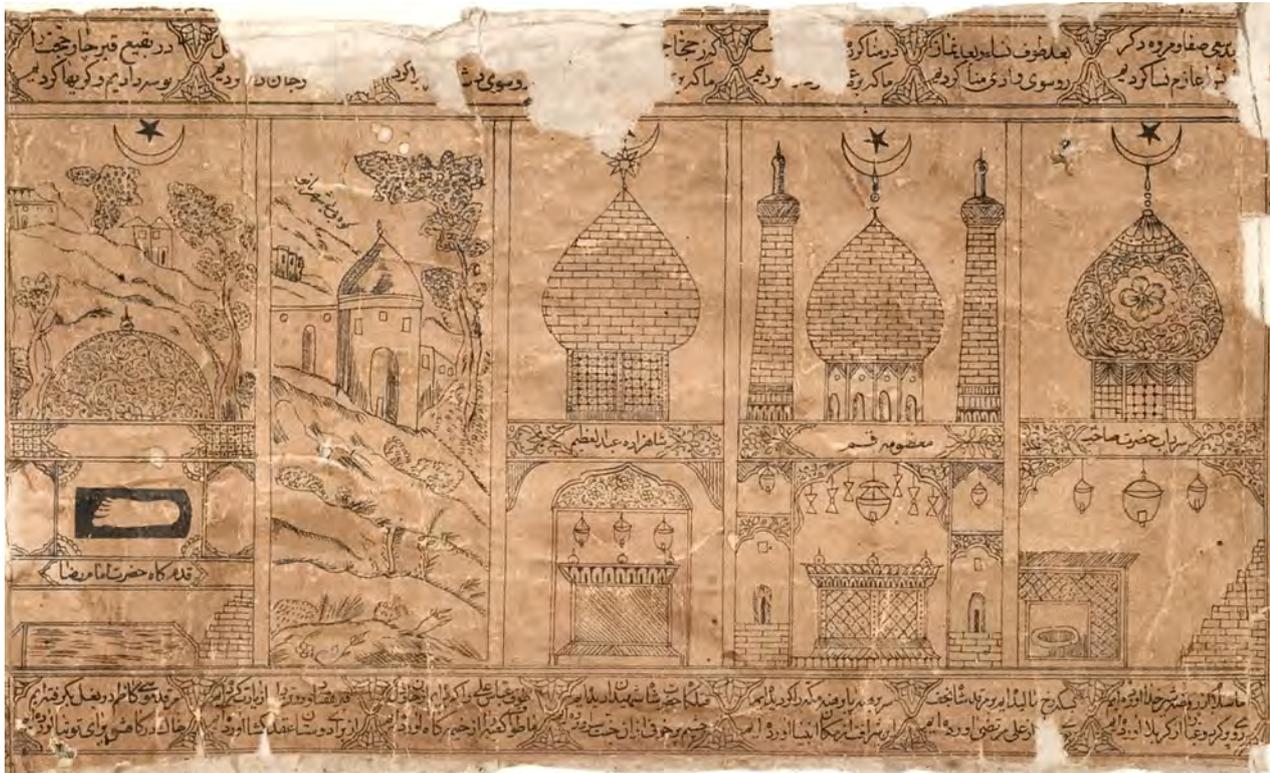


Fig. 23. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 5, image nos. 15–19).

as well as two large minarets and two small minaret-like towers on each side. In the tomb chamber, which is larger than any of the previous ones, there is just one large tomb, whose top cover protrudes outwards. The walls of the small rooms leading to the tomb chamber are lavishly decorated with tile work. The sky above is adorned with two crescents and stars that flank a radiant centrally placed sun. This unusual feature probably symbolizes the fact that the two imams buried here are the father and the son, respectively, of the Eighth Shi'i Imam, Rida, who is particularly venerated by the Iranian Shi'i community. This is the only imam whose shrine is located on Iranian territory, in the city of Mashhad.

14) The following image (8.7 × 13.9 cm) is heavily damaged, lacking about a third of the original paper. Even so, the shrine's regular features are clearly discernible,

showing a golden dome and two minarets covered with tiles. The tomb is somewhat unusual in that it has a large centrally placed structure with a smaller structure visible to the right. The top area of the image is adorned with two crescents and stars. Even though the caption for the image is not preserved, this building certainly represents the shrine of the two imams known as al-'Askariyayn (the two 'Askaris), a term that serves as a common denomination for the Tenth Imam, 'Ali al-Naqi (also called 'Ali al-Hadi; d. 868), and the Eleventh Imam, Hasan al-'Askari (d. 873 or 874). These are the only two out of the twelve Shi'i imams whose shrines would otherwise not be illustrated on the scroll. The shrine of the "two 'Askaris" is known to be located in Samarra, in the vicinity of the shrine depicted in the following image. It thus constitutes a logical station between the previous site in Kazimayn and the next one, which is also situated in Samarra.

15) The image of the next shrine is somewhat unusual, since it is not of an actual tomb. This is the shrine of the cellar water basin (شبيه سرداب حضرت صاحب 4; 6.2 × 14 cm) in Samarra that in popular Shi'i belief is connected to the occultation (Persian *ghaybat*) of the twelfth Shi'i imam, who is commonly designated as *Ṣāhib-i zamān* or *Imām-i zamān*. In the image one sees an ornamented dome with no minarets; at the bottom is a room with a brick staircase on the right side; it apparently leads to the underground cellar containing an object that resembles a tomb. The object is open on one side, thus allowing a view onto the round basin within. According to Shi'i tradition, this basin was the place where the tenth and eleventh imams would perform their ritual ablution. Even though learned Shi'i tradition does not sustain the claim, popular tradition holds that this is the site where the Twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, went into occultation in the year 941 and where he will appear again when the time comes. This shrine is the last one situated in Iraq. From here on, the visual journey moves to Shi'i pilgrimage sites in Iran.

16) The first Iranian site the pilgrim returning from the *'atabāt* would visit is the shrine of *Ḥaḍrat-i Ma'ṣūma* (Her virginal Excellency), i.e., the shrine of Imam Rida's sister, Fatima, in Qum (معصومه 4; 6.7 × 14 cm). *Ḥaḍrat-i Ma'ṣūma*, who never married, died in Qum in 816, at the age of 28. Paying homage to her shrine is particularly dear to Iranian Shi'i Muslims, for whom it is the second most important on Iranian soil after the sanctuary of Imam Rida in Mashhad. According to a tradition based on a statement by her brother, a visit to *Ḥaḍrat-i Ma'ṣūma* earns pilgrims a place in Paradise. The shrine is depicted in the standard fashion, with a centrally placed dome flanked by two minarets, all of which are covered in gold.

17) From Qum, the pilgrim would travel to the shrine of 'Abd al-'Azim (شاهزاده عبد العظيم; 5.4 × 14 cm) in Rayy, today a southern suburb of Tehran. 'Abd al-'Azim was a descendant of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib's eldest son, Hasan, who, according to Shi'i tradition, lived a secluded and pious life in Rayy. The shrine, whose origins date from the ninth century, has been repeatedly expanded. The golden plating of the dome dates from the Qajar period,

when the minarets flanking it today had not yet been constructed. The dome is distinguished by a large star on top. This feature is only shared with the shrines of Husayn (no. 8) and Abu 'l-Fadl 'Abbas (no. 10). This is the only instance of a shrine with a tomb chamber that has no small rooms on each side. Instead, to the back of the tomb is an adorned space, probably a tile panel, from which three lamps are suspended.

18) Next is the shrine of Bibi Shahrbanu, situated on a mountain in the vicinity of Rayy (کوه بی بی شهربانو; 5.5 × 14 cm). The shrine is here depicted as a modest building surmounted with a small dome; the hilly countryside is indicated by drawn and hatched lines interspersed with tufts of grass, bushes, large flowers, and a single large tree to the right of the shrine, behind which an unidentified building is visible in the distance. According to legend,<sup>54</sup> Bibi Shahrbanu was a daughter of the last Sasanian king, Yazdigird III (r. 632–51), who was defeated by the Arabs. Captured and taken to Medina, Bibi Shahrbanu was married to Husayn and bore him the son 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin, who later became the Fourth Shi'i Imam. After the battle of Karbala, Bibi Shahrbanu fled back to Iran, pursued by her dead husband's enemies. They were close to her when she reached Rayy, and in desperation she tried to call on God; but instead of *Yāllāhu* her weary tongue uttered *Yā kūh* "O mountain!" The mountain opened miraculously, and she found shelter in its rocks. The shrine that was built in due course appears to have originally been a Zoroastrian holy place.

19) There are various sites in Iran purporting to show the footprints of Imam Rida; that depicted here is located in the vicinity of Nishapur, an important caravan stop on the pilgrim's journey toward Mashhad (قدمگاه حضرت امام رضا; 6,2 × 14 cm).<sup>55</sup> The image is divided into three separate sections. The top section depicts a hilly countryside with hatched lines indicating the slopes. There are three leaf-bearing trees, two of which frame the shrine's adorned dome, and two small buildings are visible in the far distance. The second image covers the upper half of the bottom section. The empty space in the ornamental band above should probably have contained the caption that is now placed below, as it depicts

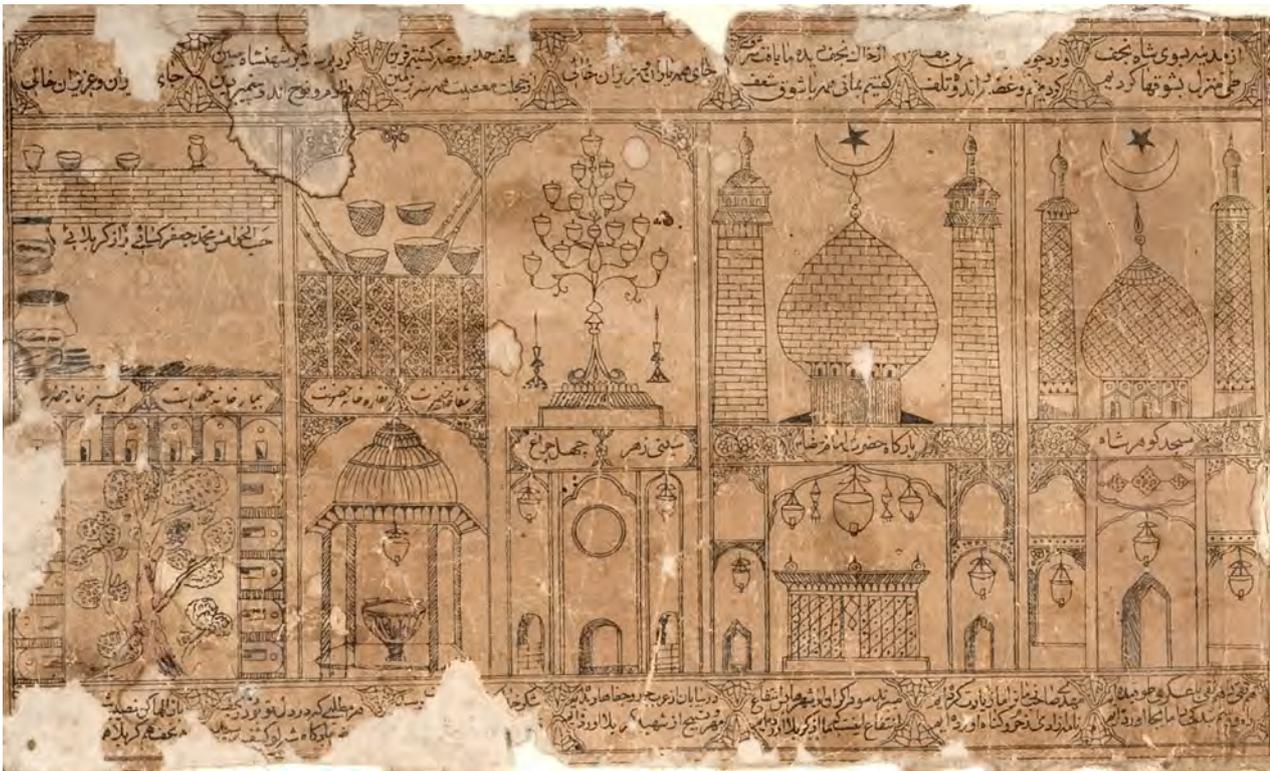


Fig. 24. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 6, image nos. 20–24).

the imprint of a single right foot (instead of the pair of feet shown today) against a rectangular black background. On the right side of the lower half of the bottom section we see a brick staircase similar to the one leading to the *sardāb-i ḥaḍrat-i Šāḥib* (no. 15). The staircase, today covered by a separate building, leads to an underground water basin framing a spring, itself a venerated site known as *chashma-i ḥaḍrat*. According to legend, it sprang forth when Imam Rida wanted to perform the ritual ablution; if there had been no water he would have had to use sand (*tayammum*).

20) Before reaching the shrine of Imam Rida in Mashhad, the visual journey takes the pilgrim to the adjacent mosque built between 819 and 821 (1416–18) under the patronage of Gawharshad (here misspelled as مسجد کوه‌شاه;  $6 \times 14.4$  cm), wife of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh.<sup>56</sup> The mosque is particularly renowned for its splendid tile work, here shown in almond shape on the dome and the two flanking minarets. Instead of the

tomb chamber most often depicted in the bottom sections of shrines, we see a large portal with an alcove on each side that probably corresponds to the qibla iwan of the actual mosque.

21) The shrine of Imam Rida in Mashhad (بارگاه حضرت امام رضا;  $7.7 \times 14.4$  cm) is the pilgrim's final destination. Both the dome and the flanking minarets are covered in gold. The depiction of the tomb chamber follows the standard layout. The remaining three frames depict two sites each, all of them in one way or another related to the life and times of Imam Rida. This is the only instance in which a venerated person is accorded special attention, emphasizing the high standing of Imam Rida within the Iranian Shi'i community.

22) This frame is divided into a top and a bottom half ( $5.3 \times 14.4$  cm). In the top half, the first of the images related to Imam Rida's life features a large chandelier (چهل چراغ) with a total of fifteen glass bowls. It is flanked

by two large candlesticks placed on the ground. Whereas today there are many similar chandeliers in the Mashhad sanctuary, this particular item might well be the one donated to the *Haram* by Nadir Shah Afshar in 1153 (1740).

In the bottom half of the frame is a large hall with a central doorway that is flanked by two small doors, each of which appears to be partly blocked by rows of bricks. High up on the wall above the portal, a large round plate (*sīnī*) is displayed (سینی زهر). According to Shi'i tradition, Imam Rida was killed by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun when the latter offered him poisoned grapes on this plate. In his travelogue, Mulla Rahmatullah Bukhara'i, who visited Mashhad in 1303 (1885), described the plate as being displayed on the wall of the room known as *Dār al-huffāz* (house of the reciters of the Koran).<sup>57</sup>

23) This frame is again divided into a top and a bottom half (4.8 × 14.4 cm). In the top section is a room where the sanctuary's kettledrums are kept (تقاره خانه حضرت). These drums would be beaten at given intervals or specific times such as the rising or setting of the sun. The interior of the room shows five drums of various sizes and four oblong objects that might be trumpets. The lower part of the top half appears to be adorned with tile work.

The bottom half of the frame is erroneously labeled "The Excellency's hospital" (شفا خانه حضرت). The image shows a wooden structure with a dome resting on four slim pillars. The single lamp hanging from the dome's center is placed above a large bowl, most probably a stone basin. As this basin would hold water, the image presumably illustrates the sanctuary's *saqqā-khāna*, the place where water is offered to thirsty pilgrims. The graphic representation of the word *saqqā* in Persian is extremely similar to that of the erroneously written *shafā*. The *saqqā-khāna* is also mentioned in the travelogue written by Mulla Rahmatullah Bukhara'i (where it is spelled *saqqāb-khāna*).<sup>58</sup>

24) The scroll's final frame depicting details of the shrine of Imam Rida is also divided into a top and a bottom half (6.8 × 14.4 cm). Two of the sanctuary's charitable institutions for the needy are illustrated, namely, a kitchen supplying food (آشپزخانه حضرت) and a hospital offering

free medical treatment (بیمارخانه حضرت). The hospital in the bottom section illustrates an open courtyard with a total of sixteen arches on its three sides. A large tree in the courtyard offers cooling shade.<sup>59</sup>

In the kitchen in the top section one sees a number of pots and other vessels for cooking. Smaller vessels for serving food are placed on a brick wall in the background. To the right side of the pots, on the kitchen floor, is the written attribution to the person who commissioned and sponsored the production and printing of the pilgrimage scroll, as mentioned above. Whether or not the empty space on the pilgrimage scroll might have been used to fill in any other names, such as that of the individual pilgrim, is open to speculation.

#### THE PILGRIMAGE SCROLL'S TRADITIONAL DIMENSION

Documents such as the lithographed Shi'i pilgrimage scroll were probably published and distributed in the hundreds, but no similar item from the Qajar period has so far been published. The scroll's present owner mentioned having seen similar scrolls during a visit to a museum in Bukhara in 1971, and comparable items might well be preserved in local museums or private collections in Iran.

In terms of visual tradition, the Qajar scroll fits in neatly between similar Shi'i documents, both earlier and later. As a historical document, the "scroll with Shi'i sanctuaries"<sup>60</sup> acquired by the German explorer Carsten Niebuhr (in the service of the Danish king) at the Mashhad Husayn in 1765 deserves particular mention. This scroll, which is today preserved in the National Museum of Denmark, "evidently is the earliest of its kind." Originally prepared as a scroll 22 centimeters high and 192 centimeters wide and thus similar in size to the printed scroll from the Qajar period, the paper item was glued onto cardboard and cut into three pieces of varying width (approximately 57.7 + 56.7 + 77.5 cm). The rudimentary catalogue description of this highly unusual item mentions "innumerable names and inscriptions along the edge, and later commentaries were added on the picture area itself in ink that is now yellowed." The visual journey depicted on the Niebuhr scroll takes the



Fig. 25. The Niebuhr scroll. © The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection. (Photo: courtesy of the National Museum of Denmark)

viewer from Mecca to Mashhad along almost the same route depicted on the lithographed item, with the notable exception of placing the Mashhad Husayn directly after the Prophet's tomb in Medina and before the graveyard at Baqī'. The scroll ends in a set of figures relating to either Muhammad or 'Ali. There is the Buraq (the fabulous steed that served Muhammad on his Nocturnal Journey [*mi'rāj*]); a camel bearing a *maḥmal* (supposedly the *maḥmal* that would contain the new *kiswa*, the large textile litter covering the Ka'ba that was exchanged for a new one every year); a lion that, as Niebuhr

himself had already mentioned, stands for 'Ali himself; the seal of the Prophet Muhammad; 'Ali's horse Duldul; his famous two-bladed sword Dhu 'l-fiqar; and his slave Ghanbar (i.e., Qanbar) (fig. 25).

Niebuhr himself regarded this document with contempt, as to his eyes the images were "badly executed." Consequently, he presumed that readers would not appreciate a copper engraving of the scroll's images in his travel account.<sup>61</sup> The only items he thought worthy of reproduction were the Prophet's seal and 'Ali's sword.<sup>62</sup> In the context of the present study, the Niebuhr scroll is

a highly unusual and, in fact, an invaluable mid-eighteenth-century manuscript precursor to the nineteenth-century lithographed item. The journey's stations or sites are more or less the same as in the lithographed scroll. Identified by captions written inside the images, the journey begins in Marwa and Safa, followed by the sanctuary in Mecca. The two shrines depicted after Mecca are those of Muhammad in Medina and of Husayn in Karbala. While the depiction of Husayn's shrine is strangely out of order, its placement next to that of Muhammad stresses the shrine's supreme importance for the Shi'i community. Next come the small shrines on the cemetery of Baqi', followed by the orchard of Fadak and the shrine of 'Ali in Najaf. In the mosque at Kufa, Noah's Ark is clearly identifiable. The last image of the first section shows the sanctuary of the martyrs of Karbala. The sites on the second section of the scroll comprise the shrines of Abu 'l-Fadl 'Abbas, Kazimayn, 'Askariyayn, and the Sahib-i Zaman. Before reaching the final destination in Mashhad, there is an image of Imam Rida's footprints (in Nishapur); the same frame also shows the "scales of justice" (*mīzān-i a'lā*), on which every person's good and bad deeds will be weighed on the day of judgment, and a large hand, whose five fingers symbolize the five members (*panj tan*) of the Prophet's family—i.e., Muhammad, his daughter, Fatima, her husband, 'Ali, and their sons, Hasan and Husayn. In a separate frame, there is a set of three cypress trees. Many of the captions have been translated into German, but the ink in which these words were added is so faded that they are hardly legible. The verses framing the images on all four sides correspond closely to those on the lithographed scroll, and most of the shrines are depicted in a similarly stereotypical manner.

The Niebuhr scroll shares an important feature with the lithographed scroll, and only with that nineteenth-century item, in that both are arranged horizontally. As far as we are able to judge from the published evidence, all older scrolls, whether of a predominantly Sunni or Shi'i type,<sup>63</sup> are indiscriminately organized vertically, and their images are read from top to bottom. Considering the hypothesis that pilgrimage scrolls were intended for display (either public or private),<sup>64</sup> the new arrangement might be taken as a further argument for the modification of these objects, since the hanging of the

vertically arranged scrolls would only have been possible in a room with a high ceiling, either a mosque or a large residence. The horizontal arrangement now allows the document to be displayed in the more modest atmosphere of a private home, where it would be relatively easy to find enough space for such an item.<sup>65</sup>

In both Shi'i scrolls, and, in fact, in all of the Shi'i items discussed here, the domed shrines are seen from the exterior above and in cross-section below. In the lower part, the viewer can gaze directly into the interior of the tomb chamber, which contains the grave surrounded by a screen. The elevation-cum-cross-section might serve to highlight the importance of the tomb-centered pilgrimage site for Shi'i mourning rituals. However, this hypothesis needs to be checked against the evidence of the earlier, vertically arranged Shi'i pilgrimage scrolls once complete reproductions of these items are available for research. With the presently available evidence, we might presume that this particular feature of representation was probably a later phenomenon, in a period when Shi'i pilgrimage scrolls developed an iconography and layout of their own.

The Niebuhr scroll is "presumably a typical type of 18th century tourist object, designed to be purchased by pilgrims as proof that they had been to the shrine."<sup>66</sup> Whether or not it "can probably be viewed as the prototype or forerunner of the prints that have been so popular"<sup>67</sup> in the twentieth century,<sup>68</sup> many of the aforementioned criteria also apply to Iranian posters dating from various periods of the twentieth century. These posters depict more or less the same sites in a strikingly modern and colorful style, thus testifying to both the lasting tradition of the Shi'i pilgrimage to the *'atabāt-i 'āliyyāt*, as well as to the need for documenting the pilgrim's pious journey (fig. 26).

A mid-twentieth-century specimen of this genre, sized 36 by 45 centimeters, is among those analyzed in great detail in Elisabeth Puin's study of Islamic posters.<sup>69</sup> The visual levels of this item, whose images essentially have to be read from the upper right to the lower left side, appear to betray its origin from the original format of a scroll. Without going into much detail here, suffice it to point out that this poster, while depicting more or less the same sites as the previous specimen, puts additional emphasis on Imam Rida as the one Shi'i

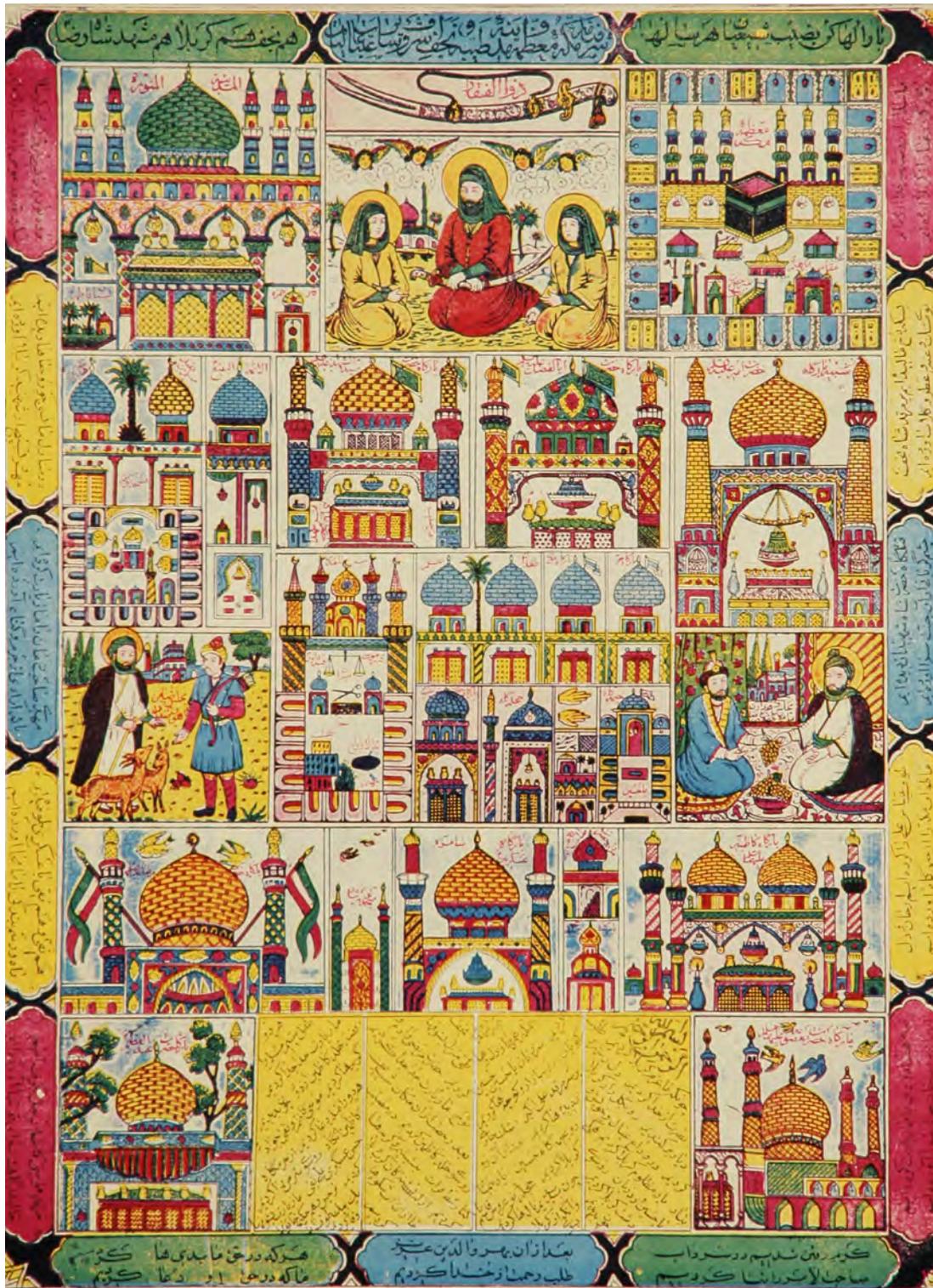


Fig. 26. Twentieth-century Iranian pilgrimage poster. (Photo courtesy of Elisabeth Puin, Saarbrücken)

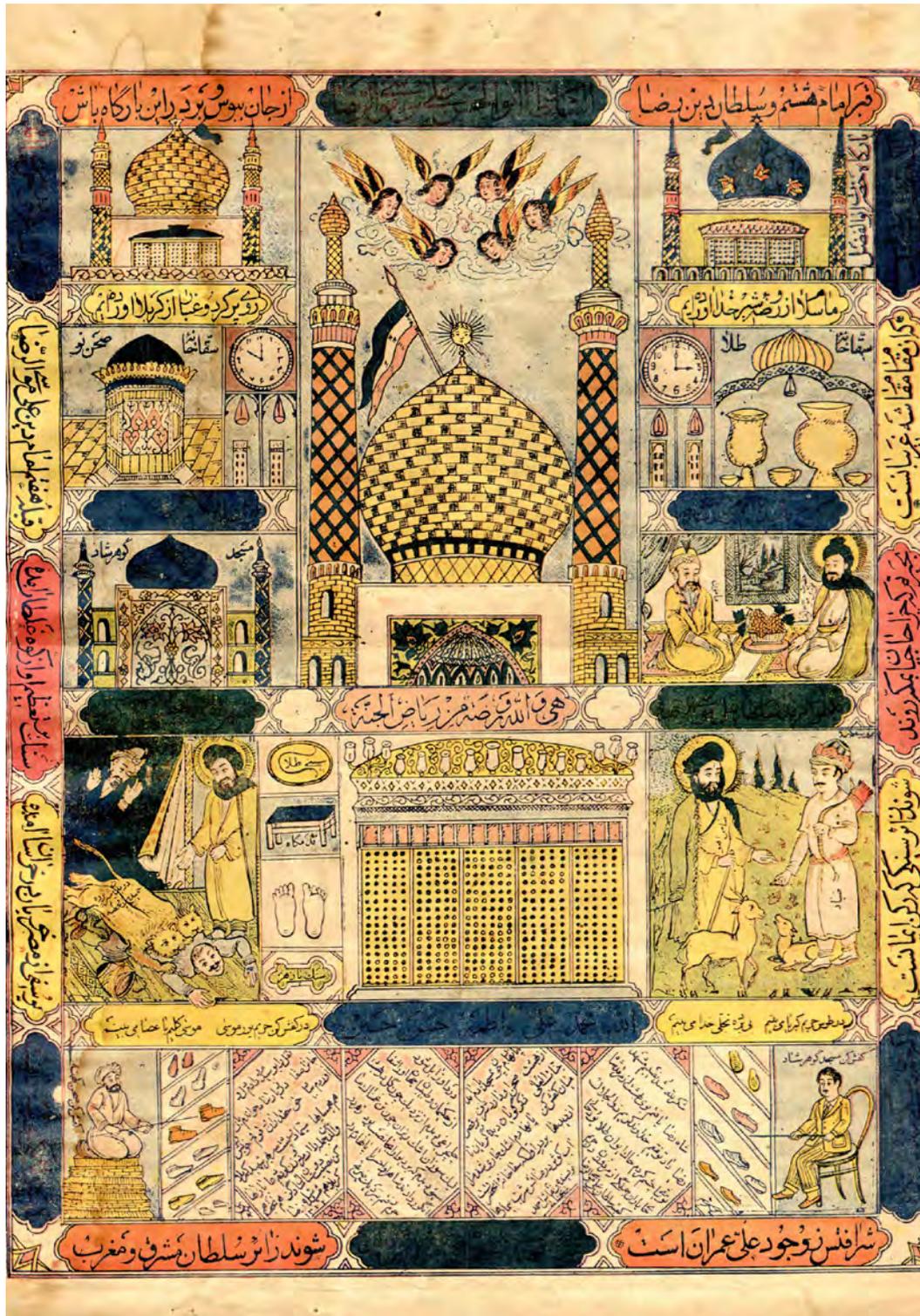


Fig. 27. Mashhad poster. Private collection of Ulrich Marzolph (original size 30 × 39 cm). (Photo: Ulrich Marzolph)

imam buried in Iranian soil. In the middle of the right and left sides, respectively, are two scenes connected to Imam Rida's life (and death). On the right side we see Caliph al-Ma'mun offering poisoned grapes to Imam Rida, and on the left side, the compassionate Imam Rida asks a hunter to spare a gazelle and her young ones—an anecdote that is also narrated for the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>70</sup> Imam Rida's national importance is furthermore stressed by two Iranian flags flanking the golden dome of his sanctuary.

This poster is significant in several ways. First of all, its iconography is closely related to the historical items, as is its combination of imagery and *chāvūshī-khānī* verses on the borders. Second, the poster comprises not only the “complete” visual itinerary from Mecca to Mashhad, including such typically Shi'i sites as the cemetery at Baqi', but also (just left of the center) an image of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem that is not part of the repertoire in the older Shi'i items. Whether or not this extension relates to an evolution in preferences for the pilgrimage itinerary will have to be discussed against the evidence of historical travelogues. Lastly, the modern poster is related to similar items that, probably from the middle of the twentieth century onwards, would focus solely on details of the Mashhad sanctuary and the history of Imam Rida, such as a poster in the author's private collection (fig. 27).<sup>71</sup>

The documents discussed above prove, if anything, that the lithographed pilgrimage scroll from the Qajar period is not unique in its approach to depicting the pilgrim's visual journey from Mecca to Mashhad. Rather, to the contrary, it is part of a specifically Shi'i visual tradition that extends historically at least to the final years of the Safavid period. Already in the seventeenth century, Adam Olearius, who visited Iran in the 1630s, had mentioned pilgrimage certificates that were issued in both Ardabil and Mashhad as documents testifying to the pilgrims' voyage and to the rites they had performed.<sup>72</sup> It remains to be determined whether these early, specifically Shi'i certificates were illustrated, and if so, when such illustrations first began to be included. At any rate, the modern descendants of the historical Shi'i pilgrimage certificates were produced until the middle of the twentieth century.

#### THE LITHOGRAPHED PILGRIMAGE SCROLL AND ITS SHI'I PERSPECTIVE

Besides its value as a historical document, the prime importance of the lithographed scroll lies in adding a Shi'i dimension to the study of hajj certificates, a dimension that has so far been neglected. This Shi'i dimension is, first of all, evident in the physical aspect of the pilgrimage as it is presented in both the verse and the visual narrative. Quite naturally, Shi'is would visit sites that are of particular relevance for adherents of the Shi'i creed. Visually, this emphasis is already evident for the sites visited in Arabia, such as the cemetery of Baqi' and the oasis of Fadak, none of which play a major role for Sunni pilgrims. Shi'i preferences then become dominant for the sites visited in Iraq, most of which are linked to the traumatic experience of the battle at Karbala. When finally turning to Iran, the Shi'i perspective is widened through the inclusion of sites dedicated to venerated relatives of various imams. Moreover, by travelling via Qum to Mashhad, the intensity of veneration increases until it culminates in the pilgrim's final destination at the shrine of Imam Rida in Mashhad. By representing this site with a larger amount of detail than any other, the scroll's images underline the supreme holiness of this shrine, the holiest one within Iranian territory. The Shi'i documents share with the Sunni hajj certificates the perspective that the hajj to Mecca is the fulfillment of the supreme religious duty of all Muslims. After Mecca, Sunni illustrated hajj certificates would sometimes move on to Medina and end in Jerusalem, thus documenting a visit to other venerated sites whose religious importance, however, is clearly secondary to Mecca. In the Shi'i pilgrimage certificates, the hajj acquires the character of a mere starting point, almost a pretext to the pilgrim's subsequent journey. This journey is much more than a supplement to the hajj proper (as in the Sunni items), and much more than a return to the pilgrim's place of origin, since the scroll's visual course eventually succeeds in displacing Mecca. The Shi'i pilgrim's additional, and equally important, goal is his visit to the holy sites in Iraq and Iran. The tomb of Husayn in Karbala remains, as it has always been, the most important Shi'i sacred site.<sup>73</sup> But the final and, in fact, the ultimate destination of the lithographed pil-

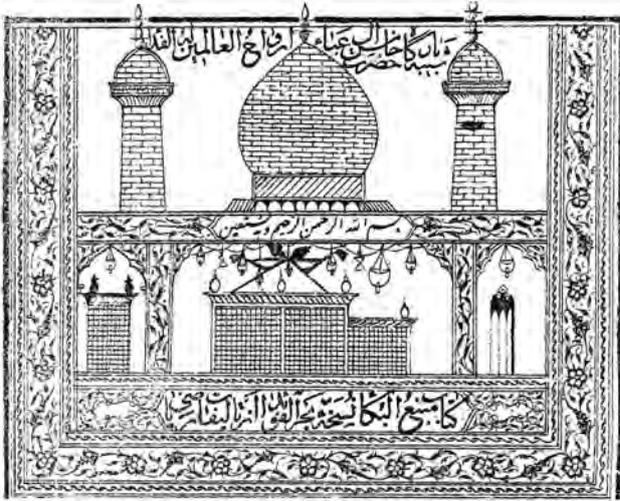


Fig. 28. Representation of the shrine of Imam Husayn at Karbala (initial chapter heading of Riyadi, *Baḥr al-favā'ed* [Mashhad, 1324 (1906)], fol. 1b).

grimage scroll is the sanctuary of Imam Rida in Mashhad. As a centrally placed line of poetry on the modern Mashhad poster (fig. 27) emphatically states, the divine reward (*ṣavāb*) of a single visit (*ṭavāf*) to Imam Rida's tomb is 7,770 times more than that of the hajj. By relying on the hajj paradigm, and by combining its traditional visual code with the specifically Iranian element of *chāvūshī-khānī* traditions, the scroll succeeds in Iranicizing the pilgrimage and in embedding the sacred Iranian territory in a Shi'i world view.

On a second and somewhat less obvious level, the Shi'i perspective also shows in the varying degrees of faithfulness and detail with which the artist visualizes the pilgrimage sites. The artist's presentation of the Shi'i sites in Iraq and Iran often betrays an intimate knowledge of specific details, almost as if he had been physically present. Direct points of comparison are extremely rare, but I was able to identify at least one lithographed representation of the shrine of Imam Husayn in Karbala in a vaguely contemporary Persian book (fig. 28).

The caption for the image, placed between the minarets and the dome, reads: *شبيه بارگاه حضرت خامس آل عبا: ارواح العالمين له الفداء*. By alluding to the fifth (*khāmis*) member of the Muslim holy family (the *āl-i 'abā'*), the caption unambiguously identifies the building as Hu-

sayn's shrine. As in the scroll's rendering of this shrine, the dome and the two minarets are covered in gold, here again emulated by a brick-like design. The peculiar shape of Husayn's tomb is clearly discernible, as are the two rooms to its side. On the left side, we are able to identify the "tombs of the martyrs (of Karbala)," and on the right side we see a single column representing the palm tree of Mary, the *nakhla-i Maryam*.

The representation of the pilgrimage sites in Arabia, to the contrary, sometimes lacks detail, is incorrect, or tends toward conventional stereotypes. This evaluation applies, for example, to the palm tree orchard in Fadak, which is rendered more or less as the typical vision of a Persian garden. The design of the dome of the exemplary shrine in the cemetery of Baqi' does not differ decisively from those of any of the Shi'i shrines depicted later. And the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual's tomb (Persian *ḍarīḥ*) is unanimously applied to all tombs, whether Shi'i or not, thus serving as a Qajar-period iconographical shorthand for a venerated tomb. Contrasting with the application of this stereotypical imagery, the sites of the four legal schools of Sunni Islam in the *Haram* at Mecca were incorrectly situated, while both the well of Zamzam and the *maqām Ibrāhīm* are absent altogether. Even so, the artist's presentation of the Ka'ba is firmly in line with visual tradition, as documented by the many available samples from earlier hajj certificates and illustrations in a variety of books. Notably, it is more detailed and more faithful than in most other contemporary lithographed illustrations, several of which have been identified in lithographed books of the period (fig. 29).

Both illustrations reproduced here are the work of Mirza 'Ali-Quli Khu'i, the most prolific artist of lithographic illustration of the Qajar period.<sup>74</sup> The image on top illustrates the moment when Muhammad and his troops victoriously enter the holy precinct in Mecca.<sup>75</sup> The one on bottom illustrates one of the miracles attributed to 'Ali ibn al-Husayn "Zayn al-'Abidin," the Imam Sajjad, as the black stone testifies to his rightful position.<sup>76</sup> Even though in both instances the protruding platform of the Ka'ba is shown correctly, the black stone is erroneously placed to the right side of the Ka'ba's door. Consequently, the second image here shows the *mīzāb* on the left side of the door, whereas it

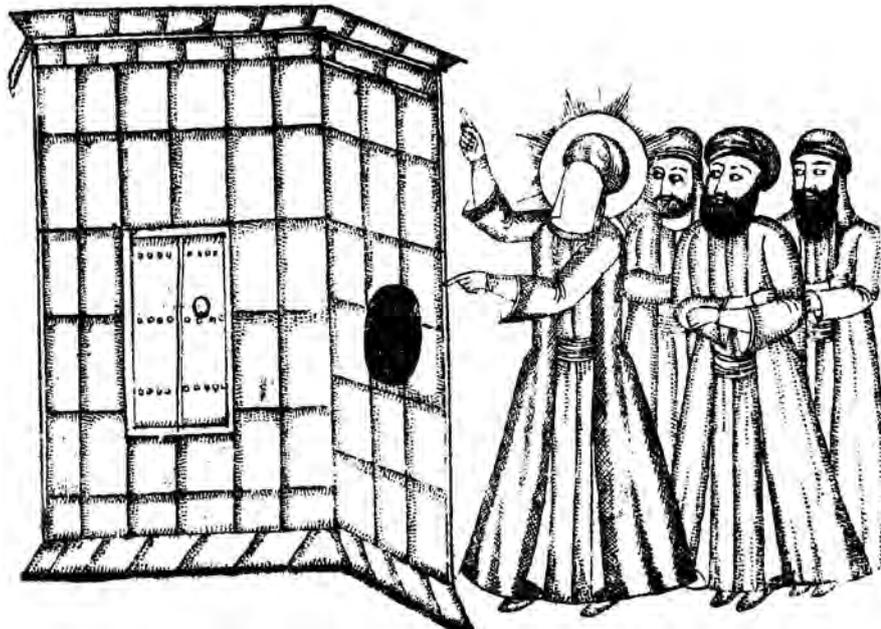
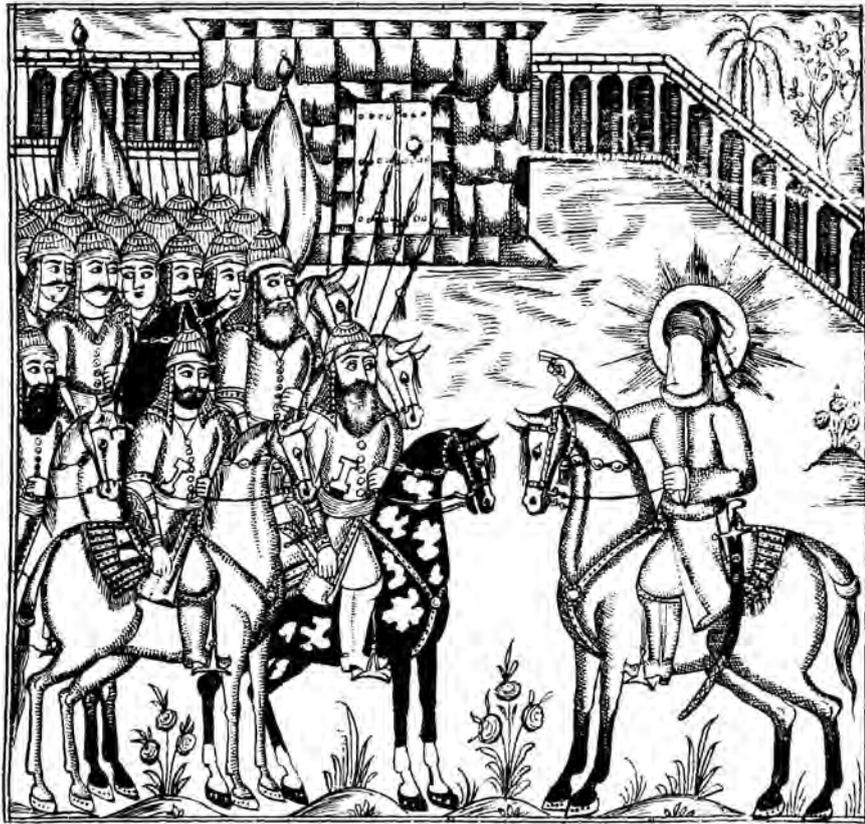


Fig. 29. Illustrations of the Ka'ba in two nineteenth-century Persian books: *Ḥamla-yi Ḥaydariyya* (Tehran, 1269 [1852]), fol. 132b, and *Akhbār-nāma* (Tabriz, 1267 [1850]), fol. 32b.

is correctly located on the corner of the Ka'ba opposite the black stone. While it is not clear why the artist did not render the details correctly, it is unlikely that his illustration draws on the visual experience of a visit in person.

Further findings will hopefully enable us to explore in the future the context of the lithographed Shi'i pilgrimage scroll in more detail. Until then, the Qajar-period scroll provides a fascinating extension to the "regular" hajj certificates that are dominated by a Sunni perspective. Whether this and similar pilgrimage certificates acted as records of pilgrimages by proxy or whether they were acquired and kept by the pilgrims themselves as personal mementos or tokens<sup>77</sup> "replacing the urge to carry home one's experience of the place,"<sup>78</sup> they obviously served an important function. From today's analytical perspective, they attest to the transformation of geographical places into visually constructed sacred spaces,<sup>79</sup> and of terrestrial geography into religious topography, thereby authenticating the related set of religious practices and beliefs.<sup>80</sup> These mechanisms are ruled by a specific interpretation of history that on the one hand historicizes Shi'ism, while on the other presenting historical events from a decidedly Iranian Shi'i perspective. In this manner, the lithographed Shi'i pilgrimage scroll also testifies to the growing self-awareness of the Iranian Shi'i community in the Qajar period, an awareness that only in the twentieth century would begin to receive its due scholarly recognition.

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#### NOTES

*Author's note:* This study was conceived during my research stay as scholar-in-residence at the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art in Shangri La, in Honolulu, Hawai'i, in September–October, 2012. An earlier, much shorter version of the present essay is available online as "From Mecca to Mashhad: The Narrative of an Illustrated Shiite Pilgrimage Scroll from the Qajar Period," *Shangri La Working Papers in Islamic Art* 5 (July 2013): 1–33, at shangrilahawaii.org (last accessed February 15, 2014). I would like to thank the staff at the institution, in particular Public Pro-

gram Manager Carol Khewhok and former Curator of Islamic Art Keelan Overton, whose hospitality and helpfulness made my residency a memorable experience. I am deeply grateful to the owner of the scroll for permitting me to study and publish this fascinating object. I owe a particular token of gratitude to my former assistant Roxana Zenhari for her help in reading the poetry and identifying the various sites depicted on the scroll. Several colleagues have lent their support and advice. For their assistance and comments on earlier versions of this essay, I thank Mohsen Ashtiany, Ali Boozari, Willem Floor, Maria Vittoria Fontana, Anne Haslund Hansen, Rasul Ja'fariyān, Majid Gholami Jalise, Shahnaz and Seifoddin Nadjmabadi, Keelan Overton, Elisabeth Puin, Arnoud Vrolijk, and Jan Just Witkam. Christiane Gruber has been most generous in commenting on an earlier version of this text, suggesting interpretations, and supplying numerous references. I am grateful to the editors of *Muqarnas* as well as to the anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments and suggestions. The remaining shortcomings of this essay are my own.

1. Ulrich Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Ulrich Marzolph, "Zur frühen Druckgeschichte in Iran (1817–ca.1900). 1: Gedruckte Handschrift/Early Printing History in Iran (1817–ca. 1900). 1: Printed Manuscript," in *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution. Eine interkulturelle Begegnung = Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, ed. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass, and Geoffrey Roper (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002), 249–68, 271–72, 511–17, 538–39, pls. 112–21; Marjolijn van Zutphen, "Lithographed Editions of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*: A Comparative Study," *Oriens* 37, 1 (2009): 65–101; and 'Ali Būzārī and Muḥammad Āzādī, *Ma'khaz-shināsī-i kitābhā-yi chāp-i sangī va surbī* (Tehran: Kitābdār, 1390 [2011]).
2. See, e.g., item no. 452, "coloured lithograph mounted on card," depicting "Layla on a 'composite' camel formed of innumerable human and animal figures," in *L'Orient d'un collectionneur: Miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfèverie*, ed. Jean Pozzi (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1992), 183 (description), and 324 (reproduction).
3. Alexander Fodor, "Types of Shi'ite Amulets from Iraq," in *Shi'a Islam, Sects, and Sufism: Historical Dimensions, Religious Practice, and Methodological Considerations*, ed. Frederic de Jong (Utrecht: M.Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1992), 118–43; Ziva Vesel, "Talismans from the Iranian World: A Millenary Tradition," in *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, ed. Pedram Khosronejad (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 254–75.
4. See, most recently, *Panjāh safar-nāma-i ḥajj-i qājārī*, ed. Rasūl Ja'fariyān, 8 vols. (Tehran: 'Ilm, 1389 [2011]). A Shi'i travelogue available in English translation is *A Shi'ite Pilgrimage to Mecca, 1885–1886: The Safarnāmeḥ of Mirzā Moḥammad Ḥosayn Farāhāni*, ed. Hafez Farmayan and Elton L. Daniel (London: Saqi Books, and Austin: Texas University Press, 1990).
5. For recent studies of the Shi'i pilgrimage see 守川 知子 Tomoko Morikawa, シーア派聖地参詣の研究 [*Shi'aha*

- Seichi Sankei-no Kenkyū* (Shi'i Pilgrimage to the Sacred 'Atabāt)] (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2007); Tomoko Morikawa, "Pilgrimages to the Iraqi 'Atabat from Qajar Era Iran," in *Saints and Their Pilgrims in Iran and Neighbouring Countries*, ed. Pedram Khosronejad (Wantage: Kingstons, 2012), 41–60; and for a historical perspective, see, e.g., Najam Haider, "Prayer, Mosque, and Pilgrimage: Mapping Shi'i Sectarian Identity in 2nd/8th Century Kūfa," *Islamic Law and Society* 16 (2009): 151–74.
6. In the following, the term *Shi'i* relates exclusively to Iranian Twelver Shi'ism. For recent contributions to the study of Shi'i visual culture, see Maria Vittoria Fontana, "Una rappresentazione 'shi'ita' di Medina," *Annali* (Istituto Orientale di Napoli) 40 (1980): 619–25; Maria Vittoria Fontana, *Iconografia dell'Ahl al-Bayt: Immagini di arte persiana dal XII al XX secolo* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1994); Mehr Ali Newid, *Der schiitische Islam in Bildern: Rituale und Heilige* (Munich: Avicenna, 2006); Ingvild Flakerud, *Visualizing Belief and Piety in Iranian Shiism* (London: Continuum, 2010); and Khosronejad, *Art and Material Culture*. Some of the sanctuaries mentioned in the discussion of the scroll's images have been dealt with in detail by James W. Allan, *The Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi'ism: Iraq, Iran and the Indian Subcontinent* (London: Azimuth, 2012).
  7. On the collection's provenance, see, most recently, Arianna d'Ottone, "Manuscripts as Mirrors of a Multilingual and Multicultural Society: The Case of the Damascus Find," in *Convivencia in Byzantium? Cultural Exchanges in a Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Lingual Society*, ed. Barbara Crostini and Sergio La Porta (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2013), 63–88.
  8. Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Une collection médiévale de certificats de pèlerinage à la Mekke conservés à Istanbul," in *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc*, ed. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983), 167–273; Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: Contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'Islam au temps des croisades* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2006).
  9. Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," in *M. Uğur Derman Armağanı: Altmışbeşinci Yaşı Münasebetiyle Sunulmuş Tebliğler = M. Uğur Derman Festschrift: Papers Presented on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2001), 101–34.
  10. David J. Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," in *The City in the Islamic World*, gen. ed. Salma K. Jayyusi, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), vol. 2, ed. Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, and André Raymond, pp. 753–74.
  11. See, e.g., Gülrü Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105, at 75–76; and Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987), 65.
  12. Hassan el-Basha, "Ottoman Pictures of the Mosque of the Prophet in Madīna as Historical and Documentary Sources," *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–89): 227–44.
  13. Jan Just Witkam, "The Battle of the Images: Mekka vs. Medina in the Iconography of the Manuscripts of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat*," in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul March 28–30, 2001*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2007), 67–82, 295–300; Jan Just Witkam, "Images of Makkah and Medina in an Islamic Prayer Book," *Ḥadīth al-dār = Hadeeth ad-Dar* 30 (2009): 27–32; Zeren Tanındı, "İslâm Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (1983): 407–37; Nabil F. Safwat, ed., *Golden Pages: Qur'ans and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 204–20, nos. 51–53; Venetia Porter, ed., *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 52, 54–55; and *Focus on 50 Unseen Treasures from the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar*, with an introduction by Joachim Gierlich (Doha: Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010), 54–55.
  14. Rachel Milstein, "Futuh-i Haramayn: Sixteenth-century Illustrations of the Hajj Route," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London: Routledge, 2006), 166–94; Porter, *Hajj*, 46–47, 81. See also Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Negār va negāre* (Tehran: Kawthar, 1392).
  15. Porter, *Hajj*, 56–57.
  16. *Ibid.*, 45, fig. 20.
  17. Verena Daiber and Benoît Junod, eds., *Schätze des Aga Khan Museum: Meisterwerke der islamischen Kunst* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2010), 6; Mikhail B. Piotrovsky and John Vrieze, eds., *Earthly Beauty, Heavenly Art: Art of Islam* (Amsterdam: Lund Humphries, 1999), 80–83, figs. 17 A–C, 18 A–C. A particularly magnificent item, dated 1223 (1808), has recently been acquired by the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar: see Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya and Cécile Brese, *Hajj—The Journey through Art* (Doha [Qatar]: Museum of Islamic Art, 2013), 132–33. For the production of illustrated *hajj* certificates in the nineteenth century, see the testimony by Sir Richard F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah & Meccah*, ed. Isabel Burton, 2 vols. (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893; repr. New York: Dover, 1964), 1:342.
  18. Aksoy and Milstein, "Collection," 103n6.
  19. See, e.g., Kurt Erdmann, "Ka'bah Fliesen," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 192–97; Piotrovsky and Vrieze, *Earthly Beauty, Heavenly Art: Art of Islam*, 78, fig. 12 (Mecca tile panel, seventeenth century); Porter, *Hajj*, 82–83 (Medina tile, ca. 1640), 116–17, figs. 77–78 (Mecca tiles, seventeenth century), 118–19, fig. 79 (Mecca tile, dated 1074 [1663]); Nazmi Al-Jubeh, "The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam," in *Discover Islamic Art in the Mediterranean*, ed. Eva Schubert (Brussels: Museum with No Frontiers, 2007), 195–202, at 195 (Mecca tile panel, dated 1087 [1676]); Daiber and Junod, *Schätze des Aga Khan Museum*, 65, fig. 31 (Mecca tile, seventeenth century); Charlotte Maury, "Les représentations des deux sanctuaires à l'époque ottomane: Du schéma topographique à la vue perspective," in *Routes de l'Arabie: Archéologie et histoire du royaume d'Arabie saoudite*, ed. Ali Ibrahim al-Ghabban

- et al. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), 547–59, at 557, fig. 6 (Mecca tile, seventeenth century).
20. See, particularly, Aksoy and Milstein, “Collection,” 123–34.
  21. Johan Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 290n156.
  22. Thomas W. Arnold and Adolf Grohmann, *The Islamic Book: A Contribution to Its Art and History from the VII–XVIII Century* (Leipzig: Pegasus Press, 1929), 28 and pl. 14, a and b; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 106–13, figs. 10, 11, 13, 15, 18; and Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
  23. David J. Roxburgh, “Visualising the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage,” *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, ed. Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2011), 33–40; Chekhab-Abudaya and Brese, *Hajj—The Journey through Art*, 134.
  24. Porter, *Hajj*, 136–37; reproduced in *Records of the Hajj: A Documentary History of the Pilgrimage to Mecca*, ed. Alan Rush, 10 vols. (Neuchâtel: Archive Editions, 1993), vol. 10, *Documents and Maps*, no. 2.
  25. *Focus on 50 Unseen Treasures*, 56–61; Chekhab-Abudaya and Brese, *Hajj—The Journey through Art*, 131.
  26. Atil, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, 65; and Zeren Tanındı, “Resimli Bir Hac Vekâletnâmesi,” *Sanat Dünyamız* 28 (1983): 2–5.
  27. Graves and Junod, *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, 62–63.
  28. *Ibid.*, 62.
  29. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/11417/plaque-for-printing-a-pilgrimage-certificate/> (accessed October 22, 2013).
  30. Samuel M. Zwemer, *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam: Studies in the Geography, People and Politics of the Peninsula with an Account of Islam and Mission-work* (repr. London: Darf, 1986; orig. pub. New York: F. H. Revell, 1900): foldout after 40. The same “Mecca certificate” was published, together with extensive explanations, by Isaac Adams, *Persia by a Persian: Personal Experiences, Manners, Customs, Habits, Religious and Social Life in Persia* (London: Elliot Stock, 1900; 2nd ed. 1906), 396–405, pls. I–IV. The document is also reproduced in Rush, *Records of the Hajj*, vol. 10, no. 3.
  31. I owe this suitable coinage to Kjeld von Folsach, *For the Privileged Few: Islamic Miniature Painting from the David Collection* (Humblebæk, Denmark: Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, 2007).
  32. Jan Hjärpe, “A Hajj Certificate from the Early 20th Century,” in *Being Religious and Living through the Eyes: Studies in Religious Iconography and Iconology, A Celebratory Publication in Honour of Professor Jan Bergman*, ed. Peter Schalk and Michael Stausberg (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1998), 197–204, at 197. I thank Jan Hjärpe for kindly making available to me a color photograph of this item, which in his publication was only reproduced as a gray-scale image. Yet another very similar and obviously contemporary item (dated “before 1892”) was recently published in the catalogue of the Leiden Hajj exhibition: see Luitgard Mols, *Verlangen naar Mekka: De hadj in honderd voorwerpen* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde, 2013), 210–11, no. 89.
  33. Witkam, “Images of Makkah and Medina,” 30, fig. 7 (Leiden University Library, plano 53 F 1, sheet 58). I thank Jan Just Witkam for kindly supplying a color scan of this certificate. In an email dated November 19, 2013, Arnoud Vrolijk of the Leiden University Library alerted me to another Medina certificate, very similar to the previous one, in the former collection of the Oosters Instituut, founded in 1927 by Christian Snouck Hurgronje. This item was probably acquired by Snouck Hurgronje himself, during his travels in Arabia in 1884. The architectural drawings are executed with considerably greater care than those in the specimen published by Witkam.
  34. See particularly Newid, *Der schiitische Islam*; Flakerud, *Visualizing Belief and Piety*; Khosronejad, *Art and Material Culture*; and Allan, *Art and Architecture*.
  35. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, “Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968–91), vol. 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, 610–55, at 653–54.
  36. Robert Gleave, “The Ritual Life of the Shrines,” in *Shah ‘Abbas: The Remaking of Iran*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (London: The British Museum Press, 2009), 88–97, at 91, fig. 22.
  37. Jean Vinchon, “L’imagerie populaire persane,” *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 2, 4 (1925): 3–11; Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, 44–45, and illus. 90.
  38. See Muḥammad Ḥasan Rajā’ī Zafri’ī, “Sanadī marbūṭ bi guvāhi-i ḥajj-i niyyatī,” *Mirās-i jāvidān* 5, 2 (1376 [1997]): 76–78; Jābir ‘Anāširī, *Dar āmadī bar namāyish va nīyāyish dar Īrān* (Tehran: Jihād-i dānishgāhī, 1366 [1987]), 151.
  39. Rajā’ī Zafri’ī, “Sanadī.”
  40. Milstein, “Futuh-i Haramayn,” 183–84; Porter, *Hajj*, 81; and Witkam, “Images of Makkah and Medina,” 29, fig. 3.
  41. ‘Anāšeri, *Dar āmadī*, 129–70; Jābir ‘Anāširī, *Sultān-i Karbalā: Sharḥ-i vāqi‘a-i ‘Ashūrā* (Tehran: Zarrīn-u-sīmīn, 1382 [2003]), 92–93; Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufi, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1992), s.v. “Čāvoš”; and Muḥammad Mashhadī Nūsh-Ābādī and Ibrāhīm Mūsapūr, *Dānishnāma-i Jahān-i Islām* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Dā’iratul-ma‘ārif-i Islāmī, 1386 [2007]), s.v. “Chāvūsh-khvānī.”
  42. See the reproduction of the final page of such a booklet, dated 1340 (1961), in ‘Anāširī, *Dar āmadī*, 140, and ‘Anāširī, *Sultān-i Karbalā*, 92. The verses on that page correspond more or less to the final verses on the pilgrimage scroll (bottom, sections 5–6). See also the recent *Chāvūshī-nāma*, ed. Majīd Ghulāmī Jalīsa (Qum: ‘Aṭf, 1392 [2013]).
  43. I acquired a series of these *ta’ziyya* dramas in the Iranian city of Shiraz in the late 1990s. All the booklets were published by the Kitābfurūshī-i Islāmīyya in Tehran. Bearing the date 1333 (1954), they are obviously offset copies of earlier specimens. For similar items of “Bazaar” literature, see Ulrich Marzolph, *Dāstānhā-ye širin: Fünfzig persische Volksbüchlein aus der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994).

44. Helga Venzlaff, "Mohr-e namāz: Das schiitische Gebetssiegel," *Die Welt des Islams* 35, 2 (1995): 250–75; Helga Venzlaff, "Gebetssiegel und Gebetstuch as Qum," *Die Welt des Islams* 39, 2 (1999): 218–30.
45. Helga Venzlaff, *Der islamische Rosenkranz* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985).
46. 'Ali is here implied in the honorific title *shāh-i law kushifa* (literally: "The King of 'Even if it were lifted ..."). This refers to one of the utterances of 'Ali, who is quoted as having said (in Arabic): *لو كشف الغطاء عني ما ازددت يقينا*, (*law kushifa 'l-ghitā'u 'annī mā 'zadadt yaqīnan*): "Even if the veil was lifted from me, my certainty would not increase." The utterance is traditionally interpreted as indicating that 'Ali's belief was so strong as to equal the certainty that could otherwise only be reached by knowing.
47. See *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-cultural Encounters with the Islamic Mi'raj Tales*, ed. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).
48. Burton, *Personal Narrative*, 2:39–40.
49. Farmayan and Daniel, *A Shi'ite Pilgrimage to Mecca, 1885–1886*, 270.
50. Ibid.
51. Burton, *Personal Narrative*, 2:40.
52. I thank Rasul Ja'fariyan for supplying this explanation (by referring to an unspecified oral source of information).
53. See the passages relating to the mosque in Kufa in Ja'fariyan, *Panjāh safar-nāma*, particularly 2:148–39, 672–73, 4:635–36, and 6:221–22.
54. The following passage is adapted with minor variations from Mary Boyce, *Encyclopedia Iranica* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1990), s.v. "Bībī Šahrbānū."
55. Jalīl 'Irfān-manīsh, *Jughrāfiyā-yi tārikhī-i hijrat-i Imām Rizā ('alayhi s-salām) az Madina tā Marv*, 6th ed. (Mashhad: Bunyād-i pāzhuhihshāh-yi Islāmī, 1387 [2008]), 133–34.
56. See Allan, *Art and Architecture*, 43.
57. See Ja'fariyan, *Panjāh safar-nāma*, 4:895–1037, at 919–20.
58. Ibid., 912.
59. For facts concerning the old hospital in the shrine, see Willem Floor, "Hospitals in Safavid and Qajar Iran: An Enquiry into Their Number, Growth and Importance," in *Hospitals in Iran and India, 1500–1950s*, ed. Fabrizio Speziale (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 37–116, at 81–83.
60. This and the following quotations are from *Sultan, Shah, and Great Mughal: The History and Culture of the Islamic World*, ed. Kjeld von Folsach et al. (Copenhagen: National Museum, 1996), 75–76, fig. 38 (description by Inge Demant Mortensen). The Niebuhr scroll is also reproduced in *Etnografiske genstande i det Kongelige danske Kunstkammer 1650–1800 = Ethnographic Objects in the Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1650–1800*, ed. Bente Dam-Mikkelsen and Torben Lundbæk (Copenhagen: National Museum, 1980), 82–83, no. EEa, and Allan, *Art and Architecture*, 95, pl. 3.11.
61. Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen and Hamburg: Nicolaus Möller, 1778), 2:273–74 ("sehr schlecht gezeichnet"; "Meine Leser würden es mir wenig Dank wissen, wenn ich die ganze Zeichnung in Kupfer stechen lassen wollte").
62. Ibid., 2: pl. XLII, items G and F.
63. See Porter, *Hajj*, 136–37; *Focus on 50 Unseen Treasures*, 56–61; and Graves and Junod, *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, 62–63.
64. Aksoy and Milstein, "Collection," 104, 134.
65. A similarly horizontally arranged scroll was offered for sale at Sotheby's, October 3, 2012 (see [www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/arts-of-the-islamic-world-2012/lot.113.lotnum.html](http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/arts-of-the-islamic-world-2012/lot.113.lotnum.html); accessed January 3, 2014). The scroll was advertised as late seventeenth/eighteenth-century Ottoman, reflecting both Armenian and Persian influences. It depicts "the fate of souls at the Last Judgement, including archangels, the blessed (on the right) and the damned (on the left) with the angel Israfil in the centre, the sounder of the trumpet." In terms of layout, the catalogue description explicitly compares the item to the Niebuhr scroll and suggests "that it was intended for a large room, probably as a teaching aid." I thank Anne Haslund Hansen for pointing this item out to me.
66. Allan, *Art and Architecture*, 96.
67. Inge Demant Mortensen in von Folsach, *Sultan, Shah, and Great Mughal*, 76.
68. Von Folsach, *Sultan, Shah, and Great Mughal*, nos. 3, 21, 22, 32, 36. For a large collection of these prints, see Pierre Centlivres and Micheline Centlivres-Demont, *Imageries populaires en Islam* (Geneva: Georg, 1997); Elisabeth Puin, *Islamische Plakate: Kalligraphie und Malerei im Dienste des Glaubens* (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2008), discusses more than 250 posters in great detail.
69. Puin, *Islamische Plakate*, 2:615–21 and 3:941, fig. M-17.
70. Ibid., 2:520–22 and 3:900, fig. H-31.
71. An almost identical specimen is preserved at Harvard University.
72. *Relation du voyage de Moscovie, Tartarie, et de Perse [...] Traduite de l'Alleman du Sieur Olearivs* (Paris: Francois Clovzvier, 1656): 304–5; *Relation du voyage d'Adam Olearius en Moscovie, Tartarie, et Perse, avgmentée en cette nouvelle edition de plus d'un tiers [...]* (Paris: Jean de Pvis, 1666): 442–43.
73. Khalid Sindawi, "The Sanctity of Karbala in Shiite Thought," in Khosronejad, *Saints and Their Pilgrims*, 21–40.
74. See Ulrich Marzolph, "Mirzā 'Ali-Qoli Xu'ī: Master of Lithograph Illustration," *Annali (Istituto Orientale di Napoli)* 57, 1–2 (1997): 183–202 and pls. I–XV; Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, 31–34.
75. Mawlā Bamūn-'Alī (Bamān-'Alī) "Rājī" Kirmānī, *Ḥamla-yi Haydariyya* (Tehran 1269 [1852]), fol. 132b; and Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, 242.
76. *Akhbār-nāma* (Tehran 1267 [1850]), fol. 32b; Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, 231; Ulrich Marzolph, "Der lithographische Druck einer illustrierten persischen Prophetengeschichte," *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*, ed. Ulrich Marzolph (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002), 85–117, at 116, illus. 5-72; and *Akhbār-nāma*, ed. Ulrich Marzolph and Pegāh Khadīsh (Tehran: Chashma, 1391 [2011]), 166–67.
77. Roxburgh, "Visualising the Sites and Monuments," 38; see also Allan, *Art and Architecture*, 96.

78. Soheila Shahshahani, ed., *Cities of Pilgrimage* (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2009), 16.
79. Fakhri Haghani, "The City of Ray and the Holy Shrine of Shah/Hazrat Abdol 'Azim: History of the Sacred and Secu- lar in Iran through the Dialectic of Space," in Shahshahani, *Cities of Pilgrimage*, 159–76, at 159–61.
80. Roxburgh, "Visualising the Sites and Monuments," 38.



Fig. 1. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll. Private Collection, Kailua, Hawai'i. (Photo: courtesy of the owner)



CARMEN BARCELÓ AND ANJA HEIDENREICH

## LUSTERWARE MADE IN THE ABBADID TAIFA OF SEVILLE (ELEVENTH CENTURY) AND ITS EARLY PRODUCTION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

If we examine the general yet complex history of lusterware production, there is only one fact that seems indisputable: the aesthetic purity of its opaque white surface is derived directly from Chinese wares that served as incomparable models for Persian potters (fig. 1). In Mesopotamia, potters produced a brilliant white tin-based glaze, a fact that should come as no surprise given this region's early exposure to wares imported from China, combined with its own long tradition in pottery making, dating back at least to the time of the glazed bricks of the Ishtar Gate of Babylon (central Iraq, ca. 575 B.C.). This background would encourage potters to experiment with their techniques. Subsequent to the blue-on-white style that existed at the end of the eighth century (in particular that of Basra [fig. 1b]), this was where, in the early ninth century, pieces decorated with metal oxides were first produced and made to look as though they had been painted in gold. At this time we also see luster-painted glass of another type that also boasted a long cultural and ceramic technical tradition of its own: these were pieces from Egypt, which were sustained by a lasting Coptic tradition that had evolved there since at least the eighth century (fig. 1a).<sup>1</sup>

We can trace luster decoration to Syria, which, together with Egypt, formed a single region under the Tulunids (r. 868–905). Several ninth-century glass pieces were found here that featured painted inscriptions indicating Damascus as their place of origin.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that at least by the time the palatine city of Samarra was founded in 833 lusterware had been enjoying great success in this area.<sup>3</sup>

But research in recent decades has expanded upon our original map of production centers, adding more pottery production sites, which were probably in

operation simultaneously in Iran and what is now modern-day Iraq. Subject to the political circumstances of each production site, and during partially overlapping periods in time, these regions produced tiles and pottery that were nearly identical to the prototypical examples of the classical "Samarran" style (fig. 1, c and d).<sup>4</sup> In this area, wide-scale production seems to have tapered off at the end of the tenth century.

It is probable that before this, about halfway through that same century, many potters were brought to more prosperous countries, such as those located in the western regions.<sup>5</sup> Large quantities of "Samarran" lusterware fragments have been found at Fustat but mainly in Bahnasa (Upper Egypt). At both locations, the dating of these pottery groupings clearly places them before the appearance of pieces produced under the early Fatimid caliphate (fig. 1d).<sup>6</sup> That migrant potters settled in Bahnasa should come as no surprise if we take into account the reports of the traveler and geographer Ibn Hawqal,<sup>7</sup> who praised the export trade from this city, and its artisanal products, in particular the fine textiles made in its workshops. Despite the brevity of his account, it is not difficult to imagine the context and extraordinary extent of the city's textile production. Large pieces of cloth were produced for curtains along with sails for sea vessels; he also describes gold-embossed silk brocades and draws attention to the marvelous wool and linen tents decorated with illustrations ranging "from the insect to the elephant," using colors that never faded. Textile makers were supervised by the state and received orders from the caliph and high-ranking government officials, or directly from merchants, who came from all over the world just to purchase large and expensive bolts of cloth. We do not know for certain if migrant potters were al-



Fig. 1. a) Egypt, luster-painted glass bowl, eighth century (Photo: after Jenkins, *Islamic Glass*, cat. no. 20); b) Basra (Iraq), tin-glazed earthenware with blue decoration, eighth century (Photo: after J. Mouliérac, *Céramiques du monde musulman*, Institut du monde arabe and J. P. et F. Croisier Collections [Paris, 1999], 87, fig.); c) Iraq, “Samarra”-style luster-painted bowl, tenth century (Photo: after *Memorias do Imperio árabe* [Santiago de Compostela, 2000], 88, fig. 18); d) Susa (Iran), “Samarra”-style luster-painted bowl, tenth century, Musée du Louvre (Photo: Anja Heidenreich) (different scales).

ready living here during this time of splendor (around 950, when Ibn Hawqal visited Egypt for the second time), because the author does not mention this information. It is evident, however, that the craftsmen may have considered this city the ideal location in which to sell their luxury ceramic wares. Moreover, Egypt had already played an important role in previous eras in the transfer of technical skills and the resulting presence of luster within the repertoire of decorative techniques known to the Mediterranean region, as we suggested in our earlier comments on decorated glass. Regardless of these antecedents, it was not until the dawn of the tenth century that luster glazes were used in pottery.

In our study of the ninth century, there is no indication of lusterware production in the Mediterranean region. The demand for these goods could only be met by importing them from Mesopotamia, as evidenced by a well-known written source from 862 that mentions a Baghdad artisan brought to Kairouan (Tunisia) to repair

the mihrab of its great mosque (built ca. 836) and to decorate it with new lusterware tiles (fig. 2).<sup>8</sup>

Since its installation, this grouping of 154 tiles has been preserved in situ for centuries in a semi-public space—a still-visible example of an extraordinary architectural element. According to Marilyn Jenkins, the physical presence of these Eastern Islamic objects would exert a strong influence on the styles of Western Islamic culture for several centuries, such as the early lusterware tiles at Málaga at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> The Aghlabid emirs in Kairouan were not deterred by the cost in either time or money of having an artisan brought to their city instead of importing the tiles alone. This demonstrates the extraordinary importance—both in technical and artistic terms—of this type of wall decoration in one of the most emblematic mosques in the Western Islamic world.

The restoration of the mihrab may have been part of a more ambitious aim to establish workshops and

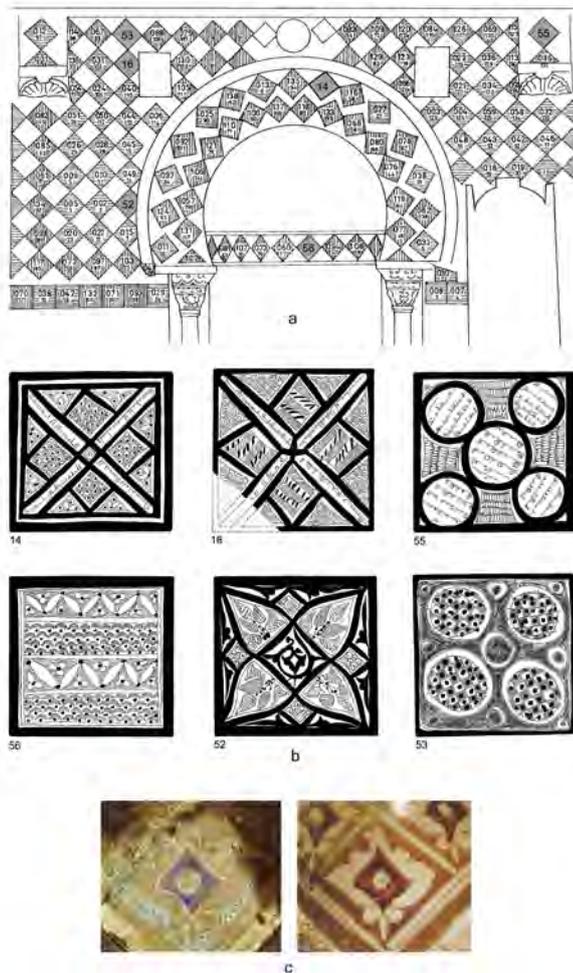


Fig. 2. Lusterware tiles added to the mihrab of the Great Mosque in Kairouan between 836 (date of construction) and 862 (date of repair, as cited in written sources): a) hypothetical positioning of the tiles (Drawing: Ewert, "Die Dekorelemente der Lüsterfliesen am Mihrāb der Hauptmoschee," 379, fig. 1; after Georges Marçais, *Les faïences à reflets métalliques de la grande mosquée de Kairouan* [Paris, 1928]); b) selected tiles, some decorated with inscriptions (nos. 14, 16, and 55, all bearing the *al-mulk* inscription) (Drawings: Ewert, "Die Dekorelemente der Lüsterfliesen am Mihrāb der Hauptmoschee," 381–84, fig. 3); c) Luster sheen of one of the tiles, with lateral and frontal light sources (Photo: J. Binus et al., "El arte islámico en el Mediterráneo," in *Ifriqiya* [exh. cat.] [Madrid, 2000], 19, color pl.).

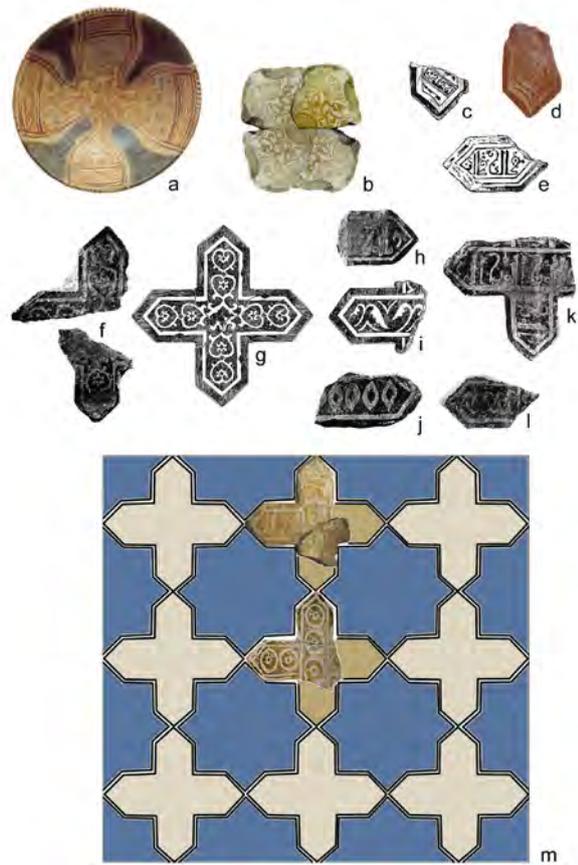


Fig. 3. Lusterware from northern Africa (no scale): a) Raqqada (Tunisia), Aghlabid lusterware, ninth/early tenth century (Photo: *Couleurs de Tunisie*, 119, no. 57); b) Raqqada (Tunisia), Aghlabid lusterware tile, ninth/early tenth century (digital reconstruction of the whole tile [lighter parts] based on one preserved quarter) (Photo: *Couleurs de Tunisie*, 128, no. 66); c–l) Qal'at Bani Hammad (Algeria), emir's palace, lusterware tiles, eleventh century (missing areas in "g" enhanced graphically) (Drawings c, e, g, i: Marçais, *Les poteries et faïences de la Qal'a*, pls. 15 and 16; photos d, f, h, j, k, l: L.M.E. de Beylié, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad* [Paris, 1909], 45, fig. 16; 91, pl. 21); m) reconstruction of a panel from a mural or floor, composed of cruciform elements and blue tiles (graphically enhanced), Qal'at Bani Hammad (Algeria), emir's palace, eleventh century (Photo: *L'Algérie en héritage*, 300, no. 229; mounting: Anja Heidenreich)

introduce the technique to local artisans. Lusterware pieces found at the Raqqada<sup>10</sup> archaeological site feature mixed luster decoration, this time on a single plate, along with decorative motifs that are distinctly local in nature and typical of the Aghlabid style. Furthermore, we also know of some lusterware tiles from Sabra Mansuriyya<sup>11</sup> and another from Qasr al-Sahn (Raqqada) (fig. 3b).<sup>12</sup> Their decoration clearly indicates that there was greater movement between production centers than previously thought. Although there are few published accounts, after the arrival of “the Man from Baghdad” in Kairouan at the end of the ninth century—whether or not his visit was part of a greater plan on the part of the Aghlabid emirs—some lusterware was being produced in the region (fig. 3a).<sup>13</sup> Another geographer from the East, Ya‘qubi (d. ca. 895–905), reports that several Persian artisans from Khurasan and Mesopotamia had settled in Kairouan,<sup>14</sup> while Ibn Hawqal explicitly mentions the ceramics of Tunisia in the following description: “Wares bearing many colors and extraordinary pottery are manufactured there, like that imported from Iraq, which was previously known as *tarshish*.”<sup>15</sup> For this author, the wares produced locally were just as valuable as those that had been imported before 950, the date of his account.

The history of lusterware in the Mediterranean is further illuminated upon examination of the tiles found at the Qal‘a of Bani Hammad (r. 1015–1152), a new town northeast of Msila (in modern-day Algeria), which served as the capital after 1007 and was celebrated across the Maghreb as a center of art, culture, and fine artisanal products.<sup>16</sup> Among the finds of interest to this study, only a few cross-shaped pieces are known. The ones studied here were used in combination with octagonal tiles (fig. 3[c–l]) to form a highly decorative and elegant composition. It is quite probable that these were combined with blue star-shaped tiles, which were found near the above-mentioned cruciform tiles. We have been able to reconstruct an entire panel, which served as either a wall or floor covering (fig. 3m). These luster-painted tiles also included the repeated painted inscription of *al-yumn* (good fortune), a message commonly found in the epigraphic inscriptions of portable objects, but which has only been found on Fatimid pieces dating, at the very earliest, from the mid-eleventh century onwards.<sup>17</sup> This inscription is generally found on textiles

and an assortment of objects such as ceramics; brought from Egypt to the Iberian Peninsula via northern Africa, these bore the same inscription that survives as an imitation on Valencian Gothic pottery. The inscription also appears on wood (a material used for architectural decoration), and even tombstones.

There was another local production site in the nearby coastal town of Béjaïa (modern-day Algeria), which was named al-Nasiriyya after its founder, the Zirid al-Nasir, who installed himself there shortly after 1068–69. This city became the new capital after he left the Qal‘a in 1067. Lusterware from Béjaïa has been cited as late as the fourteenth century, having been recorded as part of an inventory of a pharmacy in Genoa.<sup>18</sup>

Although reports are still quite rare, this evidence informs the picture we have of early Mediterranean lusterware between the ninth and eleventh centuries. We have seen how distantly scattered finds located across the entire Mediterranean region, along with various historical sources, point to the existence of remarkable examples of lusterware. According to the works published thus far, the majority of pieces have been found in Egypt (Upper Egypt, Lower Sa‘id), at several archaeological sites in Tunis, and in two areas in Algeria (fig. 4). It is clear that this map of the distribution of lusterware is also a reflection of the current state of published research: the political and economic situation of the Maghreb in recent decades has not been conducive to further research, which would otherwise have contributed new archaeological data to the field. As can be seen in the map (fig. 4), the distribution of specimens found and registered is only approximate. We believe that this picture is not completely representative, as additional information is likely to appear, in the form of new ceramic finds, documents, or unpublished sources. Only comprehensive future research will be able to add further details to this picture.

Although most are located along the North African coastline, the majority of these finds are of a more isolated nature. This is why groupings or even production centers are, in general, difficult to establish, save for a ceramic grouping of great value from Bahnasa. Here local production was demonstrated by analyzing the composition of the potter’s clay.<sup>19</sup> With these objects, produced under the reign of the Tulunids and their successors, the Ikhshidids (r. 882–968), the luster technique

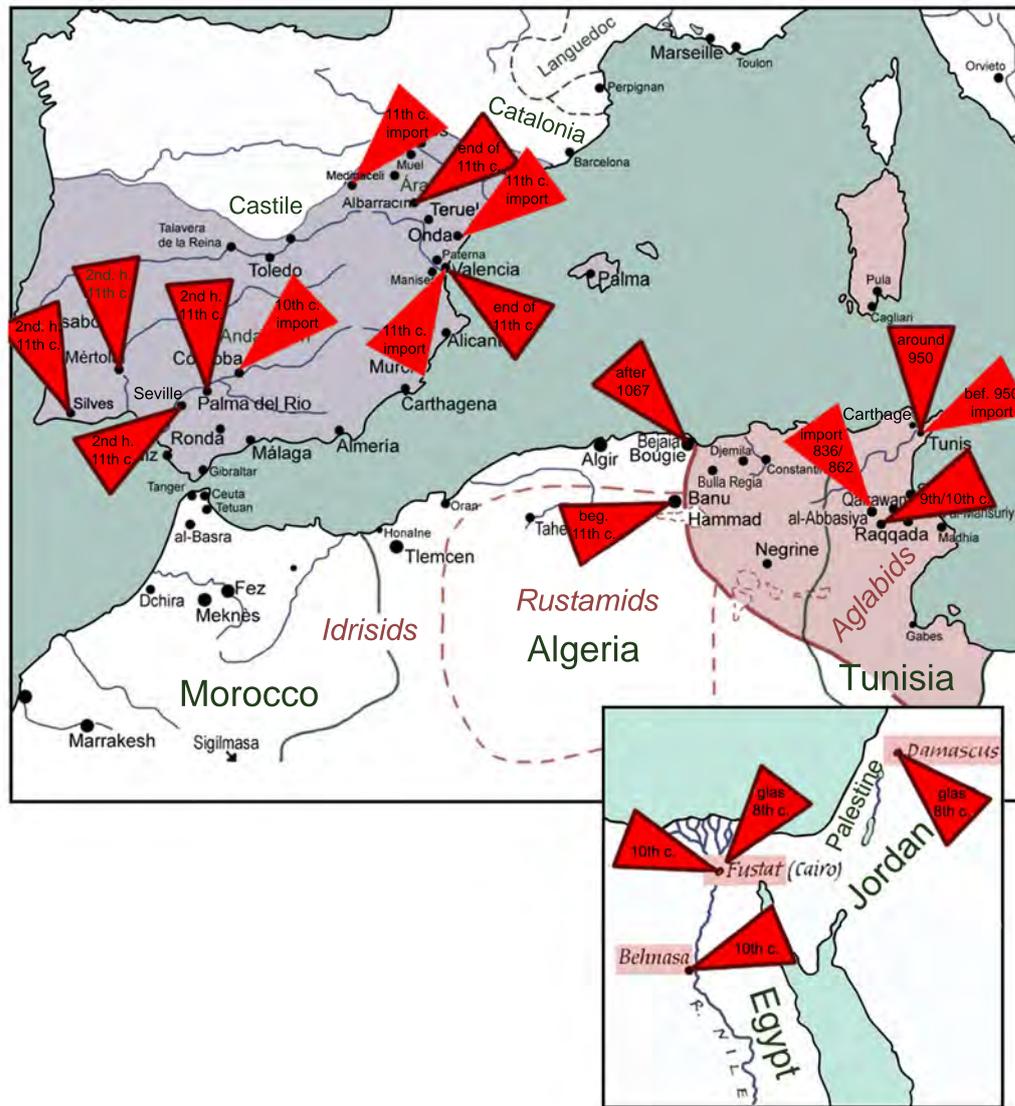


Fig. 4. Archaeological sites yielding lusterware in the Mediterranean region, ninth to eleventh century (according to material found and historical sources). (Map: Anja Heidenreich)

became firmly established in the Mediterranean world, appearing before the early Fatimids (who ruled Egypt starting in 969) began producing ceramics. The early stages of this ceramic production are marked by an initial conservatism that still incorporated characteristics from its Eastern antecedents. This was rapidly superseded by new lusterware creations bearing the new technique, which was seen until 1000. These magnificent wares are a reflection of the political power of the Fatimid dynasty, which would later create a new arti-

sanal sector. Some of these objects include the name of the artisan and/or patron who ordered the piece. One such patron was an officer in the service of the Fatimid caliph and another must have been a court official, which is why these specimens have been identified as works commissioned by the same caliph, al-Hakim (r. 996–1021).<sup>20</sup> When these ceramics were exported to other countries, the Fatimids' "new style" became a great success: today, there are Tuscan cathedrals whose façades are decorated with large Fatimid platters that



Fig. 5. Medina Azahara (Córdoba, Spain), lusterware from Ikhshidid-Tulunid dynasties, found at the caliphal site, second half of the tenth century. (Photos and drawings: Anja Heidenreich)

have been dated to the beginning of the second millennium—the date of construction of those buildings.<sup>21</sup> The growing number of imported Fatimid wares discovered on the Iberian Peninsula has gradually changed the traditional map of lusterware distribution. These findings call for a re-evaluation of the research carried out thus far, which is offered in the next section.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS YIELDING EARLY LUSTERWARE ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

A hundred years have passed since the archaeological finds of the Medina Azahara palace site were made known to the international scholarly community (fig. 5). The group of objects discovered there comprised frag-

ments from fifty-six small bowls,<sup>22</sup> all featuring the common characteristics of the “Samaritan” style—the scientific term generally used since the publication of the first ceramics from Samarra in allusion to one of the most common early lusterware types from Mesopotamia.

Our reevaluation of these finds from the Cordoban palace site must include a revision of the current state of international research in this field, paying close attention to the contributions made by those who were both academic experts and had artisanal training—such as the immense contribution made in the 1970s by the Swiss historian and potter Rudolf Schnyder, who offered more detailed interpretations on the matter. This has led us to abandon the traditional (but hardly contested) idea of attributing the finds of Medina Azahara to the

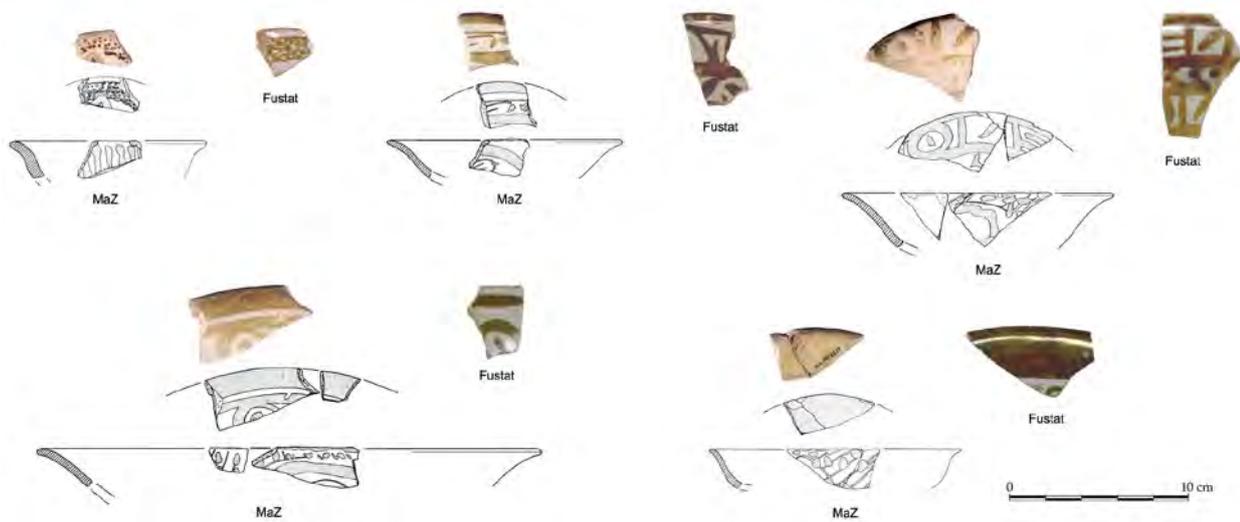


Fig. 6. Medina Azahara (Córdoba, Spain), Ikhshidid-Tulunid bowls with luster decoration found in the upper residential area of the caliphal palace, second half of the tenth century, and almost identical sherds from Egypt (purchased in the 1960s by the Museum für islamische Kunst, Berlin). (Photos and drawings: Anja Heidenreich)

Eastern reach of the “Samarran” horizon. We are aware that the nearly hundred-year lapse in time between the residential phase of Samarra (officially 836–892) and that of Medina Azahara (construction began in 940, with the court moving to Córdoba at the end of the tenth century)—a fact that was initially ignored—is not a counter-argument per se: “Samarran” ceramic production from the Eastern Islamic territories lasted well into the tenth century. Yet production centers located closer to the Iberian Peninsula have been discovered: they manufactured ceramic pieces identical to those from “Samarra” and sold them to the Iberian Peninsula.

In 2008, some of the specimens discovered in Medina Azahara were analyzed to try to resolve the debate as to their origins. The results were compared to those of an analysis carried out on “Samarran” pieces, in particular, the lusterware of Susa (Iran),<sup>23</sup> without taking into consideration that this grouping of “traditional Samarran artisanal wares” included material from both Mesopotamia (an area influenced by Samarra) and Tulunid Egypt, made, very likely, by potters who migrated there during the tenth century.

As early as 1974, Rudolf Schnyder had suggested something that mineral analyses would later confirm: namely, that the potters who migrated to Bahnasa—like

those who had migrated to Fustat—tried to create compositions that imitated so-called Samarran wares.<sup>24</sup> This ensured clay that was ideally suited to tin glazes and of a quality that was in keeping with their own artisanal tradition, preventing defective batches. Local mineral components were discovered in this analysis, an expected result given their use of river clays from the Nile, but also significant in that it offers definitive proof as to the Egyptian origin of the pieces.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from these chemical results, the bowls of Medina Azahara also have other direct parallels: a group of vessels purchased in Cairo in the 1960s and now at the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin<sup>26</sup> contains astonishingly identical details (fig. 6).

In addition to their geometric motifs, most share similarities in their zoomorphic details, painted in yellowish to yellow-brown luster tones, and have even kept their original sheen, as seen in the tin glaze used in the background. The dots and stripes that are characteristic of this type of ware and which are used to identify the “Samarran” style are visible on all the pieces. The sizes of the bowl sherds from Medina Azahara have permitted a reconstruction of various dinnerware sets. It is remarkable that there are no identical pieces, in terms of decoration, diameter, or exact form. Instead, the vessels

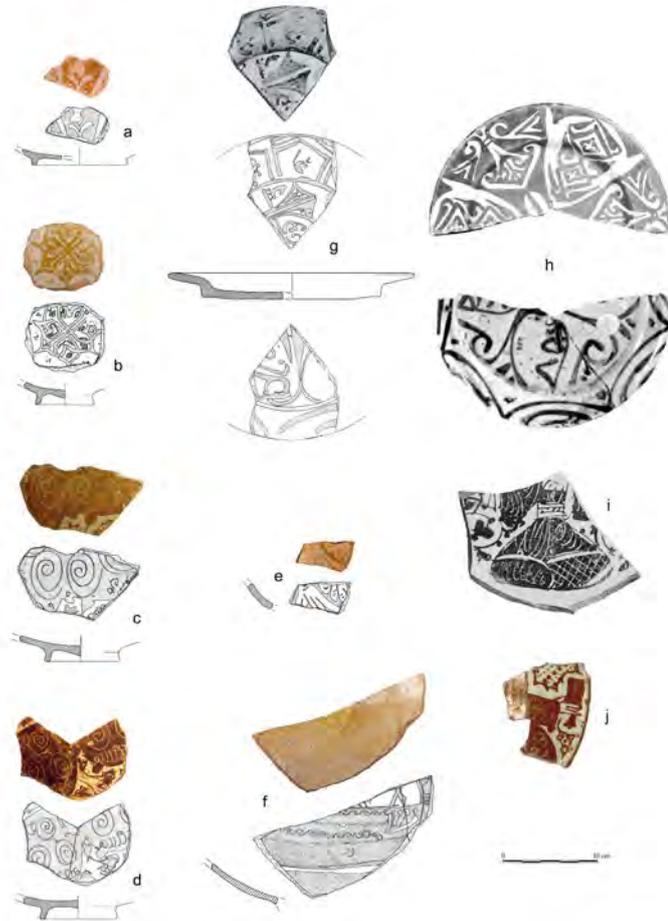


Fig. 7. Fatimid lusterware, eleventh century: a–f) Old City of Valencia (Spain), g) Old City of Medinaceli (Spain) (Photos and drawings, a–g: Anja Heidenreich); h) Egypt (Photo: Philon, *Early Islamic Ceramics*, 142, no. 308, color pl. 9,B); i) Egypt (Photo: Aly Baghat and Felix Massoul, *La céramique musulmane de l’Égypte* [Cairo, 1930], pl. 3.1); j) Egypt (Photo: Anja Heidenreich; stored in the Museum für islamische Kunst, Berlin)

represent a sampling of all the creative possibilities associated with the “Tang” form (with its characteristic “S” profile), the most influential Chinese ceramic type in the development of the “Samarra” style, and the one that served as its formal model.

When dealing with the Iberian Peninsula we cannot know if the isolated existence of these imports in the remarkable Medina Azahara was indicative of caliphal control or restrictions on the importation of luxury goods. The current state of published research cannot resolve this matter. But we cannot discount the fact that other luxury wares dating from the tenth century have

been found in the urban surroundings of other cities along the coast, products such as celadon wares, Chinese porcelain, and a variety of Egyptian pieces with lead glazes.

In the history of lusterware in al-Andalus, the specimens from Medina Azahara have been regarded as a rare example of a “Samarra” import. It has not been demonstrated that this technique was introduced into the area, either as a planned or sporadic occurrence during the tenth century. Looking at the chronology of pieces, we see that there are more imports in Spanish and Portuguese stratified and dated sites. The earliest

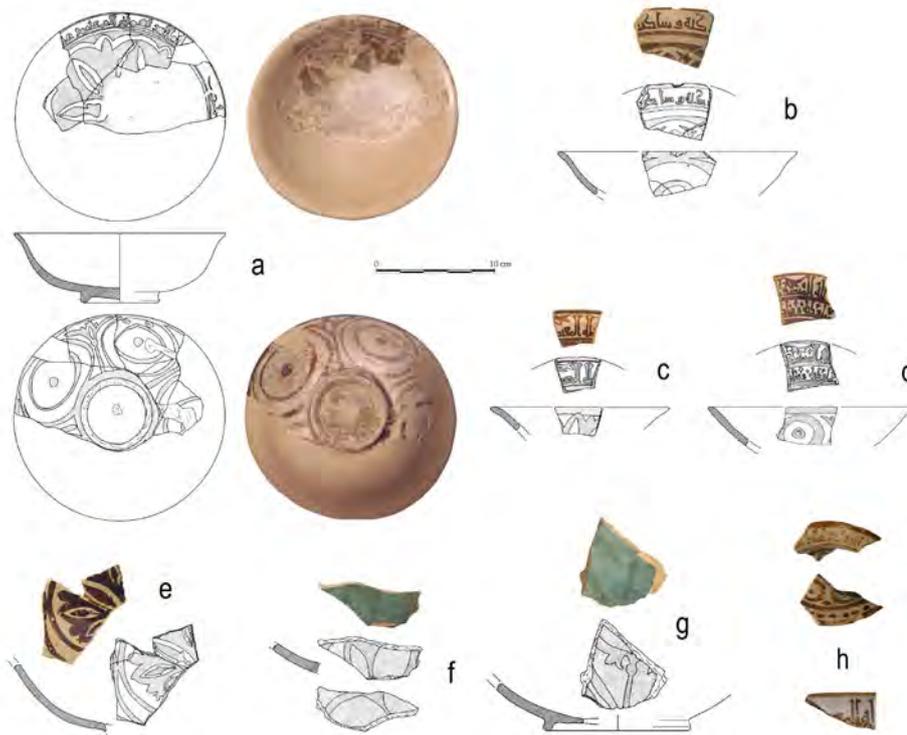


Fig. 8. Lusterware from Seville, second half of eleventh century: a) restored piece, Palma del Río, old quarter or train station; b) Castle of Silves; c) Seville, center of old town; d) Seville, Arabic baths; e, f, and g) Seville, Calle Imperial, f and g with a turquoise ground (Photos and drawings a–g: Anja Heidenreich); h) Coimbra, Pátio dos Escolas (University of Coimbra) (Photo: Helena Catarino).

pieces clearly date to the eleventh century and are less associated with palatial settings than they are with residences of the nobility. We can name examples that are clearly Fatimid<sup>27</sup> and others that are likely Fatimid from the sites in the old cities of Valencia, Medinaceli (fig. 7), and Tiermes (fig. 10f).<sup>28</sup> Further examples have not been reported and it is likely that many are still underground, waiting to be discovered. Again, more than the existence or non-existence of historical sources, what has really influenced the picture we have of production centers is the state of the research.

Although Fatimid pieces abound in museums, exhibitions, and books, we still lack deeper analyses. Archaeological finds are rarely encountered in the scientific literature because these objects, which are

generally represented by well-preserved examples found in museum collections, are still thought to be more a part of art history than Islamic archaeology. The common motifs representing human forms and other decoration along with spiral sgraffito are still the main ones typically cited as characteristic of these wares.

#### *Beginnings of local production*

Most interesting and noteworthy is a small group of early lusterware found in the southern part of the Iberian Peninsula (fig. 8). Until quite recently, the set was considered Fatimid,<sup>29</sup> and at first glance their features are self-evident, showing a direct stylistic link to Fatim-

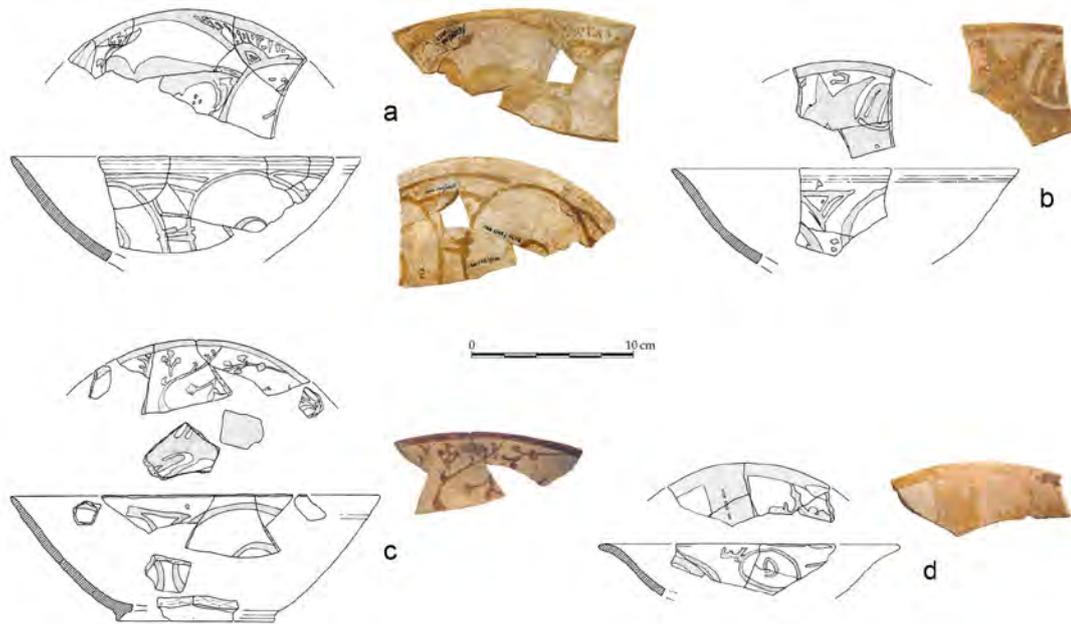


Fig. 9. Early lusterware from the Marca Superior, Spain, late eleventh/early twelfth century: a–c) Albarracín (Teruel), old castle; d) Valencia, Old City, Almoína (stratified date: eleventh century). (Photos and drawings: Anja Heidenreich)

id wares, as well as chronological evidence pointing to the period of importation from Egypt in the eleventh century mentioned earlier.

The inscriptions surrounding the inside edge of the four bowls name not only the artisan who made them but also their owner—a well-known feature of Fatimid ceramic production under the reign of al-Hakim (r. 996–1021) in Cairo. But its message, which we shall analyze in a later section, does not make reference to this ruler but to two Abbadid princes of Seville, who are identified by their proper names and titles.

It is striking that no changes in style are identifiable over the fifty-year period between these two princes and their ceramic products. These pieces seem to be stylistically static; they are decorated conservatively, directly inspired by their Egyptian originals. We are referring not only to the way the inscriptions were written but also to their position and the calligraphic details, which make them quite similar to the production of al-Hakim.

Another set of similar sherds has been added to the above group due to the technical congruence of the paste. Lacking inscriptions, they are identified by their

turquoise ground, another element that relates them to the Fatimid models. This latter grouping, which began to appear around 1060, represents a chronological milestone in early lusterware on the Peninsula, as it points to the existence of local workshops where this technological development would be possible. It is only a question of time before more specimens of this type are found in future excavations.

If we examine the evidence chronologically, we should add other lusterware material, which possibly originated in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries in several workshops located in the Ebro valley. Most of these finds come from archaeological sites, allowing us to date these ceramic pieces according to the stratified layers in which they were found. The earliest pieces still feature the outside decoration and the inside division found in the lusterware of the Taifa of Seville (fig. 9). This group is not homogeneous, but has been expanded to include a certain number of recent remarkable finds from various locations in the region.<sup>30</sup>

These pieces are of a lesser quality in terms of artistic technique, and the motifs are clearly simpler, indicating that they are derivative works, produced under condi-

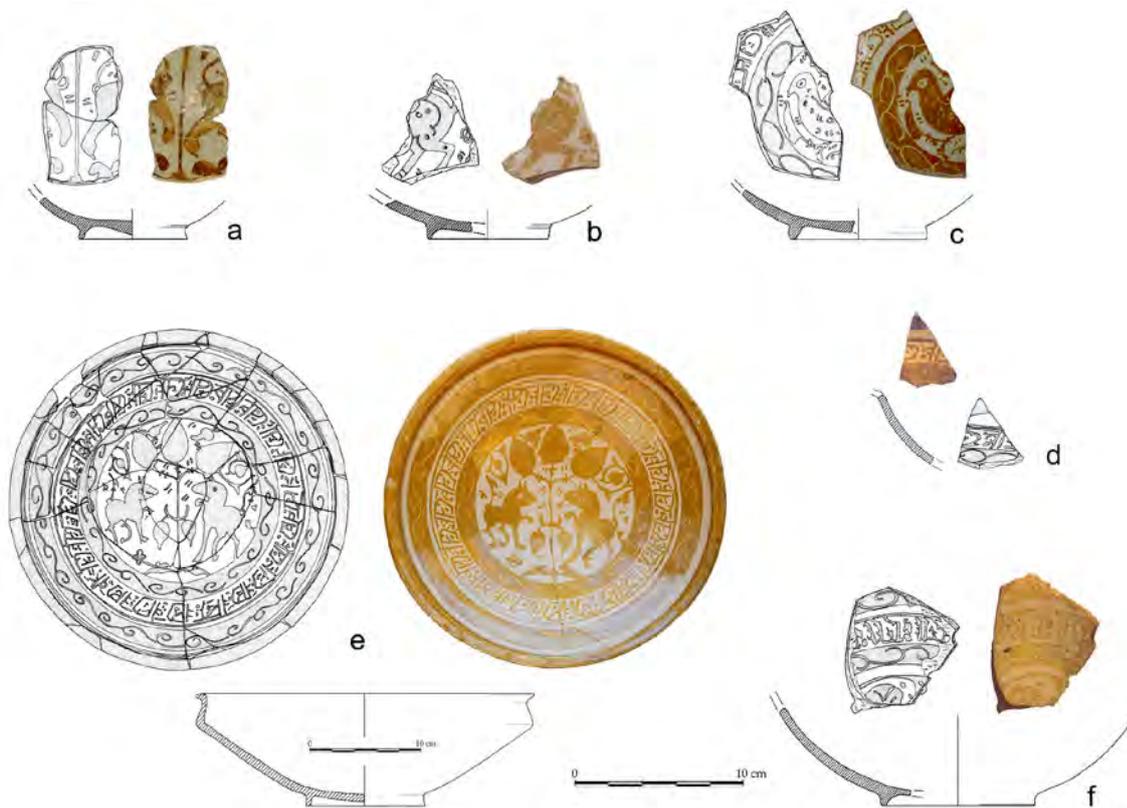


Fig. 10. Early lusterware from the Marca Superior, decorated with the pseudo-epigraphic inscription *al-yumn*, early twelfth century: a) Tudela, Old City, Calle Corta Pelaires; b) Tudela, Old City, Manzana de la Rua; c) Zaragoza, Roman theater; d) Albarracín, castle; e) Tudela, Old City, Calle Corta Pelaires, floor; f) Tiermes, Fatimid (?) lusterware decorated with the inscription *al-yumn*, eleventh century. (Photos and drawings: Anja Heidenreich)

tions that differed from those of Sevillian lusterware. None show any similarity with the styles of Fatimid Egypt. The remaining distinguishable groups from the Ebro valley are from the twelfth century. This material has been described in often-debated written sources on early luster-painted ceramic wares of the Upper March, or Marca Superior (*al-thaghr al-a'lā*), of the caliphate, which were different from the Almohad lusterwares of al-Andalus. Differing qualities have been observed in this grouping, whose glazes are soiled with soot, bearing crudely painted motifs. This suggests that the workshops offered a wide range of qualities and prices to their patrons. In the luster paint, yellowish tones dominate, set off by a characteristic intense coppery red, perhaps influenced by other contemporaneous products

from al-Andalus in the second half of the twelfth century. Among these pieces is one particularly interesting specimen, decorated with a pseudo-epigraphic motif containing a band of repeated, faux Arabic lettering (fig. 10).

In addition to the well-known bowl from Tudela, we have sherds from Zaragoza and Albarracín,<sup>31</sup> all containing an imitation of the *al-yumn* inscription decorated with animal and tree-of-life motifs. In terms of decoration and artistic techniques, they all share characteristics that suggest they were produced in the same workshop. The epigraphic inscriptions, treated as though they were a decorative frieze, indicate their origins in a mudejar workshop that continued producing lusterware throughout the twelfth century, in accor-

dance with Islamic tradition. A stylistic analysis of the pseudo-epigraphy supports this thesis, although it is worth mentioning that pseudo-epigraphy and imitations of Arabic lettering also form part of the decorative repertoire of late Fatimid wares, even the celebrated ones produced by the well-known artisan Sa'd (who usually signed his work on the bottom of the bowls), and therefore cannot be considered a mark of lesser quality or proof of intervention on the part of Christian artisans. Curiously, there is a similar piece from Tiermes that bears the *al-yumn* inscription, this time written using the correct letters (fig. 10f).

To this current group of finds from the Marca Superior we can add a large new set of objects discovered at the Onda Castle (province of Castellón), which includes sherds from at least twenty-six luster-painted vessels. In 2011, this impressive assemblage of ceramic pieces was found in a fill dating to the eleventh century, in an excavation located at the entrance to the castle. This lusterware find represents 11.88 percent of all glazed sherds from the excavation and will help confirm some of the data on the ceramic groups found in the Ebro valley.<sup>32</sup>

Lastly, we come to the early Almohad pieces made in the second half of the twelfth century, which are found in the southern area of the Peninsula. For a long time, both in Spain and abroad these pieces were thought to be the oldest examples of lusterware from the Iberian Peninsula. Almohad ceramics have been highly valued by collectors for a long time, and in many cases this has made it difficult to date them and reconstruct their exact cultural context. The specimens that were used to decorate the façades of medieval Tuscan cathedrals are easier to date, as are the pieces found in dated sites, whose number has increased considerably in recent years. These finds will assist scholars in their evaluation. The grouping found in the stratified site of Mértola (Portugal) (fig. 11) can be dated to the second half of the twelfth century—although written sources did not refer to these until the thirteenth century—a date that for many years was fixed among art historians. Apart from this “classical” group, there are also sub-groups of lusterware from the southern region of the Peninsula, where the finds seem to be more heterogeneous than those of the Marca Superior.

Starting in the mid-twelfth century there may have existed numerous independent workshops in the south-

ern Iberian Peninsula, such as the workshop located in the Mértola area, which produced striking jugs and deep bowls decorated in a coarser manner. In addition to these fragments found in the Almohad layers of the Islamic quarter of Mértola at the foot of the castle, there are other pieces that have been discovered in Andalusi sites. These include the nearly identical sherds from Calatrava la Vieja and Cieza, which have been dated to 1200 using historical sources and/or archaeological methods (fig. 11h).

There are also Mértola jugs and vases from the same period known as “relief wares” (fig. 12). Produced by artisans using bivalve molds, these items are decorated with a tin glaze, and some of the relief areas have been luster-painted or covered in a dark brown glaze (as in the case of Mértola), whose visible defects, arising from firing temperatures that were too high, indicate that they were more likely produced locally than imported.<sup>33</sup> The one-color surface clearly suggests an Almohad style of the purest kind, although the occasional luster-painted area departs from this aesthetic. This is another example of the direct and continued influence of Fatimid ceramics, which in their late phase included jugs that are practically identical, though these wares were made using an alkaline glass due to the introduction of silica. It is believed that one or more production centers existed in the southernmost regions of the Peninsula, whose wares were brought to Córdoba and Málaga, and may have been exported to Fustat.<sup>34</sup>

In order to better understand the exchange of techniques in this period, let us take a moment to examine the written sources on Mediterranean trade during the tenth and eleventh centuries. These texts show the extensive commercial network that existed well before the caliphate and how it increased under the new rulers. The movement of goods was quite regular and would later peak during the Taifa period, in terms of both frequency and volume. The goods included raw materials and slaves, which generally left or arrived at ports located along the coast of the Peninsula. There are documents detailing individual trade transactions, along with ones describing contacts made for large-scale trade initiatives. In addition to basic foodstuffs, other materials such as silk and cotton were bought and sold. These texts describe a substantial trade system, whose archaeological remains account for only a tiny proportion of

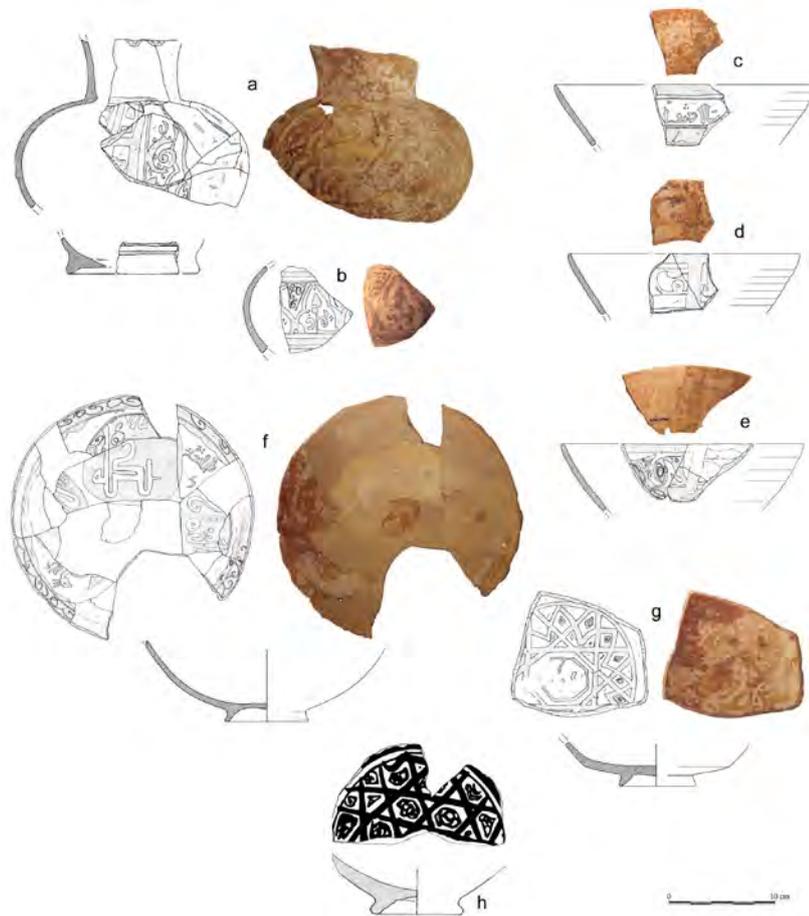


Fig. 11. Lusterware from Garb al-Andalus, second half of the twelfth century: a, c–g) Mértola, Almohad district, b) Silves, castle (Photos and drawings: Anja Heidenreich); h) Calatrava la Vieja, around 1200 (Photo: Juan Zozaya et al., “Cerámica andalusi de reflejo dorado: 1195–1212,” in *Actes du 5ème Colloque sur la Céramique Médiévale, Rabat 1991* [Rabat, 1995], 121–24, fig. 2)

excavation finds, since most materials that were bought and sold were organic in nature. Ostensibly, artisanal material such as ceramic pieces never figured prominently in the regional trade, since they were traded only occasionally and were generally added as ancillary loads to commercial vessel cargoes.<sup>35</sup>

Fustat, whose potters were always at the vanguard of fashion and new influences from the East, was a key trading city of the Mediterranean region and saw the transit of luxury goods from the Far and Middle East. This busy trade led to the development of a system of maritime logistics capable of delivering ceramics to any

Mediterranean city. Yet Andalusí products still enjoyed popularity and success. Extraordinary ceramics from the Peninsula, including many luxury pieces offered in a variety of styles, were shipped to numerous locales across the Mediterranean Sea. This commerce suffered no territorial or major political restriction, and was subject only to the laws of supply and demand, as well as to the interests of the merchants, who were driven by the opportunity to make a profit.

When the Berber Almoravid and Almohad dynasties arrived in the twelfth century, this commerce gradually began to wane, long before the Peninsula was conquered

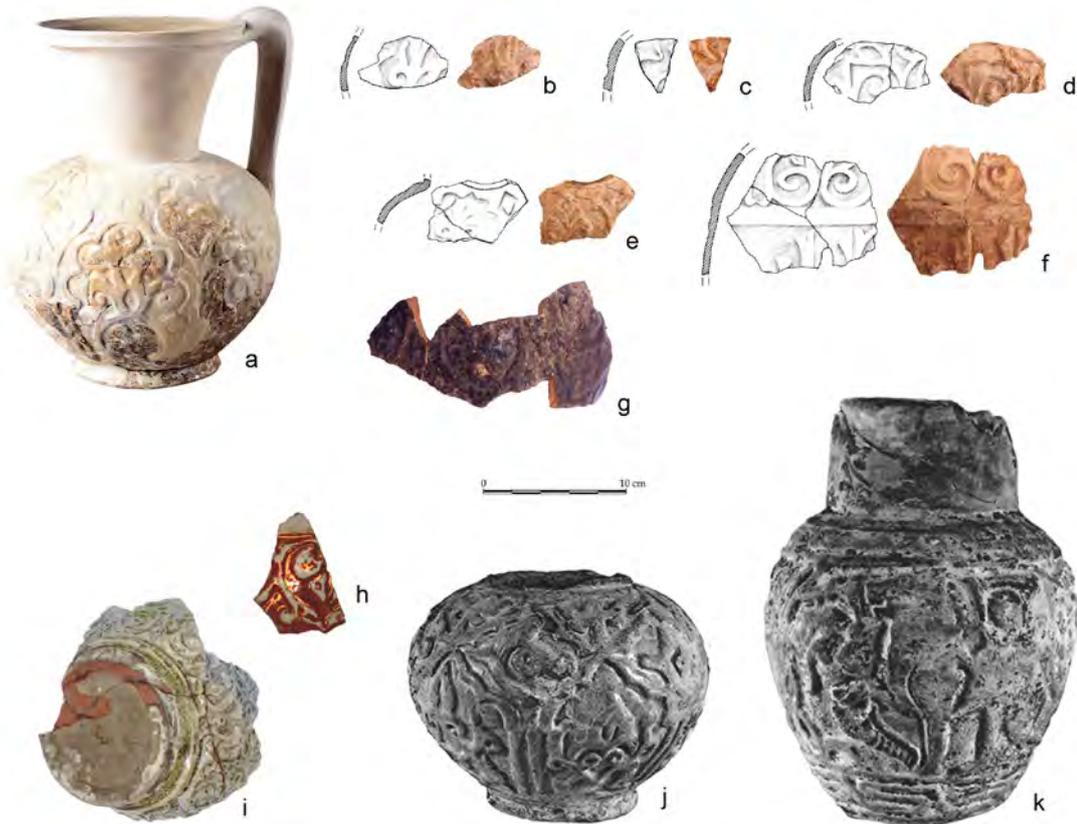


Fig. 12. “Relief ware,” partially luster-painted, Garb al-Andalus, second half of the twelfth century: a–f) Mértola, Almohad district, g) Mértola, Almohad district, from an identical mold with a different glaze color, defective (Photos and drawings: Anja Heidenreich); h, i) Fustat (Andalusian export) (Photos: Anja Heidenreich; stored in the Museum für islamische Kunst, Berlin); j) Córdoba (Photo: Martínez-Caviró, *La loza dorada*, 31, fig. 23); k) Málaga (Photo: Martínez-Caviró, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana, andalusí y mudéjar*, 71, fig. 48)

by Christian rulers, and the increased maritime power of the Italian republics would radically alter this picture of Mediterranean trade.

#### ANDALUSI LUSTERWARE AND THE TAIFA OF SEVILLE

This study demonstrates the existence in Seville of lusterware production centers that operated under the authority of the Abbadid princes over several decades during the second half of the eleventh century. Deliberately situated within the Taifa period, this material clearly bears the direct influences of the various luxury

ceramics produced in both the Western and Eastern regions of the Islamic realm—a phenomenon not unheard of in the history of Islamic ceramics. The fragments included in this grouping possess decorative and technical features that have allowed for a distinct characterization of this type of lusterware.<sup>36</sup> Research conducted thus far has found these types represented mainly in the southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula.

These ceramic pieces are distinguished by their characteristic two-color decoration, usually consisting of light brown and olive-brown hues. The exterior surfaces of the bowls are decorated with large circles and medium-sized stripes (figs. 16b, 17b, 18b, and 20b).

The set of specimens studied here consists of five fragments, each decorated with epigraphic inscriptions; four come from bowls and the fifth once formed part of a lid that was discovered at the Real Alcázar of Seville in 2004.<sup>37</sup> The updated and detailed study of the inscriptions clearly shows that they were produced on the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the eleventh century. The inscriptions contain the names of the Abbadid kings of the Sevillian Taifa, al-Mu'tadid (r. 1042–69) and his successor, al-Mu'tamid (r. 1069–1091), who are explicitly mentioned as having commissioned the lusterware pieces.

This additional historical and political information has allowed us to situate this group of specimens within the greater group of Islamic ceramic pieces produced on the Iberian Peninsula. We may identify them as the only examples found thus far to be produced in a kiln under royal authority that was organized and operated in a manner comparable to the *ṭirāz* textile workshops. To date it has not been possible to establish such a finding for items other than ivories or textiles within the latter half of the eleventh century under Taifa rule in al-Andalus. Production centers that were controlled by the royal court have only been recognized in pottery manufactured during earlier periods.

The similarities in the decorative techniques used on these ceramic pieces and their specific calligraphic features, as well as the existence of the aforementioned glazed turquoise piece—a color hitherto observed only in Fatimid Egypt—indicate that Egyptian artisans may have been brought to Seville at the order of the Abbids. This migration of artisans “from the East” (*fakhhārī al-Mashriq*) was also observed in the eleventh century by the Córdoba-born Jewish physician Abu 'l-Walid Marwan Ibn Janah (d. 1039), who offers interesting details about the new pottery manufacture in al-Andalus. He describes the oriental craftsmen (*ba'ḍṣannā' min ahl al-Mashriq*) in Córdoba who used wooden wheels instead of the common stone potter's wheels employed by the locals.<sup>38</sup> Artisans of the Peninsula learned these new techniques and how to apply them using local means and raw materials available in the region.<sup>39</sup> Another proof of the existence of lusterware in the Toledan Taifa is the lusterware plate (*ṣahfa mudhahhaba*) mentioned

in a contract among the notarial deeds of Ibn al-Mughith (d. 1067).<sup>40</sup>

At least one set of items produced on the Iberian Peninsula during an earlier period shows clear technical and decorative similarities, such as the large circular motifs on the outer surfaces of these pieces and the placement of designs within large rounded cartouches on the inner surfaces.<sup>41</sup> These motifs have been observed on low-quality, artistically inferior fragments found mainly in Albaracín, Valencia, and, as mentioned earlier, in greater quantities in Onda. The study of these specimens indicates that these new techniques spread rapidly during the second half of the eleventh century, up to the Marca Superior or the northern frontier of al-Andalus, the other traditional center of lusterware production since the end of the eleventh century. These techniques subsequently spread to workshops in the southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula.

#### *Epigraphic decoration on pottery*

The inscriptions found on lusterware from al-Andalus are largely restricted to single words, sometimes repeated, and almost always in fragments. It is quite possible that this sort of design was used for decorative purposes rather than for its literal sense. Judging from the calligraphic style, we know that most of these pieces were produced during the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties (twelfth and thirteenth centuries), a period in which al-Andalus reached its economic and cultural zenith.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the existence of these generally brief and succinct decorative inscriptions, there is a long tradition of the use of poetic messages or longer texts in which the object spoke in the first person, as attested by literary sources and ceramic wares found in archaeological excavations and the antique market and held today in museums and art collections.<sup>43</sup> Until now no clear evidence has been found to show that ceramics of this type were being produced in al-Andalus in a workshop under the control of a sovereign, nor has anyone been able to identify epigraphic inscriptions bearing the name of a king either preceded or followed by proverbs or expressions of good fortune.

Yet this is what we have been able to ascertain in five specimens of lusterware produced during the reign of

the Abbadid court of Seville during the Taifa period of al-Andalus. These fragments come to us from fortuitous finds or excavations that took place after 1983. They were parts of bowls, and one was possibly part of a lid. Discovered in Silves, Palma del Río, and Seville, these ceramic fragments share a common characteristic: they all feature Arabic inscriptions in a concentric band around the inside edge of the piece encircling a central decorative motif.

The baseline of the inscriptions decorating our lusterware fragments is circular and runs concentrically around the center of the bowl, as does nearly every specimen dated from the eleventh to the thirteenth century from both the East and West.<sup>44</sup> The inscriptions differ from those found in the majority of older pieces dating from before the tenth century, where the writing baseline appears on the edge. We find a large number of Nishapur ceramic bowls or plates (mid-ninth and tenth century) with elegantly painted Arabic inscriptions on the upper edge whose writing baseline runs along the rim.<sup>45</sup> The surviving inscription has enabled us to piece together the sovereign title of two rulers of the Sevillian dynasty, al-Muʿtadid and al-Muʿtamid.

Some of the fragments share similarities in the style of Kufic writing employed. However, we have observed some differences that may be attributable to variations in the official epigraphic style of the kingdom, which, as is well known, depended on political factors particular to each court; nor can we rule out the intervention of a careless artisan in some of the inscriptions. We must also consider the likelihood that these ceramic objects were produced in a workshop affiliated with the *dār al-ṣināʿa* (lit. house of manufacturing) of the Sevillian rulers—a workshop that probably carried out its activities in much the same way as an Abbadid *ṭirāz* workshop, following in the tradition of Andalusī workshops of the Umayyad period.<sup>46</sup>

### *The Taifa of Seville*

The collapse of the Andalusian Umayyad caliphate in 1031 fragmented al-Andalus into principalities and locally ruled kingdoms, and the city of Córdoba became a mere provincial town. This period is known as the era of the “party kings,” or petty monarchs (Arabic: *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*; Spanish: *reyes de taifas*). The illustrious capital

city of Córdoba was soon eclipsed by the flourishing dynasties of Seville, Badajoz, Granada, and Toledo. The city that boasted the most formidable military and the greatest artists of all these rival kingdoms was Seville, ruled by the Abbadids. Notwithstanding the excesses and cruelty of its princes, the dynasty of the Abbadids may be regarded as the most brilliant of the rulers of the taifas, enjoying an unrivalled reputation for literary and artistic works in eleventh-century al-Andalus.<sup>47</sup>

Abuʿl-Qasim Muhammad ibn Ismaʿil ibn ʿAbbad, the kadi of Seville and founder of the dynasty (r. 1023–42), was renowned for his judicious and wise rule, while his son, Abu ʿAmr ʿAbbad al-Muʿtadid, was feared for his tyranny and fierce nature. Nonetheless, poets and scholars gravitated to al-Muʿtadid’s court, since he was also known as a great patron of literature and art, as well as a poet in his own right. The new king, who took the princely title of *ḥājib* (chamberlain) but later adopted the honorific title (*laqab*) al-Muʿtadid, by which he is known, considerably expanded the territory of the principality of Seville.

Abuʿl-Qasim Muhammad ibn ʿAbbad al-Muʿtamid, the third and last ruler of the ʿAbbadid dynasty, annexed Córdoba in 1078. His reputation as an enlightened, benevolent ruler and gifted poet soon surpassed that of his forebears. The biographer Ibn Khallikan described the court of al-Muʿtamid as “the healing place of travelers, the rendezvous of poets, the point to which all hopes were directed and the haunt of men of talent.”<sup>48</sup> Al-Muʿtamid inherited not only the reins of power from his ancestors but their poetic talent as well.

### *Epigraphic luster-painted ceramic wares under al-Muʿtadid*

This section presents an analysis of the pieces thought to have been manufactured during the reign of al-Muʿtadid bi-llah of the Taifa of Seville, who was also known as al-Mansur bi-fadl Allah. These fragments, labeled Se-4, Se-5, and Si-2, are included in the appendix.<sup>49</sup> In terms of epigraphy, these three pieces share a number of characteristics: inscriptions decorate the rims of each of these bowls, and they are all concentric, taking up the entire circumference of the bowl. The let-



Fig. 13. Inscriptions preserved on three fragments of lusterware commissioned by the king of Seville al-Mu'tadid (r. 1042–69). Groups of characters are arranged alphabetically.

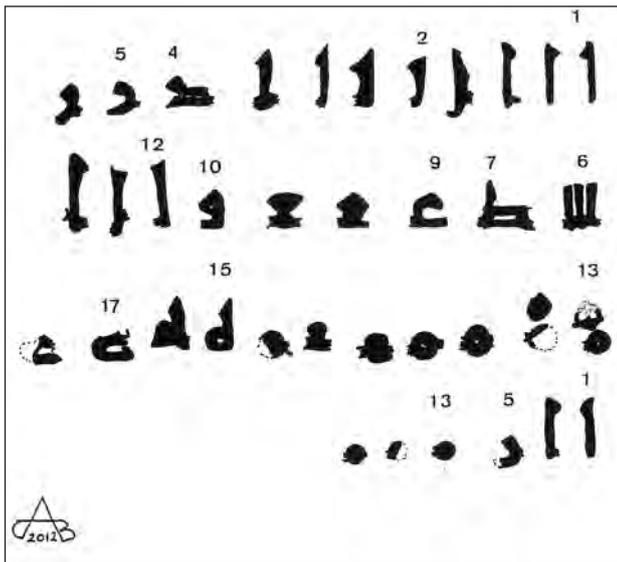


Fig. 14. Inscriptions preserved on three fragments of lusterware commissioned by the king of Seville, al-Mu'tamid (r. 1069–91). Groups of characters are arranged alphabetically.

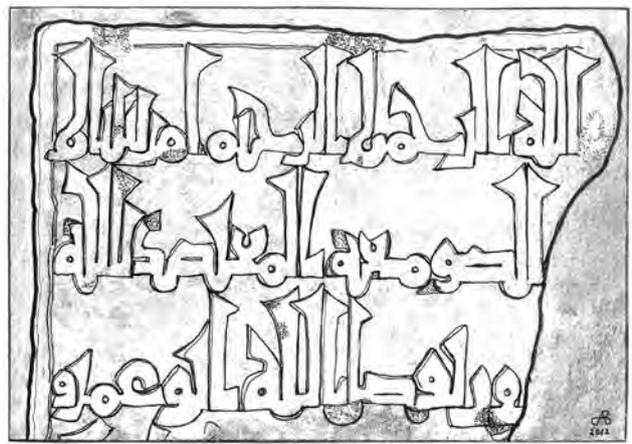


Fig. 15. A marble fragment inscribed with the name *al-Mu'tadid*. Found at the Moura Castle (Portugal). Museu Municipal, Moura. (Drawing: Ana Labarta and Carmen Barceló)

tering style used is painted and infilled with the same color (figs. 13 and 14).

Fragment Se-5 features a thick line painted along the edge of the bowl and a double-band inscription. The first band, 1.5 centimeters wide, is separated from the second one by a 1-centimeter-wide line. Both lines serve as a guide for the inscriptions and are concentric with the center of the bowl. The inscription running along the outer edge of the bowl reads: [A]llāh al-Manṣūr. Over this *ductus* is a double floral palmette (similar to that seen in Se-4), which is missing its leftmost end; there is also another small foliate motif over the letter *mīm* (our 13m).<sup>50</sup> The Kufic characters used here are very similar to those shown in the inscription found at Moura (Portugal), which celebrates the construction of a minaret by order of the ruler al-Mu'tadid bi-llah of Seville (fig. 15). This undated inscription also refers to him as "*al-Manṣūr bi-faḍl Allāh*."<sup>51</sup>

In fragment Se-5, the second epigraphic band contains two examples of the letter 13i-m, followed by letters 12i, 16f, 11i, 15f, 16a, 6i, 1f, and the beginning of 11i (fig. 16a). We interpret this as "*mamlūkay-hi wa-Shāk[ir]*," that is, "his two slaves and Shāk[ir]," which is also part of the inscription in fragment Si-2 (see appendix). The character 11i of the latter differs slightly, perhaps because it was produced at a later time or by another artisan. This second epigraphic band also features the same foliate mo-



Fig. 16a. Lusterware fragment of a bowl, inner surface (Se-5, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1060. Archaeological Museum, Seville, REP2002/2. (Photo: Isabel Mª Villanueva Romero)



Fig. 16b. Lusterware fragment of a bowl, outer surface (Se-5, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1060. Archaeological Museum, Seville, REP2002/2. (Photo: Isabel Mª Villanueva Romero)

tifs (four in this case) that occupy the spaces above the letters (fig. 16a). The largest is located above the first letter of this band (character 13i). This motif is common in epigraphic art of al-Andalus from the middle of the tenth century onwards.<sup>52</sup>

We have not been able to find any references in our historical texts to an individual serving the Sevillian court who went by the name of Shakir, but there were three Andalusí scholars who lived during the eleventh and twelfth centuries who had this name: Shakir ibn Khayra, a *mawlā* (lit. protégé or client) of the Amirid family of Almanzor raised in Játiva; Shakir ibn Muhammad ibn Shakir of Toledo; and an individual from Beja named Shakir ibn Jannah, who lived and died in Monchique.<sup>53</sup> Based on their biographies, the first in particular, we believe that the man referred to as a *kātib* of the Sevillian court in the inscription was a *mawlā* or *fatā* (lit. high officer) of this sovereign.<sup>54</sup> As the names of the slaves have not survived, we cannot speculate about them; however, it is certain that they refer to two individuals (*mamlūkay*), as this word cannot be read as a regular plural in the Arabic language.

Although the *laqab* al-Mansur in the inscription found on Se-5 may have been used in reference to another ruler within or outside the Iberian Peninsula, it is still one of the titles also given, as we have just seen, to al-Muʿtadid.<sup>55</sup> The date attributed to fragment Se-5 corresponds to the reign of this Abbadid prince, between

1041 and 1069. We can further narrow the period to the last decade of the Sevillian ruler's lifetime (1060–1069), since the inscription clearly shares features—both in appearance and in the texts—with the piece found at the Silves castle (Si-2).

In effect, the inscription of Si-2 is framed by lines above and below it, forming a double band. If we look at the baseline, which runs concentric with the bottom of the bowl, the final stroke of *wāw* (character 16) can be discerned, followed by the characters 11i, 2m, 15f, 16a, 6i, 1m–f, 11i, 5m–f, and the beginning of a character, which by its height and position we believe to be 11i (fig. 13). Therefore the inscription reads: [*maml*] *ūkay-hi wa-Shākir* f[atā-hu] (his two [s]laves and Shakir [his] fa[tā]). This inscription also appears in the second band of fragment Se-5 (even though the strokes found in the latter vary slightly in style). Characters 2, 5, and 11 are similar to those appearing on the glazed tiles of the Qalʿat Bani Hammad (fig. 3m).<sup>56</sup> Moreover, character 11i is similar to the one used during the same period in Fatimid Egypt and in Ifriqiya; that is, with an upper segment bearing a pronounced right-slanting curve.

The Sevillian Abbadid dynasty annexed the Taifa of Silves for the first time in 1052 and then permanently in 1063. The presence of this fragment in this Portuguese city has allowed us to posit a date for the piece between 1052, when the first annexation took place, and 1069, the year in which the Sevillian ruler al-Muʿtadid bi-llah died.



Fig. 17a. Lusterware fragment of a bowl, inner surface with inscriptions within the decorative bands on the rim of the bowl (Se-4, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1060. Archaeological Museum, Seville, REP2002/3. (Photo: Isabel Mª Villanueva Romero)



Fig. 17b. Lusterware fragment of a bowl, outer surface (Se-4, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1060. Archaeological Museum, Seville, REP2002/3. (Photo: Isabel Mª Villanueva Romero)

On Se-4, the line painted on the rim of the bowl forms an epigraphic band along with another, wider line, located about 0.8 cm below it. Greenish in color, it serves as the baseline for the inscription (fig. 17a). The band features portions of the character 9m, followed by 13m, 12m, and 15f, which we interpret as “[bi-]‘amali-hi” (to be made). This is followed by characters that allow us to easily reconstruct the word “*al-Mu‘tadi[d]*.” The Kufic lettering used in Se-4 bears a strong resemblance to the inscription described earlier, which was discovered at Moura (Portugal) and celebrates the construction of a minaret under the orders of the ruler of Seville, al-Mu‘tadid bi-llah (fig. 15). The most notable difference between these two pieces can be found in the lettering of the honorific title (fig. 13). In Se-4 there is no connecting stroke between characters 2 and 9, and the upper stroke of *hā’* (character 15f) is as high as character 12m in the first word. There is a floral motif in the blank space above the letters of the title. Today only the rightmost portion is visible. This is also true for fragment Se-5.

The date of fragment Se-4 has been narrowed to the reign of al-Mu‘tadid bi-llah (r. 1041–69), as mentioned earlier, the title held by ‘Abbad ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abbad, second sovereign of the Taifa of Seville, which, as we have seen, appears on the other specimen. Based on the epigraphic considerations presented above, we

believe that this is the oldest example in the group, even though the differences in chronology between Se-4 and the other two fragments may be due to the appointment of a different kiln overseer or perhaps the work of different artisans within the production process.

#### *Epigraphic luster-painted ceramic wares under al-Mu‘tamid*

Only two lusterware specimens with inscriptions in Arabic can be attributed to the period during the reign of al-Mu‘tamid (r. 1069–1091), since both inscriptions (in PaR-1 and AlcSe-1) share identical Kufic characters (fig. 14). As we have seen in the fragments dated to the reign of his predecessor, the epigraphic inscriptions on these pieces all share some characteristics: the way in which their rims are decorated, the concentrically placed inscriptions occupying the entire rim of the piece, and the use of solid lettering, that is, lettering whose infill is of the same color as its outline (fig. 18a).

In PaR-1, the epigraphic inscription is painted within a band approximately 1.5 centimeters high, consisting of two lines. One line (0.2 cm) runs along the bowl’s rim and the other (0.3 cm) is placed below it, towards the center of the plate, forming the baseline for the inscription. A small portion of the original text survives in two of the fragments, yet only the writing found on the larger portion (consisting of variously sized fragments) is



Fig. 18a. Lusterware fragments of a bowl, inner surface, signed by “*Tammām*” (PaR-1, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1090. Archaeological Museum, Córdoba, CE026544. (Photo: courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Córdoba)



Fig. 18b. Lusterware fragments of a bowl, outer surface, signed by “*Tammām*” (PaR-1, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1090. Archaeological Museum, Córdoba, CE026544. (Photo: courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Córdoba)

legible. The letters are not as slender as the monumental epigraphy characteristic of the first decade of the reign of the Abbadid “poet king,” but they bear a stronger resemblance to an early twelfth-century Sevillian tombstone made of marble,<sup>57</sup> indicating that this fragment was probably produced during the final years of al-Mu‘tamid’s reign.

Many years have passed since Guerrero Lovillo published the interpretation of the 10-centimeter-long inscription on the better-preserved portion. Ocaña translated it as: “which was commissioned by al-Mu‘tamid under the supervision of...”<sup>58</sup> However, this interpretation had very little impact since the material was discovered in a small village of Córdoba.<sup>59</sup> Greater interest in the piece has been shown in recent studies, which have suggested that the king may have taken it with him on some of his journeys.<sup>60</sup>

We believe that this specimen was produced in a kiln in Seville that was under the control of the sovereign, although our interpretation of this portion of the epigraphy differs from Ocaña’s. In our reading, the preposition ‘*alā*’ appearing after the title does not introduce the artisan’s name but is part of the *laqab*; the inscription would then read as follows: *mimmā amara bi-‘amali-hi al-Mu‘tamid ‘alā* [Allāh] (which was commissioned by

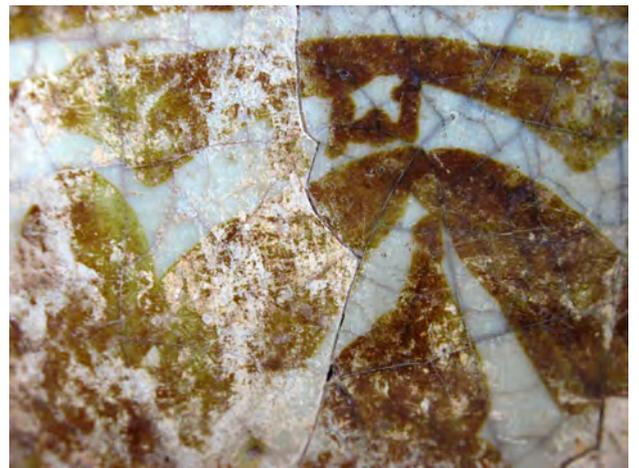


Fig. 19. Detail of the name “*Tammām*” (PaR-1, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1090. Archaeological Museum, Córdoba, CE026544. (Photo: courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Córdoba)

al-Mu‘tamid ‘alā [Allāh]). The only decoration in the epigraphic band is a foliate motif above the two 13i characters (letter *mīm*).<sup>61</sup> As stated earlier, this design was commonly used during the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba.



Fig. 20a. Lusterware fragment of a bowl, inner surface (AlcSe-1, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1090. Archaeological Museum, Seville. (Photo: Remedios Huarte Cambra)



Fig. 20b. Lusterware fragment of a bowl, outer surface (AlcSe-1, in appendix). Spain (Taifa period), around 1090. Archaeological Museum, Seville. (Photo: Remedios Huarte Cambra)

New photographs of fragment PaR-1 taken at our request<sup>62</sup> have helped in the interpretation of a hitherto undeciphered portion of the epigraphic inscription, now quite faded (fig. 18a). The extreme left-hand side of this fragment shows an expression often used in medieval Arabic epigraphy to introduce the text: *bi-sm*, or “in the name of.” It is likely that the word “[*Allāh*]” was placed at this point, since it is the only word that is possible in the space that follows, which is connected to the adjacent portion of the better-preserved inscriptions. At the beginning of this band we also deciphered very faint letters, which we believe to be “[*fī qasri-hi*,” that is, “at his palace.” These few words, which conclude and introduce the epigraphy of PaR-1, are of great importance because they refer to the existence of a potter’s workshop within the residential complex of the Abbadid sovereign in Seville; this demonstrates that the inscription was painted along the entire rim of the object.

Fragment PaR-1 holds yet another surprise: underneath the inscription *bi-‘amali-hi*, in the blank space (0.5 cm) between the palmettes that adorn the fragments and the circle separating them from the epigraphic band, are some characters, namely, the letters *zi*, *13m*, *1f*, and *13a*, which we have interpreted as: *Tammām* (fig. 19). Artisans’ names were sometimes painted on the

green and manganese ceramics made during the Cordoban caliphate.<sup>63</sup> The famous Fatimid artisan named Muslim put his name on some of his works in the blank space between the floral decoration, as happens in our bowl from Seville.<sup>64</sup> We believe that these characters, which were overlooked in our first study of these fragments, refer to the name of the artisan who decorated and inscribed the bowl; it is a male name, perhaps that of a slave who served at this Abbadid court. Although the date attributed to this bowl corresponds to the period of the Taifa of Seville under al-Mu’tamid (1069–1091), the epigraphic features suggest that the bowl can be dated toward the end of his reign, between 1088 and 1092.

On fragment AlcSe-1, the baseline of the inscription runs along the rim of the bowl, in contrast to the four other specimens, where the baseline is positioned inside, closer to the center of the bowl. We believe that the inscription, which is approximately one centimeter wide, was painted in this manner because the original vessel was probably meant to be used as a lid or a cover for a bowl (fig. 20a). The fragment contains the following unadorned letters (fig. 14): *13i*, *13m*, *1f*, *1a*, *13i*, and *5f*, which we have interpreted as “*mimmā amara*” (which was commissioned by). This lettering, identical to that used in PaR-1, places this example in the same period,

that is, the last decade of al-Mu'tamid's reign, between 1088 and 1092.

### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

To understand these five specimens vis-à-vis the broader context of Andalusí pottery, we cannot rely solely on the interpretation of their epigraphs (although this task has enabled us to situate them clearly within the chronology of al-Andalus).<sup>65</sup> It may also prove advantageous to reconstruct the painted inscriptions and then use them to determine the sequence of the main elements that were usually included in inscriptions of this type. We might thus begin to piece together the official procedure followed by the royal Abbadid workshop.

Arabic epigraphy experts have established a rigorous set of elements that appear—and do not appear—in inscriptions, depending on the purpose of the vessel, the period of rule, and the regions where they were produced.<sup>66</sup> For the Andalusí period the classical study by Lévi-Provençal established a system of nine elements employed during the period of the Umayyad caliphate. According to his analysis, these elements were also used during the period of the Sevillian or Toledo Taifas.<sup>67</sup>

If we take these antecedents into account, valuable work has already been undertaken in the reconstruction of Andalusí epigraphic texts from various areas and periods using the time-honored method employed by experts in relation to Latin inscriptions from the classical Roman period.<sup>68</sup> This method is based on confirmed data that the texts employed and the order in which they appear reflects the fashions that were unique to the period in which they were produced. We will thus be able to complete the inscriptions with words or expressions that have disappeared due to breakage or loss. This technique, which is normally used in a critical edition and usually serves as a hypothesis, becomes fully valid when applied to the graphical portion of the analysis. Here it is also important to bear in mind the Arabic alphabet utilized in the text and the size of the object.

We have three reasons to be fairly certain of the reconstructions we have proposed: a) the interpreted text appearing on the ceramic fragments; b) the honorific titles and invocations that appear on coins and inscriptions made in the name of sovereigns of Seville; and



Fig. 21. Detail of a fountain with a small head and Kufic writing with the name *al-Mu'tamid*. Archaeological Museum, Seville, REP00254. (Photo: Manuel Camacho Moreno)

c) the formulaic pattern used in official texts of the Taifa, which were either engraved or painted on other materials.

The first step is to establish the likeliest protocol used in inscriptions. To carry out this task we have used as a model the inscriptions on marble belonging to the Sevillian Abbadids (fig. 21) and the titles given to rulers that appeared in literary texts and on coins.<sup>69</sup> This has helped us to identify three formulaic patterns used in inscriptions: two employed during the reign of al-Mu'tamid and one used during the reign of his son and successor. Therefore, the likeliest interpretation of the epigraphs painted on the ceramic ware produced under the first Sevillian prince and containing double inscriptions (Se-5) is as follows (fig. 22):

*bi-sm allāh mimmā amara bi-'amali-hi al-Mu'tadid bi-llāh, al-Mansūr bi-faḍl Allāh Abū 'Amr 'Abbād ibn Dhī 'l-Wizāratayn Muḥammad ibn 'Abbād adāma Allāh 'izza-hu wa-jayyada mulka-hu fi Qaṣr al-Mubārak 'alā yaday /... wa-... mamlūkay-hi wa-Shākir fatā-hu (wa-kātibi-hi?).<sup>70</sup>*

In the name of God. Commissioned by al-Mu'tadid bi-llah, al-Mansur bi-faḍl Allah, Abu 'Amr 'Abbad, son of Dhī 'l-Wizāratayn Muḥammad ibn 'Abbad—may God preserve his glory and the excellence of his reign!<sup>71</sup>—in the Blessed Palace (*Qaṣr al-Mubārak*)<sup>72</sup> by means of... and..., his two slaves, and Shakir his *fatā* (and his scribe?).

Therefore, the formulaic pattern used on bowls of the same size and decoration would be as follows: a) *bas-mala*; b) *mimmā amara bi-'amali-hi*; c) titles, name, and *nasab* (lineage) of the ruler; d) reverent petition in favor

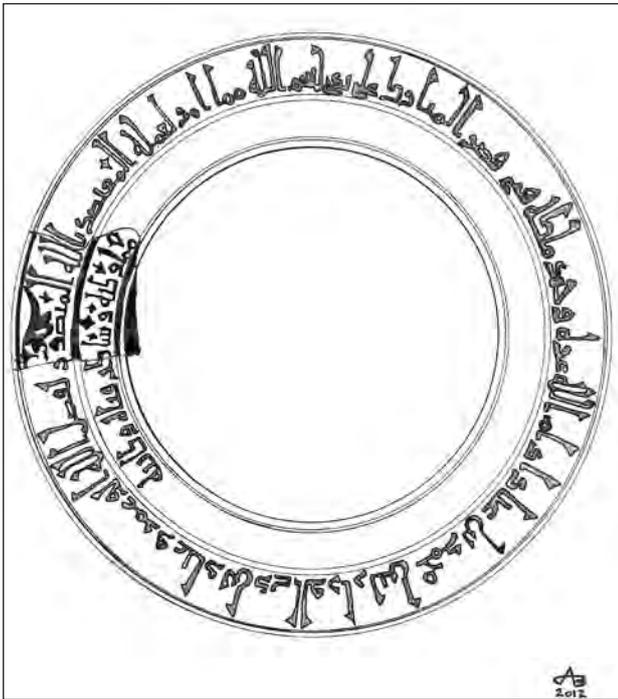


Fig. 22. Drawing of the epigraphic inscription on fragment Se-5, including the restored inscription. (Drawing: Carmen Barceló)

of the ruler; e) place of production; and f) the name of the master potter(s), introduced by the formula *'alā yaday*. Although it may appear to be an exceptional occurrence, we know of examples of ceramic vessels found elsewhere that contain dates of production—while uncommon, they do exist.<sup>73</sup> It is worth mentioning here that our reconstruction forces us to consider the possibility that the second band may include a short inscription containing solely information from item “f” of the proposed formulaic pattern. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the text found in this band was written in smaller letters; however, the placement of the band in the central decorated area of the bowl raises some questions as well.

The most notable difference between Se-5 and the other two pieces is that the formulaic pattern used in the latter could not, due to space considerations, include the location of production and the ruler's lineage, which, in Si-2, may have been shorter (fig. 23):



Fig. 23. Drawing of the epigraphic inscription on fragment Si-2. The writing along the rim of the bowl has been restored. (Drawing: Carmen Barceló)

*bi-sm allāh mimmā amara bi-'amali-hi al-Mu'tadid bi-llāh, al-Mansūr bi-faḍl Allāh Abū 'Amr 'Abbād ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abbād adāma Allāh 'izza-hu wa-mulka-hu 'alā yaday... wa-... mamlūkay-hi wa-Shākir fatā-hu (wa-kātibi-hi?).*

In the name of God. Commissioned by al-Mu'tadid bi-llah, al-Mansur bi-faḍl Allah, Abu 'Amr 'Abbad, son of Muḥammad ibn 'Abbad—may God preserve his glory and his power!—by means of... and..., his two slaves, and Shakir his *fatā* (and his scribe?).

A similar framing is observed in the reconstruction of bowl Se-4. The full inscription may not have contained the name of Shakir, who was the scribe and *fatā* of the prince. We therefore propose the following interpretation (fig. 24):

*bi-sm Allāh mimmā amara bi-'amali-hi al-Mu'tadid bi-llāh, al-Mansūr bi-faḍl Allāh Abū 'Amr 'Abbād ibn Dhī 'l-Wizāratayn Muḥammad ibn 'Abbād adāma Allāh 'izza-hu 'alā yaday...*

In the name of God. Commissioned by al-Mu'tadid bi-llah, al-Mansur bi-faḍl Allah, Abu 'Amr 'Abbad, son of *Dhī 'l-Wizāratayn* Muhammad ibn 'Abbad—may God prolong his glory!—by means of...

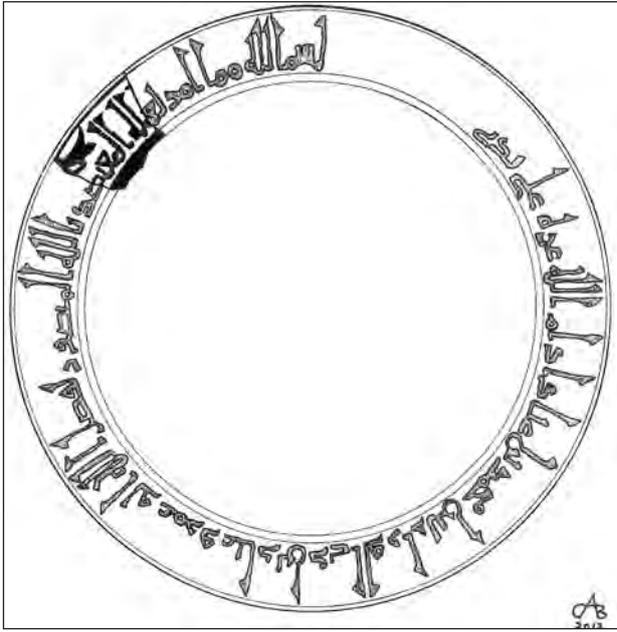


Fig. 24. Drawing of the epigraphic inscription of fragment Se-4. The inscription along the rim of the lid has been restored. (Drawing: Carmen Barceló)



Fig. 25. Drawing of the epigraphic inscription of fragment PaR-1. A part of the text has been restored. (Drawing: Carmen Barceló)

The protocol used in the pieces manufactured during the reign of al-Mu'tamid is fairly similar, but not identical. The following inscription may have been written on PaR-1 (fig. 25):

*bi-sm Allāh mimmā amara bi-'amali-hi al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh al-Mu'ayyad bi-naṣr Allāh Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn 'Abbād adāma Allāh baqā'-hu 'alā yaday ... fī qasri-hi.*

In the name of God. Commissioned by al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allah, al-Mu'ayyad bi-naṣr Allah,<sup>74</sup> Abu 'l-Qasim Muhammad ibn 'Abbad—may God prolong his life!—by means of... at his palace.

The protocol, or formulaic pattern, would have been as follows: a) *basmala*; b) *mimmā amara bi-'amali-hi*; c) titles, name and lineage of the ruler; d) reverent petition in favor of the ruler; e) the name(s) of the master potter(s), introduced by the formula *'alā yaday*; and f) place of production. The most notable difference with respect to the other piece produced under the same king is the omission of the place of production, which, for reasons of space, could not have been included (fig. 26).

Reconstructing the floral motifs that appear in the empty spaces above the letters would be impossible, at

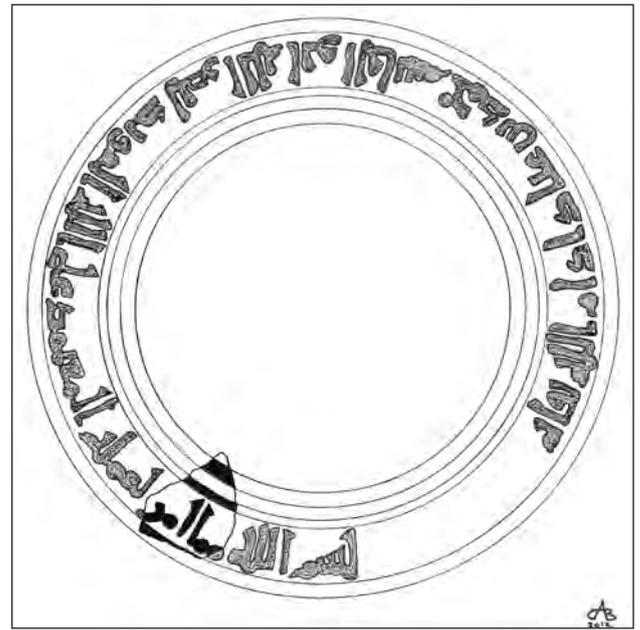


Fig. 26. Drawing of the epigraphic inscription found on fragment AlcSe-1. The inscription along the rim of the lid has been restored. (Drawing by Carmen Barceló)



Fig. 27. Detail of a marble fragment inscribed with the name *al-Mu'tamid*. Found in the Reales Alcázares of Seville (Patio de la Montería). Archaeological Museum, Seville. (Photo: courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Seville)

least without stretching the limits of reasonable speculation. This type of decoration must have been quite profuse in all the epigraphic bands, as can be deduced from the decoration appearing on the fragments. These were also present in inscriptions on tombstones and can be seen on a marble plinth found in the excavations of the Real Alcázar of Seville (fig. 27).<sup>75</sup>

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the fragments of lusterware with epigraphic decoration analyzed here were all produced during the second half of the eleventh century, in a potter's workshop under the authority of the ruler of the Taifa of Seville (as evidenced by the use of the term *qaṣr* or "palace" found on one of the fragments). They were very likely imitations of Fatimid ceramic vessels—which demonstrates the speed with which fashions and innovation spread in the realm of decorative ceramics. The formal similarities in the decoration and Kufic style of these pieces and those produced in the court of the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim bi-amr Allah (r. 996–1021) are so remarkable<sup>76</sup> that one cannot help but deduce that the former were imitations produced in the West by artisans from Egypt who served in the Abbadid court.

The ceramic group analyzed in this study is chronologically situated immediately prior to 1069. It should therefore be established as the date at which lusterware

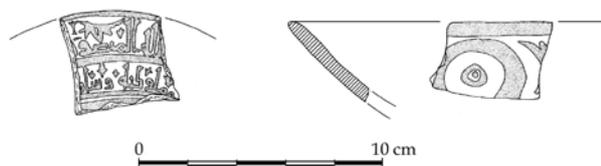
production began in al-Andalus. This grouping can therefore serve as a reference point for existing and future archaeological finds and/or lusterware production centers that have yet to be discovered in this region.

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*Postscript:* After the submission of this article, the authors became aware of a new find consisting of two fragments of lusterware at the excavation site of the Patio da Universidade, located at the palace of *madīnat Qulumbriya* (Coimbra, Portugal). This find has been published by Helena Catarino, Sónia Filipe, and Constança Santos, in "Coimbra islâmica: Uma aproximação aos materiais cerâmicos," *Xelb* 9 (2009): 333–78. Those responsible for the excavation date the pieces to the second period of Islamic rule in this city (987–1064) or to the later period under the rule of Mozarab Sisnando Davides and his son-in-law (ca. 1064–85).

### APPENDIX

**Se-5. SEVILLE (Province of Seville), Archaeological Museum, Seville, inv. no. REP2002/2 (ancient BA 204).**



*Excavation site:* "Baños árabes," 1983–84, center of the old town of Seville; trench 2, depth of the unit: 1.4–1.6 meters.

*Dimensions:* depth: 17 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm; height: 0.3 cm; max. length: 4.5 cm; min. length: 2 cm.

Rim fragment of an almost funnel-shaped glazed bowl with a slightly oblique out-turned rim ending in a rounded lip.

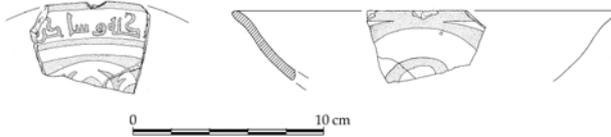
*Sherd fraction:* pastel yellow color with porous, cretaceous structure. Both sides of the bowl are covered with a white tin glaze and decorated with deep brown (um-

ber) luster. The crazed glaze has allowed humidity to penetrate, which has changed the color under the glaze to gray on parts of the vessel. The motif on the inner surface consists of a double band of Arabic epigraphy (Kufic characters) between at least three thick concentric lines. On the outer surface there is another thick line painted on the rim. Below a portion of a large, crudely painted circle is a small circle with a central dot known as a “peacock eye.” On the right side is an edge of an element occupying the spaces between the circles—the stem of a vegetal motif with three palmettes on its upper end (see PaR-1).

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### Si-2. SILVES (Algarve district, Portugal), Municipal Museum of Archaeology, Silves, inv. no. CAST.Q1/C5-1.



*Excavation site:* “Castelo de Silves,” 1984–87, quadrant 1, unit 5 (probably tenth century).

*Dimensions:* depth: 19.8 cm; thickness: 0.4 cm; height: 4.8 cm; max. length: 6 cm.

Rim fragment of medium-sized bowl with S-profile. The rim is slightly obliquely out-turned and ends in a rounded lip. The fragment consists of two glued fragments.

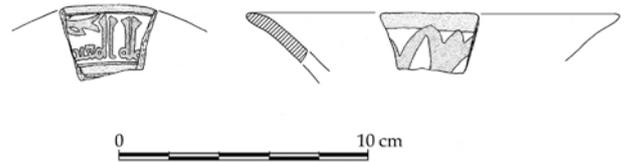
*Sherd fraction:* pastel yellow color with fine porous, cretaceous structure. Both sides of the bowl are covered with a beige crazed tin glaze. The luster decoration is painted in two different shades: coffee brown and red brown on the inner surface, coffee brown on the outer

surface. The motif on the inner surface features a band of Arabic epigraphy painted in red brown between two lines painted in coffee-brown luster. A portion of a large, central vegetal motif can be seen underneath. On the outer surface the rim is outlined with another thickly painted line. Next to it is a large, crudely painted circle containing a smaller circle, which in turn may have contained a central dot (peacock eye).

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### Se-4. SEVILLE (Province of Seville), Archaeological Museum, Seville, inv. no. REP2002/3.



*Provenance:* Center of the old town of Seville (?).

*Dimensions:* depth: 15 cm; thickness: 0.3 cm; max. length: 3.8 cm; min. length: 4 cm.

Rim fragment of an almost funnel-shaped glazed bowl with a slightly oblique out-turned rim, ending in a rounded lip.

*Sherd fraction:* pastel yellow color with porous, cretaceous structure. Both sides of the bowl are covered with beige tin glaze. The luster decoration is painted in two different shades: umbra brown and olive green. The crazed glaze has allowed humidity to penetrate, which has changed the color below the glaze to gray on parts of the vessel. The motif on the inner surface consists of a band of Arabic epigraphy painted in umbra brown between two lines of olive-green luster, which in turn are outlined by two thinner lines, painted in umbra brown. On the outer surface another very thick painted line outlines the rim in olive green. Two crudely painted pal-

mettes are visible immediately underneath, possibly the stem of a vegetal motif, with three palmettes on its upper end in umbra brown.

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**PaR-1. Palma del Río (Province of Córdoba), Archaeological Museum, Córdoba, inv. no. CE026544.**



**Provenance:** Found during the construction of the train station in Palma del Río at the beginning of the twentieth century (information found in the museum's inventory record in 1969, when it was received from a private donor).

**Dimensions:** depth: 17.6 cm; height: 5.8 cm.

Five glued fragments from a medium-sized bowl with an S-profile and a slightly oblique out-turned rim, ending in a rounded lip. The rest of the bowl has been restored. The bottom is quite thick, with a slightly oblique annular base.

**Sherd fraction:** pastel yellow color with porous, cretaceous structure, including fine sand. The central part of the fraction shows a harder structure. Both sides of the bowl are covered with a beige tin glaze. The piece is luster-painted using two different shades, umbra brown and olive green. The crazed glaze has allowed humidity to penetrate, which has changed the color under the glaze to gray on parts of the vessel. The motif on the inner surface consists of a band of Arabic epigraphy between two painted lines. Underneath there is a large, central, vegetal-like motif painted using a resist technique: crudely painted buds consisting of three leaves and separated by single leaves with pointed tips. The entire decoration on the inner surface is painted in an olive-green luster. On the outer surface, the rim is out-

lined with a common thick line. Merged with this line are large circles containing smaller circles and a central dot (peacock eye). Intermediate spaces are occupied by long-stemmed vegetal motifs, ending in a knob and a three-leaf palmette. A painted line outlines the ring-shaped base. The vegetal stems rise directly from this line.

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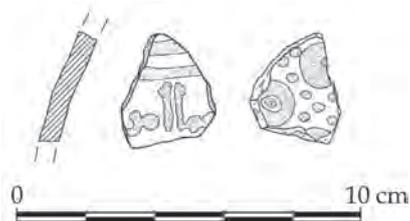
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**AlcSe-1. SEVILLE (Province of Seville), Archaeological Museum, Seville, uncatalogued.**



**Excavation site:** Real Alcázar of Seville (conducted by Rosario Huarte), unit: refuse dump existing prior to the expansion of the sector undertaken in the twelfth century.

**Dimensions:** depth: 16 cm (?); max. length: 2.3 cm; min. length: 1.8 cm.

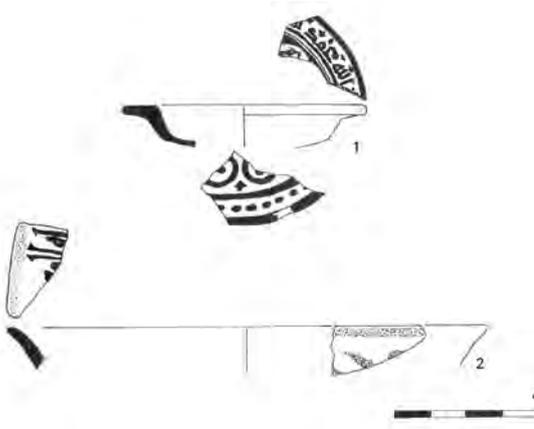
**Sherd fraction:** pastel yellow color with porous, cretaceous structure; belly-fragment. Both sides of the bowl

are covered with a beige tin glaze. The piece is luster-painted in two different shades: umbra brown and light brown. The motif on the inner surface consists of small peacock eyes and small dots in the background, possibly painted in the above two shades of brown luster. The outer surface (the visible part of the vessel) is decorated with a band of Arabic epigraphy (umbra brown) between two light brown lines. Another painted line can be seen above it.

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### COIMBRA (Coimbra District, Portugal).



*Excavation site:* Pátio da Universidade; discovered near the wall in the vicinity of "alcácer *Madinat Qulumbriya*," Unidade Estratigráfica (UE) 57 (excavation conducted by Helena Catarino, Sónia Filipe, and Constança Santos)

Coi-1. Fragment 1, inv. no. IAPUC/2002 G12 UE20 - 20-.

*Dimensions:* depth: 10 cm; thickness of edge: 0.4 cm; thickness of wall: 0.4 cm.

The epigraphic inscription can be reconstructed thusly:

[*al-Mu'tamid 'al]ā Allāh Muhammad bn [‘Abbād]* (Commissioned by al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allah Muhammad bn 'Abbad).

The epigraphic type used in this fragment is similar to that seen in fragment PaR-1.

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Coi-2. Fragment 2, inv. no. IAPUC/2001 G/H13 UE57 -6-.

*Dimensions:* diam.: 2.5 cm; thickness of edge: 0.4 cm; thickness of wall: 0.6 cm.

*Sherd fraction:* features a thick, glossy white glaze and is made of a good-quality pink paste. On the inner surface of this second fragment is an epigraphic motif between two bands; the outer decoration is composed of small points, bands, and circles. The epigraphic inscription can be reconstructed thusly: [*bi-'ama]li-hi al-Mu[taḍid bi-llāh]*, (Commissioned by al-Mu'tadid bi-llah). The calligraphic type used on this fragment is similar to that seen on fragment Se-4.

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Catarino, Helena et al. "Coimbra islâmica: Uma aproximação aos materiais cerâmicos." *Xelb* (2009): 353, 354, photo 5; 378, fig. 19.2.

### NOTES

*Carmen Barceló's note:* This article is dedicated to the memory of Manuel Acién Almansa (1948–2013), Professor of Medieval Archeology at the University of Málaga, a dear friend and a mentor to many Spanish colleagues in archeology, history of art, architecture, and Andalusí studies. We are grateful to the editors of *Muqarnas* for receiving this article favorably. The anonymous reader's report held us to the straight and narrow and offered us many helpful suggestions. I would like to thank Dr. Karen Alexandra Leal, managing editor of *Muqarnas*, for her painstaking and methodical preparation of our text for publication.

1. One of these pieces from the years 778–80 bears Coptic lettering: see, for example, Marilyn Jenkins, *Islamic Glass: A Brief History* (New York, 1986), 23, cat. no. 20. Quite early on Carl J. Lamm was able to determine a very early date for several glazed cups, suggesting a Coptic origin dating to the fourth century: Carl J. Lamm, *Oriental Glass of Medieval Date Found in Sweden and the Early History of Lustre-Painting* (Stockholm, 1941), 19–20; in *Lustre on Glass and Pottery Was Known in Egypt Already in Roman Times* (Munich,

- 1928), Fredrik R. Martin classified silver-colored decorations on glass vessels found in ancient production sites.
2. A cylindrical glass cup found at Raqqa in a residential building inside the B Palace (first half of the ninth century) bears an inscription painted using the luster technique: "... made in Damascus...": Kassem Toueir, "Raqqa," in *Syrie, mémoire et civilisation*, ed. Sophie Cluzan, Eric Delpont, and Jeanne Mouliérac (exh. cat.) (Paris, 1993), 378–81; cited in Jeanette Rose-Albrecht, "La route de la faïence lustrée," in *Le calife, le prince et le potier: Les faïences à reflets métalliques, 2 mars–22 mai 2002*, ed. Jeanette Rose-Albrecht (Lyon, 2002), 52–65, esp. 64.
  3. Friedrich Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925), used this toponym to identify the lusterware pieces found there.
  4. John F. Hansmann, "Dating Evidence for the Earliest Islamic Lustre Pottery," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 42, n.s. 32 (1982): 141–47; Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "Islamic Pottery from Susa," *Archaeology* 24 (1971): 204–8; Monique Kervran, "Les niveaux islamiques du secteur oriental du Tépé de l'Apadana," *Cahiers de la DAFI* 7 (1977): 75–162; David Whitehouse, "Islamic Glazed Pottery in Iraq and the Persian Gulf: The Ninth and Tenth Centuries," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 39, n.s. 29 (1979): 45–61; Moira Tampoe, *Maritime Trade between China and the West: An Archeological Study of the Ceramics from Siraf (Persian Gulf) 8th–15th centuries A.D.* (Oxford, 1989); Alastair Northedge, "Friedrich Sarre's 'Die Keramik von Samarra' in Perspective," in *Continuity and Change in Northern Mesopotamia from the Hellenistic to the Early Islamic Period*, ed. Karin Bartl and Stephan R. Hauser (Berlin, 1996), 229–58.
  5. Jamshedji M. Unvala, "Notes on the Lustered Ceramics of Susa," *Bulletin of the American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology* 4 (1935): 79; Raymond Koechlin, *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1928), 55; Rudolf Schnyder, "Tulunidische Lüsterfayencen," *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 49–78, esp. 55.
  6. Schnyder, "Tulunidische Lüsterfayencen," 49–78.
  7. Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Naṣībī (Ibn Ḥawqal), *Configuration de la terre (Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ)*, ed. and French trans. Johannes H. Kramer and Gaston Wiet, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), 1157.
  8. Georges Marçais, *Les faïences à reflets métalliques de la grande mosquée de Kairouan* (Paris, 1928); more recently Christian Ewert, "Die Dekorelemente der Lüsterfliesen am Miḥrāb der Hauptmoschee von Qairawān (Tunesien): Eine Studie zu ostislamischen Einflüssen im westislamischen Bauschmuck," *Madridier Mitteilungen* 42 (2002): 243–431, with a detailed analysis of the decoration. There are parallels from Samarra, Ray, Susa, and Fustat in Abdelaziz Daoulatli, "La céramique ifriquienne du VIIIe au XVIe siècle," in *Couleurs de Tunisie: 25 siècles de céramique* (exh. cat.) (Paris, 1994), 83–114, esp. 90. Based on a close reading of documentary sources, it has been determined that the tiles were meant to decorate the walls of the reception hall built during the reign of Amir Abu Ibrahim Ahmad (r. 856–63), but were later placed around the mihrab. See Rudolf Schnyder, "Keramik des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts aus Mesopotamien und dem westlichen Iran," *Keramos* 64 (1974): 4–13, esp. 6.
  9. Jenkins, *Islamic Glass*, 335.
  10. *Couleurs de Tunisie*, 127, cat. no. 65.
  11. Daoulatli, "La céramique ifriquienne," 83–114, esp. 192.
  12. *Ibid.*, 94.
  13. *Ibid.*, 90.
  14. Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb (al-Ya'qūbī), *Les pays = Kitāb al-Buldān*, French trans. Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1937), 208, 210; cited after George Paniel, "La céramique de Négrine (IXe siècle)," *Hespéris* 38 (1951): 1–30, esp. 17.
  15. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Configuration de la terre*, 170.
  16. Jenkins, *Islamic Glass*, 338. In the eleventh century, al-Bakri cites this city as being a metropolis that welcomed caravans from Egypt, Syria, and even distant Iraq. A century later, al-Idrisi praises this city once again; cited after *L'Algérie en héritage: Art et histoire*, ed. Hassan Remaoun and Stéphane Guégan (exh. cat.) (Paris, 2003), 249.
  17. Carmen Barceló, "Las cerámicas con epígrafes árabes," in Anja Heidenreich, *Islamische Importkeramik des hohen Mittelalters auf der Iberischen Halbinsel unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der frühen lokalen Goldlusterproduktion im Untersuchungsraum* (Mainz, 2007), 295–312, esp. 298. See also Manijeh Bayani-Wolpert, "Inscriptions on Early Islamic Ceramics: 9th to Late 12th Centuries," in Helen Philon, *Early Islamic Ceramics, Ninth to Late Twelfth Centuries*, Catalogue of Islamic Art, Benaki Museum Athens 1 (London, 1980), 293–302.
  18. Georges Marçais, *Les poteries et faïences de Bougie* (Constantine, 1916), 20.
  19. Robert B. Mason, *Islamic Glazed Pottery 700–1550 A.D.* (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1994), chap. 4, p. 22.
  20. Anna Contadini, *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1998), 80n75; Marilyn Jenkins[-Medina], "Muslim: An Early Fatimid Ceramist," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* (May 1968): 359–69; and Marilyn Jenkins[-Medina], "Sa'd: Content and Context," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla Soucek (University Park, Pa., 1988).
  21. Graziella Berti and Sauro Gelichi, "Mille chemins ouverts en Italie," in *Le vert et le brun: De Kairouan à Avignon, céramiques du Xe au XVIe siècle* (exh. cat.) (Marseille, 1995), 128–63, esp. 133–34.
  22. In addition to another three sherds. We thank Dr. Antonio Vallejo, former director of the *Madīnat az-Zahrā'* Archaeological Complex (Córdoba, Spain), for this information.
  23. Twelve selected luster-painted sherds were studied in Ángel Jesús Polvorinos del Río et al., "Estudio arqueométrico de loza dorada de Madinat al-Zahra, Córdoba," *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā'* 6 (2008): 165–79.
  24. Jay D. Frierman et al., "The Provenance of Early Islamic Lustre Wares," *Ars Orientalis* 11 (1979): 111–26; supplemented by Mason, *Islamic Glazed Pottery*, chap. 4, p. 22.
  25. Mason, *Islamic Glazed Pottery*, chap. 4, p. 22.

26. These have been catalogued by Anja Heidenreich.
27. Heidenreich, *Islamische Importkeramik*, 257, group VIII.
28. *Ibid.*, 258, group IX.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Some of these are still being processed, as presented at the First International Congress of the European Networks of Museums of Islamic Art (Granada, April 25–27, 2012). For example, Francisco J. Gutiérrez et al., “La cerámica dorada en el noreste de la Península Ibérica: Las taifas de Zaragoza y Albarracín,” in *I Congreso Internacional Red Europea de Museos de Arte Islámico* (henceforth REMAI 1) (Granada, 2012), 219–51, <<http://www.alhambra-patronato.es/fileadmin/proceedings-conference-2012.pdf>>.
31. Those groups, like the others from Upper Palancia and the Ebro Valley mentioned by Heidenreich, *Islamische Importkeramik*, will soon be completed or revised, given the abundance of new finds that have come to light as a result of the intense excavation activity that has taken place in recent years; see above n. 30.
32. Personal communication from Jaume Coll Conessa, director of the National Museum of Ceramics in Valencia (November 2011). Manuel Pérez and Vicent Estall also presented their finds at the First International Congress of the European Networks of Museums of Islamic Art (Granada, April 25–27, 2012), in a conference talk entitled “Primera aproximación a la cerámica dorada islámica hallada en la excavación arqueológica de la Alcazaba de Onda”: REMAI 1, 189–218, <<http://www.alhambra-patronato.es/fileadmin/proceedings-conference-2012.pdf>>.
- In June 2013 we were able to visit the museum in Onda to examine this extraordinary and abundant collection of luster fragments, all of which seem to be from the Marca Superior and were most likely produced at the latest at the end of the eleventh century. We would like to thank the director of the Onda Tile Museum, Vicent Estall i Poles, for having given us this opportunity.
33. The thesis positing the existence of numerous kilns of this type has now been confirmed by the discovery of molds that were used to produce relief ceramic pieces in Almería. Isabel Flores Escobosa and Ana Dolores Navarro Ortega, “Moldes y cerámica moldada y dorada fabricada en Almería,” in REMAI 1, 253–70.
34. Balbina Martínez-Caviró, *La loza dorada* (Madrid, 1982), 31, fig. 23; Balbina Martínez-Caviró, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana, andalusí y mudéjar* (Madrid, 1991), 71, fig. 48; and more recently, Mariam Rosser-Owen, “From the Mounds of Old Cairo: Spanish Ceramics from Fustat in the Collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum,” in REMAI 1, 163–87, esp. 170–73.
35. For more information on commerce in this region, see Olivia R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500* (Cambridge, 1994).
36. Group X in the classification proposed by Heidenreich, *Islamische Importkeramik*, 258.
37. We thank Claire Déléry (Musée du Louvre, Paris) for this information.
38. Abū'l-Walīd Marwān ibn Janāh, *Kitāb al-Uṣūl = The Book of Hebrew Roots*, ed., with an appendix, by Adolf Neubauer (Oxford, 1875), 9, col. 18, s.v. “alif-bā'-nūn.”
39. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Ars Hispanica: Historia Universal del Arte Hispánico. III. Arte árabe español hasta los Almohades: Arte mozárabe* (Madrid, 1951), 314.
40. Aḥmad b. Muḥīth al-Ṭulayṭulī (Ibn Muḥīth), *Al-Muqni' fī 'ilm al-shurūṭ*, ed. Francisco Javier Aguirre (Madrid: CSIC, 1994), 164–65, doc. 33.
41. These characteristics are found in group XI, as established in Heidenreich, *Islamische Importkeramik*, 259.
42. An ample selection can be found in Barceló, “Las cerámicas con epígrafes árabes,” in Heidenreich, *Islamische Importkeramik*, 293–312.
43. The Persian scholar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Washshā' (d. 936–37) compiled poems that were meant to be written in gold on wares in his *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* (Book of Embroidery) (Leiden, 1886; Beirut, 1965), chaps. 52 and 53. A poem from the Almohad period, written employing the sgraffito technique, was found on a small jug discovered in Valencia (Spain). This piece is discussed in Joan V. Lerma and Carmen Barceló, “Arqueología urbana en Valencia: Una jarrita con texto poético,” *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes* 2 (1985): 175–81. See also Rafael Azuar, “Jar Almohad Period,” in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York, 1992), 353, cat. no. 109.
44. Here we are referring to the horizontal layout of the epigraphy such as that studied by Vera Tamari, “Abbasid Blue-on-white Ware,” in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum*, ed. J. W. Allan, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 10, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1995), 2:117–45, in particular 136, fig. 27.
45. See, for example, Ernst J. Grube, *Islamic Pottery of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection* (London, 1976), 96–97, 99, 100, nos. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60; and 72, no. 41, from Iraq or Egypt; Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, *La poterie islamique*, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran, Mission de Susiane 50, Ville Royale de Suse 4 (Paris, 1974), 240–41, figs. 570–72, from the ninth and tenth century; Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650–1250* (New Haven, 1994), 115, no. 95 (Iraq, tenth century); 226, no. 230 (Nishapur, tenth century); 229, no. 238 (Samarqand, tenth century); 230, no. 239 (possibly Nishapur, tenth century). See also Philon, *Early Islamic Ceramics*, 147–49, figs. 322–26 (Egypt, ninth and tenth century).
46. Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, *El cúfico hispano y su evolución* (Madrid, 1970), 35.
47. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (Leiden, 1954–2002), s.v. “Abbāids.” For more information on this dynasty, see David J. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 155–60.
48. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-'anbā' 'abnā' al-zamān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1968–72), 5:24; see also *Ibn Khallikān's Bibliographical*

- Dictionary*, trans. William McGuckin, Baron de Slane, 4 vols. (Paris, 1842–71), no. 686.
49. See the appendix of this article; the abbreviation system employed in Heidenreich, *Islamische Importkeramik*, is used here.
  50. For the description of the Kufic characters we shall follow the numeric system established by Samuel Flury, *Islamische Schriftbänder, Amida-Diarbekr XI. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1920). We have used the following abbreviations from these numeric systems: 1 = *alif*; 2 = *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, and initials and medials *nūn*, *yā'*; 3 = *jīm*, *ḥā'*, *khā'*; 4 = *dāl*, *dhāl*; 5 = *rā'*, *zāy*; 6 = *sīn*, *shīn*; 7 = *ṣād*, *dād*; 8 = *ṭā'*, *zā'*; 9 = *'ayn*, *ghayn*; 10 = *fā'*, *qāf*; 11 = *kāf*; 12 = *lām*; 13 = *mīm*; 14 = *nūn* final; 15 = *hā'*; 16 = *wāw*; 17 = *yā'* final; 18 = *lām-alif*. The form of Arabic lettering is described according to its position in the word, for which we have used the following abbreviations: a = isolated; i = initial; m = medial; f = final.
  51. Artur G. de M. Borges, "Epigrafía árabe no Gharb," in *Portugal islâmico. Os últimos sinais do Mediterrâneo*, ed. Cláudio Torres and Santiago Macías (Lisbon, 1998), 230 and 231, color pl. Although the inscription shows no date, A. R. Nykl, "Arabic Inscriptions in Portugal," *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946): 181, figs. 15–17, dated it to 444 (1052).
  52. It is also quite common in carved ivory pieces of the tenth and eleventh centuries; see Carmen Barceló, "El cúfico andalusí de 'provincias' durante el califato (300–403/912–1013)," *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā'* 5 (2004): 173–97, 185–86 in particular.
  53. See Khalaf b. 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn Bashkuwāl), *Kitāb al-Šila*, ed. F. Codera, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1882–83), 1:232, biography nos. 529 and 530; 'Abd al-Walīd b. Muḥammad al-Azdī (Ibn al-Faraḍī), *Kitāb Tārīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. F. Codera, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1890–91), 1:167, biography no. 394 (the vocalization *Shākar* [sic] in the edition may be a misprint).
  54. Regarding the role of the *fatā* in the supervision and direction of artisanal production of the Umayyad caliphate of al-Andalus, see Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, "Ŷa'far el eslavo," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 12 (1976): 217–23; and Carmen Barceló and Magdalena Cantero, "Capiteles cordobeses dedicados a Ŷa'far al-Šiqlabī," *Al-Qanṭara*, 16, 2 (1995): 421–31.
  55. Nykl, "Arabic Inscriptions in Portugal," 181.
  56. Georges Marçais, *Les poteries et faïences de la Qal'a des Benī Hammād (XIe siècle)*, Contribution à l'étude de la céramique musulmane 1 (Constantine, 1913), 21, 23, pls. XV.15 and XV.22; he reads it as "*lām kāf*."
  57. Dated 505 (1111): see Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne* (Paris, 1931), 42, no. 33, pl. X.
  58. Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, in José Guerrero Lovillo, "Al-Qasr al-Mubarak, el Alcázar de la Benedición," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes Santa Isabel de Hungría* 2 (1974): 83–109, in particular 106n50. This work led to the widespread adoption of Ocaña's interpretation.
  59. The piece, donated to the museum by Manuel Nieto Cumpido, was exhibited to celebrate the twelfth centenary of the Mosque of Córdoba. Ocaña's interpretation can be found in the catalogue *Exposición: La Mezquita de Córdoba, Siglos VIII al XV* (Córdoba, 1986), 52, no. 40.
  60. Manuel Ación, "Del estado califal a los estados taifas. La cultura material," in *Actas: V Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española, Valladolid, 22 a 27 de marzo de 1999*, 2 vols. (Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), 2:493–513, in particular 498, 509, and 510, figs. 36 and 37.
  61. The illustrations of this piece provided by various authors show a motif that resemble the letter *alif*; instead of this foliate form; this is why Barceló, in "Las cerámicas con epígrafes árabes," 293–312, reconstructed the expression as "[*hādh*]ā mā."
  62. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance provided by Dr. Camino Fuertes of the Red de Espacios Culturales de Andalucía (Córdoba, Spain), and María Jesús Moreno, curator at the Archaeological Museum of Córdoba, in obtaining photographs and valuable information on this piece.
  63. See the drawings in Carlos Cano Piedra, *La cerámica verde-manganeso de Madīnat al-Zahrā'* (Granada, 1996), 124. Their names have been deciphered by Manuel Ocaña in *El cúfico hispano*, 35; and Carmen Barceló, "Los escritos árabes de la Rábita de Guardamar," in *El ribāṭ califal: Excavaciones e investigaciones (1984–1992)*, ed. Rafael Azuar Ruiz, Fouilles de la Rábita de Guardamar 1 (Madrid, 2004), 143n33; and Barceló, "El cúfico andalusí de 'provincias'," 187–88.
  64. Jenkins[-Medina], "Muslim: An Early Fatimid Ceramist," nos. 1, 4, and 10, in Appendix, and figs. 2 and 13.
  65. This was also stated by Ación with regard to specimen PaR-1 in "Del estado califal a los estados taifas," 2:509.
  66. Following the studies by the great epigraphy expert Max van Berchem, Heinz Gaube compiled a sampling of protocols employed in a wide variety of periods, countries and objects in his "Epigraphik," in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, Bd. I. Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. Wolfdietrich Fischer (Wiesbaden, 1982), 210–25.
  67. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, xviii.
  68. This has been described in Carmen Barceló, *La escritura árabe en el País Valenciano: Inscripciones monumentales* (Valencia, 1998), 21. Another example of the application of this method can be found in Carmen Barceló, "Un epitafio islámico proveniente da Maiorca portato a Pisa come trofeo di guerra?," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, n.s., 1 (2006): 55–68, in particular 65, fig. 3.
  69. Our considerations are based on marble pieces studied by Diego Oliva et al., "Fondos epigráficos del Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla," *Al-Qanṭara* 6 (1985): 451–67, and a marble fragment found in recent excavations of the Alcázar, which was brought to our attention by Prof. Dr. Miguel A. Tabales of the University of Seville, whom we thank for having provided us with a reproduction of this piece.
  70. We have used question marks to indicate words we are not certain of; those that are underlined indicate inscriptions that actually appear on the fragments. The forward slash symbol ('/') marks the beginning of the second epigraphic band.

71. The reconstructed invocation appears in a fragment on a marble basin (see fig. 21); the style of the lettering and syntax, however, cannot be interpreted as being *ayyada* (instead of *jayyid*), as suggested by Oliva et al., “Fondos epigráficos,” 463–64, no. 10. See pl. V.10 and the museum record from the Archaeological Museum of Seville, inv. no. REP00254, in *Colecciones En Red de España*, < <http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main>>.
72. “Blessed Palace” was the name of one of al-Mu‘tamid’s palaces in Seville. See A. A. Salem, “Quṣūr Banī ‘Abbād bi-Ishbīliya al-wārīda fī shi‘r Ibn Zaydūn,” *Awraq* 2 (1979): 29–49, and R. Lledó Carrascosa, “Risala sobre los palacios Abbadíes de Sevilla de Abu Ya‘far ibn Ahmad de Denia: Traducción y estudio,” *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes* 3 (1986): 191–200.
73. See, for example, a piece from the twelfth century (*khamsumi‘a*), in Philon, *Early Islamic Ceramics*, 269, fig. 590, inv. no. 11123.
74. This second title consists of two basic inscriptions: see Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d’Espagne*, nos. 31 and 32. He suggests various hypotheses regarding this *laqab*, which has also been found on coins, in David J. Wasserstein, *The Caliphate in the West: An Islamic Political Institution in the Iberian Peninsula* (Oxford, 1993), 108n42, 113n60.
75. We refer to it in n. 69 above.
76. See Gaston Wiet, “Deux pièces de céramique égyptienne,” *Ars Islamica* 3 (1936): 179 and 176, fig. 4; Contadini, *Fatimid Art*, 81, fig. 28; Philon, *Early Islamic Ceramics*, 198, fig. 404.



BRILL



DENİZ TÜRKER

## HAKKY-BEY AND HIS JOURNAL *LE MIROIR DE L'ART MUSULMAN*, OR, *MİR'ĀT-I ŞANĀYİ'-İ İSLĀMİYE* (1898)

Much has been written about the effects of imperially driven institutional factors on the emerging field of Islamic art in the late nineteenth century, as well as on pioneers in the discipline such as Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910), Gaston Migeon (1861–1930), Émile Molinier (1857–1906), Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945), and others. Nevertheless, it is important to reiterate the role played by the amateur collectors and collector-dealers who first initiated the circulation of many objects.<sup>1</sup> The establishment of a market for “Islamic” objects, achieved primarily by these collector-dealers, preceded their public display in exhibitions and museums, let alone any controversy about their rightful place, patrimonial or otherwise.<sup>2</sup> This paper revisits the inception of the field of Islamic art through the lens of a late nineteenth-century Ottoman collector-dealer named Hakky-Bey, who was part of an often intriguing global network of individuals involved in the field’s rather unsystematic, idiosyncratic making. I argue that this formative era left an indelible mark on the discursive nature of the field of Islamic art, despite its growth and reformulation at later points in time.

There are a few scattered references to Hakky-Bey in French journals from the turn of the century that even in their scarcity are indicative of his significant role as a collector in the art market. Two publications merit especially close analysis for what they reveal about his professional identity: a short-lived bilingual journal in French and Ottoman Turkish titled *Le Miroir de l'Art Musulman* (Mirror of Muslim Art) and *Mir'āt-ı şanāyī'-i islāmīye* (Mirror of the Arts of Islam), and an auction catalogue recording Hakky-Bey’s collection of predominantly Islamic objects, which was originally quite substantial (fig. 1). In these two sources, Hakky-Bey reveals

his cosmopolitan worldview as he describes a global network of scholarly and often self-taught collaborators, and takes a remarkably erudite stand against the orientalizing approach to non-Western objects among his European counterparts. The haphazard path that led to his becoming a collector-dealer directs us to various factors—from linguistic and epigraphic studies to unofficial archaeological excavations—that affected the formation of the field. In *Le Miroir*, Hakky-Bey prided himself on his participation in the archaeological digs through which he validated the provenance of the excavated material. He played the connoisseur in making attributions based on his epigraphic and numismatic knowledge, and also described and classified artifacts. However, the profession demanded not only the linguistic prowess of an orientalist but also the right connections to the archaeological missions (often unofficial and undercover), as well as the business savvy of a dealer. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Hakky-Bey seems to have honed all these necessary skills and thus turned himself into the most prominent Ottoman collector-dealer of Islamic objects. And he chose to coordinate the international circulation of objects from Paris, at that time the main hub for collectors.<sup>3</sup>

This article aims to graft the new discursive vocabulary of an emerging field onto the fragmentary but informative chronology of Hakky-Bey’s “documentary” appearances between circa 1881 and 1906. Using his journal, I will interpret his burgeoning career as a collector-dealer in relation to the gradual establishment of the arts of the Islamic world as an academic discipline and the earliest discourses about collections and exhibitions, which conceptually grappled with the field’s grow-



Fig. 1. The French and Ottoman-Turkish covers of Hakky-Bey's journal *Le Miroir de l'Art Musulman* / *Mir'ât-ı şanāyi'-i islāmiye*, March and April, 1898. (Photo: courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University)

ing content and shifting categories. The annotated auction catalogue of his vast collection from 1906 exemplifies how objects were described and valued within the framework of the market and how that language vastly differed from that of the quasi-scholarly field that Hakky-Bey and others generated to support it. The catalogue also serves as a text that marks the very moment of dispersal among a new crop of collectors, a process reflective of shifts in the market generated by socio-political factors. Ultimately, however, this article is about a rather atypical individual's scholarly endeavors set against the background of the centrally driven project of empires, and how each affected the other. It is also an exploration of Hakky-Bey's personal desire as the first Ottoman collector-dealer of the era to extend beyond

the urban intellectual sphere of Istanbul. Though he was not alone in this regard—along with others he formed a web of personal and professional connections—the scope of his ambition distinguished him from his peers.

The journal he created particularly reflects his ambition, which was driven fundamentally by the historical context of his time. Crafted by a quintessential Ottoman intellectual of the Tanzimat era of bureaucratic institutional reforms (1839–76), the journal portrays a collector who was also politically engaged. At different points throughout the text, Hakky-Bey appears to be grappling with the new and thorny notions of patrimony (*vatan*), patriotism (*hamiyetperver*), and nationhood (*milliyet*), while negotiating the specifically Ottoman terms for a more all-encompassing, universalistic Muslim religion

(*din*). He brings these concepts and constructs to bear on his historical accounts of selected works of art from his collection.<sup>4</sup>

Hakky-Bey's approach to the field was not driven solely by the marketability of his collection, but also aimed at framing a cogent internal coherence for his objects under the rubric of "Muslimness" (though a very complex one that was not limited to the spiritual parameters of a shared religion). Artifacts were thus endowed with a specific and resonant historicity. He propounded a religious identity aware of its heritage in crafts. The considerable level of historical didacticism seen in the collector's discourse is all the more surprising when Hakky-Bey deliberately intertwines it with the rhetoric of an Ottoman coming to terms with the changing political climate of his empire. He comes across, then, as a cosmopolitan figure inclined to embrace the universalizing idea of his empire as the rightful protector of all Sunni Muslims, even as this notion became part and parcel of the dynastic proto-nationalism, or "Ottomanness," emerging at the time. This manifested itself aesthetically through the imperial-bureaucratic trilingual book project *Uşul-ı Mi'mārī-i 'Osmānī*; prepared for the 1873 World's Fair in Vienna, this work formulated a theory of Ottoman architecture through a historicizing analysis of its monuments.<sup>5</sup> Hakky-Bey's social and aesthetic spheres of influence collided in the production of his own art historical narrative, which at the same time reflected the desire to create a grand narrative of Islamic art, although it had to be articulated using the newly adopted vocabulary of the post-Tanzimat Ottoman political consciousness.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, like many other peripatetic Ottomans of his ilk, he complicates today's facile understanding of a nineteenth-century Ottoman intellectual in exile as a comfortably uprooted, placeless, and affluent individual disinterested in the socio-historical moment that precipitated his deracination.

#### POLITICAL RENEGADE, RELUCTANT COLLECTOR

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a collector in Paris was at once an amateur, a hobbyist, and an enthusiast, with an addiction to objects that was described in the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* as "une

manie dont on ne se débarrasse pas facilement et qui s'attache à ses victimes comme une robe de Nessus" (a mania which one cannot get rid of easily and which attaches itself to her victims like a robe of Nessus). He could amass items merely for pleasure and status, or combine social distinction with a desire to profit from the objects' material value.<sup>7</sup> He might also choose to classify, write, and ruminate on his collectibles, rather than leaving them to gather dust in the cramped interiors of his cabinets until they could be liquidated to pay off gambling debts.<sup>8</sup> Collecting could also become a real-time occupation—buying, selling, re-buying, and re-selling inherently coherent groups of items to enhance their market value or even pioneer a market for them.<sup>9</sup> This meant that the late nineteenth-century collector, unlike his more genteel, aristocratic predecessors, had an ability to define and financially benefit from shifting tastes; he could deal and profit from the all-consuming collector's affliction (the mythological *robe de Nessus*).<sup>10</sup> Francis Haskell describes this moment of divergence as "when the art historian-dealer takes over from the artist-dealer as the arbiter of taste."<sup>11</sup> Hakky-Bey's collecting venture was a part of that very moment when a relatively more private antiquarian mania for "things" turned public.

The best collector-dealer of the late nineteenth century was also often a connoisseur of specific categories of things, a specialist not only of more traditional object-categories like gems, medallions, and stamps, but also of objects with epigraphic details such as coins, seals, and manuscripts, which motivated a different kind of connoisseurial rigor. He could shut himself up in one of the rooms at the Bibliothèque nationale de France to study and assess his collection of ancient coins by consulting the relatively newly formed catalogues of the library, thereby cultivating his knowledge. He could thus measure the singularity, and hence, value of his coinage with those in the collections of institutions. Richard Ettinghausen's historiographic essay titled "Islamic Art and Archaeology" details the eighteenth-century antiquarian interest in Kufic coins that jumpstarted a more object-centered approach to the field, as opposed to the linguistic methodology that had prevailed until then.<sup>12</sup> (Note, for example, one of the earliest sections of Hakky-Bey's journal, where he tells his readers about how he

channeled his childhood curiosity towards Arabic, Persian and Turkic inscriptions, whether in Kufic or a variety of other old scripts, to become a skillful epigraphist, largely of coins.)<sup>13</sup> In fact, from Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel* we become aware that the first collectors were fanatics for medallions. The enthusiasm of these savants would eventually be reflected in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, a point made by Ettinghausen and later stressed by Michael Rogers and Stephen Vernoit.<sup>14</sup> During these antiquarian finetunings, however, our collector would consciously conceal his amateur status, along with its more glamorous and seedier connotations.

Collecting in the late nineteenth century was, therefore, an interesting venture for lesser-known categories of objects, often initiated and advanced by amateur connoisseurs with a bit of business savvy. Sometimes these collectors played the part of archaeologists, who created disciplines out of the study of the fragments that they uncovered; at other times they acted as couriers who helped to circulate objects along the Mediterranean, from the Near and Middle East to metropolitan centers such as Paris and London, and across the Atlantic to New York, which not only housed museums interested in increasing their "oriental" holdings but also contained a burgeoning community of private buyers.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, the variety and abundance of names of individuals from the East—such as a Moussa Effendi Freige of Beirut from 1896, who operated through a European agent named Morel, or more obscure contemporary individuals such as "Kouchakji" (lit. "smuggler") and "Monsieur Kateb," who appear in the minutes of purchases of Paris's public museums, now among the holdings of the Archives nationales—are suggestive not only of the sudden surge in the appeal of these objects but also of the casual and often private selling practices of their owners, intermediaries, and agents.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, there are folders upon folders listing the names and titles of a variety of individuals, from consuls to young adventurers, involved in France's *missions scientifiques*, as well as otherwise unrecorded archaeological sites in the East that yielded artifacts like the famous "Winged Victory of Samothrace," which the French navy delivered in multiple shipments to the Musée du Louvre before the Ottomans began to curb foreign excavations.<sup>17</sup> However, the acqui-

sition of antiquities was not only a European endeavor. Safvet Paşa, a one-time minister of education, as well as E. Goold and Anton Déthier, the two directors of the Ottoman Imperial Museum preceding Osman Hamdi, also engaged a network of mostly non-Muslim agents in the Ottoman provinces to collect and dispatch antiquities to enrich the inventories of the museum. According to Wendy Shaw, these agents often deliberated with governors from even the far reaches of the Ottoman domains, who willingly partook in the process of collection. She also underlines the resulting province-based organizational principle in the curation of the museum from the 1870s onwards.<sup>18</sup> The collector-dealers found their place within such networks, carving out a versatile if often shady engagement with the artifacts. Most of the objects were probably sent to the Imperial Museum, but it would be safe to assume that these agents and governors also sold some items to individual dealers in back-room deals. In other words, there were always objects and people that fell outside the official circles of exchange. Islamic artifacts trickled onto the market as a sideline to the more obvious and fervent interest in and circulation of Egyptian and Greco-Roman objects—a result of the practicalities of a shared geography of the objects offered up to and sought by collectors and museums. The market for certain objects often depended on their relative abundance or scarcity. Vernoit indicates that around the 1890s the taste for all things Japanese seemed to have died out when the supply of such objects decreased. Those collectors then shifted their interest from the Far East to the Middle and Near East—hence the emergence of "Islamic" as a collector's category.<sup>19</sup>

As an erudite Ottoman jack-of-all-trades, Hakky-Bey was one privileged figure among many who happened to participate in a multitude of ways in the circulation of objects from his familiar geographies. I emphasize here his heritage, because he is, so far, the earliest-known Ottoman amateur to have made a scholarly contribution to the emerging field of Islamic art. Analogous to the project crafted by the authors of the *Uşûl*, Hakky-Bey's attempt at formulating a discourse laced with patrimonial undertones counters the still persistent assumption that nineteenth-century scholars from the Near and Middle East were indifferent to their cultural

heritage, only to be later enlightened by their European counterparts.<sup>20</sup>

Presumably Hakky-Bey did not keep a bureaucratic post for a long period of time and, therefore, was not incorporated into the Ottoman biographical registers of the nineteenth century. As a result, information about his early life is regrettably sparse, but he seems to have spent it in Istanbul. However, in an unusual footnote in the Ottoman-Turkish section of the second issue of his journal (referring to a faceted ceramic pitcher with a coral-encrusted silver spout from his collection), Hakky-Bey recalls his earlier language and literary studies with Hoca Mecid Efendi (date of death unknown), an Ottoman bibliophile from Amasya. In a study circle under the latter's direction, Hakky-Bey closely read the requisite *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri in order to learn Arabic and the *Ruba'īyyat* of Omar Khayyam to improve his Persian:

My teacher of virtuous nature, his Excellency, the late Hoca Mecid Efendi, was given the name “walking library” by the late Âli Paşa, out of respect for his authority in theological knowledge. One day, while I was in the study circle of the above-mentioned virtuous one, he, by deviating from the scope of our class and introducing a Persian couplet on the sounds of pitchers and cups, uttered the following story. According to him [Hoca Mecid Efendi], Omar Khayyam asked Hakim-i Hindi a question as to which sound was the most pleasant, in this manner:

Omar Khayyam's question [from here the conversation is provided by Hakky-Bey in Persian]: “Hakim-i Hindi, which one of these makes a more pleasant sound?” Hakim-i Hindi's answer: “The following four sounds please me the most: [The sound of] *şeb-şeb* when kissed on the lips, [the sound of] *ğul-ğul* of a cup and pitcher, [the sound of] *cız-bız* of kebab on a skewer, and [the sound of] *hış-hış* of a belt on trousers.”<sup>21</sup>

Hoca Mecid Efendi was a private tutor of Arabic and Persian. His clientele comprised the sons and daughters (*mahādim-i kibār*) of wealthy Istanbul bureaucrats of the early nineteenth century, among them the famous lexicographer Hatice Nakiyye Hanım (1846–99), who would later become a member of the Assembly of Public Education.<sup>22</sup> However, the footnote cited above from Hakky-Bey's journal is also telling for what it reveals about Âli Pasha (1815–71), a better-known and controversial statesman of the post-Tanzimat era (who became the primary target of younger intellectuals such as

Namık Kemal and his reformist group, the Young Ottomans [*Yeni Osmanlılar*]). Âli Pasha seems to have been well enough acquainted with Hakky-Bey to share with him the affectionate and respectful attribute he had coined for their learned tutor—a “walking library.”<sup>23</sup> In fact, in 1867 Hoca Mecid Efendi was part of the small and intimate delegation that accompanied the vizier when he visited Crete to implement administrative reforms and curb the vehement Russian interest lobbying for the island's autonomy. Âli Pasha also converted the Magazine of Antiquities in Istanbul into the Imperial Museum. Safvet Pasha, a member of the vizier's political circle, initiated contact with local governors to have them gather up antiquities to be sent to the expanding institution. In the revealing comment quoted above, which he makes only in Ottoman, Hakky-Bey indicates his place among the intellectual and bureaucratic milieus of Istanbul in the earlier half of the century. His training as a well-educated Ottoman in the upper echelons of the urban environment put him in proximity to the most important scholarly and administrative personages of the time. In this footnote Hakky-Bey also showcases his linguistic prowess in both Arabic and Persian as he effortlessly moves from one language to another; his readership would be expected to know these two texts, and to be attuned to intricate plays on words and sounds. His expertise in languages, together with the epigraphic skill on display throughout the rest of the journals, strongly implies his involvement in the Ottoman Translation Office established in 1821, of which Âli Paşa was an early product.<sup>24</sup>

The Ottoman Translation Office was one of the first institutions established to create a more worldly approach to foreign relations during the Tanzimat era. It was conceptualized as a diplomatic agency that would enable closer engagement with the empire's provinces and bolster diplomatic relations with Western Europe.<sup>25</sup> At first young bureaucrats with proven language skills were chosen primarily to exert tighter control over the empire's dwindling territories in the Balkans. However, the office also employed bureaucrats with in-depth knowledge of Arabic and Persian. A brief stint in this institution may have brought Hakky-Bey into contact with foreign diplomatic circles. His work at the Ottoman Translation Office may also have brought him to Paris,

where he subsequently settled. Or he could have been one of the many administrators in the new institutions established under the supervision of Âli Paşa's circle who were later fired by Sultan Abdülaziz's new vizier, Mahmut Nedim Paşa, after the sultan's death in 1871. Radical political displacements such as this, not unfamiliar in the nineteenth-century Ottoman bureaucracy, often provoked the anti-government allegiances that defined Hakky Bey's political leanings after relocating to Paris. In an attempt both to excuse his grammatical mistakes and apologize for his literary rustiness in finding the right phrases for the Ottoman section of his journal, he blames not just the onset of old age (*ibtidâ-ı herim*) but also his lengthy estrangement from his homeland, which led to his forgetting (*nisyân*) the literary skills he had acquired during childhood. Here he also alludes to the deep heartache he felt as a result of his sorrowful absence from his beloved country (*âlâm-ı gurbet ile dil-âzâr*). This corroborates the possibility of a forced or self-imposed exile due to political disagreements.<sup>26</sup>

He kept up with the latest French and Ottoman journals and his flexible occupation afforded him the freedom to travel, allowing him to form a vast social network. In this way Hakky-Bey became acquainted with the Young Turks, most likely through their European contacts in Paris, Geneva, and London. In his *Young Turks in Opposition*, Şükrü Hanioğlu speaks of an aged Hakky-Bey as "one of the first and probably best examples among individuals, who fled to Europe without any organizational affiliation and who then joined the Young Turk Revolution."<sup>27</sup>

Among the private papers of the German archaeological conservator and one-time curator of the Louvre, Wilhelm Fröhner (1834–1925), are two letters from Hakky-Bey that were penned exactly twenty years apart, the first and longer one dated June 9, 1881, and the second from February 8, 1901.<sup>28</sup> These letters reveal two crucial turning points in Hakky-Bey's life in Paris: while one signals his reluctant entry into the world of the sale of antiquities, the other points to the professional success he eventually enjoyed during his quarter of a century in exile. The letter from 1881 also confirms that the Hakky-Bey with Young Turk leanings whom Hanioğlu mentions is, in fact, our very collector-dealer. Addressed to Henry Hoffmann, a collector from Cologne and Fröhner's close

friend and business associate, the letter from 1881 describes one of Hakky-Bey's first private sales and exposes his strikingly diffident entry into the antiques business. He seems to have written it to defend his honor after a dispute in which Hoffmann had called him a liar. Hakky-Bey had acted as a commissioner in introducing Hoffmann to a merchant (in this case unidentified, but recommended to Hakky by a close acquaintance). Hoffmann was under the impression that the commissioner had broken the ethical code of conduct and was two-timing his clients by taking the merchant and his goods to other interested buyers. Ever wearing his heart on his sleeve, in his letter Hakky pleads, "If there is one thing in this world that I look to most it is to preserve my honor."<sup>29</sup> He maintains that if the merchant had been looking for other potential buyers, he was certainly acting alone, and that he would find out their names from the merchant and immediately procure their signatures to prove that he had not been present during those transactions. In French that is ardent if not grammatically correct, Hakky underlines his continual pursuit of an honorable life and stresses how he relinquished his chosen profession (as a relatively high-ranking government official) for his true passion (his nation) as soon as he arrived in Paris:

Monsieur, I am not an antiquarian [misspelled in the letter as "*antiquitaire*"]. Before coming to Paris, I was an official in the Ottoman government, and most recently the secretary of the former khedive of Egypt, Ismail Pasha. For the love of my Ottoman nation, I left my office with the former khedive to publish a journal in Turkish, and in the present returning to my country has become impossible because I have been writing against the current policy of the Ottoman government, as well as the Sultan, and now I am condemned to death if I return to Turkey.<sup>30</sup>

We also learn how a member of the Ottoman scribal community, one who was surely among the finest bureaucratic letter writers of the nineteenth century to have been recruited to the post of secretary of the khedive, could reinvent himself in Paris as a connoisseur [again misspelled as "*connaissance*"] of the Turkish, Persian, and Arabic languages. To make it in the business of Islamic objects, he had to play the part of an orientalist-epigraphist:

Until now, no one has known me as a liar, but the world has sought me out in Paris as the connoisseur of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages to explain to them the meaning of their objects, which they wanted to better understand and appreciate.<sup>31</sup>

Fröhner, who was also a foreign collector-dealer in the Parisian art market, could be considered a professional predecessor to Hakky. Finding himself without an institutional affiliation after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, he turned himself into a connoisseur of epigraphy, and made a living by writing auction catalogues for wealthier friends and patrons like Hoffmann.<sup>32</sup> In the meantime, to improve his skills in ancient Greek and heighten the aesthetic allure for miniature artifacts, he put together a collection of small antique objects the majority of which were inscribed.<sup>33</sup> Unsurprisingly, among the eclectic mix of collectors that satisfied Fröhner's particular penchant for miniature figural objects were a number of Ottomans, as well as European residents of Istanbul. We come across Fenerly Pacha (Fenerli Paşa), listed as a military doctor from Constantinople; Osman-Noury (Osman Nuri), a collector who had his collection sold in 1905; Van Branteghem, a Belgian resident of Constantinople with substantial terracotta and vase collections; and Stanislaw Chlebowski, the renowned Polish painter, who had stayed in Constantinople as Sultan Abdülaziz's court painter.<sup>34</sup> In fact, immediately after his departure, Ottoman officials realized that Chlebowski had made off with some valuable objects, such as a book of poems of Sultan Süleyman (*Şultân Süleymân hân-ı evveliñ bir eşer-i manzûmları*) and a very old Koran (*ğāyet kadīm bir muşhaf-ı şerif*). He was later caught selling them in Paris to someone called "Didu."<sup>35</sup>

Well into the late nineteenth century, whoever had easy access to the cornucopia of Near Eastern artifacts dabbled in the trade, and it was through well-connected figures such as Fröhner that these items found their way into the European sellers' markets. These individuals generally tended to retain their day jobs, usually as government officials. Thus, in 1881 Hakky reluctantly assumed his role as a commissioner: "Until now, I've been considered a commissioner for antiquities, but this is not my livelihood (*mon pain quotidien*). All that I earn from this affair, I will use for the continuation of my journal, and you can inquire about me and my honor from

your friends in Constantinople."<sup>36</sup> He then signed his letter with what he considered to be his main title, "Hakky-bey, redacteur du journal turc *le Teessouf*." He promoted the romantic principles of the Young Ottomans (who favored a constitution for a self-governing public), which were later upheld by many of the post-Tanzimat Ottoman idealists (*vis-à-vis* their positivist Young Turk successors). Leading a life of honor meant advocating to expand the rights of the people of his nation and resisting the monarchical system that opposed a parliamentary system and was altogether ineffective at dealing with the increasingly insurgent nationalisms on the empire's peripheries. Hakky-Bey trusted that the global voice of journalism would connect him with other like-minded exiles; along with many other resistance journals and pamphlets of the period, his publication engaged in an anti-absolutist discourse and found its niche in the relatively uncensored and diverse European channels of the ever-expanding opposition of the Young Turks.

If the first letter cast doubt on his future as a collector, the one from 1901, written in a flowing cursive and addressed to an unidentified "Cher Seront," divulged a Hakky who had fully assumed that role. In response to Seront's inquiry as to whether he knew an individual named Posno from Champigny, he related that while he was the first secretary of the former khedive Ismail Paşa, Gustave Posno had been a resident of Cairo and, at the time, the khedive's jeweler. Posno's collection of Egyptian antiquities was sold in a four-day sale in 1883 at an auction in Hotel Drouot. According to the writers of the preface to the auction catalogue, the quality and uniqueness of Posno's large Egyptian bronze statuettes were matched only by the rarities found in the Museum of Bulaq (now the ill-fated Egyptian Museum in Cairo).<sup>37</sup> The writers encourage not only individual collectors but also prominent museums to enrich their holdings through the jeweler's loot.<sup>38</sup>

Hakky informs Seront that he had bought some objects from Posno's collection fourteen years earlier—when, the auction catalogue preface briefs us, some pieces from the collection had been on exhibit. He further writes that he still had these items in his possession, and that the letter reminded him that he should write to Posno and pay him a visit. Even in 1901 Hakky still felt

the need to refer to his service as the first secretary to the former khedive, who had died six years prior to this letter. Hanioglu lists the names of two individuals—Ibrahim al-Muwaylihi and Wasif Bey—who led peripatetic lives between France, Belgium, and Italy while pamphleteering against the Hamidian regime throughout the 1890s.<sup>39</sup> Both of these dissidents had also served as secretaries of the former khedive and likely received his financial support to rouse opposition in European intellectual and political circles (largely through a bombardment of journals) against the current administrative affairs of the Ottoman government. Hanioglu categorizes the efforts of these figures under “individual initiatives,” which seem to have run in tandem with and not directly under the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the official faction of the Young Turks. Nevertheless, the ex-khedive kept his own agenda in meddling in Ottoman affairs in the global arena, by dispatching a group of his men to Europe, enough to form their own faction and mainly from among his language-savvy secretariat, to join in the anti-regime fervor. The Fröhner letters add Hakky into the fold, and single him out as perhaps the first of the three rabble-rousing khedival scribes. Another figure that benefited from Ismail’s generous subsidies was a well-connected Freemason by the name of Ali Şefkatî, who published journals in various European cities and attempted to form what eventually proved to be tenuous links with the CUP.<sup>40</sup> I would argue that Hakky, by continually invoking the name of his one-time benefactor, was showing his allegiance to his own faction, the network associated with the ex-khedive’s name, and the Egyptian locus of his political opposition.

Having found a cause that would benefit from his historical knowledge and journalistic practice, Hakky-Bey saw his correspondence with his readers, which he hoped would become a regular part of his art journal, as another forum in which to call on the cooperation of his co-religionists. His language of resistance seeped easily into that of art history. As a man of the pen, during the 1880s he contributed generously to the organization by publishing journals that were as idiosyncratic as they were short-lived, the political *Teessiif* (Sorrow) and satirical *Gencine-i Hayâl* (Treasure of Imagination), even as he also sought to find his footing as a collector-deal-

er.<sup>41</sup> For that very reason, the address 3 rue La Grange Batelière in the ninth arrondissement, which he listed on his earlier journals and kept before moving into his permanent home on rue Alfred Stevens, is noteworthy. This was the street where Hakky would conduct his newfound trade, as it led to the Hotel Drouot auction house and was among the offices of the commissioners, auctioneers, and object assessors. In 1891, he started another journal titled *Cür’et* (Audacity). However, this time, having completely embraced the cause, he would refer to himself as “an old Young Turk” and, more strongly perhaps, as a patriot (*hamiyetperver*); he considered himself a member of the Parisian and Genevan branches of the CUP.<sup>42</sup> He would achieve what the Freemason Şefkatî had only initiated and merge his individual efforts with the official representative body of the opposition. From 1898 onwards, he corresponded frequently with Ishak Sükûti, the head of the Geneva branch and publisher of its main newspaper, *Osmanlı* (Ottoman), in which Hakky’s fervent letters were published. In one issue of *Cür’et*, he published a portrait of Abdülhamid II in chiaroscuro, which further exaggerated the sultan’s prominent nose and also featured an upturned mustache and piercing eyes lined with kohl. This was Hakky’s version of the epitome of evil and the principal target of all of his journals (fig. 2). The rhyming caption under the picture reads: “Abdülhamid Khan, the faithless” (*‘Abdülhamîd hân-ı bî-îmân*).<sup>43</sup>

The masthead of the second issue of his satirical journal, published in 1881, playfully reminded its readers to perform the ablution before reading it, since Abdülhamid’s name would appear repeatedly: “O, people! It should be apparent to you that because every sentence in our newspaper will invoke the name of our holiest caliph, we sincerely hope that you do not read it without an ablution, and we wish for its [the ablution’s] benediction.”<sup>44</sup> Hakky seems to have fully established himself as a patriotic presence in émigré politics by the late 1890s and this new and more pressing interest may have been the reason for the discontinuation of *Le Miroir* at exactly that time.

The archives of the British Museum first record Hakky-Bey as a collector-dealer in 1882, when he was described as having sold “Greek and Egyptian antiquities to the museum between 1882 and 1894.”<sup>45</sup> Owner-



Fig. 2. Portrait of Sultan Abdulhamid II in Hakky-Bey's handwritten political journal *Cür'et* (Audacity), 1891. Milli Kütüphane (National Library), Ankara. (Photo: courtesy of the Milli Kütüphane)

ship is attributed to him for seven objects in the museum: a Roman onyx cameo from the second century B.C.; a gold-plated bronze fibula; a terracotta figure of Pan from the third century B.C., Tanagra; a pyxis from Hellenistic Pergamon; and a few stone figures with hieroglyphic details from Egypt.<sup>46</sup> Hakky-Bey must have started his business dealing in antiquities. His substantial collection of antique objects, sold in a small auction in May 1906, tells us of such early leanings (fig. 3).<sup>47</sup> The highlights of his collection were the terracotta Tanagrine nudes, excavated in Boeotia, Greece, in the 1860s, which quickly captured the imagination of artists such as Jean-Léon Gerome (fig. 4). The Ottomans' 1884 ban on the circulation of antiquities, much more restrictive in its stipulations than the earlier law of 1874, may have put an end to Hakky-Bey's supply of Egyptian and Greco-Roman artifacts and prompted him to turn to Islamic objects.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, the ban in his earlier version restricted the circulation of non-Islamic antiquities. Then the Ot-

toman Imperial Museum turned its attention toward the creation of a history of their material culture. This was likely instigated by the decision of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1908) to revitalize the Ottoman sultan's caliphal role over the Muslim subjects of the empire. Museum officials therefore started putting together a collection of Islamic art.<sup>49</sup>

From the journal that Hakky-Bey published in the late 1890s we know that for the first seventeen years of his life in Paris he spent much of his free time in the Bibliothèque nationale de France picking out the rarest and oldest of coins from the *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes des Khalifes orientaux* (Catalogue of Muslim Coins from the Time of the Oriental Caliphates). While filling in the missing chronologies in his personal coin collection, he discovered the earliest coins of an entirely Muslim origin.<sup>50</sup> As a result of his nearly two-decade-long numismatic quest and his budding business in antiques, for a short period Hakky-Bey entered the

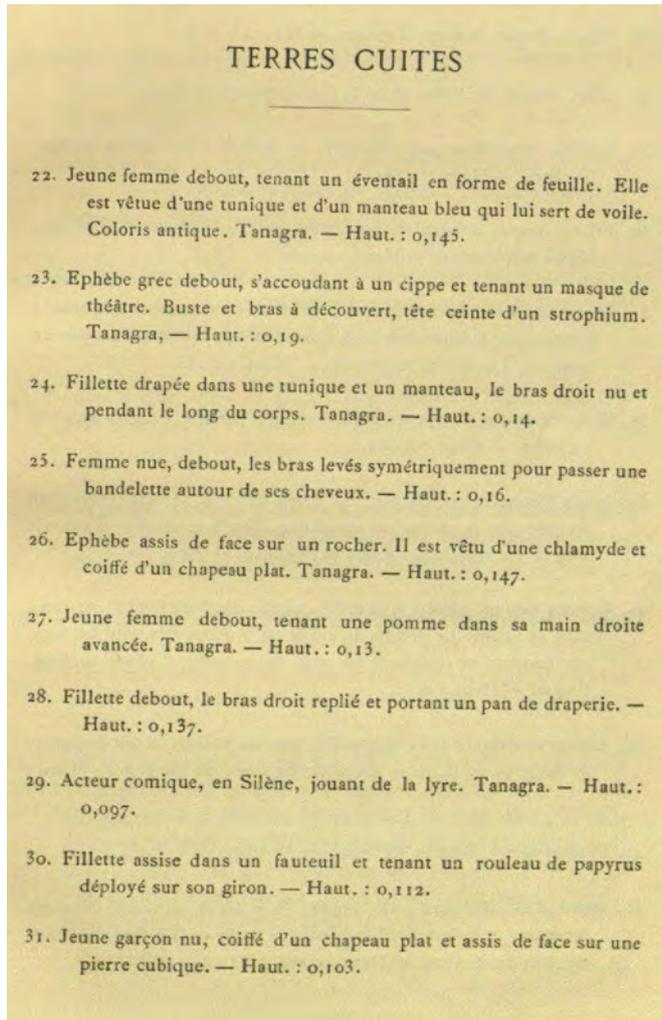


Fig. 3. A sample page listing earthenware objects from the auction catalogue of Hakky-Bey's Egyptian and Greco-Roman antiquities collection, May 31–June 2, 1906. *Antiquités*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 1906. (Photo: Deniz Türker, courtesy of the Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

active world of publishing and, along with it, the journalistic frenzy of nineteenth-century Paris.<sup>51</sup> However, as someone attuned to cultural trends in Istanbul, he was certainly aware of the emergence there of a newspaper-reading public and of the younger generation of Ottoman bureaucrats who responded to this public interest by taking up political journalism in addition to



Fig. 4. Lithographs of the Tanagra earthenware from the auction catalogue of Hakky-Bey's Egyptian and Greco-Roman antiquities collection (corresponding to the list of objects in fig. 3). *Antiquités*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 1906. (Photo: Deniz Türker, courtesy of the Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

fulfilling their duties as civil servants. In this respect, Hakky Bey's discourse not only addressed the direction of market forces in the collecting world and exhibitions but also reflected the socio-political circumstances of his own state. There was a definitive political bent to the strictly connoisseurial, object-oriented world of antiquarians described by Hakky-Bey.

HAKKY-BEY'S ISLAMIC ART

Hakky-Bey began to publish his bilingual art journal in 1898. The first issue was published on March 1st, five years after the first exhibition of Islamic art in Paris, at the Palais de l'Industrie, to which he had loaned a few objects (fig. 5) and been assigned his own grand display cabinets in which to curate items from his collection. It was at this exhibition that oriental objects were presented for the first time under the term "Muslim Art" (*l'art musulman*), having previously been classified ac-

ording to a range of religious and ethnic attributes such as Muhammedan, Arab, or Persian. When naming his journal, Hakky-Bey was well aware of the continually shifting taxonomic developments in the emerging field. With the designations he chose, *l'art musulman* and *şanāyī'-i islāmīye*, Hakky-Bey—the earliest independently operating non-Western scholar in the field of Islamic art—stood guard over the most comprehensive attribution that could be given to the field. This was perhaps an obvious choice for an Ottoman living in the Hamidian era, when the state was strongly propounding



Fig. 5. Left) a seventeenth-century "Damascene" plate, and right) a thirteenth-century Persian carpet from Hakky-Bey's collection. Exhibited at the Exposition de l'art musulman, Paris, 1893. Lithographs from Georges Marye's review of the exhibition for *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. (Photo: courtesy of the National Gallery Library, Washington, D.C.)

its caliphal claims over all Sunni Muslims. Nevertheless, Hakky-Bey's decision to name his journal *Le Miroir de l'Art Musulman* seems to represent a pan-Islamic view that did not limit itself to this new Ottoman patriarchal self-fashioning but instead found and celebrated variety among the religion's different cultural manifestations.<sup>52</sup>

Georges Marye wrote two reviews of the exhibition for *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. He expressed his disappointment in the organizers' orientaling approach to the displays (as sites of seduction), as well as their apparent disregard for the more methodological and scholarly goals of the lending collectors (who wished to convey historical information):

Organized with the alternating enthusiasm and weariness of artists and of amateurs, the Exposition, if one were to speak of it frankly, does not convey a methodical arrangement that one would have hoped to find. It is obvious that the picturesque was sought, [and] cherished, and the development of its charms has caused some harm to the character of a work that should have only been scientific. This fair criticism, which was formulated from the beginning, could not have been avoided entirely...At first, it was necessary to strike the eyes and to react to conventional orientalism.<sup>53</sup>

The phrase *l'orientalisme de convention* was first discussed by David J. Roxburgh, in a reference to Marye's review, as an intriguing but unrealized rejection of the tendencies seen in earlier displays toward an ahistorical, aesthetic excess. Such tendencies are precisely what Hakky-Bey, one of the most important and generous lenders to this exhibition, wanted to remedy through his scholarly journal. He favored a more rigorous, scientific approach in the formation of the discipline, holding the object-specific ground between the language-centered orientalists (such as the Austrian historian Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall) and trend-minded lovers of things (such as the French collector-dealer Albert Goupil). Hakky-Bey can be seen as an Islamophile with a keener desire to grapple with object provenance.<sup>54</sup> And, from Marye's review, it seems that Hakky-Bey was not alone in this more methodological and museological impulse away from the type of representation of objects seen in the oriental rooms of earlier collectors. He was, in fact, part of a new generation of amateurs dictating the more

taxonomic and historicizing models of displays that preceded and later spearheaded the austere exhibitionary mode of museums. At the 1893 exhibition Islamic objects were still viewed as items valuable primarily for their dazzling oriental auras and origins. Later, at the exhibition *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst* held in Munich in 1910, the placement of the Islamic objects on display not only heightened their specificity and their role in a larger historical trajectory but also dictated connoisseurial engagement with their form, function, and provenance. Calligraphic works, for example, were highlighted through the scholarly contribution of the Swiss epigraphist Max von Berchem.<sup>55</sup>

The publication of a quasi-scholarly journal, however short-lived, was a novel way for a collector-dealer to promote his collection in the late nineteenth century.<sup>56</sup> The structure of Hakky-Bey's journal was also unique, and reflected the individualized nature of his enterprise. The French text, printed and illustrated with phototypes of objects from his collection, appears on one side of the journal, while the Ottoman-Turkish text, handwritten and with fewer illustrations, all hand drawn, appears on the other. The Ottoman Turkish-to-French translations of the text are more or less verbatim, except for a few unexpectedly personal footnotes on the Ottoman side. Along with the earlier example of the curious footnote elucidating his upbringing, there is one other noteworthy moment in the Ottoman text, when Hakky-Bey complains about not being able to find a good calligrapher in Paris to write the Ottoman-Turkish title of the journal in the proper *thuluth* script. Therefore, he pens his own "title," in addition to handwriting all the epigraphic material that appears in the object descriptions in the following pages. The Ottoman-Turkish text exposes the author's voice more than the French; his native language allows him to fully optimize the partly descriptive nature of his undertaking, a point to which I will return. For the second and last issue of *Le Miroir*, published in April 1898, he was at least able to have the Ottoman-Turkish cover typeset.

Hakky-Bey's journal is an object in its own right, reflecting the handiwork of an amateur scholar involved in the ambitious documentation and placement of artifacts in a historical narrative. The resulting documents capture the idiosyncrasies of this private endeavor.

Hakky-Bey is at times candid in revealing the journal's shortcomings and conveys misgivings about gaps in information and not having the correct representative phototypes for certain objects. At times he promises intriguing content for future issues, such as an image of Süleyman the Magnificent wearing the spectacular bejeweled helmet-crown crafted in Venice in 1532.<sup>57</sup> (In the late nineteenth century, engravings of the crowned Sultan Süleyman circulated in publications of royal portraiture, and Hakky may have easily encountered them in his many bibliophilic visits to European libraries. Furthermore, as a man who carved his profession out of dealing in precious works of art, Hakky must have felt compelled to highlight one of the quirkiest pieces that entered the sixteenth-century Ottoman world of objects—an era he hoped to glorify if he had been able to publish a third issue.)<sup>58</sup> The French cover for the two issues features a faceted copper candleholder from thirteenth-century Mosul; it was inlaid with silver and bore well wishes written in the *thuluth* script, as well as animal figures, scrolls, and arabesques. The object is surrounded by old coins, pointing to the numismatic origins of Hakky-Bey's grander project. The Ottoman-Turkish section of the journal depicts the elaborately carved *muqarnas*-vaulted interiors of the Alhambra. Hakky-Bey's understanding of the Muslim arts and their historiography extends unequivocally from practical uses of objects (i.e., coinage that furthers trade), to the material and formal qualities of luxuriant ones. His statement of purpose in the preface of the first issue indicates a straightforward desire to propagate all knowledge of Muslim art—not only in Europe but also among a group that he refers to as the ignorant antiquarians of Constantinople who toil in the antiques trade in the Grand Bazaar. These dealers were known to often make mistakes in determining the provenance of objects: "Damascene earthenware such as plates, vases of all forms, and tiles, etc., which are dubbed *Eski-Madem*, that is to say, *Maden* or *Mineral* by the ignorant classes (*cehl şınifi*) of antiques' dealers of Constantinople, have a superiority over all other polychrome earthenware from the East."<sup>59</sup> Hakky-Bey provides an abridged, but heavily researched and footnoted, history of Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the early caliphs, the Umayyads, and the Abbasids, with a chart that lists all other minor and ma-

ior players of the Islamic world, from 632 to the Qajars in 1898 (fig. 6). After this brief account of Islamic history comes the art historical pendant to the chronology: he uses the coins he encountered in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the South Kensington Museum, and the Ottoman Imperial Museum to demonstrate the latest debates over a distinctly "Muslim" provenance.<sup>60</sup>

The journal reveals how scholarly figures involved in numismatic and antiquarian studies crafted their networks. If they were not able to resolve questions of provenance among themselves, they would consult the libraries of European cities, and if these proved unhelpful they then sought the help of people further away, such as Suphi Paşa (Soubhi Pacha) in Iraq, who came to be known among members of this group as the grand master of numismatic epigraphy.<sup>61</sup> Another object of study was an inscribed stone from the Umayyad period discovered in Palestine, which was once commissioned to inaugurate a road built to connect Jerusalem and Damascus. Rauf Pasha, the governor of Jerusalem between 1877 and 1879, sent it to be deciphered by M. Clermont-Ganneau, a former dragoman of the French consulate in Jerusalem and a member of the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (fig. 7).<sup>62</sup> The afterlife of these artifacts could be colorful: the particular interests of political figures mobilized the international circulation of objects and brought together unusual, always contingent collaborations.

The second and last issue of the journal reveals more about Hakky-Bey's scholarly project, as he includes a bibliography for background reading and also reveals the contents of his own library of French and Ottoman histories. The historical account he conveys is a well-rehearsed amalgam of the works of scholars, ranging from those of the nineteenth-century Ottoman historian Ahmet Cevdet Pasha to the infamous social psychologist Gustave Le Bon's *Le civilisation des arabes*, published in 1884.<sup>63</sup> Hakky-Bey received all the engravings of objects and architecture from the Firmin Didot printing press, whose main publications related to Muslim art and history were then advertised with their sales prices in the bibliography, with the books of all the familiar orientalist scholars of the nineteenth century, from Jean-François Champollion to Jules Bourgoïn (fig. 8).

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NOM DE LA DYNASTIE	RÉSIDENTE	FONDATEUR DE LA DYNASTIE SALAFE SUCCESSION, ANNÉE DE PASSER	PREMIER SOUVERAIN	LES CRÉATIONS		LES SUCCÈS	
				COMMENCEMENT	FIN	COMMENCEMENT	FIN
Khalîfah-Hachim Orthodoxe	La Mecque	Abou-Iskér	Ab	632	661	11	50
Omayyades	Damas	Mo'â wiyah	Mervan	661	750	41	132
Abassides	Damas et Bagdad	Saffah	Mostafah	750	1258	125	656
Omayyades d'Espagne	Cordoue	Abd-ul-Rahman	Hicham	756	1031	138	422
Idrissides	Morakech	Ebriç	Hassan	788	985	173	375
Aghlabides	Tunis	Ibrahim	Ziadet	800	909	181	296
Murabis	Maghreb	Abou-Iskér	Israk	1056	1147	448	551
Hafisides	Tunis	Zakaria talaya	Hassan	1138	1524	603	941
Maronites	Morakech	Abd-ul-Hak	Chérif	1125	1470	591	875
Chérifides	Morakech	Mohamed	Abou'el	1544	1558	91	875
Toulounides	Egypte et Syrie	Ahmed Touloun	Ahmed	868	963	234	392
Ekebidis	Egypte et Syrie	Abou Faouaris	Mohamed Ekebid	930	969	323	328
Fatimides	Egypte et Syrie	Mehdi Obeid-Allah	Adi-Obeid-Allah	909	1171	297	507
Ayyubides	Egypte et Syrie	Salah ed din	Echref Moussa	1169	1250	261	648
Mamlouk Bahri	Egypte et Syrie	Chouharsah-dur	Hadjî Muzaffer	1250	1317	650	923
Mamlouk Bourdji	Egypte	Zahid-Seyfuddin	Echraf Tamsan-Bey	1280	1317	781	923
Khadives	Egypte	Mohamed-Ali	Abbas Hilmi	1805	1868	1300	1315
Zéyyadis	Zébid	Mahmoud Néyyad	Israk	819	1108	293	499
Yafférides	Sana	Khatim	Aly-Wahid	1098	1173	432	569
Hamdanides	Sana	Yaffour-Abd-El-Habib	Abd Oullah Kaktas	861	997	357	387
Zaharides	Aleo	Karim	Abou-Mansour	1083	1173	493	569
Rassoulides	Yémen	Mansour Ouér	Mouzafer Youssouf	1129	1454	619	858
Taherides	Yémen	Zafir Sillahouddin	Zafir	1549	1517	751	953
Rassidides	Sana	Rassid Rissi	Moutazir Devoud	863	1200	286	700
Hamdanides	Alep et Mossoul	Fakru-Devil Mohamed Hassan	Ad-ul Hasseyu	929	1003	444	472

(10)

القائبات	سفر	المؤسس الملك	تاريخ التأسيس	تاريخ السقوط	تاريخ الجلاء
الخلافة الراشدة	سلاطنة	أبو بكر الصديق	632	661	661
الخلافة الأموية	سلاطنة	عمر بن الخطاب	661	750	750
الخلافة العباسية	سلاطنة	أبو عبد الله محمد	750	1258	1258
الخلافة الأندلسية	سلاطنة	عبد الرحمن بن عبد الوهاب	756	1031	1031
الخلافة الفاطمية	سلاطنة	عبد الله بن محمد	909	1171	1171
الخلافة الأيوبية	سلاطنة	الملك الناصر	1169	1250	1250
الخلافة المملوكية	سلاطنة	الملك المنصور	1250	1517	1517
الخلافة العثمانية	سلاطنة	الملك عثمان	1299	1922	1922

Fig. 6. Hakky-Bey's charts in French (left) and Ottoman-Turkish (right) of the Islamic dynasties, from the first four caliphs to the Qajars. Published in the first issue of *Le Miroir*, March 1, 1898. (Photo: courtesy of the Fine Arts Library Collection, Harvard University)

In the second issue, Hakky-Bey has four motives in mind, ranging from the scholarly to the commercial, as he resumes his historical account from the end of the Umayyad Empire in Damascus to the Islamic dynasties in Spain and Sicily. In line with the authors of the *Uşûl*, he sees a golden age in the early arts and architecture of Muslim Spain (for instance, he regards Hispano-Moresque earthenware as best reflecting the taste of the time).<sup>64</sup> He emphasizes his epigraphic prowess by pointing toward his first-hand observation of the inscriptions and the personal drawings of architectural fragments (fig. 9) and Kufic inscriptions that he made during one of his three visits to Spain (fig. 10). He also presents all his historical accounts through the concept of material dynastic progress, stressing Muslim rulers' contributions to commerce, from coinage to roads to the textile trade. And, lastly, he shows a dealer's awareness of how objects

accrue value from sale to sale by providing the history of the provenance for many of his pieces. He weaves his own collection into a carefully crafted historical account in which he argues that socio-cultural progress in successive Islamic dynasties was achieved through trade-centered economic prosperity. He then presents each piece as the finest artisanal representation of its efflorescent dynastic context. In the first journal he introduces his coin collection, metalwork, and so-called Damascene pottery (correctly identified in the 1930s as green, purple, blue, and turquoise-colored Iznik wares), while in the second issue he groups together his Hispano-Moresque and Rhodian earthenware (also later correctly identified as red-colored Iznik wares).

All the while, Hakky-Bey was keen on maintaining the bilingual nature of his undertaking. French readers were given their requisite scholars, who worked on

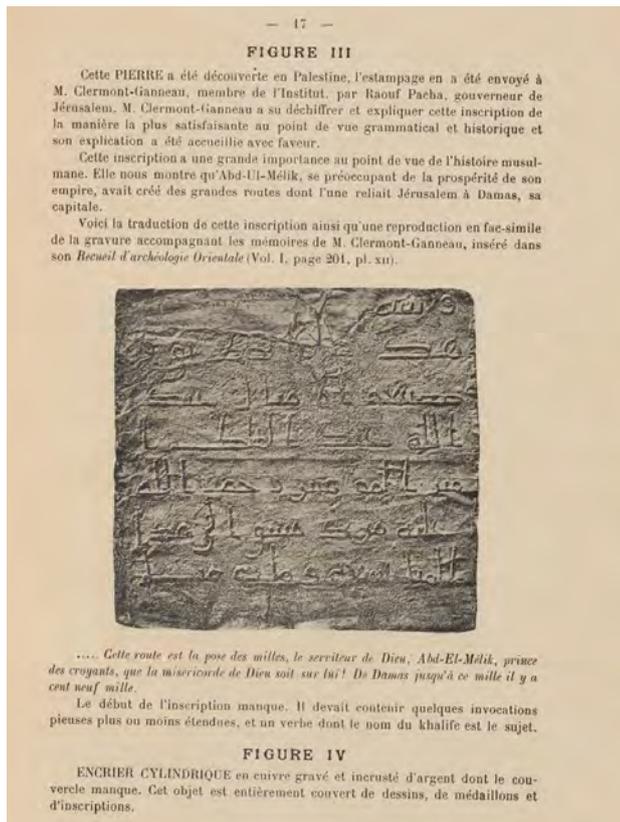


Fig. 7. Cuneiform tablet from the Umayyad period, with a transcription by Suphi Pasha, the governor of Jerusalem, and the orientalist Charles Clermont-Ganneau. Illustrated in the first issue of *Le Miroir*, March 1, 1898. (Photo: courtesy of the Fine Arts Library Collection, Harvard University)

popularizing Islamic arts. But they also learned about contemporary Ottoman writers who adopted a revivalist interest in the socio-cultural history of medieval Islam based on the romantic heroization of historical figures such as Tariq b. Ziyad, the eighth-century Umayyad general who led the conquest of Visigothic Iberia; the hero-centered epic plays of writers such as AbdŪlhak Hāmit; and long historical accounts of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula. Hakky-Bey regards the works of art and architecture of Spain under Muslim rule as having achieved a pinnacle of refinement in Islamic art (*İspānyā'da saltanat-ı islāmīyeniñ kemāli*), echoing the late nineteenth-century Ottoman nostalgia for that era.<sup>65</sup> This longing for the past is also seen in the plays of the Ottoman writer AbdŪlhak Hāmit, which empha-

sized the courage, mercy, and benevolence of the Muslim conquerors of Spain. Ziya Paşa's *EndŪlŪs Tārīhi* (History of Andalusia), published in 1887, was a lengthy historical compilation of French and Ottoman sources written by one of the first Young Ottomans; it became a significant source for Hakky-Bey's journal, and he referred to it frequently throughout the second issue. In fact, in the latter half of the nineteenth century a fad for Muslim Spain also became manifest in nineteenth-century Ottoman architecture: Ottoman imperial commissions in Istanbul included the Çırağan Palace (1863–72), the Beylerbeyi Palace (1861–65), and the Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Mosque (1869–71). These buildings comprised designs from Iberian structures made instantly popular by the publications of Owen Jones (d. 1894) and Jules Goury (d. 1834) in the first half of the nineteenth-century.<sup>66</sup> The exteriors and interiors of all three monuments contain decorative schemes consciously adopted from the Alhambra. The imperial publication *UşŪl*, which succeeded the completion of these edifices and was illustrative of the official discourse on national architecture at the time, subsequently ordained these buildings the best examples of the Ottoman architectural revival.<sup>67</sup> It was not a coincidence, then, that as the self-proclaimed patriarchs of the Sunni Muslim world the Ottomans would emulate the period that, according to figures such as Gustave Le Bon and his contemporary Louis-Pierre-Eugène Sédillot, had undergone an Islamic renaissance.<sup>68</sup>

The didactic and commercial purposes of Hakky-Bey's journal project went hand in hand. For instance, the second issue contains a job advertisement for a bilingual (French and Turkish-speaking) storekeeper for the Istanbul branch of a famous furniture and carpet house, as well as a notice by a professor offering language classes in Paris—Turkish, English, Armenian, and German. Did he intend to open up his own branch in Istanbul? Would he be the one teaching all these courses? The wording of the announcements does not yield any answers.<sup>69</sup> And, in light of the abrupt discontinuation of *Le Miroir* after the second issue—which promised more information for the following month specifically related to Ottoman history—we are left to ponder the project and personality of Hakky-Bey of 7, rue Alfred Stevens.

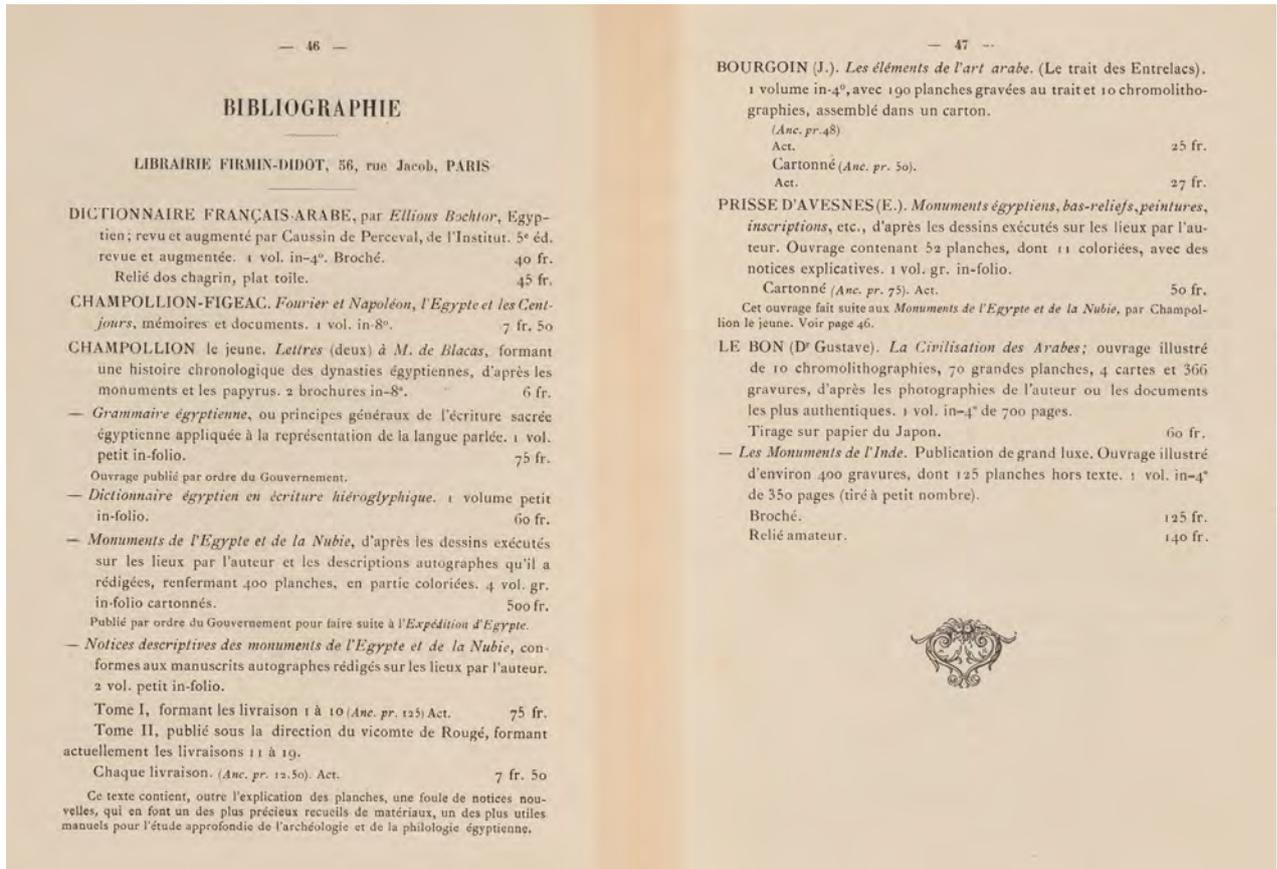


Fig. 8. Hakky-Bey's "Islamic" art historical sources, provided by the Firmin-Didot bookstore. *Le Miroir* 2, April 1898. (Photo: courtesy of the Fine Arts Library Collection, Harvard University)

#### AUCTIONING OFF LA COLLECTION HAKKY-BEY

It is clear that Hakky-Bey was well known in Parisian art circles. In 1906, the auctioning of his collection was announced in three issues of *Le Bulletin de l'Art Ancient et Moderne*, the first time with the opening statement, "Formed by a well-known specialist, who was one of the first contributors in this era to spread the taste for Muslim arts, which has become so prevalent."<sup>70</sup> The provenance of pieces from his collection was discussed in a variety of French museum bulletins. Today, these speak of an informal and more flexible practice of lending among collector-dealers.<sup>71</sup> Surprisingly, however, his name does not appear among Ottoman francophiles present in Paris in and around this time, either as part of diplomatic envoys after the Crimean War or as one of

those forced into political exile. Nor have I come across a sense of euphoria for the international exhibitions that helped calibrate the Ottomans' political stance against the colonial powers and the now semi-autonomous Egypt. Ahmet Ersoy has knitted together the Ottoman network of intellectuals and bureaucrats involved in the imperial production of the *Uşûl*.<sup>72</sup> Hakky-Bey was definitely not far removed, both physically and in his intellectual project, from figures such as Osman Hamdi Bey, the renowned Ottoman painter, director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum, and founder of the Archeological Museum in Istanbul, and Ahmet Vefik Paşa, the Ottoman statesman, bibliophile, and philologist: as a coin specialist, Hakky-Bey was familiar with and cited the work of Ismail Galip Bey, the famous Ottoman numismatist who was the brother of Osman Hamdi and son of



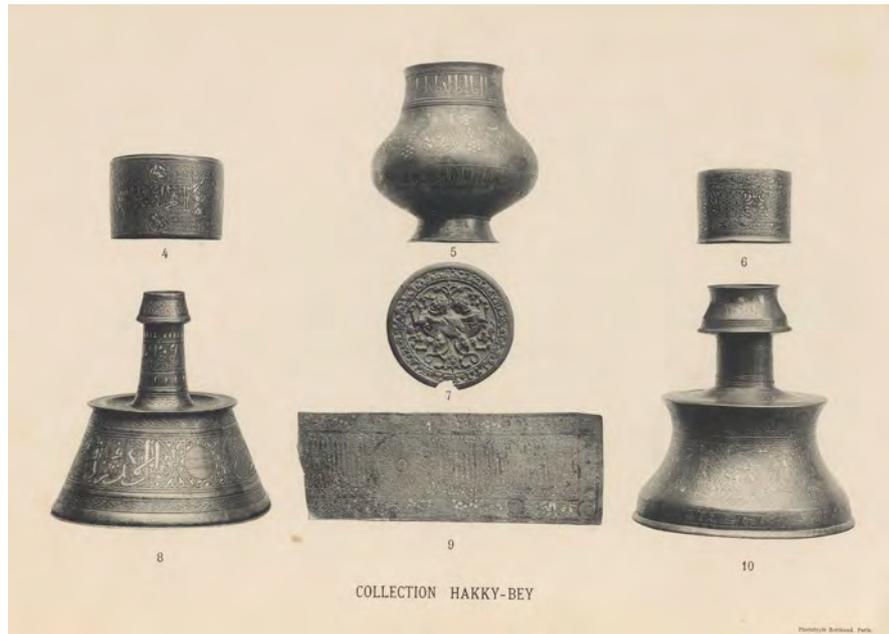


Fig. 11. Thirteenth-century Yemeni metalwork from Hakky-Bey's collection. Photoset from *Le Miroir* 1, March 1, 1898. (Photo: courtesy of the Fine Arts Library Collection, Harvard University)

Again, Hakky-Bey's journal reflects his intellectual milieu. It reads not only as an abridged but footnoted historical introduction for those not well acquainted with Muslim art, but also as an open letter avidly inviting all collectors of objects, some of whom he cites by name, from predominantly Muslim regions. He thus creates a quasi-scholarly environment for connoisseurial discussions. He intended to construct a salon of letters among his readership for the study and promotion of an art that he thought surpassed all others and, having experienced a period of efflorescence and then a decline, had to be taken up as its own distinct field, especially by his fellow compatriots (*vaṭandaşlar*).

To the efendis, lovers of the ancient arts of Islam! Efendis, my intent in writing this journal is to provide a report to you, to the extent that it is possible, on the arts of Islam... In fact, the purpose of my modest undertaking is only to provide my compatriots an idea of the ready advances made today on the attributes of works of Islamic art. And, that this work, like those other rare works, is among a handful that serves [this purpose], and so will most certainly be welcomed.<sup>75</sup>

Hakky-Bey's writing, which is very personal, sometimes takes on an autobiographical tone, not just in a fleeting reference in a footnote but in the body of the text as well. For example, after introducing his collection of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century metalwork from Yemen (fig. 11), Hakky-Bey begins a discussion of Damascene earthenware (fig. 12) by referring to the mosque lamps of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Damascus and the Damascene tiles of the mosque and tomb of Abu Hanifa in Baghdad, which was commissioned by Sultan Süleyman. Aware of the Ottoman origins of these tiles, which were at the time misattributed by European connoisseurs to Syrian-Damascene artisans, he mentions the time he "traversed" Baghdad and saw all its sites in the early 1870s.<sup>76</sup>

Those were the years when the Ottomans attempted to redevelop Baghdad and Mosul by appointing the reform-minded statesman Midhat Pasha as Baghdad's governor. A young, idealistic group of Tanzimat bureaucrats went along with him to revitalize land allocation, infrastructure, public works, and taxation.<sup>77</sup> It was around this time that Osman Hamdi Bey was appointed to the Foreign Relations Office in Baghdad.<sup>78</sup> Could it be



Fig. 12. “Damascene” and “Rhodian” earthenware from Hakky-Bey’s collection. Photoset from *Le Miroir* 1, March 1, 1898. (Photo: courtesy of the Fine Arts Library Collection, Harvard University)

that, at that very moment, there emerged among this group of intellectuals an awareness of antiquarianism? A sense that Ottoman surveyors and reformers required a thorough and modern historical understanding of their imperial heritage as they traversed the sites under their rule? For example, we know that one of the earliest groups of objects sent to the newly founded Ottoman Magazine of Antiquities in Istanbul, which, as mentioned earlier, subsequently became the Ottoman Imperial Museum, was a set of inscriptions in cuneiform dispatched by Midhat Pasha from Baghdad.<sup>79</sup> We also know that Osman Hamdi’s earliest encounters with archaeological excavations and the precarious nature of object circulation took place during his time in Baghdad, detailed in many letters he penned to his father.<sup>80</sup>

Hakky-Bey’s name reappears in the jubilee catalogue of the Musée Guimet of 1904, published to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the institution.<sup>81</sup> Once again he seems to don his antiquarian identity in lending antique pieces to the museum, including an Etruscan amphora, a Chinese celadon plate, and bronze sculptures of winged figures. Hakky-Bey’s name proliferates in the art journals before and immediately after he

sold his entire collection in two one-week auctions: 700 Arab and European objects of art that generated much curiosity were auctioned on March 5–10, 1906, and a much smaller collection of antiques was sold May 31–June 2, 1906.<sup>82</sup> Interestingly, the journals advertising the auction mention only the predominantly oriental portion of the sale and not the antiquities.<sup>83</sup>

In “Le carnet de l’amateur,” Hakky-Bey is described in the past tense, almost as in an obituary. Karl Baedeker’s 1907 guidebook to Paris identifies the no longer extant “Mahometan Cemetery with a small mosque” inside the Père Lachaise and mentions the tomb of an Ismail Hakky-Bey (d. 1903), “a small Moorish mausoleum capped with a crescent.”<sup>84</sup> If, in fact, Hakky-Bey died in 1903, then it was his wife, the anonymous Madame Hakky Bey—a Levantine or French woman perhaps—who decided to part with her husband’s large collection. After 1906, Madame Hakky-Bey supplants her husband in art and archaeology journals, and of particular note is an announcement of her induction into the Société française des fouilles archéologiques with the aid of Monsieur Babelon, the main curator of the numismatics collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and



Fig. 13. Portrait of Jane Dieulafoy in her study, dressed in a men's suit. Reproduced in the Ottoman literary journal *Şervet-i Fünun*, no. 304 (January 7, 1897): 277–80. (Photo: Deniz Türker, courtesy of the Harvard University Libraries)

Hakky-Bey's benevolent instructor in the early days of his numismatic studies at the library. Babelon's name is listed in the acknowledgments of *Le Miroir*.<sup>85</sup> The second figure involved in presenting Hakky Bey's spouse to the Société was Marcel-Auguste Dieulafoy, the renowned archaeologist of Susa and author of the four-volume *L'art antique de la Perse; Achéménides, Parthes, Sassanides*, published in 1884.<sup>86</sup> It is interesting to find a female figure taking an active role in the global community of archaeologists and contributing in their salons to the quasi-scholarly discussions they had on recently excavated material. Also of note is the strong presence of Jane Dieulafoy in these gatherings. She participated in her husband's excavations and before their second career as archaeologists both of them fought in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, after receiving special permission for Madame Dieulafoy to participate in com-

bat. Thereafter, she toyed with gender roles, at times appearing in masculine attire (fig. 13). These bohemian adventurers formed the European half of Hakky's circle of object enthusiasts.

The anonymous author of the column "Le carnet" seems to have attended the sale of the objects that generated high curiosity and provides for us some of the highlights concerning the items that fetched the highest prices: Italian Renaissance plates from Deruta and Gubbio, 5,600 to 6,900 francs, respectively, and a large Damascene plate, 7,055 francs (fig. 14).<sup>87</sup> In announcing the results of Hakky-Bey's auction, another bulletin expands on the dismal conditions of the French art market for objects of the decorative arts. It demonstrates that there was a scarcity of valuable objects in contrast to an increase in the supply of ordinary ones: at 6,900 francs, a plate, the handiwork of Master Gubbio, with *une forte*

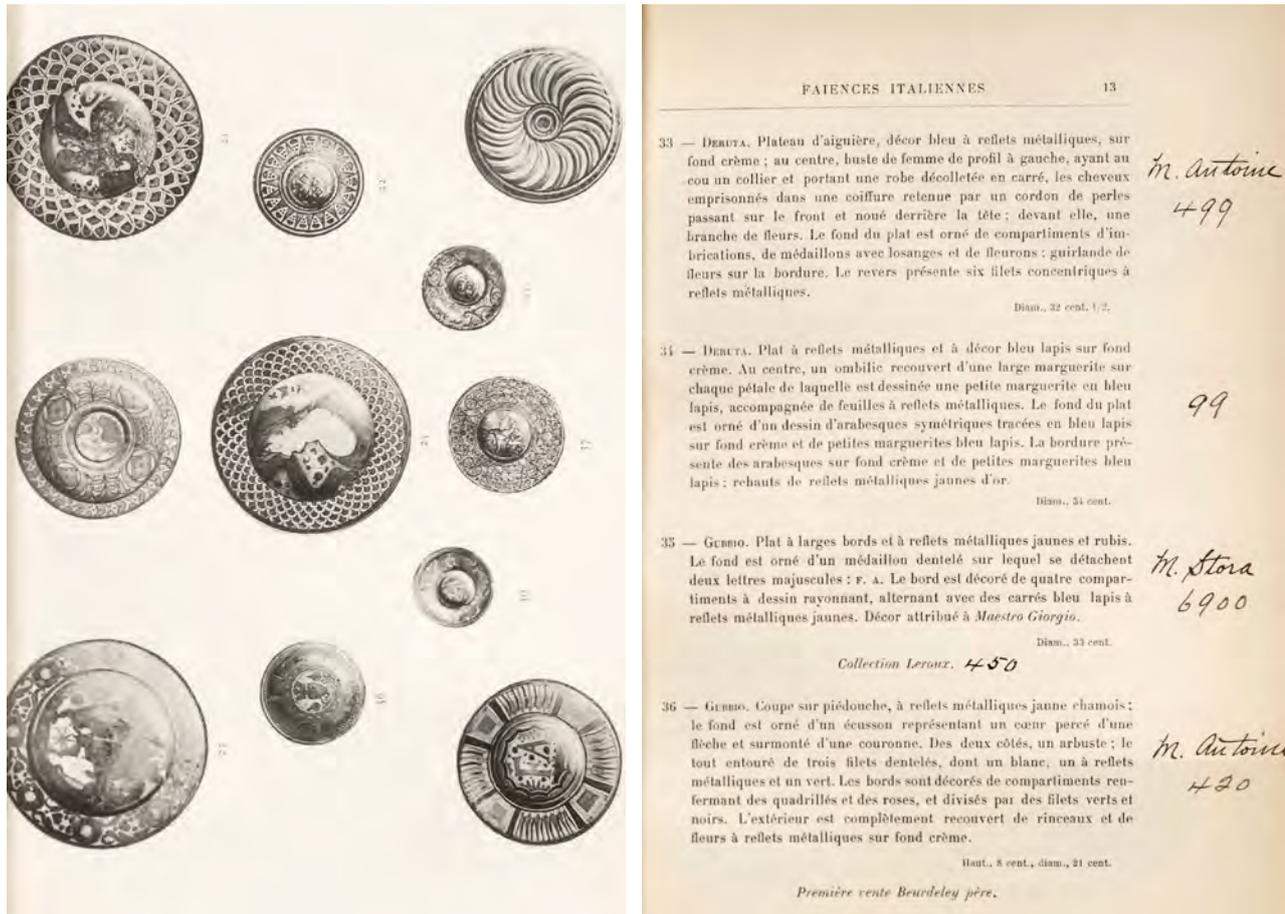


Fig. 14. Lithographs of the Gubbio and Deruta ceramics (left), with corresponding descriptions and buyers (right), from the second auction of Hakky-Bey's collection, March 5–10, 1906. *Objets d'art et de haute curiosité arabes & européens*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1906. (Photo: courtesy of the National Gallery of Art Research Library, Washington, D.C.)

*fêlure* (a strong and visible crack), formerly in the Leroux Collection, sold for much more than its 1896 auction price of 450 francs.<sup>88</sup>

The auction catalogue is an enigmatic document, opening with a photograph presumably of the interior of Hakky-Bey's shop, containing layers of various kinds of objects. The image intensifies the materiality of an overwhelming *richesse*, as Roxburgh has observed, like that of a Parisian department store of the period (fig. 15).<sup>89</sup> This is an annotated copy, which offers up an American buyer's handwritten notes of every buyer's name, along with the going price of each object for the first five days of the weeklong exhibition; the most prevalent buyers (mostly Armenian) form a circle of interest

around specific types of objects. These must be organized according to category, medium, or origin in order to understand the market for particular objects in turn-of-the-century France.<sup>90</sup> The auction catalogue lists each item's previous owner, along with the date and occasion of their public displays, the 1893 L'exposition being the most prominent.

The introductory language of auction catalogues did not seem to follow the classifications used in Islamic art exhibitions of the same period: in the former, the titles and descriptions followed less academic lines of attribution, mostly in a more orientalizing mode. Objects remained inside the indiscriminately exoticizing approach of a cabinet of curiosities, which categorized "Arab" or



Fig. 15. Photograph of Hakky-Bey's collection. Reproduced in the catalogue of the second auction, March 5–10, 1906. *Objets d'art et de haute curiosité arabes & européens*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1906. (Photo: courtesy of the Fine Arts Library Collection, Harvard University)

“oriental” items alongside Italian Renaissance earthenware (of which the Gubbio and Deruta pieces were the favorites among buyers), as well as porcelain, altarpieces, and papal seals. However, in the object categories of the collection, what was initially introduced in the title as Arab art is further classified as *art oriental*, *art turc*, *art arabe*, and *art persan*. My understanding of the logic behind these classifications is that these objects were at the time given names according to the ethnicity of their maker: if unidentified, the handiwork of the artisan would then be categorized as “oriental,” designating a general geographic region. Seemingly the safest, most established categories were for oriental pottery, but there too the myth persisted that the Damascene earthenware (predominantly blue and purple) and Rhodian earthenware (with red pigment) were crafted by, respectively, Syrian artisans in Damascus and communities of nomadic Persian origins in the island enclave of Rhodes: Iznik was as yet not accepted as the actual site of their making nor was their Ottoman designation (fig. 16).<sup>91</sup> The European collectors were banking on this perception of oriental diversity (and Hakky-Bey's scholarly di-

dacticism was probably the weakest in this respect), and propounded an understanding that each ethnic group excelled in a particular medium: if Arabs were good at metalwork, Persians monopolized the earthenware crafts, while Kütahya pottery, with its precisely established origins, fetched marginal amounts, almost as cheaper souvenirs (fig. 17).

Although buyers of European objects constituted a diverse group of individuals, two names stand out as the competing bidders on Hakky-Bey's collection of objects from the Islamic world. One of them was a Monsieur Antoine, who, I believe, is Antoine de la Narde, the relatively unknown second owner of Khalil Sherif Paşa's Courbet painting, *L'origine du monde*.<sup>92</sup> The other was Dikran Garabed Kélékian, a famous Ottoman-Armenian dealer and the owner, since 1895, of an antique store on Madison Avenue, who had established close dealership ties with artists such as Mary Cassatt, Milton Avery, and the Fauves. He also held the diplomatic post of Persian ambassador to the United States from 1903 onwards (changing the name Garabed to Khan). A more visible figure than Hakky-Bey, he promoted his

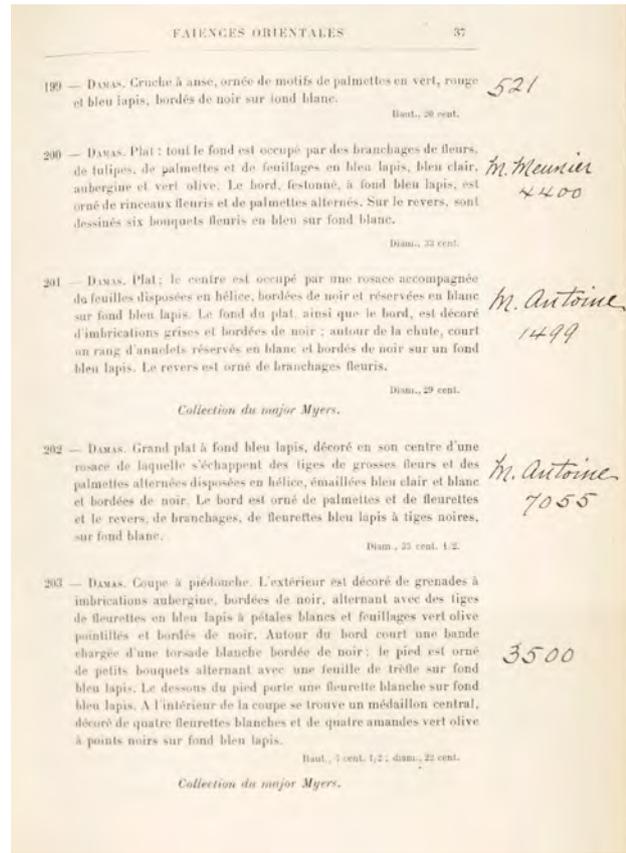


Fig. 16. Left), the high-priced “Damascene” ceramics, and right), descriptions of their respective provenances and buyers, from the second auction of Hakky-Bey’s collection, March 5–10, 1906. *Objets d’art et de haute curiosité arabes & européens*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1906. (Photo: courtesy of the National Gallery of Art Research Library, Washington, D.C.)

archaeological ties to collecting and dealing, and played a significant role in the excavations at Raqqa in 1896, which he emphasized in his antiques business.<sup>93</sup> The Ottoman tools of the collecting trade were then picked up primarily by a close-knit Armenian network, which began in Kayseri, a city in south-central Anatolia, with connections in Europe and the United States.<sup>94</sup> Thereafter, this little-known city appears to emerge as a silent but central nexus in the dissemination of objects, artifacts, and fragments through this circle of Armenian dealers.

In the late nineteenth century, Hakky-Bey’s Parisian connections ranged from scholars in museums and universities to dragomans, members of the French academy, and ministers of education and foreign affairs. To my mind, his crowded network perfectly captures a

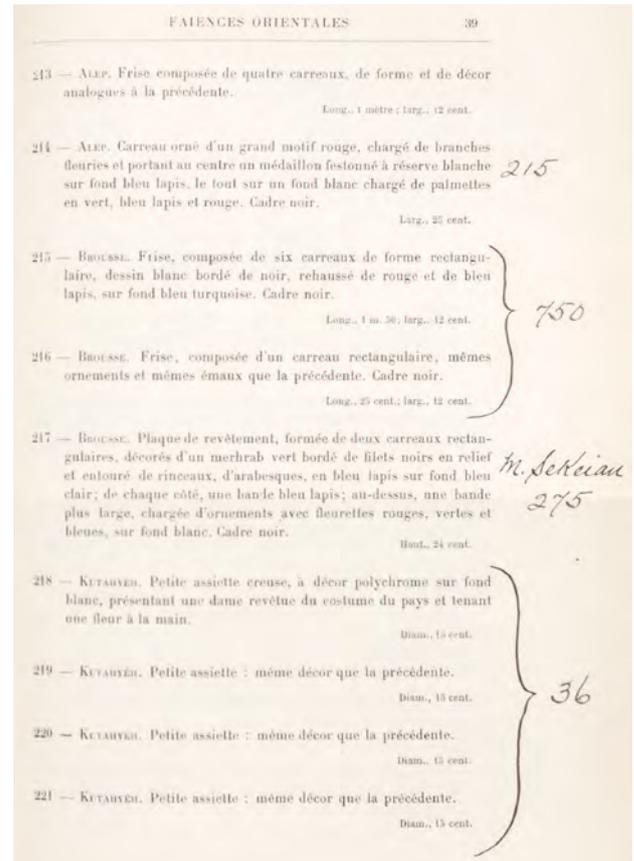
transparent moment when politics and displays of art intersected, bringing purely political, international realms into conversation with the minutest details of inscriptions on objects. During this very brief period, connoisseurial debates operated beyond national boundaries and therefore flourished among amateurs, propelling new art historical fields to the fore. Questions of legality were gradually becoming of concern, which today form the very basis of the anxieties many Western museums have over issues of ownership. Unease about the nature of earlier transactions hinders contemporary scholars from receiving full disclosures on provenance.

If Hakky-Bey’s object-oriented life’s work depended relatively more on official diplomatic relations and social ties, the covertness of his political work stood in great contrast. It is tempting to assume that as an old



Fig. 17. The lowlier status of Kütahya ceramics (left) among anonymous early-twentieth century collectors (right), from the second auction of Hakky-Bey's collection, March 5–10, 1906. *Objets d'art et de haute curiosité arabes & européens*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1906. (Photo: courtesy of the National Gallery of Art Research Library, Washington, D.C.)

man looking back on a life spent among French bohemians—adventurous men and women like the Dieulafoys—he must have found the revolutionary model that the CUP promised a lot more thrilling an undertaking. Hakky-Bey must have also assumed that his links to the art market, mostly made up of persons with political connections that enabled the circulation of objects, would support his political cause. However, the two models that this solicitous cosmopolitan identified with—the antiquarian and revolutionary—required him to negotiate the constantly shifting imperial boundaries of both European states and his own country, due in large part to the nationalistic fervor both inside and out that threatened their integrity. In the next decades, the transatlantic networks that would take over the once Paris-centered market for Islamic objects worked in favor of much more uprooted figures for a reason: the new route was easier now to navigate and had changed hands, from collectors with collaborative but always



contingent networks, such as Hakky-Bey and his acquaintances, to much more systematic, professionalized ones that were put in place largely by more interconnected groups steered by Armenian families. These, in turn, would strengthen close ties with museums and lead to much more frequent exhibitions. The field of Islamic art would thus acquire an increasingly museological orientation from the early twentieth century onwards.

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## NOTES

*Author's note:* This article is the product of a seminar taught by Professor Gülru Necipoğlu in the spring of 2010 titled "Islamic Ornament and the Aesthetics of Abstraction." In February 2011,

I had the privilege of presenting a revised version of this seminar paper as part of a lively College Art Association (CAA) panel titled “Collectors, Dealers, and Designers on Modern Asia: Historiographical Categories Revisited,” organized by Mercedes Volait (CNRS, Paris). I am indebted to András Riedlmayer (head of the Aga Khan Documentation Center at Harvard University) for bringing Hakky-Bey’s gem of a journal, *Le Miroir de l’Art Musulman*, housed in the Fine Arts Library, to my attention. For a brief discussion of the journal as a source, see Deniz Türker, “Le Miroir de l’art musulman,” in “The Fine Arts Library at 50,” special issue, *Harvard Library Bulletin* 5 (2013): 63–64. Riedlmayer also helped me locate two letters by Hakky-Bey in the Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, Germany—these are the clearest and only documents that cast light on the collector’s identity. I would also like to thank the reference librarians at the Art Research Library of the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., for facilitating my research on the annotated auction catalogue of Hakky-Bey’s collection. Himmet Taşkömür generously gave of his time and expertise in helping me decipher Hakky’s handwriting in the Ottoman-Turkish sections of the journal. Without the encouragement of Professors David J. Roxburgh and Gülru Necipoğlu this seminar paper would never have seen the light of day.

1. Prior to the exhibition *Purs Décors? Arts de l’Islam, regards du XIXe siècle* (held in 2007–8 at the Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris) and the comprehensive survey of collectors outlined in the work of Stephen Vernoit, scant attention had been given to these individuals, whose work jumpstarted the field of Islamic art and propelled its later museological orientation. Regarding this truly idiosyncratic group of nineteenth-century individuals, who demonstrated their interest in artifacts from the Islamic world by collecting, writing, and exhibiting them, see the exhibition catalogue *Purs décors?: Arts de l’Islam, regards du XIXe siècle: Collection des Arts Décoratifs*, ed. Rémi Labrusse (Paris: Arts décoratifs, Musée du Louvre 2007), which contains an exhaustive list of collectors and dealers, and *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002).
2. Recent contributions by Benedict Cuddon and Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım to the thirtieth-anniversary issue of *Muqarnas* have shown that dealers were often the first to popularize Islamic objects in American and European art markets. Their taste for certain groups of items and their available inventories—often collated through illicit means—directed the interest of affluent collectors, and also tipped off state officials such as those of the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Istanbul, who began to investigate those dealers’ sources. In the process, officials such as these also started to modify laws to protect antiquities in order to amass collections for their museum. For the American context of the dealer-collector-curator relationship in the field of Islamic art, see Benedict Cuddon, “The Collecting and Display of Islamic Art in Early Twentieth-Century Boston,” *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 13–33. For a discussion of excavations in Raqqa by the Ottoman state prompted by the activities of dealers, see Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım, “Raqqa: The Forgotten Excavation of an Islamic Site in Syria by the Ottoman Imperial Museum in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 73–93.
3. Rémi Labrusse, “Paris, capitale des arts de l’Islam? Quelques aperçus sur la formation des collections françaises d’art islamique au tournant du siècle,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de l’art français* (1997): 275–311.
4. Selim Deringil, “Son Dönem Osmanlı Aydın Bürokratının Dünya Görüşü Üzerine bir Deneme,” in *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi*, ed. Zeynep Rona (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1992), 3–11.
5. Victor Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *L’architecture ottoman = Die Ottomanische Baukunst = Uşûl-ı Mi’mârî-i ‘Oşmânî* (Istanbul, 1873).
6. The seminal study for the new sociopolitical body of thoughts and worldviews is by Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962).
7. Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle, français, historique, géographique, mythologique, bibliographique, littéraire, artistique, scientifique, etc.*, 17 vols. (Paris: Larousse et Boyer, 1866–90), 5:611. A later reading of the not-so-clear-cut nineteenth-century bourgeois collector type can be found in Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 206–11.
8. The famous case of Khalil Bey and his dispersal of an avant-garde art collection of French nineteenth-century paintings comes to mind. A reconstitution of the collection, as well as the auction announcement for it by Théophile Gautier, can be found in Michèle Haddad, *Khalil-Bey: Un homme, une collection* (Paris: Amateur, 2003).
9. For a discussion of the change in scope of a collector in the French Second Empire, see Raymonde Moulin, *The French Art Market: A Sociological View*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987). Here, I also have in mind Albert Goupil as one of the earliest collector-dealers, pioneering a market for Islamic and Far Eastern objects in the mid-nineteenth century. For Goupil’s collection of Islamic art and its antecedents, see Rémi Labrusse, “De la collection à l’exposition: Les arts de l’Islam à Paris (1864–1917),” in Labrusse, *Purs décors?*, 64–75. For a discussion of Goupil’s brother’s antique shop and links to the orientalist painter Gérôme, see *Gérôme & Goupil: Art et entreprise*, ed. Hélène Lafont-Couturier (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux; Bordeaux: Musée Goupil, 2000).
10. Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, 5:612. For a discussion of the socioeconomic shifts in the formation of collecting as a profession, see Theodore Zeldin, *France, 1848–1945*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973–77), vol. 2, *Intellect, Taste, and Anxiety*, 459–67.
11. Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion, and Collecting in England and France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976), 57.
12. Richard Ettinghausen, “Islamic Art and Archaeology,” in *Near East Culture and Society: A Symposium on the Meet-*

- ing of East and West, ed. T. Cuyler Young (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), 17–47.
13. “Āşār-ı ‘atife-i islāmīyede ‘arabī, fārisī, türkī yazılarda gerek Kūfī ve gerek ḥuṭūṭ-ı kādīme-i sāi’re üzerine olsun çocukluğumdan beri merāk etmiş olduğumdan gerçi birçok şū’übetlere uğradım da ‘ināyet-i Bārī ile bunlarıñ kırā’at ve tercümelerine dā’imā muvāfiḳ oldum.” (From childhood I was curious about Kufic or other kinds of old scripts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish on the works of Islamic art, and although I experienced many setbacks, I was always able to read and translate them with utmost care.) See Hakky-Bey, *Le Miroir de l’Art Musulman* 1, 2 (1898).
  14. Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, 5:612. Besides Ettinghausen, “Islamic Art and Archaeology,” see John M. Rogers, “From Antiquarianism to Islamic Archaeology,” *Quaderni dell’Istituto Italiano di Cultura per la R.A.E.* 2 (1974): 9–65, and Stephen Vernoit, “The Rise of Islamic Archaeology,” *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 1–10.
  15. Marilyn Jenkins-Madina has written an insightful analysis of the antiques trade in Ottoman figures in the United States in the nineteenth century; it complements the more recent articles by Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım and Benjamin Cudon on dealers and their role in making the discipline (see n. 2 above): see Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, “Collecting ‘the Orient’ at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America,” *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 69–89. Furthermore, I take my cues in going in-depth with a relatively unknown collector from Maya Jasanoff’s work, which highlights the crowded, less glamorous, global underground networks of object circulation in the colonial era. See Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750–1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).
  16. Élisabeth Dunan, *Dossiers de vendeurs, donateurs et collectionneurs, aux musées, 1872–1939* (Archives nationales de Paris, 1957). The documents in the Archives nationales are classified alphabetically as F21/4135–4155, 4450–4456, 4459, and 4460.
  17. There is compelling documentary evidence that the Ottomans were involved in the excavations in Samothrace conducted between 1863 and 1896 by Charles Champoiseau, the French consul to Thessaloniki: Archives nationales de Paris, under F17/17243–17244.
  18. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 87.
  19. Stephen Vernoit, “Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850–c. 1950,” in Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 20.
  20. Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu have already pointed to the *Uşûl*, with its emphasis on the “Islamic” and “Ottoman” categories and architectural examples, to argue for the Ottomans’ burgeoning consciousness of their architectural heritage, artistic sensibility, and output in the late nineteenth century. This would counter the contemporaneous European discourse that foregrounded the creative agency in “Arab,” “Persian,” and “Indian” art. Hakky-Bey was, without doubt, a product of this kind of emergent cultural awareness. See Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu, “Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies in the Architectural Historiography of the ‘Lands of Rum,’” in “Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the ‘Lands of Rum,’” special issue, *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 6.
  21. “Üstād-ı fezā’il-nihādım merhūm ḥoca Mecīd Efendi ḥazretleri ki iktidār-ı ‘ilmiyesine ḥürmeten ‘Ālī Paşa merhūm kendilerine (ayaḳlı kütübḥāne) tesmiye etmişlerdi. Bir gün fāzil-ı müşār’ün-ileyhiñ (Maḳāmāt-ı Ḥariri) ḥalka-ı tedrislerinde idim. Dersiñ taşarrufunu ḥāricden fārisī bir beyt ile sürāhi ve aḳdāḥ şadālarını tafşil ederlerken şöyle bir ḥikāye buyurdular. Guyā şā’ir-i meşhūr Ömer Ḥayyām Ḥakīm-i Hindiden şadāların hangisi hoş olduğunu şöylece su’al eylemişler: Su’āl-i ‘Umar Khayyām; Az Ḥakīm-i Hindī pürsidam ki kudām āvāz khūsh; Javāb-ı Ḥakīm-i Hindī, chahār āvāz-hā bar-mā pasend-tar āmad; Shab-shab-i būsā kanāri va ghulghula-i jān u sürāḥ; Jiz-bizī sīḥ-i kabābi, khish-khish-i shalvār-band. O şadā sebebiyle mendūḥ olan şürāhi ‘acebā bu şürāhiden ‘ālā mı olsa gerekdir. Liṭ-ṭāb’i.” See Hakky-Bey, *Mir’āt-ı şanāyi’-i islāmīye* 2 (Paris, 1898): 45. Here I provide the Ottoman title of *Le Miroir*, because this particular citation only appears in the footnotes of the Ottoman Turkish side of the journal. See also David J. Roxburgh, “In Pursuit of Shadows: Al-Hariri’s *Maqāmāt*,” *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 171–212.
  22. Meḥmed Şüreyyā, *Sicil-i ‘Osmānī, yāhūd, Tezkire-i meşāhür-i ‘Osmānīyye* 4 (Dersā’adet, 1890–93), 97.
  23. The Hungarian orientalist Ármín Vámbéry (1832–1913), a gifted linguist, and later a British agent, who had established an intimate rapport with prominent members of Sultan Abdulmecid’s Tanzimat court and representatives in Istanbul by going native and adopting the name Reshid Effendi (Reşit Efendi), was deeply impressed by Ālī Paşa’s philological knowledge. The vizier’s private library would, at times, serve as the European philologist’s refuge for all things related to the Chagatai language. Ármín Vámbéry, *The Story of My Struggles: The Memoirs of Arminius Vambéry*, 2 vols. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1904), 1:138 and 152.
  24. Hakky-Bey, *Mir’āt-ı şanāyi’-i islāmīye* 2:45.
  25. Two books provide extensive information on the demographical and scholastic pursuits of the young Tanzimat bureaucrats: see Mardin, *Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 11–12 and 207–11; and Carter V. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).
  26. Hakky-Bey, *Mir’āt-ı şanāyi’-i islāmīye* 2:45.
  27. M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 68.
  28. Weimar, Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv (GSA), no. 107/368.
  29. Ibid. “S’il-y avait dans ce monde une chose que je puisse mieux observer ce n’était que de préserver mon honneur.”
  30. Ibid. “Monsieur, je ne suis pas un antiquaire [sic], moi avant venir à Paris j’étais fonctionnaire du gt. [sic] Otto-

mane et la dernier temps comme secrétaire de l'ex. kedive de l'Égypte Ismail Pacha. Pour l'amour de ma nation Ottomane, j'ai quitte l'ex kedive pour rédiger un journal en Turc et à présent mon retour dans mon pays est devenu impossible, car j'écrivais contre la politique active du gouvernement ottomane et même le Sultan et je suis condamné à mort aussitôt que je serais de retour en Turquie."

31. Ibid. "Jusqu'à présent personne ne me connais pas comme menteur et tous le monde cherche à Paris comme connaisseur [sic] de la langue Turc arabe et persane pour leur expliquer le sens des objets qu'il veulent mieux connaître et apprécier."
32. For biographical information on Fröhner as a collector and antiquarian, see Marie-Christine Hellmann, "Wilhelm Froehner, un collectionneur pas comme les autres, 1834–1925," in *L'anticomanie: La collection d'antiquités aux 18e et 19e siècles*, ed. Annie-France Laurens and Krzysztof Pomian (Paris: L'école des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1992), 251–64. For the auction catalogue of Hoffmann's antiques penned by Froehner, see *Collection H. Hoffmann: Catalogue des objets d'art antiques* (Paris: Strasbourg, G. Fischbach, 1886–88).
33. Hellmann, "Wilhelm Froehner," 253–54.
34. Ibid., 258–59.
35. Ottoman State Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri [BOA]), HR.TO. 537/74. Chlebowsky's buyer, identified as "Didu," was likely Ambroise-Firmin Didot (d. 1876), one of the sons of the famous printer and typeface inventor Firmin Didot (d. 1836). While serving as an attaché in the French embassy in Istanbul, Ambroise-Firmin, a devoted student of ancient Greek, also participated in the archeological missions in Greece. Coincidentally, the Firmin Didot bookshop owned by his family would later supply Hakky-Bey with his collection of art and architectural history publications of the period.
36. GSA 107/368. "Jusqu'à présent vous m'avez considéré [should read considéré] comme une commissionnaire [commissionnaire misspelled] pour les antiquités, mais ce n'est pas mon pain quotidien. Tous ce que gagne avec cette affaire je l'emploie pour la continuation de mon journal et vous pouvez vous renseigner de moi et de mon honneur de vos amis de Constantinople."
37. In January 2011, while I was working on the first revision of this article, vandals took advantage of the political situation in Egypt at the time of the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak and looted objects from Tutankhamen's tomb in the museum's collection. Since then, about half of the stolen objects have been found and put on display in a special exhibition titled "Damaged and Restored."
38. Paul Eudel, *L'Hôtel Drouot et la curiosité en 1883* (Paris: G. Charpentier et Cie, 1884), 356.
39. Hanioglu, *Young Turks*, 68. Muwaylihi, better known as a man-of-letters than Hakky-Bey but with similar ties to the Egyptian khedive, penned a series of essays critical of the Ottoman government and Sultan Abdulhamid II; they were published in 1896 in a single volume entitled *Mā Hunālika*. For a biography and in-depth analysis of his political stance between the Ottoman Empire and Khedival Egypt, see Jacob M. Landau, "An Insider's View of Istanbul: Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī's *Mā Hunālika*," *Die Welt des Islams* 27 (1987): 70–81. For a recent English translation of the volume, see Ibrāhīm Muwayliḥī, *Spies, Scandals, and Sultans: Istanbul in the Twilight of the Ottoman Empire*, trans. Roger Allen (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008).
40. Hanioglu, *Young Turks*, 37–38.
41. I retained the English titles of the journals as first translated by *ibid.*, 68.
42. *Ibid.*, 68 and 263.
43. Hakky-Bey, *Cür'et* 4 (Paris, 1891).
44. Hakky-Bey, *Gencine-i Hayāl* 2 (Paris, 1881): "Eyyühen-nās ma'lüm olsun ki gazetemiziñ her bir suṭürü nām-ı aḳdes-i ḥilāfetpenāhiyi teberriken yād edeceğinden abdestsiz tilāvet etmemeñizi ḥālişāne iḥṭār eder ve ḥüsn-ı ḳabülünü iltimās eyleriz."
45. The website of the British Museum has made all its object suppliers from the nineteenth century searchable online, and Hakky-Bey is easily found in the collections database of the museum. Some of the images of the objects he supplied to the museum are also on view under the search results for "Hakky-bey." See [britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx?searchText=hakky-bey](http://britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?searchText=hakky-bey) (accessed March 17, 2014).
46. *Ibid.*
47. Hakky-Bey, *Catalogue des antiquités composant la collection Hakky-Bey et dont la vente aura lieu à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, salle no 7, les jeudi 31 mai, vendredi 1er et samedi 2 juin 1906*, Commissaire-priseur, Me Paul Chevallier; experts, Mm. Camille Rollin et Félix Bienaimé Feuardent (Paris: Impr. E. Moreau et cie, 1906).
48. In addition to Wendy Shaw's informative study of the gradually increasing policing of the foreign archeological missions by the Ottoman government, one can also go straight to the source, "Āşār-ı 'atīḳa Nizāmnāmesi," *Düstür Zeyli* 4 (Istanbul: Maṭba'a-ı 'Oşmāniyye, 1891): 89–93. A much more in-depth and critical analysis of the Ottoman government's continually evolving responses to the extraction and exportation of antiquities is provided in a recent collection of essays, *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753–1914*, ed. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: SALT, 2013).
49. Wendy M. K. Shaw, "Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889–1923," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 55–68.
50. For the numismatic work that Hakky consulted in the French library, see Henri Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque nationale. Publié par ordre du ministre de l'instruction publique, des cultes et des beaux-arts* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1887–96).
51. For publishing in late nineteenth-century France, I have been greatly informed by Roger Bellet, *Presse et Journalisme sous le Second Empire* (Paris: A Colin, 1967), as well as by the collected essays in *Making the News: Modernity & the Mass Press in Nineteenth-century France*, ed. Dean de la

- Motte and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999). More specifically, in the art historical context one of the most celebrated journals was the art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel's *Revue Internationale de l'Art et de la Curiosité* (1869), along with his short-lived but influential *L'Art dans les Deux Mondes* (1890–91).
52. Georges Marye, "L'exposition d'art musulman," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 10 (1893): 490–99. Also see Pauline Savari, "L'exposition d'art musulman," *La Nouvelle Revue* 85 (1893): 606–12.
  53. "Organisée avec des alternatives de fièvre et de torpeur de la part des artistes et des amateurs, L'Exposition, disons-le franchement, ne se recommande pas par l'arrangement méthodique qu'on eût souhaité y trouver. Il est certain que le côté pittoresque a été cherché, caressé, et que son développement, ses séductions même n'ont pas été sans porter quelque préjudice au caractère d'une œuvre qui n'aurait dû être que scientifique. Cette critique juste et qui a été formulée dès le début ne pouvait cependant être tout à fait évitée...Il était nécessaire de frapper d'abord les yeux et de réagir contre l'orientalisme de convention.": Marye, "L'exposition," 490. An eloquent English translation (beginning after the first sentence), is offered in David J. Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880–1910," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 16.
  54. I borrow the term "Islamophilia" from Rémi Labrusse, who coined it to describe scholars in the nineteenth century who used a rigorous methodology in their efforts to understand the arts of the Islamic world (from a broader, more global perspective), and to counter orientalizing projections that aimed to absorb and control the crafts of its colonies. Rémi Labrusse, "Islamophilia?: Europe in Conquest of the Arts of Islam," [artsocietes.org/a/a-labrusse.html](http://artsocietes.org/a/a-labrusse.html). See also Rémi Labrusse, "Une traversée du Malheur occidentale," in Labrusse, *Purs décors?*, 32–55.
  55. David J. Roxburgh, "After Munich: Reflections on Recent Exhibitions," in *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered*, ed. Andrea Lerner and Avinoam Shalem (Brill: Leiden, 2010), 362–65.
  56. Siegfried Bing (1838–1905), a prominent collector of objects from the Far East, was one of the first to publish an art journal, *Le Japon Artistique* (1888–91), which also promoted his collection.
  57. For a compelling discussion of the meaning of this object within the cross-cultural currents of the sixteenth century, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71 (September 1989): 401–27.
  58. In "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power," Necipoğlu provides an engraving of Süleyman donning the crown that appeared in an 1872 book of portraits. See William Stirling-Maxwell, *Examples of the Engraved Portraiture of the Sixteenth Century* (London and Edinburgh, 1872), pl. 41. Hakky-Bey may very well have had access to a book of this nature.
  59. "Les faïences de Damas, telles que: plats, vases, de toutes formes, carreaux, etc. (et qui sont surnommées par les classes ignorantes des Antiquaires de Constantinople, *Eski-Madem*, c'est à dire *Maden* ou *Minéral*) ont un supériorité sur toutes les autres faïences polychromes de l'Orient." / "Dersa'adetde antiķa ticāretille meşgūl olanlardan cehl sınıfınıñ ta'birlerince eskī-mādem ya'nī ma'den fayānslardan ṭabāķ, şūrāhī, kāse, ṭuġla ve emşāli şekillerde fayānslar resim ve naķış ve dahā elvān mütenevvi'a-ı nefise ḥuşuşunda şarkda i'māl olunan renkli fayānslarıñ eñ mükemmel ve eñ güzellerindendirler." : *Le Miroir* 1: 21. In the entry on "Antika, Antikacılık" ("Antiques, Antiques' Dealerships") in his famous and informative *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Istanbul), Reşad Ekrem Koçu (d. 1975) too expressed the sentiment that Istanbul dealers lacked knowledge concerning the provenance of the objects they sold: "Bedestandaki antikacılık bilgisi tamamen semâidir." See *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Reşad Ekrem Koçu, 11 vols. (Istanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat Kollektif Şirketi, 1958–71) 2:877–80. The most trustworthy and knowledgeable bazaar dealers of the period seem to have been a Jewish dealer from Thessaloniki named Joseph Soustiel and his son, Jean. For a catalogue representative of his collection, see *Arts d'orient: Collection Jean Soustiel et à divers amateurs* (Paris: Drouot-Richelieu, 2000). An older publication also introduces Joseph Soustiel's collection of Islamic art in Paris: Jean Soustiel, *Objets d'art de l'Islam: Présentation d'un ensemble d'objets d'art musulman appartenant à Joseph Soustiel, à Paris; 88 rue de Miromesnil, du 10 au 24 juillet 1973* (Paris: Diffusion Librairie Lequeltel, 1973). Biographical information on the Soustiels can be found in *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. François Poullion (Paris: Karthala, 2008), 908.
  60. *Le Miroir* 1: 7.
  61. *Le Miroir* 1: 17. In fact, Abdūllatif Suphi Paşa (1818–66), a famous bibliophile who is today considered the first Ottoman numismatist, was a member of a renowned Ottoman family of intellectuals and ministers, from poets to writers and reformers. The family's Istanbul mansion (*konak*) was well known for its salon gatherings and library. The Istanbul Archaeological Museum now has most of its books. For a list of his books published after his death, see *Evkāf nāzırı merhūm Şubhī Pāşānuñ terekesinde zuhūr eden kitāblarıñıñ defteridir* (Istanbul: Maṭba'a-ı 'Osmāniyye, 1886). For an example of his publications on his collection and numismatic practice, see P. Clement Sibilian, *Collection choisie: Description de monnaies grecques autonomes de son excellence Subhi Pacha* (Istanbul: Imprimerie du Djeridei-Havadis, 1875).
  62. *Le Miroir* 1: 17.
  63. *Le Miroir* 2: 29.
  64. Stephen Vernoit, "Hispano-Moresque Art in European Collections," in Lerner and Shalem, *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst,"* 231–68.

65. See 'Abdülhak Hâmid, *Ṭārīḫ, yāhūd, Endülüṣ Fethi* (Istanbul: Halk Kitaphanesi, 1296 [1878–79]), as well as 'Abdülhak Hâmid, *Ibn-Mūsā, yāhūd, Zāt'ül-Cemāl* (Istanbul: Şanâyî'-i Nefise Maṭba'ası, 1928), and Louis Viardot, *Endülüṣ Tārīhi*, 2 vols., trans. Ziya Pâşâ (Istanbul: Takvimhâne-i Âmire, 1279–80 [1859–63]).
66. The most famous of these popular European publications was the collaborative work of the French and British architects, who were companions on the Grand Tour, which took them from Italy and Greece to Turkey, Egypt, and Spain. It was the Alhambra's ornaments that most fascinated them, and was at the core of their ornament, pattern, and color theories. With their twelve-part chromolithograph publications, Jones and Goury were pivotal in turning the art and architecture of Nasrid Spain into the most popular style for mid-nineteenth-century European architecture. See Jules Goury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra: From Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 by Jules Goury, and in 1834 and 1837 by Owen Jones, with a Complete Translation of the Arabic Inscriptions, and an Historical Notice of the Kings of Granada from the Conquest of That City by the Arabs to the Expulsion of the Moors, by Pasqual de Gayangos* (London: Owen Jones, 1842–45). If *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details* jumpstarted the stylistic turn, Owen Jones's seminal *Grammar of Ornament* (London: B. Quaritch, 1910), which constructed color theory out of the examples he had seen in the Middle East segment of his Grand Tour, solidified Islamophilic interest in its works of art.
67. Ahmet Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and Its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2000).
68. Louis-Pierre-Eugène Sédillot's *Histoire générale des Arabes* (Paris, 1854) and Gustave Le Bon's *La civilisation des Arabes* (Paris, 1884) were two pseudo-historical accounts that picked up from and bolstered Owen Jones's discourse on the visibility of the great Arab spirit. Sédillot's *Histoire* was central to Ernest Renan's controversial lectures on "L'Islamisme et la science," given in 1883, which propounded the idea that only in Muslim Iberia did Islamic cultures experience a golden age in art and science. The fact that Hakky-Bey, a man who so keenly stressed the concept of universalism in the discipline of Islamic art, still consulted both Le Bon and Sédillot with respect to the history of Muslim Spain is indicative of the seminal nature of these two texts at the end of the century, despite their predictable Western bias and orientaling shortcomings.
69. *Le Miroir* 2: 48.
70. "Formée par un spécialiste bien connu, qui contribue l'un des premiers à répandre, a notre époque, le goût, devenu si général, pour les arts musulmans." This anonymous auction announcement for "La Collection Hakky-Bey" appeared in *Le Bulletin de l'Art Ancien et Moderne: Supplément servi gratuitement aux abonnées de la Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 291 (Paris, 3 Mars 1906), 68.
71. In addition to the pieces on loan to the first Muslim art exhibition in Paris, the items in Hakky's collection appeared in Max Van Berchem, "Notes d'archéologie arabe III: Étude sur les cuivres damasquinés et les verres émaillés, inscriptions, marques, armoiries," *Journal Asiatique* 10, 3 (January–February 1904): 5–96, esp. 54. See also Robert Forrer and Hartmann Fischer, *Addressbuch der Museen, Bibliotheken, Sammler und Antiquare* (Strassburg: Schlesier und Schweikhardt 1897), 195, and *Le Courrier de l'Art* 10, 4 (1890): 89, which both mention Hakky's donations to the Musée Guimet.
72. Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" 118–93.
73. For Osman Hamdi's museological activities, see Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*. The character and intellectual inclinations of Ahmet Vefik are best described by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler* (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1977), 207–11. Ahmet Vefik had a monumental book collection—the section dedicated to architecture is comparable to that of Hakky-Bey's, with the works of Jules Bourgoïn, Gustave Le Bon, Prisse D'Avennes, and Léon Parvillée appearing most prominently. The catalogue list of his library reveals the wide-ranging bibliophilic tendencies of the elite Ottoman group involved with the *Uşûl*. See *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu Ahmed Vefik pacha = Ahmed Vefik Pâşâ merhûmunun kütiophanesiniñ defteridir* (Constantinople: Typographie et lithographie K. Bagdadlian, 1893). For his numismatic studies Hakky-Bey consulted Ismail Galip, *Müze-i Hümâyûn Meskûkât-ı Kadîme-i İslâmîyye Kâtaloğu* (Istanbul: Mihrân Maṭba'ası, 1311 [1894]). As mentioned above, Stephen Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 7, links the discursive treatment of the history of Islamic art in the nineteenth century with numismatic studies.
74. "Il était très aimé de ses coreligionnaires; aussi on a fait a se vente une véritable ovation orientale et l'enthousiasme s'est traduit par des cris assourdissant et par de pantomimes expressives.": "Le carnet de l'amateur," *Le Musée: Revue d'Art Antique* (Paris, January 31–December 31, 1906): 111.
75. *Le Miroir* 2: 1–3. Addressing the "amateurs de l'art musulman," Hakky-Bey writes: "La présente publication aura but, nous l'avons dit, la propagation de la connaissance de l'art musulman" / "Şanâyî'-i kadîme-i islâmîye muhibleri efendilere: efendiler şu mecmû'amı neşirden ğarazım sanâyî'-i islâmîyeyi 'alâ-kadr'ül-ımkân bildirmektir." More specifically addressing his compatriots, "Cette Revue a d'ailleurs pour but la propagation de l'art musulman dans le monde de l'Islam; comme de tels ouvrages sont fort rarement publiés dans notre pays, il m'est agréable de supposer que cette publication trouvera un accueil bienveillant auprès de mes compatriotes Musulmans." / "Zâten maḫşad-ı aḫkarânem şıřr âşâr-ı 'atife-i islâmîyeye dâ'ir teraḫkiyât-ı ḫâzıradan vatandaşlarıma bir fikr-i maḫşûş vermektir ki bu da bizde tıbbı o nevâdir âşâr gibi kalil'ül-emsâl hidemâttan olduđu için elbette maḫbûle geđer." For the formulation of the argument concerning the Spanish renaissance (*kemâl*) and its later decadence (*zevâl*) and decline (*inḫ'irâz*), see *Le Miroir* 1: 33.

76. *Le Miroir* 1: 22.
77. Gökhan Çetinsaya, *Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890–1908* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
78. Edhem Eldem, *Un Ottoman en Orient, Osman Hamdi Bey en Irak, 1869–1871* (Paris: Sindbad, 2010).
79. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 78.
80. Edhem Eldem, “Osman Hamdi Bey’in Bağdat Vilayeti’ndeki Görevi Sırasında Babası Edhem Paşa’ya Mektupları,” in *1. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi Bildiriler 2–5 Ekim 1990*, ed. Zeynep Rona (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1992), 65–89.
81. See *Le jubilé du Musée Guimet; Vingt-cinquième anniversaire de sa fondation, 1879–1904*, ed. Ernest Leroux (Paris, 1904), 44.
82. *Catalogue des objets d’art et de haute curiosité arabes et européens: Anciennes faïences italiennes, hispano-mauresques et orientales, bronzes arabes, manuscrits orientaux, émaux de Limoges, étoffes composant la collection Hakky-Bey*, Commissaire-priseur Paul Chevallier; experts Mm. Mannheim (Paris: Georges Petit, 1906). On the second, less well-known and smaller auction, see n. 47.
83. For example, *Le Bulletin de l’Art Ancien et Moderne* 7 (1906) provides three articles solely on the sale of Hakky-Bey’s collection of high-curiosity objects.
84. Karl Baedeker, *Paris and Its Environs: With Routes from London to Paris* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1907), 246.
85. *Bulletin de la Société française des fouilles archéologiques* 2 (1907): 41; *Le Miroir* 1: 4–6.
86. On the French involvement in the Susa excavations, see Vernot, “Rise of Islamic Archaeology,” 4.
87. My initial research on price evaluation, from francs to euros to dollars, spanning a century, has revealed that 7,000 francs would be around \$100,000 today. The entire auction fetched 189,210 francs, which would correspond to approximately \$3,000,000.
88. The reviewer of the closing of the auction, who wrote for *Le Bulletin de l’Art Ancien et Moderne*, noted the disappointing sum that the valuable objects fetched: “La vente Hakky-Bey s’est clôturée sur un total de 189 210 francs: c’est un chiffre peu élevé si l’on ne tient compte que du nombre des objets, très abondants, et fort satisfaisant, au contraire eu égard à leur qualité. N’oublions pas, en effet, que M. Hakky-Bey était marchand, et qu’il avait réalisé à l’amiable, en ces dernières années, ses plu belles pièces, à peu d’exceptions près.” (The Hakky-Bey auction came to a close with a sum of 189 210 francs. This is a meager sum, if we take into account the number of objects, abundant and very satisfactory, and if anything, given their quality. We shouldn’t forget, however, that Monsieur Hakky-Bey was a merchant, and he realized these beautiful pieces, with a few exceptions, through friendships in recent years.): “Chronique des Ventes,” *Le Bulletin de l’Art Ancien et Moderne*, 90.
89. The Library of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., has two copies of the auction catalogue. The copy labeled “C2” contains the annotated information jotted down by an anonymous attendee at the auction in 1906.
90. The annotated copy is mentioned in Frits Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques: Intéressant l’art ou la curiosité, tableaux, dessins, estampes, miniatures, sculptures, bronzes, émaux, vitraux, tapisseries, céramiques, objets d’art, meubles, antiquités, monnaies médailles, camées, intailles, armes, instruments, curiosités naturelles, etc.* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1938–87). I am indebted to András Riedlmayer for bringing this to my attention.
91. Only in the early twentieth century were the presumed origins of these earthenware items refuted and corrected. Three studies record the gradual correction of their provenance by both European and Ottoman scholars, beginning with Otto Falke and F. R. Martin. See Gaston Migeon and Arménag Beg Sakisian, “Les faïencés d’Asie Mineure du XVe au XVIIIe siècle,” *La Revue de l’Art Ancien et Moderne* 44 (June–December 1923): 125–41, and Gaston Migeon and Raymon Koechlin, *Oriental Art: Ceramics, Fabrics, Carpets; One Hundred Plates in Colour with Introduction and Descriptions*, trans. Florence Heywood (New York: MacMillan, 1928), 11. See also Frédéric Hitzel and Mireille Jacotin, *Iznik, l’aventure d’une collection: Les céramiques ottomanes du Musée national de la Renaissance, Château d’Ecouen* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005), 212–19; and Frédéric Hitzel, “La protection du patrimoine ottoman à l’épreuve de l’occidentalisation: Le cas des collections de céramiques d’Iznik,” in Labrusse, *Purs décors?*, 158–67.
92. Thierry Savatier, *L’origine du monde: Histoire d’un tableau de Gustave Courbet* (Paris: Bartillat, 2006), 107–9. De la Narde’s collector’s description in *Purs Décors* matches one given by Savatier as a dealer of Near and Far Eastern objects.
93. For a biography of Kélékian as a collector, see Jenkins-Madina, “Early Tastemakers in America.” For excavations at Raqqa and the Ottoman-Armenian involvement in the circulation of the objects found there, see Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Raqqa Revisited: Ceramics of Ayyubid Syria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), and Yoltar-Yıldırım, “Raqqa: The Forgotten Excavation of an Islamic Site in Syria.” Also, for Kélékian’s presentation of his own collection vis-à-vis Islamic art and particularly Persian art, see Dikran Kélékian, *La collection Kelekian* (Paris: Librairie centrale des beaux-arts, 1909); and Dikran Kélékian, *The Kelekian Collection of Persian & Analogue Potteries* (Paris, 1910).
94. Jenkins-Madina’s “Early Tastemaker’s in America,” 73, points to the intriguing fact that almost all the Ottoman Armenians in the collecting trade started their careers in Kayseri, their city of origin. A two-volume hometown history was commissioned by a group of Armenians from Kayseri who survived the 1915 and 1918 genocides to settle in Cairo. This book offers very insightful biographies of the nineteenth-century inhabitants of the city, including the Kélékians. See Arshak Alpöyachean, *Patmut’iwn hay Kesariy: Teghagrakan, patmakan ew azgagrakan usumnasirut’iwn*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Hratarakut’iwn Kesariy ew shrjakayits’ hayrenakts’akan miut’ean Gahirēi varch’ut’ean, 1937).